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Κομμώσεις και καλύμματα κεφαλής των αυτοκράτειρων, πριγκιπισσών και κυριών της αριστοκρατίας στο Βυζάντιο

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# ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ

## Hairstyles and Headdresses of Empresses, Princesses, and Ladies of the Aristocracy in Byzantium

Melita EMMANUEL

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## HAIRSTYLES AND HEADDRESSES OF EMPRESSES, PRINCESSES, AND LADIES OF THE ARISTOCRACY IN BYZANTIUM

It was very difficult for me to choose a subject for my contribution to the volume dedicated to the memory of my beloved professor and friend, Doula Mouriki. Not only because the sorrow caused by her untimely death is still fresh, but also because, having worked with her very closely for eighteen whole years, I was always able to guess her reactions to everything I undertook; this has made me even more hesitant, since this article is to be dedicated to her. The study of the ways the Byzantine ladies dressed and covered their hair seemed appropriate to me, especially since Doula Mouriki herself had written in 1984, while examining the white headdress of Irene Moutoullas: "a study of secular Byzantine costumes has still to be undertaken..."<sup>1</sup>.

This article is a first attempt to explain and to classify the different types of hairstyles and headdresses of the ladies of the Byzantine aristocracy. However, even this topic presents many difficulties to the scholar, because of the plethora and variety of the examples preserved<sup>2</sup>, which goes to show that, like women of all times the world over, the Byzantine ladies found a hundred and one ways to express their feminine vanity. One of the most important written sources on the subject is the *Anthologia Graeca*<sup>3</sup>, which provides a great deal of significant information on the ways in which the ladies, during late antiquity and the early Christian era, adorned and covered their hair. Valuable information on this subject is also provided by the texts of the Fathers of the Church, as well as by many other texts of the Byzantine literature<sup>4</sup>.

Unfortunately, there is not enough information concerning the ladies of the court. The descriptions of the empresses in the historical texts are extensive, but not specific, as they are mostly of a literary character. For instance, a characteristic example is Anna Comnena's description of the empress Maria. She compares her to a cypress tree, she praises her snow-white body, her rosy face and cherrful look, but she does not mention anything else concerning her actual appearance<sup>5</sup>.

However, from the observation of works of art, one can collect interesting information. The ways in which Byzantine court ladies arranged their hair can be studied only with the help of works of the 4th and 5th centuries, a period during which the female head still remained uncovered. The representations of Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, on coins and medals, showed a type of hairstyle which remained fashionable for over two centuries<sup>6</sup>. Thus, three types of coiffures appear in

the 4th century. In the first, the hair is parted in the middle and is gathered at the nape of the neck — sometimes divided into two plaits — and is carried up to the crown of the head. The gold medal with Helena and the sculpture of Aelia Flacilla (ca. 325) in the Cabinet des Medailles in Paris (Figs 1-2), as well as representations on coins of empresses, for example those of Eudoxia (395-404), Pulcheria (414-453) and Aelia Verina (457-474) are characteristic examples of this type<sup>7</sup>. This way of arranging the hair can be found until about the 6th century. It was most popular during the 4th century and appears in many variations. The empress Helena alone is shown with fourteen different variations<sup>8</sup>.

In the second type, the so-called "turban-like" hairdo<sup>9</sup>, the hair is parted in the middle and plaited into two heavy braids which encircle the head like a crown. This coiffure gives special volume to the head and resembles a diadem. Helena often adorned her hair with pearls<sup>10</sup>. The turban-like style, which was created by Galeria Valeria in the 4th century (Fig. 13, a), appears in some representations of this particular lady with a variation:

1. Doula Mouriki, *The Wall Paintings of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus*, in: *Byzanz und der Westen, Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, Wien 1984, p. 182, note 43.

2. This article is part of a larger project concerning the hairstyles and headdresses of the ladies in Byzantium. It began in 1990, during the seminar on "Alltagsleben und Realia in Byzanz", organized by Prof. Armin Hohlweg at the University of Munich; I thank Prof. Hohlweg very much for his very generous help and advice.

3. H. Beck by (ed.), *Anthologia graeca*, Munich 1957-58. The *Anthologia graeca* covers a period of 1200 approximately years, from the time of Archilochus until that of the emperor Justinian (650 BC - 550 AD).

4. For the sources see mainly: F. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, IV, Athens 1951, p. 361ff.

5. Anna Comnena, Alexias, III, CSHB, Bonn 1839, p. 140f. J. H. Krause, *Die Byzantiner des Mittelalters in ihren Staats-, Hof- und Privatleben insbesondere vom Ende des zehnten bis gegen Ende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts nach den byzantinischen Quellen*, Halle 1869 (photomech. Neudruck Leipzig 1974), p. 181f.

6. K. Wessel, *Römische Frauenfrisuren von der Severischen bis zur Konstantinischen Zeit*, AA 1946-47, col. 62f. R. Delbrueck, *Porträts byzantinischer Kaiserinnen*, RM 28 (1913), p. 329f. *Idem*, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs*, Berlin-Leipzig 1933, p. 46, pl. 10.

7. G. Lacam, *Civilisation et monnaies byzantines*, Paris 1974, pl. XXIV.A-B.

8. The so-called "Scheitelzoffrisur": Wessel, *op.cit.* (note 6), col. 65f.

9. The so-called "Haarkranzfrisur" or "Rundflechte", *ibid.*, col. 70f.

10. *Ibid.*, col. 70-71.

the hair over the forehead is cut short and forms a thickish roll sectioned as if arranged in very stiff narrow waves. This coiffure, that also characterizes some portraits of Helena on coins<sup>11</sup>, is to be found in the 6th century as well; a typical example is the portrait identified as that of Theodora in Castello Sforzesco in Milan (around 530) (Fig. 3).

The third type is similar to the style used by the women of ancient Greece: the hair is gathered behind the head and forms a simple small bun. Helena is the first to adopt this type of coiffure, while we also sometimes find Fausta represented in this way (Fig. 13, b)<sup>12</sup>.

These types of hairstyles and especially the first two, are to be found in sculptures of this period as well as in representations of ladies in frescoes and miniatures during the early Christian period. Even when the women appear with their heads covered, it is possible to recognise the coiffure under the headdress, especially during the first centuries.

The empresses diadems<sup>13</sup> were originally wreaths, decorated with precious stones, which were placed on the



Fig. 1. Helena. Gold Medallion (4th c.). Paris, Cabinet des Medailles.

head and sometimes covered by the hair<sup>14</sup>. After the 5th century the empresses covered their heads in a different way. Characteristic examples are the portraits of Theodora in Castello Sforzesco (Fig. 3) and of the empress Ariadne in the Louvre (ca. 500)<sup>15</sup>. Most probably these figures bear the hairdressing with the plaits which are taken up to the summit of the head; one can not explain otherwise the bulge the head acquires on its top. Over



Fig. 2. Aelia Flacilla. Marble. (ca 325). Paris, Cabinet des Medailles.

the forehead the hair is cut short and creates the thickish roll mentioned above. The hair is entirely covered with a very fine scarf of a thin, silk-like material; a bonnet made of a stiffer material is fixed on the scarf and on the hair with pins. The bonnet is shaped in such a way as to adapt itself to the two plaits. The crown placed on it is no longer shaped like a wreath, but consists of two parts: a round one, and another consisting of one or two transversal bands, placed crosswise on the round part of the diadem. This type of headdress, sometimes more and sometimes less schematically rendered, appears already in the 5th century on coins and on a gold medallion with Licinia Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian (437-455), where the *prependulia* can be also observed (Fig. 13, c)<sup>16</sup>: it is repeated thence-forward with slight variations on coins until the end of the 12th century<sup>17</sup>. The design seems to have been simply traditional, most probably bearing no relation to what the empress actually wore. The variations consist of whether there exists a central cross or not or of the number of the triangular projections ornamenting it on the top part<sup>18</sup>.

From the middle Byzantine period on, in representations of empresses or saints of royal origin, in frescoes and other media, but not on coins, the type of the typical crown known to us today is prevalent; that is, the kind in which the lower part is narrow and which widens and is open at the top<sup>19</sup>; the crown was already known in late antiquity, as we see in representations of





Fig. 3. Head of an empress, identified as Theodora. Marble (ca 530). Milan, Castello Sforzesco.

personifications of towns, as was related to the Roman emperor<sup>20</sup>. In the pseudo-Codinus (mid-14th c.) we read that the crown of the Byzantine empress is not identical to that of the emperor but has a different shape and has already been prepared earlier<sup>21</sup>; it is true that the crowns of the empresses in the representations in churches, miniatures and in other media, are different in shape and sometimes more impressive than those of their imperial spouses<sup>22</sup>; only in a few cases, in the Palaeologan period, do we meet a type of crown similar in shape to that of the camelaukion of the emperor (Fig. 13, d)<sup>23</sup>. Some



Fig. 4. A young Lady. Marble (6th c.). New York, Metropolitan Museum.

that of a "Kronhaube", is expressed by K. Wessel, *Das Kaiserinnenportrait im Castello Sforzesco zu Mailand*, JdI 77 (1962), p. 243. 16. See f.i. Delbrueck, *Porträts byzantinischer Kaiserinnen*, *op.cit.*, p. 330, 333, fig. 10; Deér, *Mittelalterliche Frauenkronen*, *op.cit.* (note 13), pl. 57b.

17. For the representation of empresses on coins see: P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. Three: Leo III to Nicephorus III (717-1081), Part 2: Basil I to Nicephorus III (867-1081), Washington 1973, p. 130. Examples also in W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London 1908, vol. I, pls XII, XXI, XXIII and vol. II, pl. XLVI; Lacam, *Civilisation*, *op.cit.* (note 7), pl. LXIXB and LXX, LXXVIB.1, LXXVIB.2.

18. According to Joseph Deér, these projections are a special characteristic of the crowns of the empresses and princesses; he connects them with the shape of the Persian crown: Deér, *Mittelalterliche Frauenkronen*, *op.cit.* (note 13), p. 419, 421. Also, *idem*, *Der Kaiserornat Friedrichs II.*, Bern 1952, p. 26f.

19. For the evolution of the simple diadem to the type of crown known to us, see Deér, *Mittelalterliche Frauenkronen*, *op.cit.* (note 13), p. 426f.

20. See f.i. Jutta Dresken-Weiland, *Reliefte Tischplatten aus Theodosianischer Zeit*, Città del Vaticano 1991, p. 239, 240, notes 1166, 1173.

21. J. Verpeaux (intr. texts, trad.), *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices*, Paris 1966, p. 261.

22. The crown of Simonida in the church of Saints Joachim and Anne in the Monastery of Studenica (1313/14): G. Millet - A. Frolov, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macedoine et Monténégro)*, III, Paris 1962, pl. 68.3.

23. The despot Anne and Saint Catherine in Dolna Camenica (1323-1330): Dora Piguet-Panayotova, *Recherches sur la peinture en Bulgarie du bas moyen-âge*, Paris 1987, p. 224, figs 102, 103.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. Among the most important bibliographies: J. Deér, *Mittelalterliche Frauenkronen in Ost und West*, in: P. E. Schramm (ed.), *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, II, Stuttgart 1955, p. 418f.

14. Delbrueck, *Porträts byzantinischer Kaiserinnen*, *op.cit.* (note 6), p. 331f. *Idem*, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, *op.cit.* (note 6), p. 62f. K. Fittschen - P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom*, III: *Kaiserinnen und Prinzessinnenbildnisse, Frauenporträts*, Mainz 1983, p. 3, 10, pls 1, 2, 3, 11, 12.

15. For the description of the headdress see Delbrueck, *Porträts byzantinischer Kaiserinnen*, *op.cit.* (note 6), p. 311f., 349. See also Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Portrait Bust of a Young Lady of the Time of Justinian*, *MMAJ* I (1968), p. 25f. Another opinion,



*Fig. 5. Desislava (1259). Bojana.*



*Fig. 6. The Virgin and Irene Gabraba (1067). Manuscr. gr. 172 (f. 2r). Saint Petersburg, Public Library.*



*Fig. 7. Saint Barbara (1280). Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus.*

*Fig. 8. Anna Radini (end of 12th c.). Church of Hagioi Anargyroi, Kastoria.*



details are worth mentioning: in some cases the hair under the crown is covered with a scarf or a net<sup>24</sup> while in other it is not<sup>25</sup>; the crowns are often combined with precious fabrics which either hang behind<sup>26</sup> or cover the head under the crown and hang on either side of the face, reaching the shoulders. This garment, sometimes extremely elaborate, as we can see, for example, in the representation of the despot Anne in the church of the Holy Virgin in Dolna Kamenica (1323-1330) (Fig. 13, d)<sup>27</sup>, was very fashionable in the West for the married ladies, in the second half of the 13th century<sup>28</sup>. In Byzantine art it appears more often from the beginning of the 14th century and especially in the monuments of Northern Greece and Yugoslavia<sup>29</sup>.

Of special interest are the representations of the princesses and of the court ladies, as well as of the ladies of the provincial aristocracy. On the basis of the examination of a number of representations, especially of those of the ladies of the provinces, we can come to certain conclusions concerning fashion in Byzantium.

Until around the end of the 6th century, one can observe two ways in which the ladies of the aristocracy covered their heads: they might either use a veil, under which they sometimes wore a mitella, in accordance with Roman custom<sup>30</sup>, or a fine scarf, most probably of silk, which covered all the hair like a bonnet. Characteristic of the latter type are the examples of Serena in the ivory diptych of the cathedral of Monza, dated to around 400<sup>31</sup> and of the young lady of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, dating from the 6th century (Fig. 4)<sup>32</sup>. In both these examples the hair is given special volume and forms the thick roll around the forehead mentioned earlier. The scarf of the lady in the Metropolitan is held by a clip to prevent it from slipping onto the forehead<sup>33</sup>. The young ladies escorting Theodora, in the mosaic of San Vitale, also dated to the 6th century, cover their hair with similar richly ornamented scarfs (Fig. 13, e)<sup>34</sup>.

From around the 10th century on, the princesses — when they do not imitate the empresses, wearing the typical crown — must have appeared with a typical

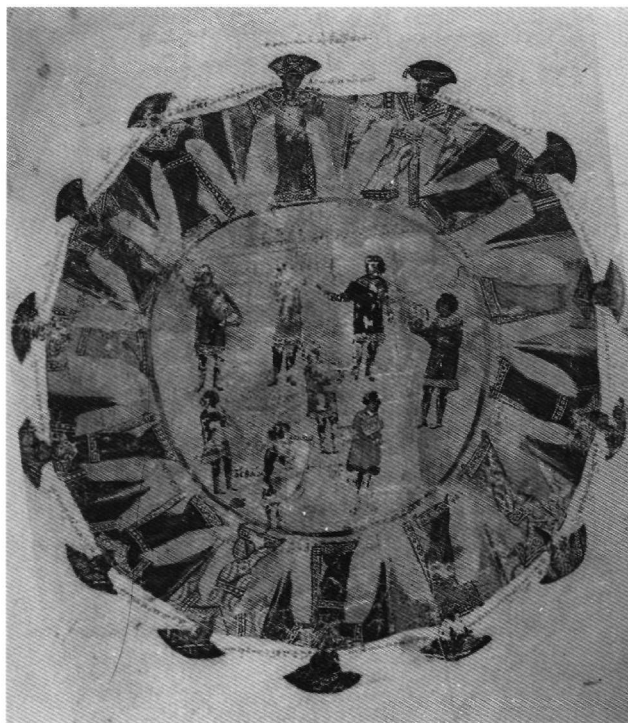


Fig. 9. *The Dance of Miriam* (1059). Vat. gr. 752 (f. 449v).

Lambros, *Λεύκωμα βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων*, Athens 1930, pl. 43.

27. Piguet-Panayotova, *op.cit.* (note 23), p. 224, fig. 102.

28. *Ibid.*

29. E.g. the representations of Saints Catherine and Irene in the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki (ca 1320): Anna Tsitouridou, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού στη Θεσσαλονίκη*, Thessaloniki 1986, pl. 101. The representation of Catherine, wife of Kral Stephan Dragutin in Arilje: Millet-Frolow, *op.cit.* (note 22), II, Paris 1957, pl. 96.3, and of Helen, wife of tsar Stephan Dusan in Lesnovo (1349): G. Millet-Tania Velmans, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macedoine et Monténégro)*, IV, Paris 1969, pls 24.50, 25.51.

30. W. F. Volbach - M. Hirmer, *Frühchristliche Kunst. Die Kunst der Spätantike in West- und Ostrom*, München 1958, pl. 10b. A. Grabar, *Deux monuments chrétiens d'Egypte. Le sens des images frontales chrétiennes. De l'art pharaonique à l'art copte*, Synthronon, Paris 1968, p. 4f.

For the "mitra or mitella": RE XXX, Stuttgart 1932, col. 2217ff.; DACL 11, Paris 1934, col. 1554ff. Elisabeth Pilz, *Kamelaukion et mitra. Insignes byzantines impériaux et ecclésiastiques*, Stockholm 1977, p. 53ff.

31. R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, Berlin 1929, Nr. 63, p. 242f. W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Mainz am Rhein 1976 (3rd ed.), no. 63, p. 55, pl. 35.

32. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *op.cit.* (note 15), p. 19f.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 22. See also the head of a lady in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, ca 400: R. Delbrueck, *Bronzener Frauenkopf um 400 n. Chr.*, BJB 150 (1950), p. 88, pls 2-3.

34. See also F. W. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Baden-Baden 1958, pl. 361.

24. E.g. the empress Irene, wife of Constantin Assen in Bojana (1259): A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, Paris 1928, p. 162, pl. XX.

25. A characteristic example is that of Irene Comnena in the church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople (12th century): C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, Washington 1962, pl. 17. The Empresses Zoe and Theodora in the manuscript Sinait. gr. 364 (f. 3r) (1042): J. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1452*, Leiden 1981, p. 20, pl. 97.

26. In the Menologion of Basil II, Cod. Vat. gr. 1613 (f. 249): S.





Fig. 10. Maria, wife of the protostrator Theodore (1281). Church of Panagia Vella, Voulgarelli.

Fig. 11. Irene Palaeologina (1356). Church of Taxiarches Metropoleos, Kastoria.

Fig. 12. Wife of Michael Tornikes (ca 1320). Parecclesion. Katholikon of the Chora Monastery, Constantinople.



headdress: that is, a small round hat reminiscent of the camelaukion, with a small veil, whose ends sometimes fall on either side of the face. This headdress is typical also of the holy Virgins, in representations dating mainly from the 13th century on<sup>35</sup>. A typical example of this type is provided by the representation of Saint Barbara in the church of the Virgin Hodegetria at Spelies on Euboia (1311) (Fig. 13, f)<sup>36</sup>. This, most probably, must have been the official headdress of the ladies of the court; characteristic, for instance, is the example of Desislava, wife of the sevastocrator Kalojan, in Bojana (1259) (Fig. 5). Her round hat is fastened on the head with a fine, almost transparent scarf, which is tied under the chin. A delicate diadem with small arches has been placed over it<sup>37</sup>.

However, in representations of the ladies of the so-called provincial aristocracy, different kinds of fashion can be observed. During the 11th and 12th centuries we find a type of headdress in the shape of a trapezoid. In the manuscript gr. 172 (f. 2r) of Saint Petersburg (1067) there is the representation of Irene, wife of Theodore Gabras (Fig. 6), who was patricius and governor of the Eastern themes Chaldaea and Colonaea<sup>38</sup>. Here, the enormous headdress is realistically rendered; it is obvious that Irene cannot bow to the Virgin because of the weight of her headdress. Could it possibly bear some





relation to the "propoloma" worn by the «πατρικία ζωστή», mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennitus<sup>39</sup>. In the ceremony of the «πατρικία» the lady could not bow to the emperor because of the weight of the headdress.

Fan-shaped headdresses are also worn by the dancing Hebrew women in the Psalter Vat. gr. 752 (f. 449v) of 1059 (Fig. 9)<sup>40</sup>. In the Epithalamion Vat. gr. 1851 of the 12th century (f. 3v) (1179) the Byzantine court ladies also wear fan-shaped headdresses with gold stripes<sup>41</sup>; this type of headdress, perhaps of a celebrational character, is probably in relation with the "tufa", the crown worn by the emperor during imperial triumphs<sup>42</sup>.

During the 12th century and simultaneously with the trapezoid-shaped hat, there appears a simpler type of hat, reminiscent, in form of a camelaukion. The wife of the protospatharios Basileios in the cod. 60 of the Koutlousiou Monastery, dated 1169, wears such a hat (Fig. 13, g)<sup>43</sup>. This type of hat remains in fashion during the 13th century and later, and is combined with different kinds of bindigns, as we can see from the representations of Saint Barbara in the church of Moutoullas on Cyprus (1280) (Fig. 7) and of the donor Anastasia Saramalyna in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou in Cyprus (14th c.)<sup>44</sup>. It is also very often depicted in representations of ladies in Armenian manuscripts of the 13th century<sup>45</sup>.

The portrait of Anna Radini in the church of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria (Fig. 8)<sup>46</sup> belongs to the end of the 12th century. Her hat follows the fashion of the 11th century in the lower part and that of the 12th century in the upper part. False, dyed blonde hair made, perhaps, of lambs wool, hangs from the hat and frames the face. We should stress the fact that the women of this area still use false hair for their traditional headdresses<sup>47</sup>; in

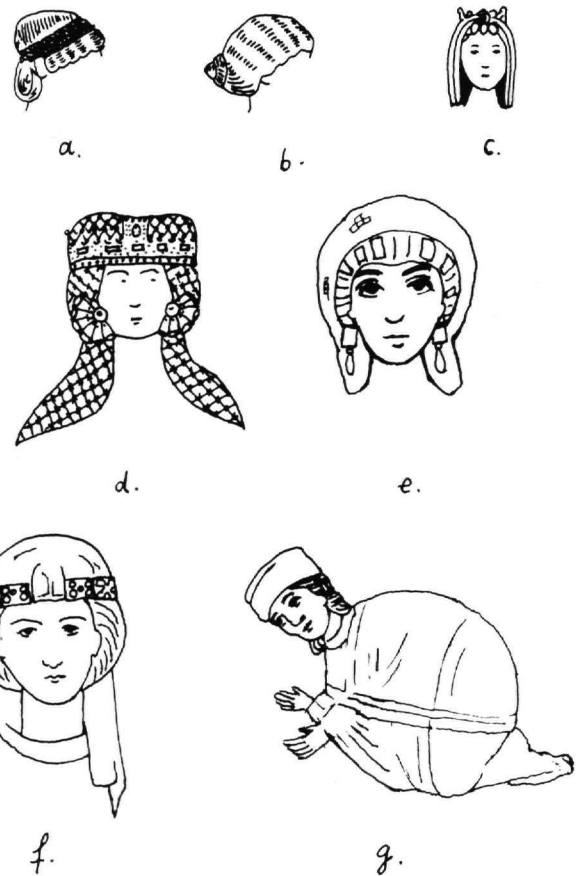


Fig. 13: a. Galeria Valeria (4th c.); b. Fausta (4th c.); c. Licinia Eudoxia (5th c.); d. Despot Anne (1323-1330). Church of the Holy Virgin in Dolna Kamenica; e. A young Lady escorting Theodora. Mosaic (c. 547). San Vitale, Ravenna; f. Saint Barbara (1311). Church of the Virgin Hodegetria at Spelies, Euboia; g. Wife of protospatharios Vassilios (1169). Cod. 60, Koutlousiou Monastery.

35. A. Grabar, Une couronne de début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et les coiffures d'apparat féminines, *CahArch* 8 (1956), p. 265f., p. 272.

36. Melita Emmanuel, Die Fresken der Muttergottes-Hodegetria-Kirche in Spelies auf der Insel Euboia (1311). Bemerkungen zu Ikonographie und Stil, *BZ* 83 (1990), p. 451f.

37. Grabar, *op.cit.* (note 24), p. 164, pl. XXI. For the type of the diadem see Deér, *op.cit.* (note 13), p. 447.

38. J. Spatharakis, The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts, Leiden 1976, p. 59f., figs 27-28.

39. Chapter ΝΘ' (Ν'): «Ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν ἐπὶ προαγωγῇ ζωστῆς πατρικίας»: A. Vogt, Constantin le Porphyrogénète. Le Livre des Cérémonies, II, Paris 1939, p. 63f. Commentaire, II, Paris 1940, p. 72f. For the «πατρικία ζωστή» see: Pamela G. Sayre, The Mistress of Robes - Who was She?, *ByzSt* 13 (1986), p. 229f.

40. Spatharakis, *op.cit.* (note 25), II, pl. 123. See also A. Xyngopoulos, Σαλώμη (.), *ΕΕΒΣ* 12 (1936), p. 269f.

41. Spatharakis, *op.cit.* (note 38), p. 229, fig. 167.

42. For the "tufa" see J. Ebersolt, Les arts somptuaires de Byzance. Etude sur l'art impérial de Constantinople, Paris 1923, p. 126; Grierson, *op.cit.* (note 17), p. 129f.

43. Spatharakis, *op.cit.* (note 38), p. 83f., fig. 52.

44. Mouriki, Moutoullas, *op.cit.* (note 1), p. 197, fig. 25; A. and J. Stylianos, Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus, *JÖB* 9 (1960), p. 106, fig. 5.

45. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington 1963, figs 77, 168, 171, 199, 366.

46. S. Pelekanidis - M. Chatzidakis, Καστοριά, Athens 1984, p. 22f., fig. 22.

47. Katerina Korre-Zografou, Νεοελληνικός κεφαλόδεσμος, Athens 1991 (2nd ed.), p. 37, 46. It must be noted that the use of false hair was a habit known also in antiquity: S. Marinatos, Kleidung-Haar- und Barttracht, *ArchHom*, I, 1967, p. B20. Beckby, *op.cit.* (note 3), XI, 68.

Pogoni, in Epirus, for instance, the woman, on her wedding day, places fringes of false hair, usually dyed red, over each temple. This custom seems to have come down from the Byzantine period<sup>48</sup>.

The headdress of Anna Radini marks the beginning of a new era, during which the headdresses in some cases bear the characteristics of local traditional headdresses. For instance, close links with the traditional dress of the region of Pogoni can be found in the headdresses of Maria, the wife of the protostrator Theodore, donor of the church of Panagia Vella in Voulgarelli, Arta (1281) (Fig. 10) and of Anne, wife of John Tsimiskis in the same church<sup>49</sup>. The headdress of Irene Palaeologina in the church of Taxiarchis Metropoleos in Kastoria (1356) (Fig. 11) consists of a scarf that covers the hair and is fastened around the neck. A string of pearls seems to finish the net under the headcover and on the head is placed an adornment, a band like a diadem. This type of headdress which is fastened under the chin and around the neck, is still to be seen in many traditional costumes of Greece, such as Macedonian and Thracian costumes<sup>50</sup>. It is also worth mentioning that diadems made of coins or gold plaques and adorned with precious stones, decorate the traditional headdresses in many regions of Greece<sup>51</sup>.

Together with the local character which headdresses acquire during the Palaeologan period, a simpler kind of head-covering consisting of a white scarf whose ends touch the shoulders, characterises portraits of ladies related to the court of Constantinople. Typical are the portraits of the wife of Michael Tornikes (Fig. 12) and of another lady depicted in the Parecclesion of the Chora Monastery and of the ladies in the churches of Mistra, as f.i. the lady donor in the Peribleptos and the lady depicted with her husband in the south chapel of the Hodegetria<sup>52</sup>. The scarf worn by the women donors in Byzantine churches in Crete is also white. It either falls to the shoulders or is wrapped around the hair like a turban<sup>53</sup>. It is the typical white scarf, the «οθόνη» or «κρήδεμνον» which the ladies traditionally wore over the net that held the hair<sup>54</sup>.

In conclusion, we should note that, as far as Byzantine headdressing fashions are concerned, every different style lasts for about two centuries, sometimes more. The change from a style to another was a slow process. Until the 13th century fashion seemed to be directed by the court. Characteristic in this case is the edict of John Vatatzes, mentioned by Nikephoros Gregoras, concerning mainly the purchase of fabrics and clothing<sup>55</sup>. However, after the conquest of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204 and the parting of the Byzantine Empire into small states, the creation of local styles in head-

resses can be observed; this fact was favored both by the loosening of the tight control of the state and by the disappearance of the guardianship of Constantinople. Sometimes these new styles in headdresses, perhaps slightly altered, continue to survive to our day in the folk costumes of these areas. At the same time, during the Palaeologan period, in representations of ladies related to the court of Constantinople we note a conservative tendency, manifested by the simpler and also more traditional types of headdress.

Athens, 26 April 1993

48. Korre-Zografou, *op.cit.*, p. 153, 155, fig. 3. F. Koukoules, Συμβολή εις τό περί τοῦ γάμου παρά τοῖς Βυζαντινοῖς κεφάλαιον, ΕΕΒΣ 2 (1925), p. 27-28.

49. A. K. Orlandos, Μνημεῖα τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡπείρου. Ἡ Κόκκινη Ἐκκλησιὰ (Παναγία Βελλᾶς), *Ἡπειρωτικόν* 2 (1927), p. 162-163. Korre-Zografou, *op.cit.* (note 47), p. 13, fig. 12 and p. 154.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 66f. For the church of Taxiarchis Mitropoleos in Kastoria: Pelekanidis-Chatzidakis, *op.cit.* (note 46), p. 92f.

51. Korre-Zografou, *op.cit.*, p. 89f.

52. P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami, I: Historical Introduction and Description of the Mosaics and Frescoes*, New York 1966, p. 273 and 279; III, *The Frescoes*, figs 535, 538. G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mystra*, Paris 1910, pls 111.4 and 102.2. See also Rodoniki Etzeoglou, Quelques remarques sur les portraits figurés dans les églises de Mistra, *JÖB* 32 II/5 (1982), p. 513f., figs 13, 17. The scarf of the lady in the Hodegetria is here described as "un turban, une mitra", *op.cit.* p. 516.

53. Katerina M. Mylopotamitaki, Η βυζαντινή γυναικεία φορεσιά στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη, *Κρητικὸν Δ' 1* (1987), p. 117-118, figs 49, 51, 52a-b.

54. Beckby, *op.cit.* (note 3), I, p. 176, 180; II, p. 150, 199. F. Koukoules, Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τά λαογραφικά, I, Athens 1950, p. 128.

55. According to this decree the emperor prohibited the purchase of clothing which was imported from other countries; see F. Koukoules, Συμβολή εις τὴν κρητικὴν λαογραφίαν ἐπὶ Βενετοκρατίας, *ΕΕΚΣ* 3 (1940), p. 39.

#### INDICATION OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1: W. C. Volbach - M. Hirmer, *Frühchristliche Kunst*, München 1958.

Figs 2, 3, 4: K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality*, New York 1979.

Fig. 5: A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, Paris 1928.

Figs 6, 7: J. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1452*, Leiden 1981.

Fig. 8: Institute of Art History of the National Technical University of Athens.

Fig. 9: S. Pelekanidis - M. Chatzidakis, *Καστοριά*, Athens 1984.

Figs 10-11: Sophia Kalopissi.

Fig. 12: P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, New York 1966.

Fig. 13, a-g: Drawings by the painter Eleni Michailou.