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CROWN AND RESTORATION: A PROJECTION OF THE PAST IN THE DESIGN OF THE BULGARIAN HERALDIC CROWN

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Introduction

In the modern history of Bulgaria, three historical events which were revolutionary in nature can be identified, each of which resulted in fundamental social, political, economic and ideological reforms. Each of these transformations was reflected in the national heraldry. The first event was the restoration of the Bulgarian state in 1878, following a movement for secular education, for an independent national church, and for political emancipation. This culminated in the declaration of independence and the proclamation of the Kingdom of Bulgaria on September 22, 1908.

The second event was as a consequence of the Soviet occupation of 1944–1947 and the related coup d'état of 9 September 1944, which the communists called “the 9 September Socialist Revolution.” This led to the abolition of the monarchy in 1946, the destruction of the multi-party system, the nationalisation of industry in 1948, and ultimately to the establishment of a totalitarian regime, incorporating the country into the Soviet bloc as the ‘People’s Republic of Bulgaria.’

The third event was the transition from a totalitarian state to a democracy, which began with the collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989, leading to the gradual reduction of Kremlin influence, the establishment of a democratic political system, a market economy, and eventually – joining the Euro-Atlantic organisations (N.A.T.O. in 2004 and the European Union in 2007). With the restoration of the Bulgarian state the former Soviet-style emblem was abandoned. The resurrection of the old Bulgarian heraldic crown was debated for almost seven years, and during this time Bulgaria effectively had no coat of arms. The aim of the present study is to analyse the arguments that emerged during this time of debate. It was a time when some feared the restoration of the monarchy, while others were apprehensive of a possible return to totalitarianism.

Historical Background

The Crown and the Bulgarian National Revival.

During the struggle for national liberation in the nineteenth century, Bulgarian revolutionary organisations used various lion charges on flags, cockades and seals. It is believed that they were influenced by two main sources. The first one was the attributed coat of arms of Bulgaria in Zhefarovich’s *Stemmatographia* (1741), which was reproduced in several issues during the Revival period (**Figure 1**).¹

The second was inspired by the first, and published in Hristaki Pavlovich’s *Tsarstvenik* (1844) (**Figure 2**).² Both claimed to depict the arms of the Bulgarian Empire before its conquest by the Ottomans. Through the adoption of such symbolism the idea of the restoration of the mediaeval Bulgarian kingdom was incorporated into revolutionary ideology.

Even those revolutionaries who imagined the future state as a democratic republic did not give up the crowned lion. The question of the crown as an attribute of the



ЗНАМЕНІЕ

На Болгарскихъ Хоругвахъ.



Top: *Figure 1*: Arms attributed to Bulgaria, 1741 from Hristofor Zhefarovich, *Stematography* (1741), f. 5v. Bottom: *Figure 2*: “The Arms on Bulgarian Banners”, from Hristaki Pavlovich, *Tsarstvenka, or Bulgarian History* (Buda, 1844), p. 77.

Bulgarian lion was likely raised for the first time during the making of a seal for one of the revolutionary organisations. Vasil Levski, one of the leaders of the national liberation movement of the late 1860s and early 1870s, despite being a passionate republican,³ ordered the seal of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee to have as its principal charge “a crowned lion, and out of his mouth ‘Death or Republic’, surrounded with the legend *Provisional Bulgarian Government of Bulgaria*” (letter dated February 5, 1871).⁴ The seal produced differed from the one ordered: the lion was without a crown, the motto was missing, and the inscription read “I div. of BRCC⁵ – Interim Government in Bulgaria”. In a feedback letter dated July 6, the revolutionary expressed his opinion about the design of the seal – “The seal is good overall, only the lion does not have a crown, why is it so? If that was a mistake, another one must be ordered.”⁶ Whether the authors of the design abandoned the crown because of republican views can only be speculated. This correspondence was subsequently cited by those who supported the use of the crown on the Bulgarian coat of arms in the 1990s, as proof that the crown was a symbol of independence, and not of monarchy; after all, the most prominent republican among the Bulgarian revolutionaries had asked for a crowned lion.⁷

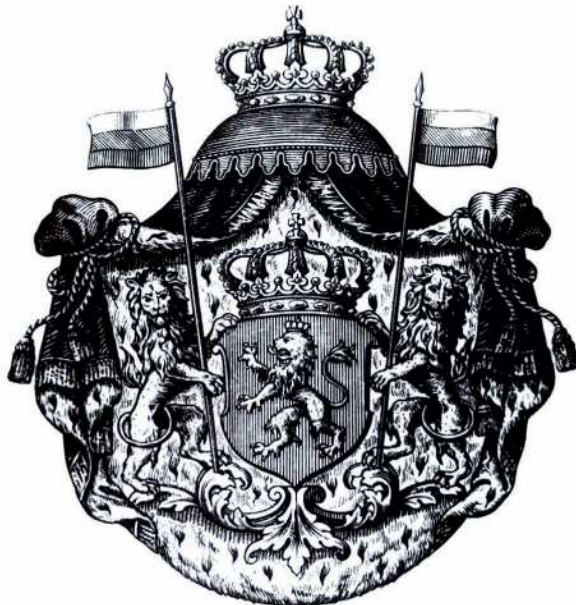
Restoration of the Bulgarian state in 1878

After the restoration of Bulgarian statehood as a principality which was nominally a dependency of the Ottoman Empire, but in practice under the dependency of the Russian Empire, a commission was created in St. Petersburg to draft a constitution. This commission followed the tradition already established in Bulgarian revival society and used the *Stemmatographia* coat of arms. In the first version, the constitutional description of the arms was *A golden lion on a dark red shield; on the lion's head and above the shield a princely crown*. In Article 21 of the constitution of April 16, 1879, which related to the coat of arms, the word ‘shield’ was replaced by ‘field’ – “a golden crowned lion on a dark red field. Above the field a princely crown.”⁸ The constitution had the Bulgarian arms overlaid on its cover (**Figure 3**), the design of which was not standardised by a separate law. As a consequence the arms such as were used on banknotes and coins at times differed significantly in their peripheral elements.⁹ State and princely/royal arms functioned in parallel, and the differences in characteristics and uses were not taken into account by the Bulgarian public.¹⁰

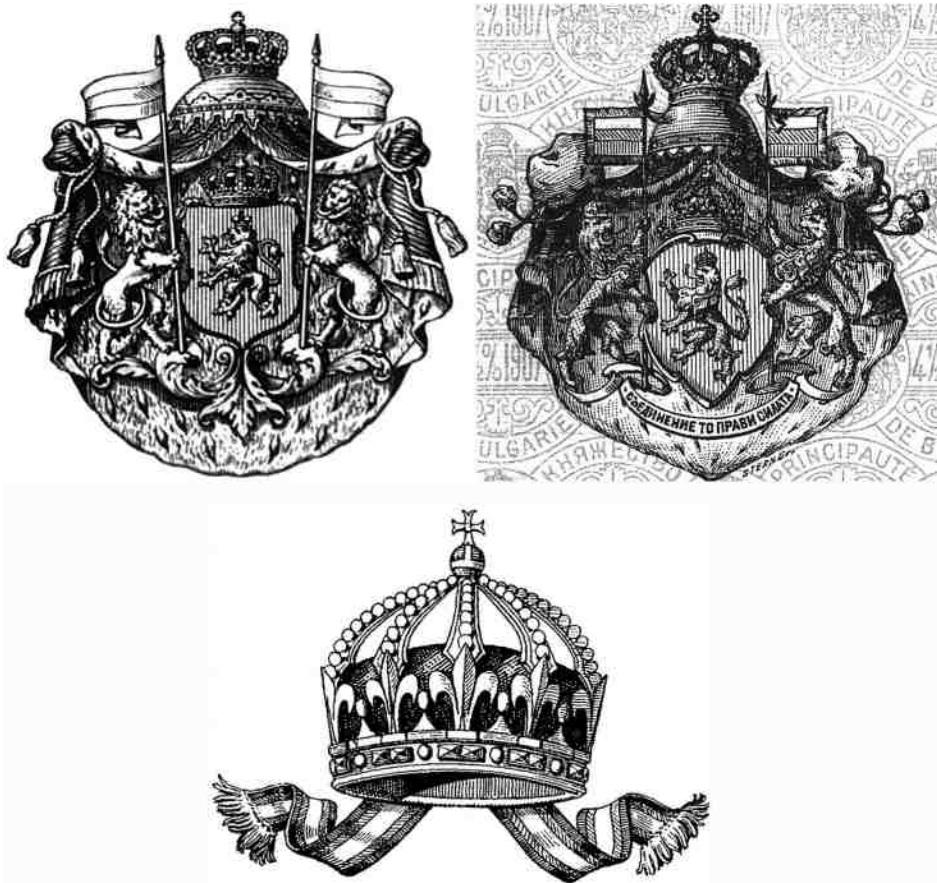
The Crown of the Principality and of the Kingdom

Ivan Voinikov, a researcher of the history of Bulgarian symbols, has defined several types of crown: *princely crown type I* (1881) – without cap (**Figure 4**); *princely crown type II* (1885) – with cap (**Figure 5**), and *royal crown*, first used in 1891 as a crown above the shield, while above the mantle is his *princely crown type II* (**Figure 6**).¹¹ There are no characteristics by which one crown can be defined as ‘princely’ and another as ‘royal’. According to Voinikov, the designer of the *royal crown* was probably the *Hofmarschall* of the Court, count Amédée de Foras, who used the French crown as a prototype, reflecting Prince Ferdinand’s particular pride in his Orléans and Bourbon ancestry.¹² Other sources report that the royal crown was designed by the Austrian heraldist Friedrich Heyer von Rosenfeld, designer of the orders *For Bravery* and *St. Alexander*.¹³ Prior to the declaration of independence the particular type of crown used has been termed as the *Bulgarian royal heraldic crown* (**Figure 7**).¹⁴

THE BULGARIAN HERALDIC CROWN



Top: *Figure 3*: The first arms of the Principality of Bulgaria from the cover of the Tarnovo Constitution, 1879. Bottom: *Figure 4*: The State Arms, 1881–1927, type I. Both figures, source: *The Bulgarian Coats-of-Arms*. Calendar, 2002.



Top left: *Figure 5*: The State Arms, 1885–1927, type II from *The Bulgarian Coats-of-Arms Calendar*, 2002. Top right: *Figure 6*: The State Arms, c. 1907 – c. 1915 from Ivan Voinikov, *History of the Bulgarian state symbols* (Veliko Tarnovo, 2017).
Bottom: *Figure 7*: The Bulgarian Heraldic Crown from Ströhl's *Heraldischer Atlas* (Stuttgart, 1899), Tafel XV., Fig. 40.

Following the declaration of independence in 1908 the country was proclaimed a Tsardom/Kingdom, and in an amended constitution the word ‘princely’ was replaced with ‘royal’.¹⁵ On this basis it can be concluded that the Bulgarian heraldic crown is not royal by design, but by definition. To complicate matters further, between 1915 and 1920 the royal arms, designed by Joseph Emmanuel van Driesten, were also used as state arms (**Figure 8**).¹⁶

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Figure 8: The Bulgarian royal arms used as state arms, 1915–1920 from *The Bulgarian Coats-of-Arms Calendar*, 2002. Bottom: Figure 9: Tsar John Alexander, 1355/6, from *The Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander*, British Library, Add. MS 39627, f. 3r, ©British Library.

Harmonisation of the royal and state arms

The official use of two separate coats of arms led to a decision to “establish an obligatory coat of arms for all institutions and state papers” in 1923.¹⁷ Among other specifications, the appointed commission recommended that the crown be spherical, analogous to the crowns from mediaeval images of Bulgarian emperors (**Figure 9**). Haralampi Tachev proposed a design fulfilling these requirements, but the project of Stefan Badzhov was approved instead – one following the general design of Joseph Emmanuel van Driesten from 1911 (**Figure 10**).¹⁸ The use of the past in the discourse of Bulgarian symbols resulted in the idea of a symbolic restoration of the mediaeval state once more. After about 70 years, the reference to the ‘mediaeval Bulgarian crown’ would resurface once more.

Soviet occupation and the Soviet-style state emblem

The next revolutionary change occurred towards the end of World War II, when the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria (September 5, 1944), and four days later occupied the country, installing a government dominated by communists and Soviet agents. Under the conditions of foreign military occupation, which lasted until the end of 1947, a referendum was held, following which, on September 15, 1946, the monarchy was abolished, and the country was declared a *people's republic*. The crown was removed from the state coat of arms, as well as the crowns from the lions' heads (**Figure 11**). The reformation of the country based on the Soviet model was legalised by the Constitution of December 4, 1947, which replaced the coat of arms with a Soviet emblem.¹⁹ In the wake of this transformation, images and signs (especially images of the crown) in public spaces (for example on the facades of buildings), which served as reminders of the old regime, were removed in a *damnatio memoriae*-like process (**Figure 12**).

In Search of New Arms

Bulgaria welcomed the collapse of the Soviet system. An intra-party coup deposed the dictator Todor Zhivkov on November 10, 1989, and in the summer of 1990 a Great National Assembly was convened, tasked with drafting a new constitution. A committee on state symbols was established within the parliament, before which a redesign of the coat of arms from 1927 was presented.²⁰ Thus, the question of restoring the coat of arms from the pre-totalitarian period was raised. This was the beginning of the conflict in the field of symbols between, on the one hand, the political supporters of the former regime, together with others from the left of the political divide, and, on the other hand, those fighting to end the Soviet legacy. In March 1991, the representatives of the socialists (the former communists who ruled the country), together with the agrarian party and the social democrats, declared their opposition to the crown in the parliamentary committee. They were opposed by the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).²¹ On July 2, 1991 the national assembly held a vote on the proposal that: “The coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria shall be a rampant golden lion on a dark red field in the form of a shield.”²²

This left open the question of the crown. A national competition was held from April 24 to September 25, 1992 under the aegis of the government of the Union of Democratic Forces for the artistic rendering of the state coat of arms. The chairman of the competition

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Top: *Figure 10*: The Bulgarian Arms, 1927–1946 from *The Bulgarian Coats-of-Arms Calendar*, 2002. Bottom: *Figure 11*: The Bulgarian Arms, 1946–1947 © Bulgarian Heraldry and Vexillology Society.

commission was Hristo Dermendzhiev, who was recognised as a heraldic expert at the time, and he imposed heraldic criteria in the evaluation of the proposals.²³

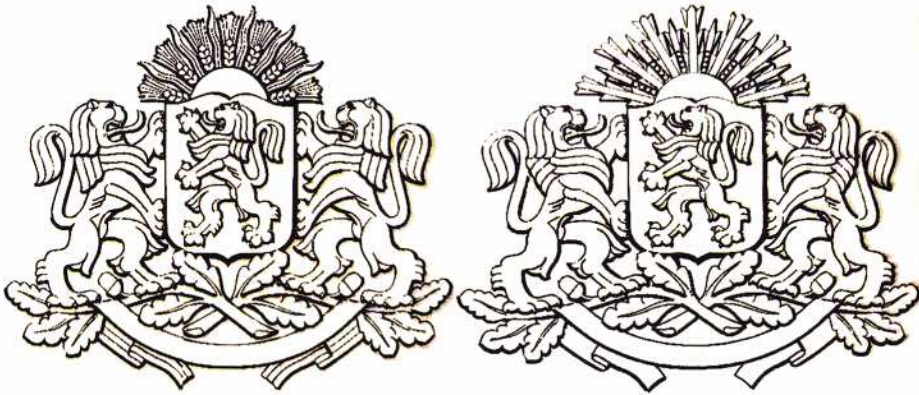
Proposals for the state blazon

Out of the forty proposals presented, the winning one was by Georgi Chapkanov and Kiril Gogov. The proposal of Kuncho Avramov and his son Emil Avramov came second, while a submission from Bogomil Nikolov and Ekaterina Dimitrova attained third place. As noted by Ivan Voynikov, the proposals were ranked according to their proximity to the 1927 coat of arms, which unequivocally demonstrates Dermendzhiev's preference for restoring the former arms.²⁴ However, the government resigned before the winning proposal was submitted for a vote by the parliament. The new government "did not like crowns" and requested the winners of the competition to revise their proposals.²⁵ As a result, the authors substituted a sun in splendour with ears of wheat added between the rays (**Figure 13**), which the ministers liked, but the parliamentary committee on culture rejected as it had not gone through the competition procedure.²⁶ The next government was that of the socialists (former communists), and disregarding the results of the competition, in 1995 it assigned the runners-up to prepare a new proposal in keeping with the constitutional description.²⁷ The Avramovs produced a blazon which followed the constitutional text literally; that is, presenting a coat of arms without a crown (**Figure 14**). On February 23, 1995, the government approved the design.²⁸

Subsequent to this 74 deputies submitted a request for an interpretative decision of the Constitutional Court on the question "Is the cited text (§ 164) violated if, in addition to the main elements outlined for the coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria, the image also contains additional ones?" Here, under 'additional' elements, the presence of the crown is assumed. The court decided that there was no obstacle for the state coat of arms to have a crown, because the absence or presence of a crown on the coat of arms did not mean the approval of the form of the government.²⁹ Parliamentary proceedings followed, hand-to-hand combat ensued in Parliament, and disputes flared up on the pages of newspapers, accompanied by all sorts of new proposals for the coat of arms, with caricatures of the opposing proposals and opinions.³⁰ The Union of Bulgarian Artists issued a statement against Avramov's proposal, declaring it devoid of symbolism.³¹ The president (from the UDF) imposed a veto, which was almost overcome by the parliament. A severe crisis during the winter of 1996–1997 then led to protests and the overthrow of the socialist government.³²

On July 1, 1997, the new president Petar Stoyanov (also from UDF) convened an advisory council regarding the coat of arms. Two options were being discussed: restoration of the 1927 coat of arms, or acceptance of Gogov–Chapkanov's redesign. Historians insisted on following tradition, while the artists wanted a redesign, for easier perception and reproduction.³³ Opposition to the crown among politicians and society remained strong, so the president suggested using the crown of Tsar John Alexander (1331 – 1371) as a compromise. Gogov and Chapkanov did not implement this suggestion, but replaced the fleurs-de-lis with crosses, which were supposedly 'Bogomilian' (**Figure 15**).³⁴ Finally, on July 24 and 25, 1997, the Culture and Media Committee of the Parliament examined the *Bill for the State Arms of the Republic of Bulgaria*. Four proposals were submitted for discussion:

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Top: *Figure 12*: Coat of arms on the facade of the old post office in Veliko Tarnovo (1930s) with the crown removed. Photograph courtesy of Simeon Zhelev, 2022.

Bottom: *Figure 13*: Gogov-Chapkanov's proposal from 1995, illustrated in Borislav Nikolov and Maria Cherneva, *Coat of Arms Sofia: "Gergeovden" Movement*, 2000, p. 34.

1. The coat of arms of 1927.
2. Gogov-Chapkanov's first proposal (the redesign of the 1927 arms).
3. Gogov-Chapkanov's proposal with the 'Bogomil crosses'.
4. The constitutional description of the arms, presented without depiction.³⁵

On July 25, at the first reading, the last option was dropped, and it was proposed to prepare a general bill based on the three remaining suggestions.

On July 31, 1997, the 'Law for the Coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria' was adopted: whereas *Art. 2. (1)* says: *The Coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria shall be a rampant golden crowned lion on dark red field in the form of a shield. Above the shield a large crown based on the crowns of Bulgarian kings of the Second Bulgarian state, with five crosses and another cross over the crown. The shield supported by two golden crowned rampant lions, turned towards the shield from the right and left heraldic side (sic!). They stand upon two crossed oak branches with fruits. Below the shield on a white scroll resting upon the oak branches, the golden letters "Unity renders power".*³⁶ Later, in an

interview, Chapkanov would state that the crosses were the compromise which united the political spectrum, and that this decision was ridiculous, but in the name of “ending this agony” it was accepted by “everyone”.³⁷

Arguments and examples for and against crowns

A media circus formed the backdrop to all this socio-political angst, with comments which were at times scandalous, at other times comical. There were displays of both ignorance and arrogance which might form the suitable subject of another study with a more anthropological focus. Here I will comment only on the most important arguments and how they impacted on the heraldic expertise. The proponents of different options preferred the exchange emotional and provocative statements to heraldic argument. Despite this there was a feeling that some heraldic knowledge had to be demonstrated. For example, the word ‘heraldic’ is present in the text of the said law, but the context in which it occurs is entirely meaningless, and the very inclusion of the word seems to be done to claim knowledge of some technical terminology from the language of the blazon.

Some of the essential arguments appear to be pseudoscientific. The most important ones drawn from the media and political discourse can be arranged as follows:

Against the crown:

- The crown is not mentioned in the constitutional description of the arms.³⁸
- The crown is a symbol of monarchy.³⁹
- Republican arms are not crowned.⁴⁰

For the crown:

- The constitutional description could not prescribe every element of the arms.⁴¹
- The crown is a symbol of independence and sovereignty.⁴²
- The other countries from the former Soviet bloc restored the crowns on their arms.⁴³

Strictly speaking, in classical heraldry, to some extent, the crown is implied and therefore omitted from the blazon, but this argument was not used by the advocates of the crown, nor by the judges of the Constitutional Court, and arguments were sought in the descriptive powers of language and the impossibility of matching text to image. In the first pair of arguments, neither side uses a valid heraldic argument. However, it can be said that the supporters of the crown do have heraldry on their side, and not only linguistics.

As for the second pair of arguments, it can be noted that both statements have some validity, but the argument of the opponents of the crown is here on firmer ground. What then of the third pair of arguments? Certain so-called aristocratic republics have crowns on their arms, for instance San Marino; while in the modern age during revolutionary changes from a monarchical to republican forms of government, solutions with a *couronne civique* (or in several cases the *mural crown*) can be pointed out. Examples include the two Spanish republics, some of the German lands⁴⁴, and the coat of arms of Malta. Although I followed these debates with great interest, I did not detect, and subsequently did not find in the public space, anyone taking advantage of these counterexamples, which would discredit the thesis of the opponents of the crown. Moreover, the defenders of the crown gave the alleged restoration of the crowns in the arms of Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Russia as examples⁴⁵, but with the exception of Hungary, in none of the other cases is there a crown on the arms, only crowned charges. None of the opponents of the crown used as a counter-argument this difference between the crown

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Top: *Figure 14*: Avramovs' proposal from 1995, Wikimedia Commons. Bottom: *Figure 15*: The approved proposal of 1997 from *The Bulgarian Coats-of-Arms*. Calendar, 2002.

as a crown and the crown as an attribute of the charges. The case of Hungary can be defined as an exception, because, according to the *Holy Crown doctrine*, all Hungarians are considered to be ‘members’ of the *Crown of St. Stephen*, which is a fundamental source of national sovereignty and identity, and a subject of state power.⁴⁶ Neither was this fact used by the opponents of the crown. Supporters of the crown in this situation very skilfully used the comparison with other post-socialist countries, which is supposed to be a good example for Bulgarian society. An analogy was drawn with the *Peugeot* emblem: without a crown, the coat of arms was said to be like the emblem of a company, rather than a country. Such a statement has no heraldic value, but it was one of the most repeated and persistent references against which, in a similar style, the opponents of the crown compared the coat of arms of 1927 (and the proposal of Gogov-Chapkanov) with the cigarette emblems of *Rothmans*, *Marlboro*, etc.⁴⁷

Essentially, the disputes between opponents and supporters of the crown on the Bulgarian coat of arms were not based on heraldic arguments, but on political views. The former communists, and some political parties from the left wing, perceived a threat in the fact that a restoration of the arms of the Kingdom of Bulgaria, or the adoption of a coat of arms with a crown similar to the royal heraldic crown, might lead to the restoration of the monarchy. For their part, supporters of the crown rather insisted on breaking with the totalitarian regime and Russian influence in the country by symbolically emphasising Bulgarian sovereignty and independence with a reference to the Kingdom of Bulgaria.

The new Bulgarian heraldic crown

What ultimately united the two opposing sides was the ephemeral connection with mediaeval Bulgaria, supposedly represented by the imperial crown of John Alexander, and the crosses purporting to be Bogomil. While advocates of the crown wished to distance themselves from the totalitarian past, its opponents preferred to maintain their connection with it, but with regard to the distant past there was no opposition. The definition of the “Bogomil” crosses can be explored as a lure to both sides. During the period of socialism, Bogomilism was praised as an anti-feudal reformist social movement. On the other hand, crosses can be seen representing religion, and therefore as anti-communist.

Conclusion

In modern Bulgarian history, the state coat of arms and the attitude towards the crown in particular is a powerful reminder of revolutionary changes in the socio-political, economic and ideological foundations of society. In the debates about the crown on the coat of arms of Bulgaria, heraldic arguments did not take priority, although some of the arguments used have been presented in heraldic form. Deep divisions in society manifested themselves in a failure to decide the question of the state arms over a six years period, until a compromise was reached by avoiding the recent past and referring to the distant past of the Middle Ages; however, the iconography of the crown itself has no prototypes in this past, regardless of what is stated in the law. The restoration of the state arms was really only a pseudo-restoration, but the Bulgarian example did set a kind of precedent. In 2004, two more republics adopted arms with crowns: Serbia restored its historical arms, and Georgia adopted a coat of arms with the Georgian heraldic crown.

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- ¹ Христофор Жефарович, *Стематогрaфия* (факсим. издание на книга от 1741 г.). София, 1986, fol. 5v. For the depictions of the arms from the *Stemmatographia* in different issues, see Христо Дерменджиев, ‘Гербовеите от “Стематогрaфията” на Христофор Жефарович в късните преписи на Паисиевата “История славяноболгарская”’, *Векове*, I (1972), 1, 20–29; Христо Дерменджиев, ‘Художественото наследство на Христофор Жефарович и неговото значение за Българското национално възраждане’, *Векове*, VIII (1979), 5, 48–56; Иван Войников, *История на българските държавни символи*. Велико Търново: Абагар, 2017, pp. 187–189.
- ² Христаки Павлович, *Царственъкъ или история болгарская*. Будимъ, 1844, p. 77.
- ³ ‘Levski’ is a pseudonym and means *lionlike*, *lionish*, *lion s*. For his biography and ideology, see Захари Стояновъ, Василь Левски (Дяконътъ). Черти изъ живота му. Пловдивъ, 1883, Критично издание под редакцията на Стефанъ Каракоствоъ, (София, 1943).
- ⁴ Васил Левски, *Народе???* Писма. Личен бележник. По повод 165 год. от рождението на Васил Левски. (София, 2002), p. 43.
- ⁵ E.g. ‘First division of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee’.
- ⁶ Васил Левски., *op. cit.*, p. 105.
- ⁷ Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, *Гербът*. София: Движение „Гергьовден“, 2000, pp. 20–21; Севда Диновска, ‘Народното събрание заприлича на джунгла от толкова много лъвове’, *Труд*, 13.11.1995.
- ⁸ Иван Войников, *op. cit.*, pp. 191–192.
- ⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 195.
- ¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 196–199.
- ¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 193–196.
- ¹² *Ibidem*, p. 196.
- ¹³ Sf. Peter Stoyanovich, *Zar Ferdinand I. (geb. Prinz von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha). Seine Herkunft, Bildung, Motivation und der Aufbau des modernen Bulgarien. 1861–1887 – 1912*. (Münster, 2021), S. 331, Fußnote 141.
- ¹⁴ Hugo Gerard Ströhl, *Heraldischer Atlas. Eine Sammlung von heraldischen Musterblättern für Künstler, Gewerbetreibende, sowie für Freunde der Wappenkunde* (Stuttgart, 1899), Tafel XV., Fig. 40.
- ¹⁵ “Art. 21. The arms of the Bulgarian State consist of a crowned lion of gold on a dark red field. The shield is surmounted by the royal crown.”, Herbert F. Wright (ed.), “Bulgaria”, *The Constitutions of the States at War 1914–1918*. (Washington, D.C., 1919), p. 90.
- ¹⁶ Иван Войников, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–199
- ¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 199.
- ¹⁸ Милена Георгиева, ‘За авторството на държавния ни герб през 20-те и 30-те години на ХХ в. Историята на един нереализиран проект от Харалампи Тачев’, *Art in Bulgaria*, 2002, pp. 54–61.
- ¹⁹ Държавен вестник, № 284/6.12.1947; Конституция на Народна република България от 6.12.1947 г., <https://www.parliament.bg/bg/18>.
- ²⁰ Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- ²¹ *Ibidem*.
- ²² The official translation is as follows: “The coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria shall depict a gold lion rampant on a dark gules shield”. *Constitution*, Prom. SG 56/13 Jul 1991, Amend. SG 85/26 Sep 2003, SG 18/25 Feb 2005, SG 27/31 Mar 2006, SG 78/26 Sep 2006 – Constitutional Court Judgment NO. 7/2006, SG 12/6 Feb 2007, SG 100/18 Dec 2015, (Art. 164.) <https://www.parliament.bg/en/const>.
- ²³ Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- ²⁴ Иван Войников, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
- ²⁵ Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–34, 92–97.
- ²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 34.
- ²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 35.
- ²⁸ Иван Войников, *op. cit.*, p. 225.
- ²⁹ Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
- ³⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 37–39, 92–93 96–97.
- ³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 37.
- ³² *Ibidem*, p. 39.
- ³³ *Ibidem*, p. 40.
- ³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 41.
- ³⁵ Иван Войников, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
- ³⁶ Coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria (Law for the Coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria, Prom. SG. 62 4.08.1997), <https://www.parliament.bg/en/20>. In the confirmed blazon the motto is written in black.
- ³⁷ Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
- ³⁸ ‘Лъв без корона ше краси герба’, *Стандарт*, №881/24.02.1995; Весела Донева, ‘Опозицията поиска референдум за герба’, *Дума*, VI, №277/24.11.1995; Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 38.

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³⁹ Иво Атанасов, 'Мадарският конник промушва царя на животните', *24 часа*, 17.03.1995.

⁴⁰ Ивайло Манев, 'Гербът да не бъде приеман на парче', *Труд*, 1.07.1997.

⁴¹ Христо Дерменджиев, 'Гербът „Виденов“ е символ на национален нихилизъм', *24 часа*, 9.03.1995.

⁴² Христо Дерменджиев, 'Гербът „Виденов“', *op. cit.*; Димитър Иванов, 'Короната е символ на независимостта ни', *24 часа*, 17.03.1995.

⁴³ Христо Дерменджиев, 'Гербът „Виденов“', *op. cit.*; 'Повече проекти за гербове, отколкото правителства се смениха след Десети', *Труд*, 24.02.1995; Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴⁴ Otfried Neubecker, *Le grand livre de l'héraldique. L'histoire, l'art, et la science du blazon* (Paris, 1981), p. 245.

⁴⁵ 'Повече проекти', *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ Cf. László Péter, 'The Holy Crown of Hungary, Visible and Invisible'. *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 81, no. 3, 2003, pp. 421–510.

⁴⁷ Cf. 'Повече проекти', *op. cit.*; 'Съображения за лъва и герба', *24 часа*, 17.03.1995; Севда Диновска, *op. cit.*; Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–39, 97.