NOTES ON THE COSTUME OF WOMEN OF THE
COURT AND HIGHER CLASSES IN RUSSIA IN
THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES

by

EUGENIA TOLMACHOFF

THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA as a political state begins about the tenth century, but little or nothing is known about Russian costume of that time. Late in the century Prince Vladimir of Kiev, known as Vladimir the Saint, after conquering Khersonesus, the ancient Greek colony closely related to Byzantium, married a Byzantine princess and, adopting the Christian religion, introduced that faith into Russia. From Byzantium Prince Vladimir brought priests, monks, church vessels and, also representative of this new religion, icons, or religious paintings which in Byzantium constituted the prevailing form of the painters' art. It is from these icons, and later the illuminated manuscripts developed in a Christian religion civilization under Byzantine influence, that the first knowledge is gained of early Russian costume (Plate II).

During the period of the first Russian princes, the Byzantine emperors, upon numerous occasions, sent to these various rulers valuable gifts, generally rich garments, often their own imperial robes. It was a type of presentation that was customary at the time and one that continued into the Moscow period. In this way the apparel of Russian princes and their courts was affected, differentiating it inevitably from that of the ordinary Russian.

There is no doubt that Byzantium had great influence on the dress of women of the wealthy classes. Ladies of high rank, especially, were eager to adopt this new style of clothing and some of their dresses were even made of Byzantine materials. Once established, the style remained virtually unchanged; for formal wear it was preserved all through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, up to the time of Peter the Great who reigned

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1 From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries Russia consisted of a number of small principalities, each ruled by a prince under the leadership of the prince of Kiev.

2 So-called because in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries all the Russian principalities were finally united under the rule of the Moscow grand duke who was called Grand Duke of all Russia.
PLATE I

MARIA ILINISHNA, FIRST WIFE OF CZAR ALEXIS MIKHAILOVICH (1629-1676). SHE WEARS A TEOGRÉIA AND SHOULDER COLLAR OF FUR, AN UBRÚS (UNDER THE CROWN), AND A JEWELLED COLLAR AND CARRIES A SHRINKA.
PLATE II
FOURTEENTH-CENTURY EMBROIDERED PORTRAIT OF PRINCE VASILI OF MOSCOW AND HIS WIFE, PRINCESS SOPHIA, WORKED ON BLUE SATIN IN SILK, GOLD AND SILVER. THE PRINCESS WEARS A KIND OF SARAFÁN OF SILVER BROCADE WITH AN ALL-OVER GEOMETRIC DESIGN IN RED SILK FRAMED IN GOLD, AND A CLOAK.
from 1682 to 1725. Fashions at this time changed very slowly, and when they did at all, it was only a matter of ornamentation or some small detail. Basically the dress remained the same.

There are very few sources that give a clear idea of the costumes of old Russia. Most of them are descriptions by foreign travelers who visited Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Adam Olearius, mathematician and librarian of the Duke of Holstein, whose book *Travels in Moscovia*, published in 1647 in German, proved so popular that it was translated into several languages; Sigismond of Herberstein, Austrian ambassador during the rule of Vasili III, Prince of Moscow (ruled 1505-1533); Giles Fletcher, an English diplomat who went to Russia in 1588; Bernard Tanner, a German traveler attached as *gentilhomme interprète* to the Polish embassy and who lived in Moscow in 1588, and various Englishmen who visited Russia in the sixteenth century.

Their memoirs, often with good illustrations, and the reports of various embassies and trade missions contain a great deal of useful material. Foreign ambassadors, as well, staying in Russia, had the opportunity of seeing Russian women of the court and aristocratic circles upon state occasions, and of observing their luxurious and beautiful dresses. The splendor of Russian court costumes, indeed, was a matter of comment as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is true that foreign descriptions of Russian dress of that period are sometimes exaggerated and not always correct, but still they give a good amount of useful information. In addition, there are contemporary inventories appearing after the death of persons of note, and portraits, made in Europe, of Russian ambassadors of that period, though such portraits, naturally, provide information about men’s wear only.

Women’s clothes at this time consisted of a succession of long, loose garments. Indeed, of the outstanding characteristics of women’s clothes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries one was this simple, loose cut without any indication of a waist line; the other was the richness and variety of their decoration. This was true particularly in the case of costumes for important occasions such as weddings, religious services and receptions for ambassadors; embroidery on brocade, gold and silver lace, pearls, precious and semi-precious stones and buttons in great variety made of the same gold, silver and jewels that ornamented the dresses. These buttons were sometimes of great size, “large as an egg,” to quote one of the foreigners of the times.

A characteristic of these luxurious clothes was a noticeable — and cal-
culated — stiffness. Embroidery on brocade, itself of a rich and heavy quality, contributed to this effect and when to this was added the amount of jewels used, especially pearls,\(^8\) which were employed in profusion, the result was a dress so unyielding in line that it could stand alone.

All the materials used for these splendid costumes, velvets, patterned silks, satins and brocades, were imported.\(^1\) Silks, plain and figured, came from Italy, Turkey, Byzantium and China, beautiful soft velvets from Spain and figured velvets from Persia, often with Arabic characters for a pattern. In 1555 Ivan the Terrible (Ivan IV, 1530-1584) gave permission to English merchants to export goods free into Russia and this increased the entry into the country of fabrics from abroad.

The materials imported in the greatest number were of Greek, Persian and Chinese origin. Persian and Turkish figured velvets were used generally for men’s wear, while for women light, monotone Chinese silks were the favorites in red, blue, yellow, purple and crimson.

Costume occupied a prominent place in the life of old Russia. It can be seen, carefully delineated in contemporary icon paintings in which colors are given the most careful attention, in frescoes and in illuminated manuscripts. Moreover, Russian czars gave costly garments and splendid furs as a reward or a special mark of attention (Plate III). The resplendence of Russian costume no doubt was due to a great extent to the numerous workshops attached to the czar’s court and the households of Russian noblemen, and also to the fact that the women, cut off from any outside interests, had ample time to exercise their talents in needlework.

At home, because of their secluded existence, women wore simple clothing, though its decoration, executed with skill by its wearers, often gave it an air of luxury. The first of the garments worn in domestic environments was a shirt of white linen with short sleeves and reaching to the ground. It was finished at the top by a low, round neckline slightly gathered with a small opening at the front. Over this shirt was worn a second one, generally of colored silk embroidered or otherwise decorated. This outer shirt had long, narrow sleeves, cut much longer than the arm,

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\(^8\) Pearls, widely used for decoration in Russia, came from India and the island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf by way of the Sea of Azov, also through Feodosia, the ancient Kaffa, a seaport in the Crimea. They came also from Holland and western countries through the city of Novgorod. Some pearls were found in northern Russian rivers and the lakes of the Archangel, Novgorod, and Olonetz provinces.

\(^1\) Up to the seventeenth century Russia itself had no weaving industry of any consequence. The only materials made in Moscovite Russia were linen, wool, and cotton so that the demand for foreign fabrics in these two centuries was always great. In time factories to meet a wider demand were set up in Russia with the aid of foreign workmen. There were French silk weavers in Russia as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century at the time of Peter the Great.

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that could be pushed up over the arm in folds. Such sleeves were embroidered sometimes in gold and silver and ornamented with galoon or pearls. Over the shirt a belt was worn. This was the simplest type of indoor dress; it was never worn in public, but was entirely private in character, for to have displayed it outside the house, especially the belt, the symbol of chastity, would have constituted a grave offense.

Over this under-costume were worn various types of garments. One of them was the *sarañán* which was a straight garment, widening slightly toward the hem, made either of homespun linen or of silk or some similar fabric. This dress was sleeveless, made with a low neckline either round or square. It was decorated down the length of the front with gold braid or buttons (Plate IV). To this garment might be added for warmth a short, full jacket called a *dushegréia* made of silk or velvet with a straight front and a back with a set-in piece which fell a little below the waist in heavy folds (Plate V).

Or, instead of a *sarañán*, there was another long, loose garment, the *létnik*, reminiscent in style of the robes of the Byzantine princesses (Fig. 1). Worn both indoors and out, this was closed in the front and as a result, like many other clothes of the time, it had to be put on over the head. Its most noticeable feature was the size and shape of its sleeves which hung nearly to the ground. So wide were these sleeves at the lower edges that their breadth equaled half their length. They were finished with stiff, wide borders of either velvet or satin differing in color and material from the garment itself, and ornamented with embroidery, pearls and precious stones. To keep their shape they were stiffened on the reverse side with glue. Their decoration, which might be of the most elaborate character, showed to best advantage when the wearer held her hands folded in front of her, thus insuring an unbroken surface for the pattern. *Létniks* were made of cotton or silk and brocade.

Another type of *létnik*, noted by the English traveler Fletcher in his sojourn in the late sixteenth century in Russia, and very similar to its prototype, was the *opáshen* or *ohaben*, except that this garment opened down the front and had long, narrow sleeves that hung to the ground (Fig. 2). It was often made of wool decorated with stitching, but for the more formal type of garment, made of silk, satin or brocade, and lined with silk, gold or silver lace was used. It was fastened with buttons of gold or silver-gilt, red was its favorite color and a fur collar sometimes was attached so large that it fell to the waist. It is a type of garment that is said to have been worn as early as the fifteenth century.
PLATE III
BARON SIGISMOND OF HERBERSTEIN WEARING A ROBE PRESENTED TO HIM BY THE CZAR.
PLATE IV
YOUNG WOMAN WEARING A SARAFÁN.
PLATE V
WOMEN WEARING DUSHEGRÉIAS AND KIKAS.
FIG. 1
LÉTNÍK.

FIG. 2
OPÁŠEN.

FIG. 3
SHOUBA (SHOWING HEAD-DRESS AND UBRÚS).
FIG. 4
KAPTURS WORN BY LADIES IN ATTENDANCE UPON EUDOXA, WIFE OF THE FIRST
ROMANOV CZAR, MICHAEL FEODOROVICH (REIGNED 1613-1645).

FIG. 5
EUDOXA, WIFE OF CZAR MICHAEL FEODOROVICH, WEARING A
CROWN WITH A CROSS, A KIND OPÂŠHEN, BARMY AND HOLDING A SHIRINKA. SHE WAS THE MOTHER OF THE SECOND
ROMANOV CZAR, ALEXIS, BORN IN 1629.
Another outdoor garment, but which opened in front, was the telogréia, again with sleeves which hung to the ground, but with an opening at the top of the sleeve through which the arm might be passed. Often these sleeves were thrown back over the shoulder or they might, at other times, be crossed at the back. The collar, the front of the coat and the lower edges were ornamented with gold or silver lace. This telogréia was made of such heavy fabrics as wool, heavy satin or brocade and appears often in pictures of Russian women of the court and social classes (Plate VI).

Of almost the same appearance was the shouba, except that it had sleeves of wrist length without an opening at the top. This garment was an important item in the formal attire of Russian czarinas and princesses. Although basically an outdoor coat, there were times when it was worn indoors on such notable occasions as formal dinners and weddings.\(^5\) When used in such capacity it was open all the way down the front and fastened with a row of decorative buttons. Ordinarily it was made of wool materials of various colors but for formal occasions it was made of heavy silk or velvet without decorations except upon occasions of extreme formality when a short fur shoulder cape, or deep collar, coming only to the tops of the shoulders, was added to it (Fig 3 and Plate 1).

The last of these outdoor coats was the kortél, which was strictly a winter garment.\(^6\) Sometimes it was made of fur-lined taffeta or heavy silk; sometimes, on the other hand, it was made of fur alone. In that case the favorite furs were sable, ermine, marten and squirrel. Sometimes this coat was worn in reverse with the fur inside and the skin outside when, in such case, the skin was covered with silk and ornamented with pieces of different materials richly worked with silk and gold.

Foreigners who visited Moscow in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries noted the beauty of the Russian women but they were shocked by the manner in which they painted their faces. This was done to an exaggerated extent; women covered their faces, necks and sometimes even their hands with thick layers of white, and used an excessive amount of rouge on their cheeks and lips with black on their eyebrows and lashes.\(^7\)

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\(^5\) It was a custom during the wedding ceremonies at court for the bride and all the women taking part to wear a shouba and a yellow lénik; the day after the wedding these latter were changed for white léniks.

\(^6\) In its cut it was very much like the lénik.

\(^7\) According to Zabelin (Ivan Zabelin, *Home Life of the Russian Czarin was in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Moscow, 1865), this fashion was brought to Russia from Constantinople by Princess Olga (890-900), grandmother of Prince Vladimir of Kiev, who had gone to Constantinople in 957 to plead for autonomy of the future Russian church.
PLATE VI
THE CZARINA MARTHA AT THE DEATH BED OF HER HUSBAND, CZAR FEODOR III (1661-1682), WEARING A TELOGRÉIA AND SHOULDER COLLAR. STANDING NEXT IS PRINCESS SOPHIA, SISTER OF CZAR FEODOR, HER HAND ON THE SHOULDER OF HER HALF-BROTHER, PETER, LATER PETER THE GREAT.
Olearius, in his *Travels in Moscovia*, made note of the tendency of Russian women to paint heavily, but he lacked the knowledge of the principle that underlay this curious custom, the instinct of the Oriental to conceal woman's countenance from public gaze, effected elsewhere by the use of a veil. Thus, to the Russian, a thick coat of paint allayed in some measure this innate distrust of any scrutiny by outsiders.

This heavy makeup, however, was deemed necessary by contemporary fashion, so much so, that it was not considered proper to appear in public without it. Moreover, a box with all the implements necessary for such use was sent, among other gifts before the wedding, by the bridegroom to the bride.

With this white skin, red lips and black eyebrows, designed to emphasize the contemporary ideal of feminine beauty, women's head-dress and accessories were meant to harmonize. First there was a head covering, a small fitted cap of light silk or cotton, called a *povoinik*, which entirely hid the hair, as married women, by a strict rule, were not allowed to show what generally is regarded as an attractive feature. To the back of this cap was attached a piece made of the same material which entirely concealed the head and neck beneath. Over the cap was worn as a head band, a wide strip of white linen or red silk embroidered in silk or gold and silver and decorated with pearls. This head-dress, called an *ubrús*, was wound around the head, with its embroidered ends hanging down on either side of the face and fastened with jeweled pins made for the purpose (Plate I and Fig. 5). Sometimes this head-dress was replaced by another, a net cap made of silver, gold or silk thread, bordered with a taffeta or satin band, white or crimson, richly embroidered in silk and gold. Often there was a ruche attached to the cap, visible under the head-gear that surmounted it.

These decorative arrangements were viewed in the following fashion by the English traveler Fletcher who, it will be remembered, was in Russia in 1588. He says:

"The noble women wear on their head a kerchief or cap made of taffeta, usually red, and over it a band called *ubrús*, mostly white. Over the *ubrús* is worn a kind of hat made of golden brocade, trimmed with fur and decorated with pearls and semi-precious stones, but lately they stopped using pearls because lower classes (merchants' wives) started wearing pearl

*The Russian name *ubrús* means a towel. It was also used as icon cover, laid over the top of the icon hanging down at either end.
decorations. They all wear earrings, two inches long, made of gold, with rubies, saphires, and other precious stones. In summer they often wear a kind of cloak, or cape, of very fine linen, tied under the chin with two long strings with tassels. This cloak is covered all over with fine pearls. When going out or on horseback, they wear white hats with colored straps. Their necklaces are made of pearls and precious stones." (Plate VIII.)

Certain historical documents still preserved in Russia show women wearing over the ubrus the hats presumably referred to by Fletcher, and descriptions of such hats can be found in the inventories of the belongings of Russian czarinas. Hats of this kind had round crowns and brims about three-quarters of an inch wide. Covered on the outside with a preparation of white lead and glue to give them a lustrous finish, they were lined with brocade and satin and decorated with cords of colored silk or pearls or with ribbons embroidered in silk. When worn by women of high station they were decorated with pearls and jewels.

A distinctive type of head covering for married women was the kika (see Plate V) which at weddings was another of the groom’s gifts to the bride. It was a hat with a high front which varied greatly in shape and height, sometimes with vertical side pieces, and one which is seen constantly in representations of Russian married women. Kikas were adorned with some type of decorative trimming, or with the familiar pearls and jewels. Often they were finished with strings of pearls which hung on either side of the head and which usually were matched by a wide pearl necklace made of several strings of pearls with which were combined such stones as topazes and emeralds. At the back was the customary strip of velvet or fur, generally sable.

Russian czarinas had kikas of an elaborate and beautiful nature. One of them is described: “A kika of purple satin, embroidered in gold with plant motifs and decorated with rubies and saphires and strings of pearls. On the back, black velvet embroidered in gold.” According to Zabelin, the kika came from Byzantium where it was worn not only by princesses but also by emperors, as may be seen on Byzantine coins where strings of pearls are seen hanging down on either side of the face. This head-gear is said to have been worn also in the Greek colonies of the

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*When a Russian czarina or a lady of the court was riding in a carriage, her women attendants followed the carriage astride on horseback, wearing wide-brimmed felt hats.*
Cimmerian Bosphorus, and in 1864 a similar kika was found in the tomb of a prince \(^{10}\) during the excavations on the Taman peninsula.

Besides this head-dress with its pearls, there were also winter hats worn by all classes: the only difference was the material. The crowns were of different shapes; they might be rounded, cone-shaped or cylindrical, with fur brims which, in the case of married women, were wider in the back, to cover their hair.\(^{11}\) Occasionally these brims varied and were made of silk or brocade and decorated with gold embroidery and pearls. Unmarried women, too, wore these high fur hats, cylinder shaped, but without brims and slightly widening toward the top, very much like men's hats of the time.

And finally there was the winter hat called kaptur (Fig. 4) which perhaps was the simplest of all these various head coverings. This hat was worn only by married women and widows. It was a type made in a variety of furs including sable and beaver, straight and box-like, in the shape of a low cylinder with the usual three straight pieces of fur attached on the sides and back. As a variation it was occasionally made in heavy silk or brocade, fur-lined and fur-trimmed, and sometimes decorated with gold lace and pearls.

The korúna or crown is a head-dress that can be traced back to the era of the early Russian princesses and which, through some evolutions, became the crown of the Russian czars and emperors worn on occasions such as coronations, up to the twentieth century.

In the fifteenth century it was a stiff, straight band made of heavy ribbon embroidered with gold and pearls, in the center and narrowing toward the ends, held together usually with strings or with wide ribbons hanging down the back. This band, when it was covered with pearls, was called a venéțz or wreath. A variety of this circlet, made of openwork metal, either gold or silver, was the head-dress of unmarried girls who wore it with hair loose. It was a type of crown that existed even before the sixteenth century and was the indispensable head-dress not only of the young princesses from the time of their childhood, but also of the czars' brides.

The type of korúna worn in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the princesses and czarinas was of a more formal character. It was made of a scalloped gold or silver band to which were attached narrow strips, also silver or gold, joined at the top of the head with a finial, which might

\(^{10}\) Date unknown.

\(^{11}\) According to the custom of that period, the bride, the morning after her marriage, came out of her bedroom wearing this kind of hat.
PLATE VII
LADIES OF A RUSSIAN HOUSEHOLD BRINGING IN WINE TO A FEAST.
THE FIGURE ON THE RIGHT WEARS A LÉTNIK.
be an elaborate plaque, or a precious stone. The czarinas’ were ornamented with large sized pearls and jewels except for especial occasions when they were surmounted, like the czars’, by a gold cross (See Fig. 5). Some of these early crowns are still preserved in Russian museums.

While in old Russia custom forbade married women to show their hair, no such dictum operated in the case of unmarried girls. They could wear it loose like the young princesses with their silver wreaths, in curls, or in braids into which gold threads or strings of pearls could be twisted.

As for women’s footwear throughout these two centuries, it was very much like the men’s. They wore low shoes and high boots which reached half way to the knee, both very decorative. Both types were made of morocco leather, velvet or satin, often elaborately embroidered, especially the toes and heels, in silk and even pearls, and decorated as well with gold lace. Sometimes, again like the men’s, the toes were turned up like those of Turkish slippers. One change in fashion was the matter of heels. Women’s footwear in the sixteenth century was flat, but by the seventeenth there were heels, sometimes so high as to make walking an awkward matter.

As to stockings, they possessed a character all of their own. Knitted stockings were rarely used. For the most part stockings were made of silk or wool materials; winter stockings were fur-lined. Sometimes women wore over their shoes what was called a stocking but which was in reality a cover of morocco leather without any sole. Sometimes, in place of a shoe, women wore this same kind of foot covering, but made with a light sole, and used it in this form for indoor wear like bedroom slippers.

Unlike men, women seldom wore gloves; mittens were used a great deal more frequently. Even in czarinas’ inventories gloves are scarcely mentioned. While women of the lower classes wore in cold weather the same mittens as did the men, those of the higher ranks drew their hands inside their long, loose sleeves, or carried muffes. Very much in fashion were muffes narrow in shape, made of silk or brocade, lined with fur and decorated with embroidery, gold lace and even pearls.

Among the important accessories of women’s clothes was the *shirinka*, or handkerchief, such as is seen in women’s hands in so many pictures. (See Plates I, VI, Endpiece.) The *shirinka* was the size of man’s handkerchief or larger and made of some fine material, generally white taffeta; its purpose was purely ornamental. It was embroidered in a most elaborate fashion in silk and gold, the border often worked in pearls, sometimes finished with fringe with tassels at the corners. For a woman the *shirinka*
PLATE VIII
SUMMER CAPES OF FINE LINEN ORNAMENTED WITH PEARLS.
was necessary, not only as an accessory, but as a proof of the skill of the wearer in the art of needlework. Some of these embroidered squares are mentioned in the inventories of the czarinas: "A shirinka of fine Turkish muslin embroidered with plant motives in silk and gold and silver thread."

Another accessory was a kind of standing collar (sometimes termed a necklace) embroidered in pearls and jewels. It was not a part of the dress but was attached to it by buttons made for the purpose. When going out women of the court circle carried staves or maces with ornamental handles, and in summer light parasols. In warm weather round feather fans were used. For formal public appearances such as religious ceremonies, a kind of canopy was carried over the czarina by four court ladies who were in attendance. (Endpiece.)

In appearance the formal ceremonial attire of a czarina did not differ to any marked degree from that of a czar. Like all court robes that had a certain ritualistic purpose, the dress of the czarina preserved intact the cut and appearance of that of the Byzantine court, an inner garment with long, narrow sleeves finished by elaborately ornamented cuffs, and an outer robe very much like the opâšhen but with shorter and wider sleeves. The czarina wore also, on occasions of great state, a diadema or necklace made of pearls and precious stones. On her head was a crown richly ornamented with jewels surmounted generally by a large jewel, but on exceptional occasions with a cross.

A significant item of the czarina’s attire, as an unquestioned attribute of her rank, was the barmy (Fig. 5) which, with the crown and diadema, was invariably worn during formal ceremonies. This was a round collar covering the shoulders, made of brocade or heavy silk embroidered in silk and gold and decorated with pearls and precious stones. The barmy worn for religious ceremonies was embroidered with images of saints or applied with miniature icons of openwork metal. Besides czars and czarinas only high church dignitaries were entitled to wear this emblem. Many of these collars are still preserved in the Moscow Armory Museum.

A vivid picture of one of these early czarinas has been given by an English bishop who visited Moscow in 1588-1589 and who described the attire of the czarina, the wife of Czar Feodor (1557-1598) on the occasions of the reception of an ambassador:

"On her head the czarina wore a dazzling crown, very skilfully made of precious stones and pearls and consisting of twelve sections (in reminiscence of the twelve apostles). Her
crown was covered with carbuncles, diamonds, topazes, and large beautiful pearls, as well as large amethysts and sapphires. On each side of the face, attached to the crown, hung strings of precious stones, mostly emeralds, so large and perfect that this crown must really be priceless. The czarina’s garment, with long sleeves covering most of the hand, was made of a heavy silk fabric and decorated with very elaborate trimmings. It was embroidered along the hem with pearls and jewels of the finest quality, among them dazzling carbuncles. Over her dress the czarina wore a kind of mantle or cloak of very fine material, with long sleeves. Although very simple and unpretentious at first sight, this garment in fact was extremely beautiful and very costly since the entire surface was covered with sapphires, diamonds, and other precious stones in great number.”

ENDPIECE

CZARINA MARIA ILINISHNA, FIRST WIFE OF CZAR ALEXIS MIKHAILOVICH (1629-1676) WITH ATTENDANTS WEARING (CENTER AND RIGHT) TELOGRÉIAS AND (LEFT) LÉTNIKS, LEAVING WITH YOUNG CZAROVITCH FOR A RELIGIOUS CEREMONY.
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Note. Unless otherwise indicated, all the books and the articles listed above are published in Russian.