International Shakespeare and *The Winter's Tale*

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The purpose of this article is to put Shakespeare in context, not just as an English writer but as an international one. His international impact begins during his lifetime, partly as a result of English actors on the continent and partly as a result of Shakespeare's own choice of subject matter. He drew on stories and histories from many countries beyond his own, and he was influenced by what was happening outside of England. One indication of Shakespeare's importance as an international writer is the ongoing struggle for the "ownership" of the Bard. As a cultural icon, he has been attacked, defended, almost worshipped, and very nearly confiscated.

Shakespeare is practically everywhere, and surprisingly, has always been practically everywhere. For instance, there is a replica of Shakespeare's original Globe Theatre in London. That's to be expected. But there are also replicas (among other places) in Cedar City, Utah, in Rome, in Prague, and in Gdansk. There are approximately 120 Shakespeare festivals in America, but the website shakespeare.about.com under the category Shakespeare: Festivals and Theatre Companies: Europe offers a chance to "search a database for over 1300 festivals from Andorra to the [sic] Ukraine."[1]

One indication of Shakespeare's importance to people outside of England is the argument about whether Shakespeare himself was English or not. Many people agree that he's not, and then they disagree as to what country he really came from and which country understands him best. *Star Trek* parodies the issue in *Star Trek VI* when the Klingon leader says, "You have not experienced Shakespeare until you've read him in the original Klingon."[2] Sicilian Professor Martino Iuvara (basing his conclusion on the work of two professors at the University of Palermo between 1925-1950) claims that Shakespeare was an Italian named Michelangelo Florio

Crollalanza. Crollalanza (which means Shakespeare in Italian) changed his name and his country of residence.[3] Ivan Turgenev, speaking on the 300th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, said, "Для нас Шекспир не одно только громкое, яркое имя...он вошел в нашу плоть и кровь...каждому знакомы и дороги созданные им образы...образ Гамлета не ближе, не понятнее нам, чем французам, скажем более - англичанам?" ("Shakespeare for us is not just a big, bright name...he is part of our flesh and blood... Everybody knows and loves his characters... And don't we Russians better understand Hamlet than let's say, the French—or the English.")[4]

Hungarian theatre director Arthur Bardos directed *Hamlet* in England in 1949. When he was asked by the BBC what it was like to do so, he replied, "Of course, it's a great honor and challenge, but to tell you the truth, it's strange to hear the text in English because I am used to the original version translated by Janos Arany."[5] The Germans call Shakespeare "*unser* Shakespeare" our Shakespeare. It's sometimes hard to remember that *der Schwan vom* Avon is not really Wilhelm Shakespeare. After all, many Germans believe that the classical German translation of Shakespeare by Tieck and Schlegel is better than the English original. At the same time that Turgenev was claiming Shakespeare for the Russians, the Germans for the 300th *Geburtstag vom Barden* were founding the first Shakespeare society, *die Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft.* Their annual journal is *Das Shakespeare-Jahrbuch.* As an indication of its openmindedness it is published in both German and English.[6]

The English, of course, keep trying to claim Shakespeare for themselves, as a national and not an international poet. The essential position that underlies many English responses to the Bard is something like this: Shakespeare is universal and immortal, but to have those qualities in full measure, he must be English. One of the clearest and earliest assertions of this position came in 1769, when the successful London actor David Garrick staged a Shakespearean Jubilee in Stratford and then put on a play about it in London. Shakespeare was proclaimed to be better than writers from any other country, and the play showed that certain categories of spectators such as Frenchified aristocrats, Stratford peasants, and Irishmen (Captain O'Shoulder) were simply unable to comprehend Shakespeare's English brilliance. This is, as some English newspapers at the time pointed out, more about commerce and power than about Shakespeare.[7] Nevertheless, by 1814 in *Mansfield Park*, Jane Austen wrote, "Shakespeare one gets acquainted with without knowing how. It is part of an Englishman's

constitution."[8] Writing in his diary on October 29th 1815, Napoleon Bonaparte would have agreed, though his evaluation of the English and their poet was considerably more negative. He said, "People take England on trust, and repeat that Shakespeare is the greatest of all authors. I have read him: there is nothing that compares with Racine or Corneille: his plays are unreadable, pitiful."[9]

However, for good or ill, it was by then and had been for over a hundred years too late to confine Shakespeare to that one sceptered isle. Shakespeare was always international in his plots, in his characters, and in the places where his plays were played. In his *Guide to Shakespeare*, Isaac Asimov divides the plays according to the countries where they take place. By his account there are 15 English plays (and one of those is British/Roman, one is Scottish, and one is Danish), 12 Italian plays (though *Measure* is in Vienna, *Twelfth Night* is in Illyria, and *Tempest* is partly in Bermuda), 7 Greek plays (counting *Midsummer* and *Winter's Tale* as Greek), and 4 Roman plays.[10]

In 1585, English actors went with the Earl of Leicester's army when it landed in the Protestant Netherlands. One of those actors was Will Kemp, for years the main comic actor in Shakespeare's company. "The first unquestionable records of British instrumentalists and actors performing outside Britain"[11] are in Elsinore (now Helsingor) also in 1585. They returned in the following year, and three of the principal actors listed in the First Folio were part of the company.[12] Shakespeare had good information about Europe from literary and many other sources, and he used it brilliantly.

One of the best examples is *The Winter's Tale*, even though the Russian connections to and background for the play are seldom mentioned by scholars.[13] Perhaps one reason is that literary critics use literary sources more often than historical ones. Perhaps another reason is the partial quarantine of Russian materials that began with the Soviet takeover following World War I and intensified after World War II with the Cold War. Whatever the reason or reasons may be, the connections are too clear to be ignored.

Shakespeare's romance *The Winter's Tale* tells the story of two countries—Sicilia—the country of spring, rightfully possessing a sea coast—and Bohemia—a country of winter, granted one by Shakespeare for the purposes of his plot. Leontes, the jealous and tyrannous king of Sicilia, causes the deaths of his son, Mamillius, and his wife, Hermione, and orders that his baby daughter, Peridita, be abandoned in the wilderness. Leontes has brought winter into

his wonderful spring kingdom. Happiness will not return to Sicilia until "that which is lost" is "found." So proclaims the "oracle."

Though *The Winter's Tale* might seem pure fancy, it mirrors the events of its time. Moreover, "as Shakespeare composed his romance for staging in 1611, winter and Muscovy were in fashion."[14] The use of winter in the title and the fact that Leontes' Queen Hermione can lawfully claim "The Emperor of Russia was my father"[15] allows us to see parallels with the history of this so-called Country of Winter and to argue that Hermione's heritage is not merely an exotic detail, but an integral element of the play. As Daryl Palmer says, "Shakespeare…goes out of his way to inflect his drama with a Russian accent."[16] When Hermione says of her father, "Oh that he were alive, and here beholding / His daughter's triall"[17], she can mean no one but Ivan IV, Ivan the Terrible (*Groznii*). He was the first of Russia's rulers "to visualize himself as ... Tsar"[18] or emperor, and he was certainly well known to Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

In 1553, the English government backed an expedition by the Muscovy Company of Merchant Adventurers that went in search of a northeast passage. The survivors spent the winter in what was to become Archangel, "and in the spring pushed overland to the court of Ivan the Terrrible."[19] The resulting connection between England and Ivan's court, which was to last until his death, was of vital importance. As Norman Jones says, "Need for new markets and sources of foreign exchange drove English merchants into the world in a way undreamt of by their fathers."[20] The English not only established what were sometimes exclusive trading rights with Russia, they also traveled overland in Ivan's large and expanding country and set up trading stations, opening yet other markets. Anthony Jenkinson, searching for trade routes for the Muscovy Company and reporting also to Ivan himself, drew the "First coherent map of Russia"[21] in 1562. "For his part, Ivan was already imagining new labors for the Englishman. What mattered to the Russian ruler was Jenkinson's extraordinary gift for dealing face-to-face with strangers, his cultivation of familiarity."[22] Arthur Edwards reached the court of the Shah of Persia in 1569.[23]

In addition to the glory of the adventures and the value of the trade goods, there was also a more personal connection between Ivan the Terrible's Russia and Shakespeare's England. Ivan asked for Queen Elizabeth's hand in marriage and "he required that Elizabeth sign a secret agreement to claim sanctuary in his court, as well as he in hers."[24] Elizabeth offered Ivan sanctuary whenever he felt the need of it, but she refused the other two requests as

tactfully as possible. Though he was angered by the refusal, Ivan clung to the notion of escaping to England and to the idea of marrying Elizabeth, or failing that, one of her kinswomen, for the rest of his life. (A fascinating state of affairs that is almost never mentioned in biographies of Elizabeth I.) In a 1584 meeting with Jeremy Bowes, the English ambassador, Ivan declared "that he was so determined to marry one of Queen Elizabeth's kinswomen that he had come to the conclusion that he must himself go to England and claim his bride."[25] "England ... shone like a vision of paradise for him,"[26] but unfortunately, Ivan died a few weeks after that conversation. Boris Godunov, Ivan's eventual successor as Tsar, also had plans for English marriages but for his children, not himself.[27] Ivan the Terrible's affection for England had been such that upon his death, the Russian "chancellor appeared in the apartments of Jeremy Bowes ... to say with malice, 'The English Emperor is Dead'."[28]

Many English merchants and diplomats of the time saw the Empire of Ivan *Groznii* as "an imperfect analog to England."[29] And many of Ivan's character traits and experiences are echoed in *The Winter's Tale*. To an audience (such as the one at James's court in 1613) with proper background information, the play unveils additional meanings and shows Shakespeare's alternative scenario for the flow of history.

Jacobean England (and James himself) had a special interest in Russia, Ivan the Terrible, and rulers who might succeed him. Following the deaths of Ivan *Groznii* and Boris Godunov, Russia experienced a great crisis, later given the name of "Time of Troubles." After 1605, it became "a shaken nation which proved unable to unite behind a successor for fifteen years."[30] And for some time King James I was considering the possibility to become "the politique father" for Russia. In 1612, "John Merrick, chief agent for the Muscovy Company ... was proposing that the king [James I] make Russia a protectorate."[31] In fact, in 1613 "Merrick left . . . with two sets of instructions, one detailing the protectorate . . . the other recognizing whatever ruler happened to be in place when they arrived."[32] Only Mikhail Romanov's installation as Tsar prevented James from attempting the grandiose project.

So it is plausible to suppose that the audience of the time welcomed the references to the country of Ivan *Groznii*. To make these references more plentiful and meaningful, Shakespeare had to shift some of the characters' connections in his original source—Greene's *Pandosto*. "In Greene's story, that is, the Russian connection is to the Polixenes character and matters incidentally."[33] Following

the fashion of the time, Shakespeare increased the Russian elements in his play. It is not only Hermione's reference to her father that sends the minds of the audience to Russia to take a close look, it is the whole kingdom of Sicilia that resembles the Empire of snow. And King Leontes himself is no one but Ivan *Groznii*. Thus, in *The Winter's Tale* we see a clear parallel of Sicilian kingdom and Russian empire. One of Shakespeare's contemporaries George Turberville describes the Russia of the time as "savage soyle, where lawes doe beare no sway / But all is at the King his will, / to save or els to slay."[34] Doesn't this description apply to the kingdom of Leontes? What laws, what regulations does he follow in carrying out the tyrannous punishment of his wife? Does the oracle possess any authority for Leontes? Nothing has the power to control or stop this "jealous tyrant." Like Ivan *Groznii*, he easily accuses and discards a wife, distrusts his subjects, and causes the death of his own son. I. Garin suggests about Ivan *Groznii*, that "любимейшей забавой молодого царя было жениться" ("getting married was the Tsar's favorite amusement").[35] And in *The Winter's Tale* why would Paulina be so nervous about Leontes' second marriage if the possibility were not real? Doesn't Leontes wish Perdita for himself, not knowing she's his own daughter? "I'd beg your precious mistress" as a "trifle,"[36] he says to Florizel when the Bohemian prince asks Leontes to "step forth mine advocate; at your request / My father will grant precious things as trifles."[37]

It seems as though Shakespeare is deliberately trying to make Leontes as much like Ivan *Groznii* as possible. For example, "Ivan's temper ... always grew more violent in winter."[38] "Ivan lost two of his daughters by Anastasia in infancy."[39] And Anastasia herself, who was Ivan's first and most beloved wife, was described by the English ambassador Jerome Horsey in words that make her sound very much like Hermione, "This empress became wise and of such holiness, virtue, and government, as she was honored, beloved, and feared of all her subjects."[40] "Her death threw Ivan into paroxysms of grief."[41] Ivan's recreations, as reported by Giles Fletcher in *Of the Russe Commonwealth*, included watching men fight bears.[42] Often, the man's fate was the same as that of Antigonus. One of Ivan's courtiers did what Camillo would not. His name was Bomelius, he had a degree in medicine from Cambridge University, and he "was a superb poisoner"[43] who varied the time it would take the poison to act according to the Tsar's instructions.

It is interesting to look at Hermione's position in the play. On the one hand, she is the daughter of "the Emperor of Russia" and, on the other hand, she is married to him. Right before the

oracle is read, Hermione says, referring to the Russian Emperor, "Oh 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![44]

In this speech the Sicilian queen suggests that even Ivan the Terrible would have pitied her. But does she realize that Leontes is the incarnation of the Russian Emperor? Probably not, and only the audience having the appropriate historical background information can predict the outcome of the trial. Shakespeare puts Hermione in a double position relating her twice to the same person. This allows him to show two perspectives on the then-popular Russian ruler. For some his terrible temperament and aggression brought horror and distraction; for others, the Tsar's favorites at the moment, the name meant protection. And Hermione mentions her father at the moment when her life is under a mortal threat.

It is worth noting that the queen's words are not commented on by Leontes. Just after Hermione's lines end, there is a shift in the action, and the oracle is brought by Cleomenes and Dion, who "have Been both at Delphos." Shakespeare sets it up so Leontes doesn't have to answer Hermione's warnings and accusations. Of course, it would have been pretty hard for him to do so, since he is himself Ivan *Groznii* to an extent.

Looking at *The Winter's Tale* from the perspective of historical events at that time, its Russian references become clearer and easier to recognize. Also, the play reveals many more parallels and linkages with Russia than it might at first seem. If Sicilia is the country of spring which now has to go through the "winter In storm perpetual" it is because its ruler is a tyrant. Such a set up in the play clearly parallels Russia at that time.

But Shakespeare's goal in writing *The Winter's Tale* was not to present the history of another country in iambic pentameter. He set out to create a world of romance, where there is always a place for a second chance, and forgiveness is granted on request, without any hesitation. Making Leontes resemble Ivan *Groznii* and providing the happy ending for the play, Shakespeare suggests that another historical scenario was possible for Russia.

Shakespeare shows the troubled kingdom of Leontes, and thus of Ivan *Groznii*, and that such troubles can be cured by the power of youth. Unfortunately for the real Ivan, who murdered his son, such a cure was no longer available. But Shakespeare shows his belief in the triumph of youth and forgiveness. In *The Winter's Tale* he pictures a battle between the Old and the Young, between

winter and spring. And this is why the bear, which "carries symbolic and cultural associations; ideas of winter and tyranny"[45] eats Antigonus (representative of the Old) and leaves Perdita (hope of the Young). The play suggests that spring always comes after winter. The change of seasons is inevitable; hope and happiness replace the misery of distrust and accusation. Spring comes back to Sicilia, and "A sad tale" which is "best for winter" is no longer told in the kingdom of Leontes. It is likely that there was at least some connection to the question which was soon to be put to James I and must already have been swirling in the gossip of London: Should the King of England become the protector of Russia?

Meanwhile, the interaction between the actors on the continent and Shakespeare was indeed an interaction, a two-way border with the actors scattering over Europe, and Shakespeare sometimes responding. For instance, the famous Pickle Herring character is a clear influence on Autolycus, and there is even a reference to him as early as *Twelfth Night* with Sir Toby Belch's double entendre when he first sees Feste, "A plague o' these pickleherring!"[46]

From Denmark and the Netherlands, the English actors spread out through Europe, visiting courts and market towns, including Frankfurt, Paris, Strasbourg, Gdansk, Warsaw, Prague, Konigsburg (now the Russian city of Kaliningrad), Dresden, and Ghent. The companies did their best to avoid the Thirty Years' War, the English Revolution, the collapse of Elizabeth (James I's daughter) and Frederick's (the Elector Palatine) attempt to establish themselves in the kingdom of Bohemia (1619-20 was the brief good time there), and other unpleasantnesses. Poland (which mostly remained neutral) was very attractive.[47] In Ghent in 1624, there is a record of John Green's company doing 42 plays, including *The Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet*, *The Tragedy of Julius Caesar*, *The Tragedy of Hamlet*, and *The Tragedy of Lear, King of England* .[48] Shakespearean adaptations had been performed earlier, but the publication of the First Folio made everything so much easier! Green was probably the originator of Pickleherring, the clever fool who became and remained so popular throughout Europe that he was even added to tragedies. Perhaps the best example of this is a German version of *Romeo and Juliet* first performed as early as 1604 and revived following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In it, Pickleherring suggests that Juliet could have 10 husbands (with him being one) and not just Romeo and Paris. He refers to the corpse of Tybalt as "a parcel of snot . . . bleeding like a pig," and he is not much kinder to the dead Juliet, whom he describes as "stretched out like a log, as stiff as a frozen stockfish."[49] With the German companies

(who sometimes described themselves as English Comedians), Pickleherring went on to Russia, where he became Prince Pickleherring, possibly because the Russians could not imagine so foolish a character without a title.

The Russian experience with Shakespeare is in some ways typical and in others unique. Ultimately, as the Easternmost European nation and the largest country on Earth, it is an extraordinary example of Shakespeare's international impact. Russia's first direct acquaintance with Shakespeare took place in the middle of the 18th century. The first play presented to the Russian audience was an adaptation of *Hamlet* by the Russian playwright Sumarokov in 1750. Though the play was a clear adaptation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the Bard's name did not appear on the title page. Later, this mistake was taken care of by Catherine the Great, who translated and adapted *The Merry Wives* in 1786 and for the first time in Russia put Shakespeare's name on the printed page. Catherine was working with a German "original" and claimed her adaptation to be "A free but weak translation from Shakespeare."[50] Staged in the same year it was published, *Merry Wives* became a Russian play known as *This Is What It Means to Have a Buck-Basket and Linen.* Catherine's version was an adaptation; indeed, she set the play in St. Petersburg and gave all the characters Russian names. Sir Hugh Evans becomes Vanov, the Fords are transformed into Fordov and Fordova, Master Page is known as Papin, and so on. Falstaff appears as Polkadov and represents a Frenchified Russian dandy who enjoys French wine and constantly shows off his a la mode outfits and French vocabulary.

Hamlet has had much influence on the literatures, philosophies, and even the moods of most European countries, but nowhere has his influence been greater than in Russia. The play was extraordinarily popular from the nineteenth century on. "The principal reason for the sustained interest of the aristocracy lay in the romantic fascination with the character of Hamlet himself. Russian aristocrats felt a strange kinship with this privileged court figure torn between the mission he was called on to perform and his own private world. . . By the early nineteenth century there seemed nothing surprising in a Russian aristocrat's leaving his boat to make a special pilgrimage to 'the Hamlet castle' at Elsinore."[51]

The "Hamlet question" led to aristocratic and artistic suicides, but it also became a "search for the meaning of life" and "inspired the turn to 'the people' by Belinsky (and the radical populists after him)."[52] Perhaps the most surprising re-imagining of the Prince (and one of the closest to Shakespeare's original character) was

Boris Pasternak's in the poems he appended to Doctor Zhivago. In Pasternak's words, "Hamlet is not the drama of a weak-willed character, but of duty and self abnegation. . . Hamlet is chosen as the judge of his own time and the servant of a more distant time."[53] In the hands of Pasternak, who was also a translator of Shakespeare's plays, Hamlet had been transformed and, of course, personalized yet again, the Prince once more became the perfect symbol, part of the interplay between audience and author.

Although Shakespeare was wildly popular under the Tsars, he did not become less so under the Commissars. "Of all playwrights, Shakespeare was the most attractive for theatres, schools, and research institutes because he represented the highest artistic value approved by Marx and Engels themselves. Even the dyed-in-the-wool apparatchiks didn't dare to attack him openly."[54] Samuel Marshak, a Soviet writer and translator of Shakespeare, pointed out that Shakespeare could attract Russians even in the most difficult times. In his presentation at the Shakespeare Conference in Stratford-on-Avon in 1957, Marshak said, "Недавно мне довелось увидеть старую афишу, извещавшую о шести пьесах Шекспира, представленных в один и тот же вечер 1920 года, - а поверьте мне, 1920 год не был для нас легким годом." ("Recently I came across an old theatre poster, which announced six Shakespeare plays being performed during the same night of 1920—and believe me, 1920 was not the most calm year for us.").[55]

Marshak also says that "На сценах наших театров, даже в самых отдаленных маленьких городках, Шекспир - не редкий гость, а постоянный жилец. И о талантливости наших актеров судят по тому, насколько успешно они справляются с шекспировскими ролями." ("On our stage, even in small and most remote towns, Shakespeare is not a visitor, but a permanent dweller. The talent of our actors is measured by the success of their Shakespearean roles."[56] Marshak goes on, proudly declaring that "За сорок лет существования Советского Союза общее количество изданных у нас на различных языках томов с произведениями Шекспира только на одну или две тысячи не дошло до трех миллионов." ("For the forty years of the existence of the Soviet Union the total number of copies of Shakespeare's works published falls only one or two thousand short of three million copies.")[57]

In wartime Leningrad, "Thousands of spectators wrapped in furs, blankets, and mufflers jammed the unheated halls and applauded. . . Othello."[58] On the radio were *Hamlet* and *Romeo and*

Juliet.[59] "Over the years 1945-1957 alone, the Soviet stage saw more than 300 productions of Shakespeare's plays."[60] Roman Samarin tells the story of trying to purchase a copy of Shakespeare's sonnets as translated by Samuil Marshak. It was in the 1960s in Moscow. He writes, " 'What do you expect?' the young saleswoman in the bookshop turned on me indignantly when I ventured a grumble at the instantaneous disappearance of the *Sonnets*, which had materialized briefly on their shelves that very morning. 'After all, it's Shakespeare!' And you should have seen her face, alive with contempt for the dilatory purchaser, and with understanding of the importance of those *Sonnets*, which the Moscow public, always quick to snap up anything new in the way of books, had been tracking down all over the city from the moment the shops had opened. The great Englishman's reflected glory shone back at me from the eyes of this youthful creature, so serenely conscious of the true worth of William Shakespeare."[61]

On March 8, 2003, for International Women's Day, a holiday that is considerably more Russian than it is international, the employees of The Institute of Chemistry and Chemical Technology in Krasnoyarsk, Russia celebrated in a peculiarly Russian way. The men read Shakespeare's sonnets aloud to the women.[62] The sonnets were in Marshak's translation, and it would be hard to find a better example of Shakespeare's integration into Russian society. In times of trouble and times of celebration, his voice is as natural, as expected, as that of Pushkin or Turgenev. In the words of Nina Diakonova, "Any really great writer who was the bearer of a message of true humanity, who knew all there was to know about the sufferings of men and women, meant more to Russian readers than to their European counterparts. He became a light in the darkness, a guide, a support, a teacher, acquiring the status of a religious Master."[63] Perhaps in the last analysis the secret to Shakespeare's universal appeal, the reason so many peoples wish to claim him as their own may be found in the words that the great Soviet Shakespearean scholar Alexander Anikst spoke at an international conference in London, "Don't ask for simple answers from Shakespeare! Just believe in Shakespeare, in his greatness, in his wide outlook, in his ability to put into one play a whole world with all its contradictions, contrasts and problems."[64]

Notes

1. www.shakespeare.about.com
2. *Star Trek VI: The Undiscovered Country*. Dir. Nicholas Meyer. Paramount, 1991.

3. "Was Shakespeare Italian?" http:// www.shakespeare.about.com/library/weekly/aa051800a.htm?once=true

4. **И. С. Тургенев, *Речь о Шекспире*,** http://www.az.lib.ru/t/turgenew_i_s/text_0250-1.shtml ., Olga Pilkington's translation.

5. John Elsom, ed., *Is Shakespeare Still Our Contemporary?* (London: Routledge, 1989), 94.

6. "Shakespeare in German 'Der Schwan vom Avon' auf Deutsch," http://www.german.about.com/library/weekly/aa.011501a.htm

7. Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet. Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 218-19.

8. Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (London: Richard Bentley,1882), 54.

9. *Napoleon Bonaparte, The Corsican: A Diary of Napoleon's Life in his Own Words* (Norwalk: The Easton Press, 1993), 469.

10. Isaac Asimov, *Asimov's Guide to Shakespeare* (New York: Avenel Books, 1978).

11. Zdenek Stribrny, *Shakespeare and Eastern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 7.

12. Stribrny, 8.

13. Daryl Palmer's excellent work on Shakespeare and Russia is helping to correct this situation. See his "Jacobean Muscovites: Winter, Tyranny, and Knowledge in *The Winter's Tale*," *Shakespeare Quarterly,* Vol.46, No.3 [Autumn, 1995], 323-339; and his *Writing Russia In The Age Of Shakespeare* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004).

14. Daryl Palmer, "Jacobean Muscovites: Winter, Tyranny, and Knowledge in *The Winter's Tale*," *Shakespeare Quarterly,* Vol.46, No.3 [Autumn, 1995], 323-339; p. 328.

15. William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. Frank Kermode (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1963), 3:2.177.

16. Daryl Palmer, *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), 181.

17. Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, 3.2.118-19.

18. Harold Lamb, *The March of Muscovy: Ivan the Terrible and the Growth of the Russian Empire* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1948), 130.

19. Winston Churchill, *The New World* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1959), 94.

20. Norman Jones, *The Birth of the Elizabethan Age: England in the 1560s* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 227.

21. Lamb, 182.

22. Palmer, *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare*, 55.

23. Jones, 227.

24. Lamb, 187.

25. Robert Payne and Nikita Romanoff, *Ivan the Terrible* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002), 415.

26. Payne and Romanoff, 415.

27. Palmer, *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare*, 183.

28. Lamb, 197-98.

29. Palmer, "Jacobean Muscovites: Winter, Tyranny, and Knowledge in *The Winter's Tale*," 326.

30. James Billington, *The Icon And The Axe, An Interpretive History of Russian Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 102.
31. Palmer, "Jacobean Muscovites: Winter, Tyranny, and Knowledge in *The Winter's Tale*," 327.
32. Palmer, *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare*, 209.
33. Palmer, "Jacobean Muscovites: Winter, Tyranny, and Knowledge in *The Winter's Tale*," 324.
34. Cited in Palmer, "Jacobean Muscovites: Winter, Tyranny, and Knowledge in *The Winter's Tale*," 329.
35. И. Гарин *Пророки и Поэты*, (Москва: Терра, 1994), 2; also available at www. lib.novgorod.net/Shakespeare/p_p.txt Olga Pilkington's translation.
36. Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, 5:2.223.
37. Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, 5: 2. 221-222.
38. Payne and Romanoff, 204.
39. Payne and Romanoff, 205.
40. Payne and Romanoff, 174.
41. Payne and Romanoff, 173.
42. Giles Fletcher, *On the Russe Commonwealth. 1591 Facsimile Edition with Variants* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), 110.
43. Payne and Romanoff, 316.
44. Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, 2.117-121.
45. Palmer, "Jacobean Muscovites: Winter, Tyranny, and Knowledge in *The Winter's Tale*," 332.
46. William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, ed. Bruce R. Smith (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001), 1:5. 94-95.
47. Stribrny, 12-13.
48. Stribrny, 12-13.
49. Stribrny, 22.
50. Stribrny, 29.
51. Billington, 354.
52. Billington, 355.
53. Cited in Billington, 562.
54. Stribrny, 97.
55. http://www. lib.ru/POE ZIQ/MARSHAK/a_shakespiare.txt, Olga Pilkington's translation.
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