モスクワ大公國のシェイクスピア：引用と言及

OF THE RVSSE Common Wealth.

OR,

MANER OF GOuernement by the Ruſſe *Emperour, (commonly called the* Emperour of *Moskouia*) with *the manners, and faſhions of the people of that Countrey.*

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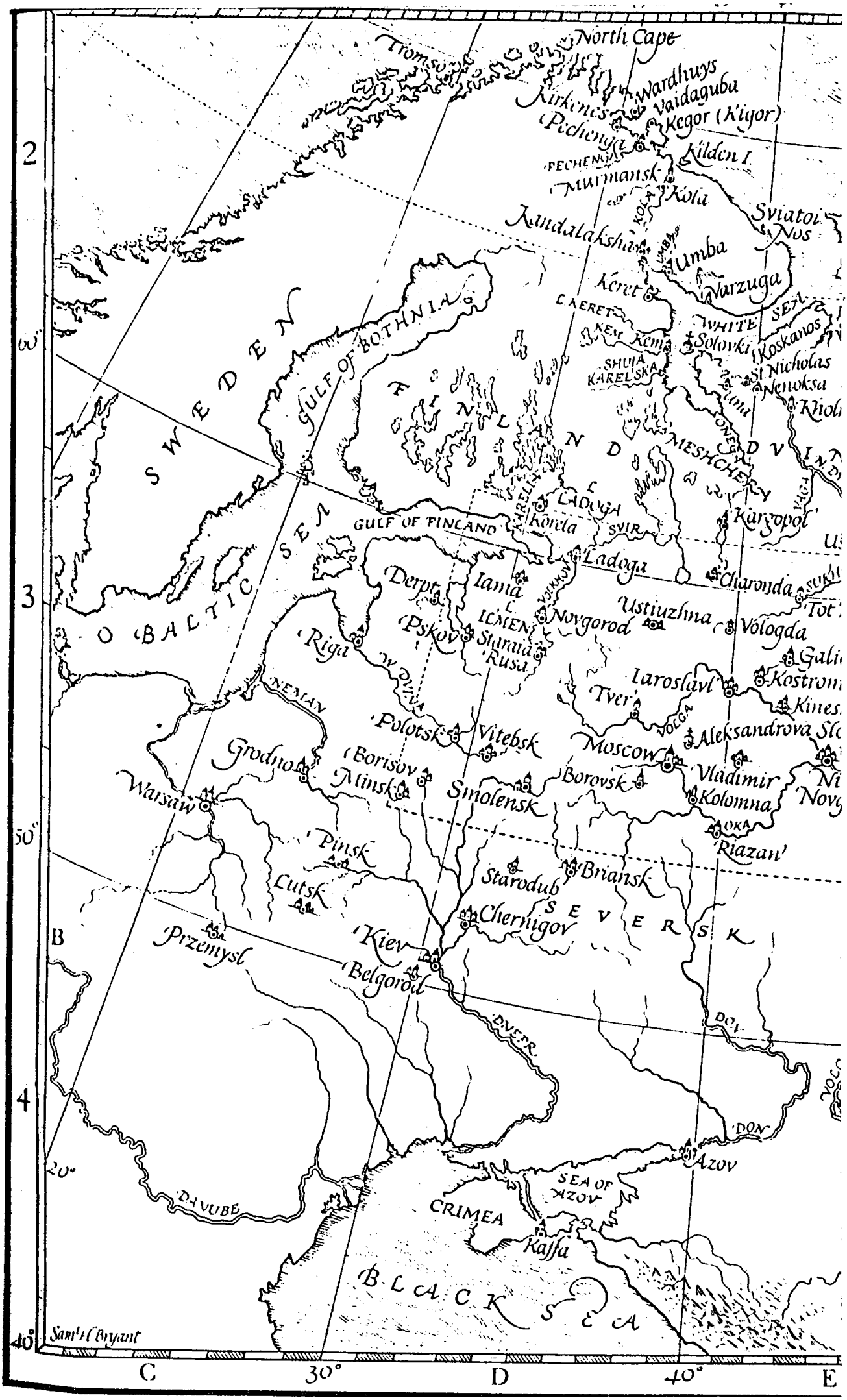
The Contents are noted in the Table, ſet downe before the beginning of the Booke.

AT LONDON
Printed by T. D. for *Thomas Charde.*
1591.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Tromsö
Kirkenes
Wardhuys
Vaidaguba
Kegor (Kigor)
Pechenga
Kildin I.
PECHENGA
Murmansk
Kola
KOLA
Sviatoi Nos
Kandalaksha
Umba
Varzuga
Kem
KEMI
KEMI
WHITE SEA
Solovki
Koskamos
St Nicholas
Nenoksa
Kholmogory
SHUJA KAREL'SKA
SWEDEN
GULF OF BOTHNIA
FINLAND
ONEGA
MESHCHERA
DVINA
LADOGA
GULF OF FINLAND
Korela
SVIR
Kargopol'
Ladoga
Chiaronda
Derpt
Iama
VOLKOV
ILMEN
Novgorod
Ustiuzhna
Vologda
BALTIC SEA
Pskov
Sturaia Rusa
Riga
W. DVINA
NEMAN
Iaroslavl
Tver'
Kostroma
Kineshma
VOLGA
Polotsk
Vitebsk
Moscow
Aleksandrova Sloboda
Grodno
Borisov
Minsk
Smolensk
Borovsk
Vladimir
Kolomna
Nizhni Novgorod
Warsaw
OKA
Riazan'
Pinsk
Briansk
Starodub
Lutsk
Chernigov
SEVERSK
Przemysl
Kiev
Belgorod
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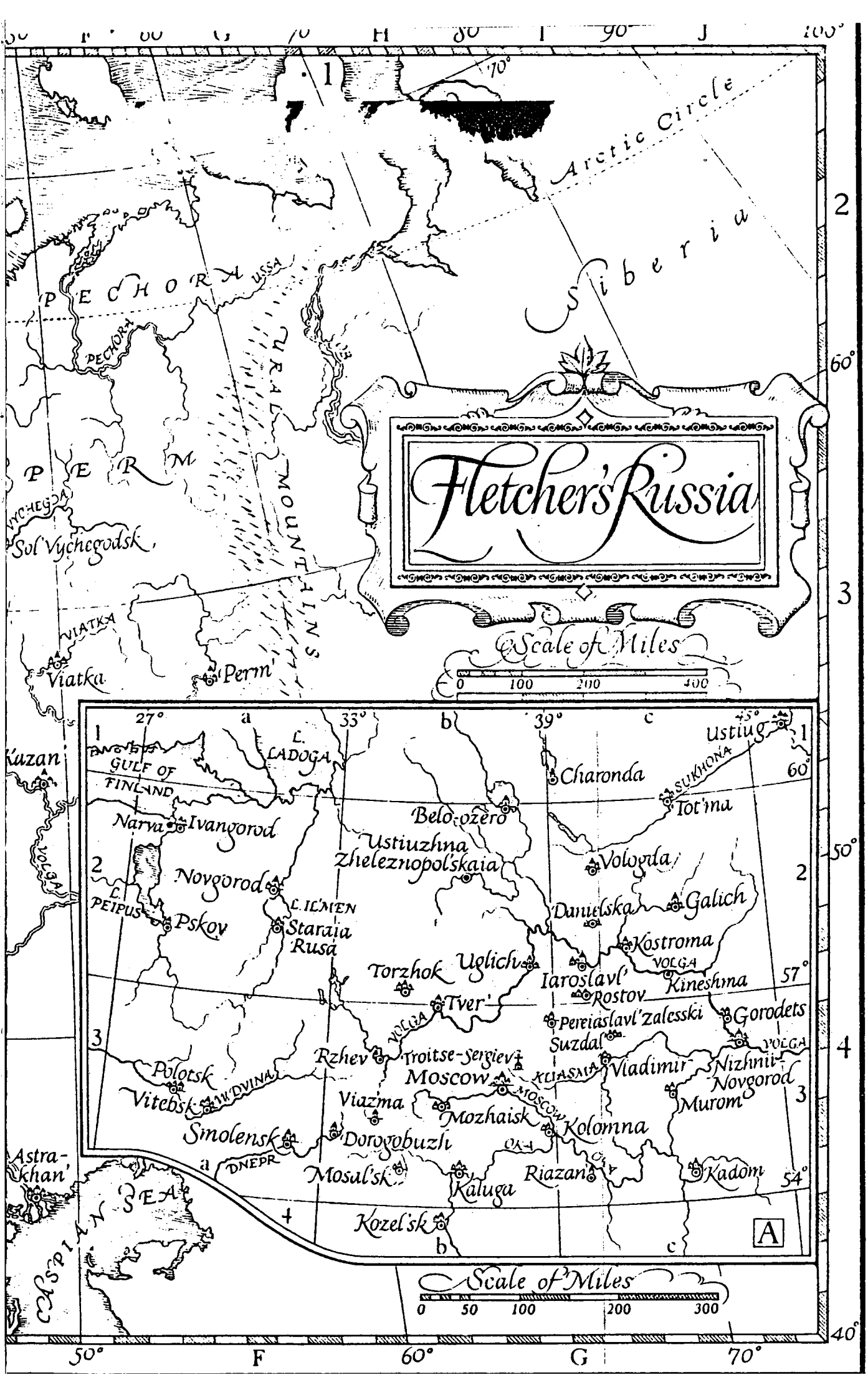
Fletcher's Russia
Arctic Circle
Siberia
PECHORA
USSA
PECHORA
URAL MOUNTAINS
PERM
VYCHEGDA
Sol'Vychegodsk
VIATKA
Viatka
Perm'
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
Kazan
GULF OF FINLAND
L. LADOGA
Narva
Ivangorod
VOLGA
Novgorod
L. PEIPUS
L. ILMEN
Pskov
Staraia Rusa
Ustiuzhna Zheleznopol'skaia
Belo-ozero
Torzhok
Uglich
Tver'
Charonda
Ustiug
SUKHONA
Tot'ma
Vologda
Galich
Danielska
Kostroma
VOLGA
Iaroslavl'
Rostov
Kineshma
Pereiaslavl'Zalesski
Suzdal
Gorodets
Nizhnii Novgorod
Murom
Polotsk
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Vitebsk
Rzhev
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Vladimir
Smolensk
Dorogobuzh
OKA
Riazan
Kadom
DNEPR
Mosul'sk
Kaluga
Kozel'sk
Astra-khan'
CASPIAN SEA
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300
A
27° 33° 39° 45°
50° 60° 70°
F G

ГРИГОРИЙ МИКУЛИН. РУССКИЙ ПОСОЛ В АНГЛИИ
Портрет работы неизвестного английского художника, 1601
Исторический музей, Москва

BORIS GODUNOV c. 1552-1605
Engraving after a contemporary portrait

Shakespeare in Muscovy
—References and Allusions—

OKABE Shoiichi

The aim of this paper is to track down references and allusions to things Russia in the works of Shakespeare and of his English and Russian contemporaries and to present these in the backdrop of the earliest relations of commerce and culture between England and Russia.

In the second half of the sixteenth century when Shakespeare was in the prime of his life, there was flourishing overseas trade between England and Russia.

A Northern path to Russia had been opened in Autumn, 24th in 1553 by Sir Richard Chancellor and his dauntless seamen on board the *Edward Bonaventure* (140 tons) when the ship had been separated from two other companion ships in a storm, and chanced to stagger into a fisherman's moorings in the mouth of River Dvina, part of the Northern province of the Muscovite kingdom under the sovereignty of Ivan, Grozny the Terrible.

In Spring in 1553 three ships, the *Edward Bonaventure*, the *Bona Esperanza* (120 tons), and the *Bona Confidentia* (90 tons), which had been furnished with plenty of all necessary provisions for a whole year's voyage by the Merchants Adventurers Company of Sebastian Cabot, (* fn. 1) weighed their anchors at Ratcliff in the River Thames on May 10th in 1553, and started in search for a hypothetical Northern path to India and to fabulous Cathay on which Marco Polo had narrated in such glowing terms.

Two ships, the *Esperanza* and the *Confidentia* with Sir Hugh Willoughby commanding, had been shpiwrecked in a tempestuous sea off a seacoast near the kola Peninsula at about midnight on 30th in July.

fn. 1. Sebastian Cabot, who had hailed from Genoa in Italy, was a distinguished explorer, who had discovered Newfoundland. He entered English service in 1548 and founded a joint-stock company for overseas trade, Merchant Adventurers Company, in Bristol in 1553, and became its first governor.

Ater six months' voyage Sir Hugh Willoughby and the crew of the two ships had strayed into 'what looked like excellent shelter, which was really Arzina in Lapland'. * fn. 2.

They tried to survive the wintry severity of artic ice and wind. However their efforts were in vain. In due time they were all frozen to death some time in February in 1553. * fn. 3.

On the other hand Richard Chancellor's *Edward* was able to survive and find her way to the land of Rus', and finally to the Court of Ivan the Fourth.

Later a port of Saint Nicholas at Arkhangel'sk near the mouth of the River Dvina and Narva, the Baltic port which had been held by the Russians between 1566 and 1588, were opened for a bilateral overseas trade between England and Russia. The port of Saint Nicholas was reserved for the exclusive use of the Muscovy Company. * fn. 4.

Richard Chancellor was escorted by the rural officials to Moscow where the Court of Ivan the Fourth had been in residence, and he handed the letter of credence from Edward the Sixth to the first Czar of the Russian dynasty.

Chancellor was received with much display of friendliness and he learned that the Muscovite Court was prepared to open negotiations and that Ivan was willing to grant commercial privileges to the English Merchants.

With this assurance Richard Chancellor wintered with his crew aboard his *Edward Bonaventure* on the Dvina bar and returned to England in Spring next year. * fn. 5.

fn. 2. Edward Crankshaw, *Russia and Britain*, undated, p. 12. & (Hereafter to be referred to as 'Crankshaw *op. cit.*') Richard Hakluyt, *The English Voyages*, (Everyman's Library, 1907 ; 1967 rpt.,) vol. 1, p. 254. (Hereafter to be referred to as 'Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. 1')

fn. 3. Crankshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ; & Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 244. & p. 254.

fn. 4. Richard Pipes, "Introduction," to *Of the Russe Commonwealth By Giles Fletcher*, 1591 ; Facsimile Edition With Variants. WITH INTRODUCTION BY RICHARD PIPES AND A GLOSSARY-INDEX BY JOHN V. A. FINE JR. Cambridge : Harvard University, 1966, p. 7. (pp. 1-41.) (Hereafter to be referred to as 'Pipes, 1966')

fn. 5. Pipes, 1966, p. 7.

In spite of apalling and atrophying hardship of his first voyage Richard Chancellor dared to trace his way back to Moscow with a view to drawing up a contract for overseas trade with the Muscovite kingdom.

He succeeded in his second overture at perilous voyage over the uncharted North Sea to the land of Rus'. However from this second daring attempt at hazardous voyage Chancellor never returned home alive.

Richard Chancellor and his son on board the *Edward Bonaventure* had been perished in a stormy sea off the coast of Scotland, when they had managed to save the life of Osip Grigorievich Nepeya, the first Russian ambassador to the Court of England. * fn. 6.

Greater part of the cargos on board the *Edward Bonaventure* was looted and lost forever in spite of the later efforts to recover these by the Scottish Court, which had rescued Osip Grigorievich Nepeya, the ambassador. * fn. 7.

On the other hand Grigorievich Nepeya, the rescued Russian ambassador, was courteously received by the English Court. The ambassador had been solemnly guarded by English lords and their attendants, and had been escorted to London in a pompus procession. The merchants in London made a festival in honor of Osip Nepeya, the first ambassador from the Russian Court. * fn. 8.

This pageantry for the Russian ambassador's reception was recorded in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1578, lst ed.) (* fn. 9), which shakespeare must have perused and from which he had freely drawn for his historical plays, and also for *King Lear* (1608), *Macbeth* (1623), and *Cymbeline* (1623).

Toward the end of the sixteenth century commercial dealings between

fn. 6. Crankshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 52 & *Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 358. & L. S. Berg, "Pervye Russkie v Anglii," *Ocherki po lstorii Russkikh Geograficheskikh Otkrytii*, 1964, str. 52.

fn. 7. *Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 359-60.

fn. 8. *Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 360

fn. 9. Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and lreland*, London, 1578, p. 1132; & Joseph Robertson, "Documents Relating to the First Russian Embassy in England in 1556," *Archeological Journal*, 1876, vol. XIII, pp. 77-80. Cited in M. P. Alekseev, *Shekspir i Russkaya Kyl'tura*, 1965, str. 784. (Hereafter to be referred to as 'Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1965')

England and Russia had for sometime been faring superably well, and both kingdoms had been in constant exchange of embassies and personnels.

After the first Russian embassy in the person of Osip Nepeya Russian embassies were sent over to England in 1567, and in 1582.

Bilateral trade of Russia with England, which had broken the monopoly of the Hanseanic League on Russian trade, (*fn. 10) were now strengthened and in full swing. This led to mutual influence and cross-communication in culture and commerce of both countries.

The English brought into Russia manufactured goods, mostly of textiles, metals and other mineral products useful for war, such as, tin, lead, saltpeter, sulfur, gunpowder, and products from the colonies, such as sugar and fruits. The English in their turn purchased Russian fur coats and headgears, seal oil, tallow, wax, cordage and even caviar.*fn. 11.

The Merchant Adventurers Company, which had sponsored Chancellor's expedition, founded a regular company for a trade with the imperial House of Muscovy, which was popularly to be known as the Muscovy Company.

The Company received both a royal charter and liberal privileges from Ivan the Fourth, which exempted it from the payment of customs and other duties. The Company obtained the virtual monoply on all English trade with Russia.*fn. 12.

English aristocrats and celebrities who had been running the state affairs of the kingdom wore fur coats and fur headgears of Russian make.

Some of these prestigious Englishmen of aristocratic extraction, clad in Russian fur coats and headgears, posed themselves for a series of self-portraits in Hans Holbein's expertise in painting.

Holbein the younger, German by birth, came over to England live to there after 1532, and next year he became Court painter for Henry the Eighth.

fn. 10. "Ivan the Terrible had recently quarrelled with the League and found himself in great need of warlike stores." (Crankshaw, p. 45.)

fn. 11. Pipes, 1966, p. 8.

fn. 12. Pipes, 1966, p. 7.

Eminent men who had sat for the self-portraits were, to name the few, Thomas More (1478-1535), author of *the Utopia*, Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Archibishop of Canterbury, and Queen Anne Boleyn (1507 -1536), mother of Elizabeth the First.

Now that Russian fur coats and fur headgears were available to more wider circle of the citizens of London, Russian falcons were also regarded most suitable for use in hunting, and Russian bears were welcome for amusements in festivities in which dogs were incited to chase and torment them.

When a window with glass was introduced and began to be used in England the Englishmen preferred a 'Muscovy glass' to a window glass of English make.

It is interesting to note that the Russians borrowed mineralogical nomenclature for mica, 'muskovit', from the English language, (* fn. 13.)

English dramatists of Shakespeare's contemporaries had more than once referred to 'Muscovy glass' ; for instance, John Marston (? 1576 -1634) in *The Malcontent* (1604), and Ben Jonson (1572-1637) in *The Devil Is an Ass* (1616).

And in his *Rape of Lucrece* (1608, III, 5) Thomas Heywood (c. 1570 -1641) mentioned a sable, mammal of Siberia, which is valued for its dark brown fur, and *quass*, which is Russian fermented beverage. * fn. 14.

As it is, beautiful fur coats and fur headgears of Russian make ; Russian bears and falcons ; and Russian window panes were known to the Englishmen not from a book of knowledge but through the use of these in their daily life.

Along with knowledge of things of Russian make or origin, which had been chanelled into England through bilateral trade between the two kingdoms, knowledge of the people of the Muscovy, and of their customs and practices had inundated England of the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

Knowledge of these were drawn from books, personal reminiscences

fn. 13. I. I. Ginsburg, "Sluda v Arkhangel'skoi Gub.," *Priroda*, 1916, Nr. 3. str. 349. Cited in Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1965, str. 785, prim., 2.

fn. 14. W. Morfill, *Russia*, London, 1890. p. 74. Cited in Alekseev, *ibid.*, p. 786.

and talks of the Englishmen who had been to the Muscovite kingdom. This insurgent knowledge of the land of Rus' and all about it was characteristic of English aristocracy's knowledge about the Muscovite kingdom toward the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

In this manner within thirty years after Chancellor had stepped ashore at Saint Nicholas in the vicinity of the Dvina bar, England knew more about Russia than did any other countries in Europe. * fn. 15.

Intelligence reports which English merchants had prepared for their own use in business gave factual accounts of distances between towns, measures and weights, coinage, available commodities, the customs and practices of their Russian counterparts, and the institutions of local and central Russian government. * fn. 16.

The Englishmen of those days were at times reminded of this boreal country and of her neighbors not only by their imported fur coats, headgears of sable fur and 'muskovit' window panes, but also by theatrical performances in London, and also by printed source materials, such as, poems, novels, pamphlets and journals which had been put in print in the English kingdom.

With the passage of time source materials pertaining to the knowledge of the Muscovite kingdom had remarkably increased and came to take important place in the literature for geography and topography of those days.

An ever increasing number of Englishmen had been sailing through the White Sea and travelling to several cities of importance in the Muscovite kingdom.

Talks and tales of these seafarers and travellers, and their diaries and memoirs, together with diplomatic documents and priviate reports, were gathered together, edited, and printed by Richard Hakluyt (1552 -1616) in his bulky one-volumed book of narratives of the English voyages and travels entitled *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589).

Hakluyt had assiduously collected materials for his *Voyages* mostly

fn. 15. Pipes, 1966, p. 7.
fn. 16. Pipes, *loc. cit.*

from the witnesses of these voyages and travels or from their close acquaintances.

After several reprintings and with the lapse of ten years the three volumed enlarged second edition of *the Voyages* were brought out (1598 -1600) with greatly amassed and updated information of the land and people of the Muscovite kingdom. * fn. 17.

A Russian translation of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, and its sequels in excerpted form had been published many times starting from the 30's of the eighteenth century. * fn. 18.

Reports of Chancellor, Jenkinson, St. Burrough, Southam, and Spark, and letters of Cawtrey, Gray, Alcock, Lane, Uscomb, Simkinson, Garland and others, whose adventures on land and sea had entered the Hakluyt's *Voyages*, offered stories of interest and excitement to literate people of England of those days. They were able to acquire detailed knowledge of the cities of Moscow and Novgorod, of the Arkhangel'sk port, of the river Volga, of the central Asia and of the Caspian Sea.

In these reports and letters customs and ways of life of the Muscovite people were described in detail, and even those of the Tartars and of the Samoyeds found their places in the second edition of the Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

Hakluyt's *Voyages* was followed by books and treatises of similar vein.

In 1591 John Fletcher's *Of the Russe Commonwealth* was published, and Sir Thomas Smith, anonymous writer, followed suit of Fletcher in 1605 with his *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage and Entertainment in Russia.*

In 1626 Jerome Horsey's account, "Extracts out of Sir Jerome Horsey's Observations in Seventeene Yeares Travels and Experience in

fn. 17. Max Böhme, *Die grossen Reisensammlungen des XVI Jahrh's und ihre Bedeutung*. Strassburg, 1904, s. 152 ; & G. Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*. N. Y., 1908. Cited in Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1965, str. 785, prim., 3.

fn. 18. P. P. Pekarskii, *Istoriya Akademii Nauk*, T. 1, Spb.,, 1870, str. 585. The last of Hakluyt's Russian translations was *Angliiskie Puteshestvenniki v Moskovskom Gosdarstve v XVI v.* Perv. s Angl. Yu. Got'e, M-L., 1938. Cited in Alekseev, *ibid.*, str. 785, prim., 3.

Russia and Other Countries Adjoying," appeared in Purchas's *Prigrimage* (v. 972-92).

Jerome Horsey (1573-1627) first went to Russia in the early 1570's as employee of the Muscovy Company. In 1580 he was sent by Ivan the Fourth on a secret mission for purchasing munitions of war in England, and after Ivan's death in 1584 Horsey served the Czar, feodor Ivanovich, in his secret diplomatic mission, for Horsey had been a close friend of the new Czar's ambitious brother-in-law, Prince Boris Födorovich Godunov (c. 1552-1605) who had exercised effective authority in the new government, and was to become the Czar in 1598 * fn. 19.

The anonymous 'Sir Thomas Smith' mentioned earlier, wrote on Boris Godunov, Ivan the Fourth's brother-in-law, who became the Czar (1584-1605 ; reigned 1598-1605), and on Dmitry, Ivan Grozny's youngest son, who had died in mysterious circumstance in 1591 shortly before the Time of Troubles (1605-1613 ; between the death of Boris Godunov and the accession of Mikhail Romanov) in the history of Russia.

Jerome Horsey received a visit in Jaroslavl' one night in May in 1591 from Afanasy Nagoy, who told him that Tarevich Dmitry had been murdered at Uglich. * fn. 20.

The official version of Dmitiry's death holds that he fell on the knife during an epileptic fit at Uglich. However there goes the unsubstantiated version to the terrible and piteous death of Prince Dmitry. It so happened that Boris Godunov's agent, Bitiagovskii, had murdered the boy to remove the obstacle to Boris assuming the throne. * fn. 21.

However the image of conscious-stricken Boris inspired A. S. Pushkin (1799-1837) to the writing of his only full-length play, *Boris Godunov* (1825), and M. P. Musorgskii (1839-81) to the composition of his famous

fn. 19. M. P. Alekseev, "Pervye Literaturnye Vstrechi," in G. P. Berdnikov, *et. al.*, (ed.), *Russko-Angliiskie Svyazi : XVIII Vek-Pervaya Polovina XIX Veka*, 1987, str. 23.

fn. 20. Maureen Perrie, "Jerome Horsey's Account of the Events of May 1591," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, New Series : vol. XIII (1980), p. 28. & Pipes, 1966, p. 13. & *DNB*, rept. of ix (1908), p. 1272-73. & also Crankshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

fn. 21. David MacKenzie & Michael W. Curran, *A History of Russia and the Soviet Uion*, 1982, p. 141.

opera *Boris Godunov* (1872).

Hamlet, prince of Denmark in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1603), may well keep up with this tragic prince Dmitry, young heir to the throne of the Muscovite State.

Later in the nineteenth century another extract of Horsey's account was published entitled "A Relacion or Memoriall abstracted owt of Sir Jerom Horsey his Travells, Imploiments, Services and Negociacions, observed and written with his owne hand. . ." * fn. 22.

It is therefore no wonder that in English dramas of those days there were many references and observations on the land and people of the Muscovite kingdom, and it is also a commonplace knowledge that the theater-goers in London of the seventeenth century surely amused themselves with scenes and actors who had made their fretting and strutting upon the stage.

In addition to seeking amusements in a stage scene and in performances of actors in a theater they were very much eager to "know what was going on in other countries and to hear of happenings and news of foreign countries." * fn. 23.

In the works of Shakespeare and his contemporary dramatists there are a number of references and allusions to land and customs, and practices of the people of Muscovy. Of course the English knowledge of the Muscovy was not very wide, but dramas and other literary works and pamphlets for current topics of those days abound in reports of practices of the people, climate, fauna and flora of the Muscovy.

Shakespeare and his contemporaries made liberal use of Russian topographies with exaggerated emphasis on the severity of climate of the land. Moscow and a northern province of the country were especially congenial to their writings.

Together with Russian fur coasts and headgears, window panes, falcons and Russian bears, words and phrases for these were borrowed

fn. 22. E. A. Bond, (ed. with "Introduction"), *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*. Hakluyt Society, 1856, p. 254. Cited in Maureen Perrie, *art. cit.*, p. 28, fn. 1.

fn. 23. G. Binz, "Londoner Theater und Schauspiele," *Anglia*, 1899, Bd., XXII, s. 461. Cited in Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1956, str. 786. prim., 1.

from the Russian language. For instance Thomas Heywood wrote: "The Russe drinks quasse." both in his *Rape of Lucrece* (1608) and in *The Challenge of Beauty* (1635), and there is a reference to a Russian headgear also in the *the Rape of Lucrece* : "The Russe with sables furs his cap."

George Turberville (? 1540-1610) in his *Epistle from Moscow* (* fn. 24) mentioned *med* (mead ; honey, a kind of beverage) and *odnoriadka* (a loose long gown) ; Fletcher explains in his *Of the Russe Commonwealth* (1598) what *quasse* * (* a fermented beverage popular in Russia) and *Odnoriadka* * are. (* a wide, collarless outer garment, hanging to the heel) * fn. 25.

In Shakespeare's work there appears tens of references to 'Moskovits', 'the Russians', and Russian glass panes. (* fn. 26) Edward Sugden locates a number of references to Russia and its neighboring countries in the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries toward the close of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Sugden illustrates such topographical nomenclatures as Moscow, Muscovy, Musko, Russ, Russia, Volga, the river Ob', the river Petsora, Menseck (Minsk) and others. * fn. 27.

In Shakespeare's tragedy *Hamlet* Act 11 begins with entrance of Polonius and Reynaldo and the dialogue between them serves to mark the passage of time, a period of several weeks during which Laertes has been able to reach Paris in a long journey from Denmark.

Now Laertes had settled in Paris for sometime and spent the money

fn. 24. Certaine letters in verse, written by Master George Turbervile out of Moscovia, which went as Secretarie thither with Master Tho. Randolph, her Majesties Ambassadour to the Emperour 1568, to certeine friends of his in London, describing the maners of the Countrey and people. (Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. 2, 1907 ; 1962, pp. 99-108.)

fn. 25. Pipes, 1966, p. 82. & p. 85. & M. P. Alekseev, "Angliiskii Yazyk v Rossii i Russkii Yazyk v Anglii," *Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Gos. Universiteta* : Seriya Filologicheskikh Nayk, vyp., 9, 1944, str. 80.

fn. 26. Francis Stokes, *A Dictionary of the Characters and Proper Names in the Works of Shakespeare*, London, 1924, p. 286. Cited in Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1965, str. 786. prim., 6.

fn. 27. Edward H. Sugden, *Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists*. Manchester, 1925. *s. v.* "Russia." Cited in Alekseev, *ibid.*, str. 786. prim., 6.

he took with him, and sent for more.

Polonius. Give him this money, and these notes, Reynaldo,
Reynaldo. I will my lord.
Polonius. You shall do marvellous wisely, good Reynaldo,
Before you visit him, to make inquire of his behavior.
Reynaldo. My lord, I did intend it.
Polonius. Marry well said, very well said. Look you sir,
Inquire me first what *Danskers* are in Paris,
And how, and who, what means, where they keep,
What comapny, at what expense ; and finding
By this encompassment and drift of question
That they do know my son, come you more nearer
Than your particular demands will touch it.
(italics mine) [Act II, Sc. i, 7]

Dover Wilson glosses the word 'Dansker' as 'a Dane' and adds that 'the correct Danish term, not found elsewhere in English though *Danske* (=Danish) occurs rarely. On the other hand Furness argues that 'Danske for Denmark, occurs often in *Albion's England*.' * fn. 28.

Here *Danskers* means not only the Danes, but also the inhabitants of Gdan'sk, Polish seaport, though Furness (1905), Dover Wilson (1957), Philip Edwards (1985) and *the Riverside Shakespeare* (Boston, 1968, p. 1151) are unanimous in annotating the word only as 'Danes'. * fn. 29.

In Shakespeare's work there are less knowlegeable references to Russian topographical names than in Marlowe's or Dekker's works, that is, references to such place-names as the Arctic Ocean, the White Sea, the northern Dvina (bar), and the Volga. * fn. 30.

fn. 28. Dover Wilson, (ed. with "Introduction"), *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, 1934 ; 1957, p. 268. & H. H. Furness, *Hamlet* : Variorum Edition, 1877 ; 1905, p. 118. & also Philip Edwards, (ed. with "Introduction"), *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, 1985, p. 114.

fn. 29. Gesta Langenfelt, "Shakespeare's Danskers," *Zeitschrift fur Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 1964, H. 3, ss. 226-277. Cited in Alekseev, *Sheksipr*, 1965, str. 786. prim., 6.

fn. 30. J. W. Draper, "Shakespeare and Muscovy," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1594, vol. XXXVIII & Sara Nutt, "The Arctic Voyages of William Barents in Probable Relation to certain of Shakespeare's Plays," *Studies in Philology*, 1942, vol. XXXIX, pp. 240-264. Cited in Alekseev, *ibid*., str. 786, prim. 7.

In Shakespeare's work there are scores of references made to "Moskovitov," inhabitants of Moscow, and to the Russians. The number of his references to things Russia, however, is supposedly less than that of his references to France, Italy and the Netherlands. Nevertheless Shakespeare's references to Russia are worthy of more close attention than those of his contemporary dramastists ; Christopher Marlowe (1564 -93), Thomas Heywood (c. 1574-1641), Francis Beaumont (1584-1616), John Fletcher (1579-1625), John Milton (1608-74), Thomas Dekker (1572 -1632), John Marston (1575-1634) and others. * fn. 31.

The reason for this is that we are able to locate almost all things Russia that engage our interest in the works of Shakespeare starting from the earlier comedies to the later tragedies.

For instance Shakespeare brought home to spectators of his *Henry King V* how savage Russian bears were.

The Constable of France, the Lord Rambures, Orleans, Dauphin, with others enter 'the French Camp near Agincourt,' and find from a Messenger who enters the stage after them that the king of England is marching his soldiers against them and 'the English lie within fifteen hundred paces of their tent'. (Act, III, Sc. vii, 127-8)

Lord Rambures accosts Orleans :

Ram. That island of England breeds very valiant creatures ; their mastiffs are of unmatchable courage.

Ori. Foolish curs! that run winking into the mouth of a *Russian bear* and have their heads crushed like rotten apples. You may as well say that's valiant flea that dare eat his breakfast on the lip of a lion. (italics mine) [Act III, Sc. vii, 154]

This is a glaring reference to an amusement in London of those days in which a Russian bear was being harassed by the English mastiffs which had had a high reputation for courage.

fn. 31. References to Russia, its land and people in the works of Elizabethan dramatists are detailed in K. H. Ruffmann, *Das Russlandbild im England Shapespeare's*, Göttingen, 1952, ss. 155-156 and also in E. Eckhardt, "Die Dialekt und Ausländertypen des älteren englischen Dramas," *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas*, Louvain, Bd. XXXII, Th. 11, ss. 133-135. Cited in Alekseev, *ibid.*, str. 786, prim., 7.

In the Shakespearean tragedy *Macbeth* Macbeth was insinuated by Lady Macbeth and murderously killed the king Duncan, and Banquo, his general.

When Macbeth saw Banquo's ghost who had reappeared in the room in the palace he shrilled in terror :

Macb. Avaunt! and quit my sight ! let the earth hide thee !
Thy bones are marrowless, thy blood is cold ;
Thou hast no speculation in those eyes,
Which thou dost glare with. [Act III, Sc. iv, 93-96]

But in the next second Lady Macbeth called to the agitated lords present there in the room to recover presence of mind, when they were aghast at Macbeth's uncanny reprimand to the ghost whom they were unable to see.

Lady Macb. Think of this, good Peers,
But as a thing of custom : 'tis no other ;
only it spoils the pleasure of time.

Macbeth recovered his poise, and declared in defiance :

Macb. What man dare, I dare :
Approach thou like *the rugged Russian bear*,
The arm'd rhinoceros, or th'Hyrcan tiger ;
Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
Shall never tremble : or, be alive again,
And dare me to the desert with thy sword ;
If trembling I inhabit then, protest me
The baby of a girl. Hence horrible shadow !
Unreal mock'ry, hence !-[Ghost disappears. (italics mine)
[Act III, Sc. iv, 98-106]

Here the image of a savage Russian bear is aptly evoking a ghastly ghost of Banquo.

John Draper has it that there are no written records of Russian bears in the arctic voyages of William Barents in 1594-1596. Barents gave account of white bears only which he had happened to see in his voyages.

On the other hand Russian bears of a forest were taken on board a ship of the Muscovy Company and sold in London in the turn of the

sixteenth to the seventeenth century.

Angelo, the Deputy in a courtroom scene in *Measure for Measure*, was mortified with unending chatter of Froth, foolish gentleman, and with Pompey's jibberish, who was servant to Mistress Overdone. Angelo decried. :

> This will last out *a night in Russia*
> When nights are longest there. I'll take my leave,
> And leave you to the hearing of the cause ;
> Hoping you'll find good cause to whip them all.
> (italics mine) [Act II, Sc. i, 134]

Escalus, ancient Lord, who had presided over the Court acquiesced.

> I think no less : good morrow to your lordship. [*loc. cit.*]

And with these words angry Angelo left the courtroom. (*Exit* [Angelo])

'A night in Russia' in this context means 'a Russian winter.'

Shakespeare must have heard of a dark and dismal long night in Russia from a voyager who had actually landed on a breath-freezing northern land of Rus' ; otherwise he must have read about harsh climate in the Muscovite state in contemporary reports of merchants of the Muscovy company which was formally founded with a royal charter in 1584 when the port of Arkhangel'sk had been opened. Russia had been in the news during 'eighties and nineties.' * fn. 32

In *Love's Labour's Lost* when King Ferdinand of Navarre feared that their mock guise of Russian mask, visor and apparel had been incapable of fooling the princess of France and her lady attendants to accept their amorous hands. He exclaimed :

'We were descried : they'll mock us now downright.'

Dumain, lord attendant on King Navarre, admonishes the king and his companion.

Dum. Let us confess, and turn it to jest.

The princess puzzled :

Prin. Amaz'd, my lord ? Why looks your highness sad ?

fn. 32. Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1965, str. 785 & Richard David, "Introduction," to Arden Shakespeare, in *Love's Labour's Lost* ed. Richard David, 1956 ; 1965 rpt., p. xxx.

Rosaline, lady attending on the princess, cried in shrill:

> Help ! hold his brows ! he'll swoon. *Why look you so pale* ?
> *Sea-sick, I think, coming from Muscovy.*
> (italics mine) [Act V, Sc. ii. 389-393]

This jibe of Rosaline's may well reflect the severity of climate in Russia, and may well be an echo of the excuse made by the Prince of Purpoole, who had been elected each year by the benchers and had directed the Christmas merry-making.

On his return from a visit to Russia the Prince declared that he must forgo certain ceremonies on account of his exhaustion by "length of my Journey, and my sickness at Sea." * fn. 33.

Hamlet, prince of Denmark, blames his mother for her cheerfulness while he is making a mild amorous advance to Ophilia:

Hamlet: Lady, shall I lie in your lap ?
Ophelia: No my lord.
Hamlet: I mean, my head upon your lap ?
Ophelia: Ay my lord.
Hamlet: Do you think I meant country matters ?
Ophelia: I think nothing my lord.
Hamlet: That's a fair thought to lie between maids' legs.
Ophelia: What is, my lord ?
Hamlet: nothing.
Ophelia: You are merry my lord.
Hamlet: Who, I ?
Ophelia: Ay my lord.
Hamlet: O God, your only jig-maker. What should a man do but merry ? for look you how cheerfully my mother looks, and my father died within's two hours.
Ophelia: Nay, 'tis twice two months, my lord.
Hamlet: So long ? Nay let the devil wear black, for I'll have *a suit of sables*. O heavens ! die two months ago, and not forgotten yet ? .... (italics mine) [Act.III, Sc. ii, 101-116]

fn. 33. Richard David, "Introduction," to Arden Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost* ed. Richard David, 1956; 1965 rpt., p. xxxi.

Here, on Furness's note 'It is well enough known that "sables" the furs so called, are the finery of most northern nations, and that a thousand dacates were given for a face of 'sables'.' The furs of sables are not black, but between black and dominant yellow. The contrast between a suit of sables and a black mourning garment lies not in the color, but in the costliness and spelendor of the former. * fn. 34.

Philip Edwards however has it : 'the fur of a northern animal, the sable is brown. But 'sable' is also the heraldic word for 'black'. Since his father has been dead so long, *the devil can have his mourning garments and he will start wearing rich furs* ' * fn. 35.

The image of costly suit of sables is reiterated again in *Hamlet* when Claudius, murderer of the king Hamlet, deplores of his senility to Laertes.

Claudius : A very riband in the cap of youth,
yet needful too, for youth no less becomes
The light and careless livery that it wears
Than settled age *his sables* and his weeds,
Importing health and graveness.]
...(italics mine) [Act. IV, Sc. vii, 76-81] .

Furness argues that wearers of a warm furred gown of sables are rich burghers and magistrates and that 'health' refers to 'careless livery' and 'graveness' to 'sables' and 'weed' (i. e. garb). * fn. 36.

The scene of *Love's Labour's Lost*, one of the early comedies of Shakespeare, was set in the Court of King Navarre Ferdinand in England, who had firmly determined to lead a life of ascetic recluse and stoic scholar.

He makes a solemn oath of refraining from women's company and of devoting himself to the pursuit of truth. Navarre wants his three young lords to solemize the vow.

King : ... Our late edict shall strongly stand in force :
Navarre shall be the wonder of the world ;

fn. 34. *Hamlet* : Variorum Shakespeare, ed. Horace Howard Furness, 1905, pp. 239 -240.
fn. 35. *Hamlet* : The New Cambridge Shakespeare, ed. Philip Edwards, 1985, p. 158
fn. 36. Furness, ed., *ibid*., p. 361-362.

Our court shall be a little academe,
Still and contemplative in living art.(Act. I, sc. i, 11-14)

Longaville who is one of the lords attending on the King declares:

I am resolv'd; 'tis but a three years' fast:
The mind shall banquet, though the body pine:
Fat paunches have lean pates, and dainty bits
Make rich the ribs, but bankrupt quite the wits.
(Act. I, Sc. i, 24-27)

Berowne, another lord attending on the king, echoes Longaville's oath:

So much, dear liege, I have already sworn,
That is, to live and study here three years.
But there is other strict observances;
As not see a woman in that term,....
(italics mine) [Act I, Sc. i, 34-37]

Berowne is adamant in this abstinence of woman, and he pours out his feelings in Longaville's suit.

Berowne: A dangerous law against gentility !
Item : If any man be seen to talk with a woman within the term of three years, he shall endure such public shame as the rest of the court can possibly devise.
[Act. I, Sc. i, 129-131]

However in a next moment he wavers in his determination of three years' abstinence both of dainties and of woman when it just occurred to him that a beautiful princess of France would soon arrive with no less beautiful attendants.

Berowne: For well you know here comes in embassy
The French king's daughter with yourself to speak -
A maid of grace and complete majesty - ...
[Act. I, Sc. i, 133-135]

King Navarre falls in love with the princess and in spite of himself he is about to break the oath of his own making, which stipulates that:

...Till painful study shall outwear three years,
No woman may approach his silent court.
[Act II, Sc. i, 23-24]

The king is so much confused in his heart knowing that

'Tis deadly sin to keep that oath, . . .
And sin to break it.
[Act. II, Sc. 1, 105-106]

He lost his senses and took the princess by surprise when he had confessed his love to her.

You may not come fair princess, within my gates;
But here without you shall be so receiv'd
As you shall deem your self lodg'd in my heart,
Though so denied a fair harbour in my house.
Your own good thoughts excuse me, and farewell:
Tomorrow shall we visit you again.
[Act. II, Sc. 1, 172-175]

King Navarre is so eager to win the heart of the French king's daughter, who came to his Court 'on serious business craving quick dispatch' and 'Importunes personal conference with his grace.'
[Act. II, Sc. 1, 31-32]

So that it just occurred to the king that he and his entourage would disguise themselves in a mask of the Russians so that he may beguile the handsome princess of the French king and win her heart.

Boyet, attendant to the princess and active as intermediary of both parties in *Love's Labour's Lost*, 'comes, and mirth is in his face,' with the news of the king's overture at Russian masquerade.

Boyet confides:

. . . By and by, disguis'd they will be here. [Actc V, Sc. ii. 96]

When the princess asks Boyet what it was that he had 'overheard' 'under the cool shade of a sycamore', Boyet beams cheerfully:

Prin. But what, but what, come they to visit us ?
Boyet. They do, they do; and are *apparell'd thus*,
('Hats furr'd bootes piked in long and motley dress.') * fn. 37.

fn. 37. Richard David (ed.), *Love's Labour's Lost*, (Arden Shakespeare, 1951, 1965, rpt.,) p. 140, Note for line 121. (Furness says "Tiessen kindly supplied the [supposed] missing line. 'Hats furr'd bootes piked, in long and motley dress.'" (Edward Tiessen, "Beitrage zur Feststellung und Erklärung des Shakespearetextes," *Englische Studien*, 1878, Bd II, ss. 188-189. Cited in Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1965, p. 789, prim., 15.)

Like Muscovites, or Russians, as I guess.
Their purpose is to parle, to court and dance ;
And every one his love-feat will advance
Unto his several mistress, which they'll know
By favours several which they did bestow.
(italics mine) [Act. V, Sc. ii, 119-121]

Before 'the trumpet sounds,' and 'the king and rest of the lords who disguised themselves like Russians and visored' made their appearances (Act. V. Sc. ii, 157 ff.) the princess exclaimed :

And will they so ? the gallants shall be task'd ;
For, ladies, we will every one be mask'd
And not a man of them shall have the grace,
Despite of suit, to see a lady's face.
[Act. V, Sc. ii, 126-129]

Consequently both parties had worn their masks, and the king and his lords made the best of their antics to woo and win the hearts of their loving ladies who were likewise disguised in mask.

However the princess harboured a grudge to the king Navarre for his vow of asceticism and study keeping shy of woman. And to confuse the king and his party in their advances and to belittle their 'mockery merriment,' the princess proposes to exchange ornaments they are wearing. *fn. 38.

Hold, Rosaline, this favour thou shalt wear,
And then the king will court thee for his dear :
Hold, take thou this, my sweet, and give me thine,
So shall Berowne take me for Rosaline.
And change your favours too ; so shall your loves
Woo contrary, deceiv'd by these removes. [Act V, Sc. ii, 130-135]

And then the princess forbade her ladies to be talked to dance by the king's men, when Rosaline, lady attending on her, had asked :

fn. 38. 'the favours' [i. e. some part of the presents (ribbons or gloves), or the presents themselves, given by the different suitors to their mistresses, and worn, as we are told, to confuse the donors.] (Richard David, *op. cit.*, p. 152, Note for line 292.)

Ros. But shall we dance, if they desire us to't ?
Prin. No ; to the death we not move a foot :
[Act V, Sc, ii, 145-146]

The princess and her ladies were so resolute in their determination that they utterly demolished amorous advances of the king and his party.

The tongues of mocking wenches are as keen
As is the razor's edge invisible,
Cutting a smaller hair than may be seen ; . . .
[Act V, Sc. ii, 256-257]

The king Navarre was utterly despaired and in distraught ; he groaned with heavy heart.

Farewell, mad wenches : you have simple wits.

The princess retorted.

Twenty adieus, my *frozen Muscovites.*
(italics mine) [Act. V, Sc. ii, 264-65]

A mask of Muscovites had been previously shown. Ritson, quoting Hall (*Henry VIII*, p. 6.) maintains that the English Court had known a Russian costume as attire for masquerade as early as 1510. In the first year of Henry VIII at a banquet for the foreign ambassadors at Westminster, "came the lorde Henry, Earle of Wiltshire, and the lorde Fitzwater in twoo long gounes of yellowe. . . after the fashion of *Russia* or *Russlande* with furred hattes of grey. . . and bootes with pykes turned up." It seems that Lodge in his *Reply to Gossen* was aluding to a more recent stage -show : ". . .your Muscovian straungers, your Scithian monsters wonderful, by one Eurus brought upon one stage in ships made of Sheepeskins . . ." * fn. 39.

Appearance of a mock embassy of the Muscovites in *Love's Labour's Lost* is the very help to date the writing of this comedy.

Rosaline's gibe at Act V, Sc. ii, earlier cited, "sea-sick, I think, coming from Muscovy" is reminiscent of the excuse made by Prince

fn. 39. J. Ritson, *Remarks Critical and Illustrative*, London, 1783, p. 16. & also I. Gamel', *Anglichane v Rossii*, t. l, Spb., 1865, str. 160. Cited in Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1965, str. 789, prim., 14. & also in Richard David, *op. cit.*, p. 140, Note for line 121.

Purpoole (the director of the Christmas merry-making elected each year by the benchers), when he returned home from his state visit to Muscovy.

He declared that he was only prevented from paying his respects to Elizabeth by the fact that his body "by length of my Journey, and my sickness at Sea is so weakened." * fn. 40.

This has been taken as proof that the quoted scene at least could not have been written before 1595. * fn. 41.

The very close parallel in the Gray's Inn Revels for 1594-5 was noted at which occurred a notorious performance of *the Comedy of Errors* with a concluding pageant, the theme of which was the return of Knights from the campaign in Russia against "Negro-Tartars." * fn. 42.

Chaucer's knight, who made his appearance in his "Prologue" to *the Canterbury Tales*, was 'a worthy man,'

> At Alisandre he was whan it was wonne,
> Full ofte tyme he hadde the bord bigonne
> Aboven alle nacions in Pruce;
> In Lettow hadde he reysed and in Ruce,
> No Cristen man so ofte of his degree. (lines: 51-55)

(He was at Alexandria when it was won./ Many time he had sat at the head of the table / in Prussia, above knights of all nations;/ he had campaigned in Lithuania, and in Russia,/ more often than any other Christian man of his rank.)

The knight in the pageant could have joined The Teutonic Order of Knights which had campaigned against the Tartars of Lithuania ('Lettow') and the Russian Tartars. The Chaucerian knight could have just returned from these adventures, and was now in a hurry to join the prigrimage to the shrine of Saint Thomas à Becket in his bismotered (i.

fn. 40. Richard David, *op. cit.*, p. 141, Note for line 121.
fn. 41, Richard David, ed. *Love's Labour's Lost*. 1951; 1965, p. 140. Note for line 121.
fn. 42. Richard, *op. cit.*, p. xxx. & p. 141. Note for line 121. also Robinson, ed. 'General Prologue' in *the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 1957; 1968 rev., p. 16, *ll* : 51-54 ; also David Richard, "Introduction," p. xxxi.

e. bespattered) clothes. * fn. 43.

When the squire, young son of the knight, begins his *Tale* with a passage that follows he is referring to Batu Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan (1167-1227), who founded a flourishing capital of Tartar empire at *Saray*, the modern Tzarëv, near Stalingrad in the southeastern Russia. * fn. 44.

> At Sarray, in the land Tartarye
> Ther dwelte a kying that werreyed Russye,
> Thurgh which ther dyde many a doughty man.
> This noble kyng was cleped Cambyuskan
> which in his tyme was of so great renoun
> That ther was nowher in no regioun
> So excellent a lord in alle thyng.
> (F. N. Robinson, ed. *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, "The Squire' Tale," lines : 1-15.)

However the first performance of the play may have been either at Christmas 1598 or Christmas 1597, and the play in its present form may have completed Autumn 1598 or 1597. (* fn. 45) The date 1598 is printed in the play but a note written in the title page states that the play was performed in the presence of the King Henry the Eighth. * fn. 46.

In the meantime the princess and her attendants felt relieved and they were 'dismask'd', when Boyet came with warning :

> *Boyet.* Madam, and pretty mistresses, give ear.
> Immediately they will again be here
> In their own shapes ; for it can never be
> They will digest this harsh indignity.

fn. 43. Theodore Morrison, "Introduction" to *The Portable Chaucer*. Selectd, Translated & Edited by Theodore Morrison, 1949 ; 1977, p. 9. & Phyllis Hodgson, *Chaucer : General Prologue, The Canterbury Tales*, 1969 ; 1984, p. 76. ("Note") & also, Ralph, W. V. Elliott, *Chaucer : The Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, 1960. p, 28.

fn. 44. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 717-18. ("Explanatory Note")

fn. 45. Richard David, *op. cit.*, "Introduction," p. xxvi.

fn. 46. W, Greizenach, *Geschichte der neueren Dramas*, Bd. IV, Halle. 1909, s, 678. Cited in Alekseev, *Shekspir*, str. 788, prim., 11.

Prin. Will they return ?

Boyet. They will, they will, God knows ;

... [Act V, Sc. ii, 286-291]

E. K. Chambers, however, contends that even "if *Love's Labour's Lost* was revised I find nothing which is necessarily later than 1595" and that "I regard the play as the earliest of the lyrical group which includes *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Richard II,* and I put it in 1959." * fn. 47.

Boyet was hilarious again as before and complemented on the beauty of the princess and her ladies. :

Boyet. Fair ladies, mask'd, are roses in their bud :

Dismasked, their damask sweet commixture shown,
Are angels vailing coulds, or roses blown.
[Act. V, Sc. ii, 295-297] * fn. 48.

The Priness was in dismay and cried :

Avaunt perplexity ! What shall we do
If they return in their own shapes to woo ?

Rosaline, princess's attendant, was not perturbed :

Good madam, if by me you'll be advis'd,
Let's mock them still, as well known as disguis'd.
Let us complain to them what fools were here,
Disguis'd Like Muscovites, in shapeless gear ;
And wonder what they were, and to what end
Their shallow shows and prologue vilely penn'd,
And their rough carriage so ridiculous,
Should be presented at our tent to us.
(italics mine) [Act. V, Sc. ii, 298-307]

Now the King Navarre with his retinue 'in their proper habit' appeared. He invited the princess cordially to his Court saying :

King. O ! you have liv'd in desolation here,

fn. 47. E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, vol. 1, 1930 ; 1966, p. 335 & p. 336

fn. 48. Johnson's comment is in order. "Ladies unmasked are like angels vailing clouds, or letting those clouds which obscured their brightness sink from before them." (David Richard, *op. cit.*, p. 153, Note for line 297.)

Unseen, unvisited, much to our shame. [Act. V, Sc. ii, 357-358]

The Princess defies in retort :

Not so, my lord ; it is not so, I swear :
We have had pastimes here and pleasant game.
A mess of Russians left us but of late.
(italics mine) [Act. V, Sc. ii, 359-61]

The king cries in faked surprise :

How madam ! *Russians* !
(italics mine) [Act. V, Sc. ii, 361]

Prin. Aye, in truth my lord ;
Trim gallants, full of courtship and of state.

Rosaline cut in with vituperation.

Madame, speak true. It is not so, my lord :
My lady, to the manner of the days,
In courtesy give undeserving praise.
We four indeed, *confronted were with four*
In Russian habit : here they stay'd an hour,
And talk'd apace ; and in that hour, my lord,
They did not bless us with one happy word.
(italics mine) [Act. V, Sc. ii, 362-370]

Goaded by wenches' razor's edge Berowne blazes forth his anger :

Thus pour the stars down plagues for perjury.
Can any face of brass hold longer out ?
Here stand I, lady ; dart thy skill at me ;
Bruise me with scorn, confound me with a flout ;
Thrust thy sharp wit quite through my ignorance ;
Cut me to pieces with thy keen conceit ;
I will wish thee never more to dance,
nor *never more in Russian habit wait.*
O! never will I trust to speeches penn'd,
Nor to the motion of a school-boy's tongue,
Nor never come in visor to my friend,
Nor woo in rhyme, like a blind harper's song, . . .
(italics mine) [Act. V, Sc. ii, 394-405]

In visor and mask the king made amorous advance to Rosaline, and now, unmasked he was tasked by the princess to the veracity of his confession of love toward her.

Prin. When you then were here,
What did you whisper in your lady's ear ?
King. That more than all the world I did respect her.
Prin. When she shall challenge this, you will reject her.
King. Upon mine honour, no.
Prin. Peace ! peace ! forbear :
Your oath once broke, you force not to forswear.
King. Despise me, when I break this oath of mine.
Prin. I will ; and thererfore keep it. Rosaline,
What did the Russian whisper in your ear ?
Ros. Madam, he swore that he did hold me dear
As precious eyesight, and did value me
Above this world ; adding thereto, moreover,
That he would wed me, or else die my lover.
(italics mine) [Act V. Sc, ii, 435-447]

On Granville Barker's conjecture, *Love's Labour's Lost* was first written for the delectation of a coteries of magnificent young men and some of them may have acted in it at the time. They, Barker continues, would have been cast for the king Navarre, for his three lords ; Berowne, Dumain, and Longaville. Some senior-junior might have been found to fit Boyet and Marcade, lords attending the princess of France.

Barker's conjecture continues : the dialogue Navarre and his lords in the backdrop of 'outdoors about Navarre's Court' is of just such stuff as those young bloods of culture delighted to try their wits and tongues at. * fn. 49.

But one wonders with Richard David why Shakespeare had Navarre and his lords disguised and had them appeared on the stage for Act V, scene ii. of *Love's Labour's Lost.*

Russia, as mentioned earlier, was in the news in England during the 'eighties and nineties' of the sixteenth century. In the wake of Richard

fn. 49. Harley Granville-Barker, *Preface to Shakespeare*, 1958 ; 1972, p. 423-424.

Chancellor's voyages to and from the kingdom of Muscovy in 1553 and in 1555 there was exchange of ambassadors between England and Russia.

Master Anthony Jenkinson was a half merchant-adventurer and half -accredited envoy to the Muscovite kingdom. He had made separate voyages to the Muscovy and undertook astonishing journeys between Britain and Persia, which he hopes would in course of time lead to Cathay. * fn. 50.

Ivan the Fourth, the first Czar of all Russia, entrusted with Jenkinson a portentous message to the new Queen of England. The letter is said to have contained firstly proposal for an offensive and defensive alliance between England and Russia, which had unequivocally directed against Poland and Sweden, and secondly a prposal of marriage to Elizabeth. * fn. 51.

Jerome Horsey, old hand of the Muscovy Company, was sent by Ivan the Fouth on a secret mission to England, and Queen Elizabeth sent Horsey back with thirteen ships laden with warlike stores, and also with an English doctor.

It seems that Dr. Jacob, physician, who had accompanied Jerome Horsey' embassy (1580-7) and replaced Ivan's Dutch physician, focussed Ivan's obsession with English brides to Lady Mary Hastings, a daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon. * fn. 52.

Ivan the Terrible sent a new ambassador Feodor Andrevich Pisemsky over London in 1582 with State Secretary Vasil'ev Khovralĕv to renew his overtures for a strict military alliance and to ask for the hand of Lady Hastings, a daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, in matrimony with Ivan the Fourth.

An English interpreter, James Crow, was instructed by the Russian ambassador to secretly send a message to the princess that Ivan himself would fain to travel over to England. However Pisemsky was at first unable to see Lady Hastings, partly because she had seriously been ill from smallpox with the result that her face was severely disfigured and,

fn. 50. Crankshaw, p. 58.
fn. 51. *loc. cit.*
fn. 52. Maureen Perrie, *art. cit.*, p. 28. & Crankshaw, p. 64.

partly because Queen Elizabeth was not favorably inclined to Pisemsky's proposal to meet 'a Czar's bride'.* fn. 53.

Lady Hastings herself had not not been charmed with the Czar's proposal either. Although there were contemporaries of Henry the Eighth's sixth bride alive the lady was mortified with the thought that she would make a sixth wife to the senile Czar in his fifties.* fn. 54.

In the face of these obstacles Pisemsky managed to meet Lady Hastings on 17th of May in 1583. The place was York House Park, residence of Lord Councillor, Thomas Bromley.

For the purpose a special summer house was built, in which the lady sat surrounded with beautifully dressed suite of attendants. She welcomed the ambassador Pisemsky and they took a walk in the park with their retinues following courteously, and after the walk Pisemsky and his secretary were treated to wine and fruit.

James Crow, the interpreter, said in behalf of the ambassador: 'It is an honor with the ambassador to see the princess of unearthly beauty.'

Pisemsky added that he sincerely wished that her Highness would condescend to be Queen to the first Czar of all Russia, who would highly make much of her elegant carriage and marvellous beauty.

The Lady Hastings' reception of the Muscovite ambassador, who had gorgeously clothed in the best of Russian attire, was long since the talk of the day in London.

The ambassadorial report on this reception, which Pisemsky dispatched to the Czar, is in order.

Pisemsky was shown "in the park where a summer house was put up, and in it were set two armchairs covered with golden velvet. . .and after a while princess Thomas and another princess of Huntingdon's appeared with Lady Hastings in between; many lords and ladies followed after.

When prince Thomas came up to him Feodor stood up and made a bow to them, which they returned in their courtesies. Then prince

fn. 53. Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1965, str. 790, prim, 21.

fn. 54. Alekseev, Yu. Tolstoi "Obzor Snoshenii Rossii s Anglii," *Sbornik Imp. Ruskogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva*, T. XXXVII, Spb., 1880, str. 32-33. Cited in Alekseev, *Shekspir*., str. 791, prim., 22.

Thomas said to Feodor Pisemsky, "Look on her very well; the Queen ordered to show her niece not in a dark place, neither in a room nor in a palace, but in the open air."

When the lady with her retinue had walked out into the park the prince stood up and took Pisemsky to the walk in the park, and again Feodor met and looked on the lady very well..." * fn. 55.

"...Prince Huntingdon's daughter, Mary Hastings is high in stature, slim and white of face; the eyes are grey in color; the hair, light-brown and the nose is straight, the fingers are long and slender." * fn. 56.

As in reality of Shakespeare's England so in the stage of Shakespearean drama, both Ivan the Fourth's advances and the king Navarre's wooing in disguise of the Russians were reflected in *Love's Labour's Lost.*

If Lady Hastings had succumbed to the Czar's advances she would have made him his eighth wife. Queen Elizabeth, however, had firmly determined to discourage this political matrimony of her niece with the Czar, who seemed to have done lately with his son and heir with his own hands.

Elizabeth insisted that poor Lady Mary was not beautiful enough by half for a destiny so august, and that she had just had the smallpox and would not be able to survive either the journey or the climate.

The Lady was nicknamed at the Court as the "Empress of Muscovia" and was much teased about the wooing of the Czar Ivan Grozny, the Terrible. * fn. 57.

Sir Sidney Lee contends that this incident lay behind the masquerade scene of the disguised Muscovites of the king Navarre and his lords in *Love's Labour's Lost.*

As early as 1591, as mentioned earlier, appeared Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Commonwealth,* which had given a detailed account of Russia and its customs and practices.

Richard David surmises that the reading of this work must have

fn. 55. Ju, Tolstoy, *art, cit.*, str. 68-69. & *Puteshestviya Russkikh Poslov XVI-XVII vv. Stateinye Spiskii*, M-L, 1954, str. 153-4. Cited in Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1965, str. 791, prim., 23.

fn. 56. *loc. cit.*

fn. 57. Crankshow, p. 64. & Richard David, *op. cit.*, "Introduction", p. xxx.

inspired the remarkable "Revels" at Gray's Inn during the Christmas season of 1594-95.

Chambers is not in tune with Richard David in his contention that 'the Muscovite mask can have nothing to do with the wooing of Lady Mary Hastings for the Emperor of Muscovy in 1583, but does reflect an English interest in Russian affairs, and perhaps it derives from the similar use of Russian apparel on 6th January 1593 in the Gray's Inn's Revels which were also adorned by *the Comedy of Errors*.' * fn. 58.

The 'Russians' of *Love's Labour's Lost* are accompanied by black-moors, who in Richard David's word 'may be a reflection of the 'Negro Tartars' of the Gray's Inn's Revels. * fn. 59.

One of these Negro Tartars might well have been a progeny of 'your Muscovian straungers. . .brought upon one stage in ships made of Sheep-skins' (* fn. 60) and in due time will appear as 'Othello, The Moor of Venice,' the black Moor of Shakespearean tragedy, *Othello*.

Shakespear's later tragi-comedy, *The Winter's Tale* was first performed on 15th of May in 1611.

Leontes, the king of Scicily, and his dearest friend Polixenes, king of Bohemia, had been 'trained together in their childhoods,' and 'the heavens continue their loves.' (Act. I, Sc. i, 22).

When they reached man's estate however each had to go and rule over his kingdom.

After many years Polixenes came from Bohemia to the Sicilian court to pay a visit to his friend, king Leontes.

After a nine months' stay Polixenes was preparing to depart, when Queen Hermione, at the desire of her husband, joined her entreaties to his that Polixenes would prolong his visit. Polixenes refused to stay at the request of Leontes, but was won over by Hermione's gentle and persuasive words to put off his departure for some weeks longer.

Leontes took it into his head that Hermione liked Polixenes better, for 'to mingle friendship far, is mingling bloods.' (Act. I, Sc. ii, 109)

fn. 58. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 1966, p. 335-336.
fn. 59. Richard David, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi. & *ibid.*, p. 141, Note for line 121.
fn. 60. Richard David, *ibid.*, p. 141, Note for line 121.

Leontes' diseased mind saw that Polixenes 'have touch'd his queen.' (Act. I, Sc. ii, 191), and ordered Camillo, his lord and cupbearer, 'to bespice a cup, to give mine enemy a lasting wink.' (Act. I, Sc. ii, 316-7)

Camillo exclaimed in remonstrance in vain : 'Good my lord, be cur'd Of this diseas'd opinion.' (Act. I, Sc. ii, 297-298)

Camillo, instead of poisoning Polixenes, acquainted him with the king his master's orders :

Cam. I am appointed him to murder you

Pol. By whom, Camillo ?

Cam. By the king. (Act. I, Sc. ii, 413-15)

Camillo fled with Polixenes out of the Sicilian dominion.

The flight of Polixenes enraged the jealous Leontes still more, and he vented his wrath on Hermione : 'She's an adultress. . .she's a traitor, and Camillo is / A federary with her. !' (Act. II, Sc. i, 89-90)

Leontes sent her to prison : 'Away with her to prison !'
(Act. II, Sc. i, 104).

In due course of time king Polixenes had Hermione brought to a public trial before all the lords and nobles of his court.

[*Enter* Hermione *guarded* ; Paulina *and Ladies attending*.]

Leon. : Read the indictment.

Officer : Hermione, queen to the worthy Leontes, king of Sicilia, thou art here accused and arraigned of high treason, in committing adultery with Polixenes, king of Bohemia, and conspiring with Camillo to take away the life of our sovereign lord the king, thy royal husband : the pretence whereof being by circumstances partly laid open, thou, Hermione, contrary to the faith and allegiance of a true subject, didst counsel and aid them, for their better safety, to fly away by night. (Act. III, Sc. ii, 11-21)

Hermione firmly held her head and pleaded her innocence undaunted.

I doubt not then but innocence shall make
False accusation blush, and tyranny
Tremble at patience. (Act. III, Sc. ii, 30-31)
. . .To me can life be no commodity ;
The crown and comfort of my life, your favour,

I do give lost, for I do feel it gone,
But know not how it went...
But yet hear this : mistake me not : no life,
I prize it not a straw, but for mine honour,
Which I would free : (Act III, Sc. ii, 94-111)

Hermione declares in defiance, and asked the Court to send for the judgement of God Appollo's in the temple of Delphi.

A Lord. This your request
Is altogether just : therefore bring forth,
And in Apollo's name, his Oracle. [*Exeunt certain Officers.*]

Her. *The Emperor of Russia was my father* :
O that he were alive, and here beholding
His daughter's trial ! that he did but see
The flatness of my misery, yet with eyes
Of pity, not revenge !
(italics mine) [Act. III, Sc. ii, 115-123]

The main source of *A Winter's Tale* (1611) is Green's *Pandosto* (1588). Shakespeare took *Pandosto* and quarried material from it for the play *fn. 61

Pafford maintains : '*Pandosto* the Emperor of Russia is not the father of Bellaria (=Hermione) but of the wife of Egistus (=Polixenes), but the introduction of the Emperor here gives 'a sense of majesty and pathos' and the old feeling of tragedy as 'de casibus virorum illustrium', which Chaucer used for the subtitle of his *Monk's Tale.* *fn. 62

Dover Wilson regards 'the mention of her father by Hermione at this point is a fine touch of Shakespeare's art'. *fn. 63.

fn. 61. J. H. P. Pafford ed. *The Winter's Tale*, p. xxvii.-viii, "Introduction" (xv -llxxxix). *Pandosto : the Triumph of Time* was reissued later with a title *The History of Dorastus and Fawnia.*

fn. 62. J. H. P. Pafford, *The Winter's Tale*, p. 60, Note for line 119. Chaucer's *Monk's Tale* greatly owes to Boccaccio's *De Casibus.* The Adam, Hercules, Nero, and Samson in *the Tale* 'have commonly been held to show the influence of the *De Casibus.*' (F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 1957, 2nd ed. p. 746.)

fn. 63. Dover Wilson, ed. *Winter's Tale*, 1931 ; rept. 1950, p. 153(Note).

As Hermione's father was 'the Emperor of Russia' so the Pandosto's Egistos, king of Sicilia, had a wife whose father was also the Emperor of Russia. This is because toward the end of the sixteenth century the English had for sometime taken keen interest in the land and people of the Muscovy. So that there were made innumerable references to the words 'imperator,' 'Czar' and 'velikii knyaz.' (grand Duke).

Thomas Cowper's (1517-1594) Dictionary (*Thesaurus Lingvae Romanae et Britannicae* (1565; 1584) enters the word *Moscovia* in its appendixed small dictionary of proper names : (*Dictionarium Historicum et Poeticum propria locorum et personum vocabula breviter complectus*) 'the Muscovites have a great duke, who names himself emperour of Russie.' * fn. 64.

In the title page of Fletcher's *Of the Russe Commonwealth. or...* (1591) the word 'Emperor' appears as part of the longish title. as '...or Maner of Gouernement by the Russe Emperour, (Commonly called the Emperour of Moskouia) with the manners, and fashions of the people of that Countrey.'

John Draper argues that the title of 'Emperor' instead of 'Duke of Muscovy' was borrowed not through Poland or ports of Baltic Sea, since Ivan the Fourth's claim to the title of Emperor had been rejected by the Poles as early as 1588. * fn. 65.

As that may be, when Harmione declared that 'Emperor of Russia was my father,' the name of Boris Godunov, protector of the English merchants, might well have been recalled to the spectators' mind.

Shakespeare might well have expressed his regret to the deceased Boris Godunov (1605) in the mouth of Hermione 'O that he were alive, and here beholding / his daughter's trial...' in *the Winter's Tale*, which was put into print in 1611. * fn. 66.

Mention must also be made to a remark to the corner of the frame of G. I. Mikulin's portrait, which was painted in 1600. '*Imp. Russiae legatus*' (ambassador of Russian emperor). * fn. 67.

fn. 64. Alekseev, *Shekspir*, 1965, str. 798, prim., 53.
fn. 65. Alekseev, *ibid.*, str. 798, prim., 53.
fn. 66. *loc. cit.*
fn. 67. Alekseev, *op. cit.*, str. 103, prim., 67.

References to Boris 'the Emperor' were found in *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage and Entertainment in Russia. With tragicall ends of the two Emperors, and one Empresse, within one Monats during his being there.* *fn. 68

The book gives account of Sir Thomas Smith's embassy to the court of Boris Godunov from the end of 1604 to the beginning of 1605, and anonymous author, George Wilkins, (*fn. 69) who had never been to Moscow, collected materials for his book from the people who had been with the embassy.

Another reference to 'The Emperor' is located in Thomas Heywood's historical drama entitled "If you know not me, you know nobody." (1605)

The drama was concerned with the English victory against the invincible Armada of Spain (August 8, 1588), and with the founding of the Royal Stock Exchange by Thomas Gresham (1519-1579), whose name is immortalized in *Gresham's Law* in the discipline of ecomonics. *fn. 70.

In the first scene of the first Act Thomas Gresham set a banquet for a Russian ambassador. When everything was ready for the celebratory dinner "entered Gresham, and after him the ambassador. Music. The ambassador takes his place. Entered Sir Ramsay, two lords, Lady Ramsay, attendants and an interpreter."

Gresham welcomes them and introduces them to a foreign guest.

...This Russian prince, the Emperor's ambassador
does not understand our tongue. Interpreter !
Tell him that we are glad of him.

Interpreter : The Prince speaks in Latin,
And in that tongue I shall not interpret for him.

Thenceforward Gresham, lords and the Russian ambassador held very lively conversation in Latin.

In this scene the Russian ambassador was anxious to know in what

fn. 68. Alekseev, *ibid.*, str. 103, prim., 68.

fn. 69. George Wilkins is a second-rate London writer, pamphleteer and poet of the beginning of the seventeenth century. (Alekseev, "pervye Vstrechi," p. 93, prim., 44.)

fn. 70. W. J. Draper, "Shakespeare and Muscovy," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1954, vol. XXXVIII, Nr. 80 (December) p. 218. Cited in Alekseev, *Shekspir.*, str. 786, prim., 53.

language he ought to speak with the Queen, and he was told that 'in spite of her being a woman the Queen is a rare expert in languages' and that 'without the help of an interpreter she can speak on her own (〈propria voce〉) Spanish, Latin, French, Greek, Dutch and Italian languages.' * fn. 71.

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