

Isaac Massa and the beginnings of Dutch-Russian relations.

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Isaac Massa played a prominent part in the beginnings of diplomatic contact between Russia and the Netherlands. He was a many-sided intellect and has drawn a great deal of attention. Thanks to his eye-witness report on the Time of Troubles he is well-known in Russian historiography. A biography of Massa was written already in 1864 by A. van der Linde; this is still a useful study, although in many ways outdated. In it Massa is described very much in the way seventeenth century heroes were honoured by nineteenth century historians. He was looked upon as an idealist who desired to be useful to his country, as a visionary and as a man who was, alas, thwarted by envious and self-interested enemies. His diplomatic activities were described as more "official" than they were in reality. No later scholar has been able to liberate himself completely from these views<sup>1)</sup>.

Revision of the picture of Massa's life and activities is certainly called for.

In his Introduction to the English translation of Massa's Cort Verhael G. Edward Orchard has described Van der Linde's biography as "in many respects erroneous". Unfortunately also Orchard's Introduction contains many errors: his poor knowledge of both Dutch language and history have led him astray in many respects. It is also not true that Massa's "outstanding gifts as an annalist, geographer, merchant and diplomatic agent are well documented", as Orchard claims, while still considering Massa to be "a rather shadowy figure"<sup>2)</sup>. His activities as a merchant have not been described at all, and it is highly improbable that they will ever become clear, because of lack of material. It cannot be denied that his diplomatic activities have been described very extensively, but unfortunately without any criticism at all. For instance nobody has ever explained why Massa was considered by the Russians as an official envoy, which he was not<sup>3)</sup>. Only by placing Massa's diplomatic activities within the context of Netherlands foreign policy of the particular period we can

get a clear image of them.

In the course of the 16th century the Dutch participated in the early contacts between Russia and Western Europe. They were rivals, and sometimes partners, of the English in their trade on Arkhangel. Dutchmen also settled in Moscow. Well-known are the names of two Dutch physicians of Ivan Groznyi: Eliseus Bommelius and Johannes Eylof. We know little about the experiences of Dutchmen in 16th century Russia. An important source of information is lacking as there were no diplomatic contacts and in consequence no diplomatic reports, a valuable source of information. This must be explained by the situation in the Netherlands, then engaged in revolt against their sovereign, the king of Spain. The ultimate result was that the Northern Netherlands became an independent, Protestant Republic. The public institutions of it gradually developed into a federation of seven independent provinces with each its own state-assembly. Some tasks of government were executed by the provinces collectively, amongst them foreign policy and defense. They were administered by the States-General, assembling daily at The Hague. In practice the power of Holland was overwhelming, although in theory the seven provinces had equal powers. The stadtholder (substitute: a remnant of the monarchical past) of Holland was commander-in-chief of the army. By foreigners he was sometimes looked upon as a monarch and there were stadtholders who more or less assumed that position. These institutions contained an element of uncertainty, which might even lead to instability, sometimes overrated by historians. Especially foreign policy strikes as having been rather aimless. But the Netherlands were developing into an important economic power.

The first diplomatic contact between Muscovy and the Netherlands took place in 1614 on initiative of the tsar. Nearly immediately Isaac Massa was involved in the matter. Massa (1586-1643) was born in Haarlem. His parents were Calvinist refugees from Antwerp, a town conquered in 1585 by the Duke of Parma. We have hardly any information about these parents. In later years Massa spoke somewhat mysteriously about his descent. Perhaps the most concrete information from Massa's side is that his ancestors had shed their blood in France and in Brabant on

behalf of the fatherland and that his father had been a tranquil man, who was a draper when he died in Haarlem<sup>4)</sup>. At the early age of fifteen young Isaac Massa was sent by his parents to Moscow in order to become a trade apprentice. Unfortunately we know neither the name of his master nor to what degree Massa developed into a good tradesman. One thing, however, is very clear: Massa spent his time in Moscow extremely well. What Massa saw and heard during his sojourn in Moscow (1601-1609) was the basis of his famous Cort Verhael (Short Narrative) about the Time of Troubles. He learnt Russian and he was active in collecting material about the geography of Muscovy. Although he had received very little formal education, his curiosity was insatiable. Characteristic of that curiosity is the story of how he was able to acquire a map of Moscow. Nobody in Moscow was willing or able to procure one for him. Now it happened that there was living in Moscow a nobleman who had been wounded in his leg during the siege of Kromy and consequently was leading a life of idleness and boredom at his home. This man learned to carve from one of his servants. He was friendly with Massa's master, from whom he bought damask and satin. In this way Massa came into contact with this nobleman who was interested in life in Holland, its religion, the revolt against Spain and the warlike deeds of Prince Maurits. Massa presented him with engravings of various sieges by this famous general, for which the nobleman showed considerable gratitude. He wanted to do something in return and Massa saw his chance: he requested a map of Moscow. The nobleman, shocked and frightened, told Massa he would have preferred to give him his best horse. Massa had to promise that he would tell nobody whence he had received the picture as the Muscovite was afraid it would cost him his life. But he did present to Massa a beautiful pictorial relief plan of Moscow<sup>5)</sup>. It is to be found in Massa's manuscript of his Cort Verhael presented to Prince Maurits in 1610 or 1611. The latter must have felt flattered by the story, if he ever read it.

In 1608 the situation in Moscow became intolerable. Most foreigners left the town, amongst them Massa, who reached Arkhangel after an eventful journey. From there he sailed to

the Netherlands where he stayed some years. They would become productive ones. Massa was now writing his Cort Verhael, which provides an important contemporary account of the Time of Troubles. He also presents an outline of previous Russian history, in which he proves to be a far less reliable guide. His story becomes valuable as soon as he begins to describe events that he had experienced himself. The book is clumsily written, the composition is weak, but here and there it is a lively story told with expression. Interesting is Massa's very negative judgment of Boris Godunov's reign, and his report of the famine (1601-1603) is horrifying. The history of the false Dmitri cannot be told without Massa's testimony. Soviet historians very much appreciated his description of the Bolotnikov revolt.

The manuscript was dedicated to Prince Maurits, but Massa evidently had also hoped to see his Cort Verhael in print. This did not happen. The manuscript remained in the library of the stadtholders and is still there, although the library is now called Royal Library. Massa's manuscript was rediscovered in the 19th century and published in 1866, edited by a Dutch librarian, A. van der Linde, together with a Russian archivist, Prince M. Obolensky. The Dutch text was published together with a French translation. Very soon the Dutch text was again published in Russia and afterwards two Russian translations appeared. Recently an English translation has been published. Massa's reputation as a historian is a stable one<sup>6)</sup>.

Although the Cort Verhael was not published during his lifetime, Massa had the satisfaction of seeing two essays by his hand appear in print. In 1612 Hessel Gerritsz published his Beschrijvinghe vander Samoyeden Landt in Tartarien (Description of the Land of the Samoyeds in Tartary) in which he included two contributions of Massa: a Description of the lands of Siberia, Samoieda and Tingoesa and an Account of the roads and rivers from Muscovy Eastward. Neither were original as both were adaptations of Russian original manuscripts which must be considered as lost. Massa got the information from friends in Moscow. Included in the collection was an interesting

map of Northern Russia made by Massa and based again on data acquired by him in Moscow. From Massa's essays it becomes clear that he did not believe in the possibility of a North-Eastern passage to India; he therefore declined an offer by Isaac Lemaire in 1609 to participate in an expedition to find it<sup>7)</sup>.

Massa remained only a short time in his fatherland. Very soon he returned to Muscovy, probably in 1613, when with the accession to the throne of Mikhail Fyodorovich Romanov the political situation improved. The new tsar tried to find support in Europe for his insecure position. He sent envoys to the German Emperor and the king of England. Stefan Mikhailovich Ushakov was sent by the tsar as an envoy to Vienna, leaving Arkhangel in June 1613 aboard of a Dutch vessel. Ushakov also carried a letter to Prince Maurits. The letter had an anti-Polish tenor and contained a request for mediation in the war with Sweden<sup>8)</sup>. It is peculiar that the tsar was not writing to the States-General. Ignorance in Muscovy with the Netherlands institutions and the celebrity of Prince Maurits may have been the reason.

In the Netherlands people got wind of the Russian endeavours. Merchants trading on Russia were particularly interested. As early as 12 March 1614 the States-General decided to congratulate the tsar on his accession to the throne. They requested that Netherlands merchants be granted the same rights as those granted to the English<sup>9)</sup>. In the meantime Ushakov together with his secretary Zaborovskii was on his way back from Vienna. In Hamburg they were fetched down by Dutch merchants in order to bring them to the Netherlands, where they were received the 8th of May 1614 in the assembly of the States-General<sup>10)</sup>. The Russian envoys apologised for their unfamiliarity with Netherlands institutions. They were mainly interested in getting assistance against Sweden and Poland. They were offered many opportunities for sightseeing in the Netherlands and on 23 May 1614 they took leave of the States-General, having received a letter to the tsar expressing gratitude for the offered friendship<sup>11)</sup>.

On this memorable 23rd of May 1614 our friend Massa was

also involved in the matter. It was decided in the assembly of the States-General to have a letter written to "Isaac Massa, a young man from these countries, living in Muscovy" together with copies of letters to the tsar and a copy of the Capitulation received from the Turkish sultan in 1612. Massa should try to obtain a similar capitulation from the Muscovite tsar<sup>12)</sup>. Massa was probably chosen to do this job because he was an agent of the influential Amsterdam merchant and burgomaster Gerrit Jacobsz. Witsen<sup>13)</sup> who had been involved in bringing Ushakov to the Netherlands. Massa immediately made himself extremely important, and he was evidently ambitious to acquire a more official position<sup>14)</sup>. Massa played for high stakes in Moscow by representing links between the Netherlands and Sweden as less narrow than they were in reality. He must have strongly impressed Petr Tretyakov, as he was commissioned by the tsar to accompany the first official embassy from Muscovy to the Netherlands. The tsar's envoys, Ivan Gavrilovich Kondyrev and Mikhailo Neverov, arrived at The Hague in October 1615.

Some months earlier the States-General had offered to mediate between Russia and Sweden. An official embassy consisting of Dierck Jacobsz. Bas, Reinoud van Brederode and Albert Joachimi was on its way to Sweden and Russia<sup>15)</sup>. Kondyrev and Neverov handed the States-General a new letter from the tsar. It told of Massa's reception and requested assistance in the form of money and ammunition. The States-General were also requested thenceforth to forbid their subjects to enlist in the armies of Poland and Sweden and to call back the soldiers who were already there<sup>16)</sup>. The States-General answered that their subjects were forbidden to enlist with foreign powers. They had already sent ambassadors to Sweden and Russia in order to mediate. Furthermore the States-General were interested in commercial contacts and wanted their subjects in Russia to enjoy the status of most favoured nation<sup>17)</sup>.

The answer did not greatly please the Russian envoys, but they made the best of it. They returned the letter written to the tsar as he was only named in it as grand duke. Furthermore they asked the States-General to provide them with an interpreter

who would travel with them to France, where they also had to fulfill a mission. Some members of the States-General together with Massa now looked for an appropriate interpreter. That the States-General did not consider the Muscovite embassy to be a matter of the first rank might be inferred from the fact that the interpreter had to be a man "of not too much distinction". Johan de Mortaigne was chosen and, accompanied by Massa, traveled with the Russian envoys to France<sup>18)</sup>.

Only in the spring of 1616 did Massa and the envoys return. The moment had now come when the States-General had to decide the course their relations with Muscovy were to take in the future. There was in the Netherlands a certain pressure to make them more formal and intensive. Especially Amsterdam merchants, trading on Muscovy, were insisting on it<sup>19)</sup>. The problem was how to finance the matter. In the States of Holland and in the States-General there was expressed the view that Massa should be commissioned to watch the English manipulations against Dutch trade in Moscow. He would receive no more than 3000 guilders a year from the state. The rest should be paid by merchants trading with Muscovy<sup>20)</sup>. Evidently these ideas went already too far. On 7 May 1616 the States-General decided that Isaac Massa would travel together with the Russian envoys to Moscow in order to deliver an answer to the tsar. The States-General wrote that they expected a lot from an alliance, but that they could not give any substantial help. They needed assistance themselves in order to safeguard the searoutes. While presents were given to Kondyrev and Neverov nothing was sent to the tsar. Massa was to travel with the envoys to Moscow, deliver the letter to the tsar, and return as soon as possible. His mission was not a formal embassy. He would receive 3000 guilders and nothing more<sup>21)</sup>.

This mission has become Massa's most notorious one. In the beginning it seemed to become also the least successful. In Moscow the court was displeased with the way the Netherlands mediators had behaved during the negotiations with Sweden. The Netherlands ambassadors had suffered immensely from the Russian cold. They had not traveled to Moscow and during the negotiations at Diderin they were far more pro-Swedish than the Russians

had expected them to be. In Moscow the English had outmanoeuvred the Netherlanders. Immediately on his arrival Massa was treated as an official envoy<sup>22)</sup>. He left Arkhangel on 31 July 1616 and arrived in Moscow at the end of September. During his journey and after his arrival Massa was rigidly guarded and practically not allowed to come into contact with Russians. Essentially this was an honour due to his being treated as an official envoy. He might come into contact with Russians only after having seen "the tsar's shining eyes". Probably Massa himself was aware of this, but in any case he did not offer this explanation to the States-General. The situation was very unpleasant for Massa as it made life dull and barred him from the possibility of carrying on private trade. Massa was given to understand that the Netherlands ambassadors had behaved very negatively during the negotiations with Sweden in refusing even to come to Moscow. It is likely that Massa has been able to make use of tensions within the court clique, divided as it was into pro- and anti-English groups. Massa was received by the tsar on 16 April 1617 and had his audience of leave the 20th of June 1617. The 31st of October 1617, having returned to the fatherland, he handed the States-General the letters from the tsar in which they were asked to send an embassy to Moscow, to form an alliance against Poland and to send material assistance<sup>23)</sup>.

On the personal level Massa raised a fuss over the costs of his mission. He claimed that due to his house-arrest in Moscow he had not been able to carry on trade and that his mission had cost him money. He asked for an extra grant. Remarkably the States-General had more or less forgotten what exactly the conditions were under which Massa had been commissioned. Some members of the States-General had to go through the old resolutions. After some deliberating it was eventually decided that Massa would receive another 2000 guilders, but he should bother the States-General no more<sup>24)</sup>.

As peace between Sweden and Muscovy had been concluded at Stolbovo on 27 February 1617 an important impediment to good relations between the Netherlands and Muscovy was put out of the way. The only enemy of the Russians was now Poland,



a Catholic country closely linked with Spain and therefore also antagonistic to the Netherlands. It was again decided by the States-General, however, not to have a resident ambassador or agent in Moscow. The tsar's request could be excused by pointing out the threat of war from the side of Spain, incited by the Pope and the Jesuits, who were also enemies of the Russians<sup>25)</sup>.

Remarkably Massa, having had some displeasure about his costs, was again offering to travel to Moscow in order to deliver the States-General's letter to the tsar. Only after some consideration did the States-General agree with this proposal. Massa would receive 300 guilders, substantially less than he had received for his previous mission<sup>26)</sup>.

Massa did not leave for Moscow immediately. Surprisingly a new Russian ambassador, Ivan Baklanovskii, arrived at The Hague on 8 June 1618. This man had been sent in 1617 by the tsar to Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands with a request for assistance against the common enemy Poland<sup>27)</sup>. He was not received too well at The Hague. The States-General had not been informed of his coming and they were not enthusiastic about paying the costs of his visit<sup>28)</sup>. Yet it was now decided to give some assistance to the tsar. Pressure from merchants trading with Muscovy had turned the scale. The decision was made to send ammunition to the value of 20,000 guilders<sup>29)</sup>.

Thus Massa did not arrive emptyhanded in Moscow after having accompanied Baklanovskii. This time he had not only an audience with the tsar, but also meetings with the tsar's father, patriarch Filaret. Massa's position was also easier this time, as the English had fallen into disfavour in Moscow. But after his return into the Netherlands, the States-General were not very much interested in his message. The 21st of November 1619 he appeared in their meeting with the tsar's letters that he had to translate himself. Only on 2 March 1620 was his report read. Again there was some displeasure about his costs. Ultimately he received another 400 guilders and again he was told to bother the States-General no more<sup>30)</sup>.

One is inclined to judge severely the lack of zest of the States-General for establishing closer links with Muscovy,

especially as there was pressure in the Netherlands to have a diplomat reside in Moscow. A group of Amsterdam merchants requested the States-General on 14 May 1620 to promote trade with Persia through Muscovy and to have closer links with Moscow. The request favourably judged Massa's good offices. The States-General, however, decided to do nothing and only remarked that the merchants should put their signatures under the request<sup>31)</sup>. Only a year later the matter came up again in the assembly and again nothing happened<sup>32)</sup>. Understandably historians have condemned the States-General as irresolute. Stinginess and lack of vision have been frequent reproaches addressed to the government of the United Provinces.

There are other aspects to the problem. The Netherlands had other matters to worry about. Naturally war efforts against Spain had a higher priority. Receiving foreign ambassadors and sending diplomats to foreign courts was a costly and delicate matter. The States-General required a lot of tact to walk the slippery ground of European diplomacy. One must also bear in mind that the institutions of the Netherlands had not yet taken definite shape. The inland provinces were unwilling to spend money on financing the costs of embassies to Muscovy. The idea was that those interested in trade with Muscovy should bear the costs. This line encountered the difficulty that the Dutch were carrying on private trade in Muscovy. The Dutch merchants were not combined in a chartered company, as the English were. They competed with one another and it was therefore difficult for them to finance jointly the costs of an embassy. Still, comparing Netherlands commerce and diplomacy in the 17th century with that of the English one must admit that the Dutch did on the whole rather well. Trade was flourishing and although there were no great diplomatic successes, neither did the Netherlands suffer diplomatic disasters.

Last, but not least it should not be forgotten that during these years there was a violent conflict raging in the Netherlands over the form of government which, combined with religious disputes, nearly erupted into civil war. In 1619 this cost the life of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, one of the founders of the Netherlands Republic. In this situation there

were more pressing problems than establishing relations with a distant country that had an unstable government.

Of course this was a little hard on Massa: no doubt he hoped for some diplomatic post in Moscow. However, we must not feel too sorry for him. His life was sufficiently interesting and he must have attained a relatively well-to-do situation. This becomes clear from his marriage contract with Beatrix van der Laen, the daughter of an ex-burgomaster of Haarlem<sup>33)</sup>. In 1624 we meet him again in Moscow, but it is remarkable that concerning this visit the resolutions of the States-General are silent<sup>34)</sup>. Massa had not given up his ambitions to become a diplomat. Letters of his to the tsar survive, in which one might read that he would like to enter the tsar's service. In these letters Massa also informed the tsar about the political situation of the Republic in 1626. The letters were intercepted in Moscow by some Dutch merchants who, being no friends of Massa, translated them and sent them to the States-General in order to demonstrate what a dangerous man Massa was. The States-General did not do too much with these letters. They were put away in the "secret cupboard" of their archives. Massa had not committed real treason, although he went a little far in giving confidential information. It is hardly amazing that Massa offered his services to the tsar as such things happened often in that period. Massa told the tsar that he was not willing to stay at home, that he liked to travel and he proposed to serve the tsar in England, France, Denmark and Sweden<sup>35)</sup>.

We only know about fragments of his life. He has been traced in Stockholm in 1625. Also the Swedish king had received a lot of information from Massa<sup>36)</sup>. Here he received the honour that was his due - at least in his own eyes: he was ennobled by the Swedish king<sup>37)</sup>. In 1629<sup>38)</sup> and perhaps also in 1634 he was again in Moscow<sup>39)</sup>. Massa was involved in no way in the first official Netherlands embassy to Muscovy of Albert Burgh and Johan van Veltdriel in 1630-1631. But in 1635 the States-General did make use of his services as a translator<sup>40)</sup>. In 1639 his wife died and he subsequently married Maria van Wasenberch. From each marriage he had two children. At least one of his sons must have inherited his love for Russia: his

son Abraham served as an interpreter in Coenraad Burgh's embassy to Moscow<sup>41)</sup>.

Concerning Massa's activities as a merchant we are poorly informed. It seems likely that Massa was primarily a factor of Amsterdam merchants and that his own trade was secondary. In his early years he must have had close links with the aforementioned Gerrit Witsen, and he had also contacts with the well-known merchant Elias Trip<sup>42)</sup>. In 1626 Massa requested the States-General to grant him a charter for a trading company to Muscovy<sup>43)</sup>. He did not receive a patent and we do not know what became of his plans. In these years Massa was also planning to dig canals in order to link the Caspian Sea and the Baltic with each other<sup>44)</sup>: at least some proof that he was interested in the Persian silk trade. In 1628 he was involved in plans to found a company that intended to monopolize the grain trade from Russia<sup>45)</sup>.

Although we do not know too much about Massa's life, we have a rather sharp outline of his personality. He must have been a very restless person, he liked to travel, was involved in numerous projects and liked to come into contact with the mighty and wealthy of the world. He also had intellectual and artistic interests. How he himself wished to be considered becomes clear from a poem he had printed under the engraving made in 1635 from his painted portrait by the famous Frans Hals<sup>46)</sup>:

By hatred, envy plagued, he rose to fame with emperor  
and king  
Whose favour he acquired, as faithful service was his  
mission.  
The country's states did trust him, but their love was  
slackening  
When jealous people blamed him. God, however, buttressed  
his position  
And he acquired more favours - from the mighty master of  
the Goths,  
Thus he can flout the envious moths,  
Ennobled and enriched, and wait for bless eternal with  
fruition.

The original Dutch is clumsy and the translation<sup>47)</sup> has improved it.

In writing about "master of the Goths" Massa meant of course the Swedish king. The image of Massa's career is, however, very subjective and one should not write Massa's biography in the same tenor. Massa was more interesting and fascinating than he described himself here. He was an intriguer, a traveller, a planmaker, a marginal figure who did not fit into bourgeois society, but he was not a complete outsider. It is characteristic for people of this sort that they get more recognition abroad than at home. Of Massa this is still true. Even nowadays he is better known in the Soviet Union than in the Netherlands. This is a pity. A reputation is something that he at least deserves.

## Notes:

- 1 The biography mentioned is A. van der Linde Isaac Massa van Haarlem : een historische studie Amsterdam : Muller, 1864. A French translation, slightly enlarged and improved "Etude sur Isaac Massa" appeared in: Isaac Massa Histoire des Guerres de la Moscovie (1601-1610) ; ed. M. Obolensky et A. van der Linde, 2 vols. Bruxelles : Olivier, 1866. Vol. II p. I-CXVI (in these notes quoted as: Massa). Very important is V.A. Kordt "Ocherk snoshenii Moskovskago gosudarstva s Respublikoiu Soedinennykh Niderlandov do 1631 goda" in: Doneseniia poslannikov Respubliki Soedinennykh Niderlandov pri russkom dvore : otchet Al'berta Burkha i Iogana fan Fel'tdrilia o posol'stve ikh v Rossiuu v 1630 i 1631 godakh. Sankt Peterburg : s.n., 1902 (Sbornik Imperatorskogo Istoricheskogo obshchestva ; vol. 116). p. I-CCCXLVII. Overwhelmingly giving facts, extracts of documents etc., Kordt's essay, however, falls short in analysis. Massa's merits for geography have been treated by J. Keuning "Isaac Massa, 1586-1643" in: Imago Mundi 10 (1953) p. 64-79. Keuning gives also some more data about Massa's family. About the relations between the Netherlands and Russia is still important J. Scheltema Rusland en de Nederlanden beschouwd in derzelder wederkeerige betrekkingen. 4 vols. Amsterdam : Gartman, 1817-1819.
- 2 Isaac Massa A short history of the beginnings of these present wars in Moscow under the reign of various sovereigns down to the year 1610 ; transl. and ed. G. Edward Orchard, Toronto etc. : University of Toronto Press, 1982. p. ix.
- 3 Kordt p. CXLIX and C.C. Uhlenbeck Verflag aangaande een onderzoek in de archieven van Rusland ten bate der Nederlandsche geschiedenis. 's-Gravenhage : Nijhoff, 1891. p. 19-21.
- 4 Kordt p. CXVI is quoting Massa's letter of 2 August 1614 (passage deleted by Obolensky and Van der Linde in Massa I p. 225-231) rec. 27 October 1614 Staten-Generaal 7361 (A.R.A. = Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague). Massa's text is not very clear and I think Kordt's interpretation is wrong. In my opinion Massa meant to say that Zebrehtsen (a Dutch merchant in Arkhangel?) had accused Massa of being the son of a runaway monk from the Pierre Potsmonastery in Antwerp. That might have been an interesting indication about Massa's descent. Research in the Antwerp town archives did not lead to any result. (Information from J. van den Nieuwenhuizen.)
- 5 Massa I p. 154-155 and II p. 165-167.
- 6 In 1868 the Dutch text was published by the Arkheograficheskaia Kommissia, Isaac Massa Een cort verhael. Sanktpeterburg : s.n. (Skazaniia inostrannykh pisatelei o Rossii = Rerum rossicarum scriptores exteri ; vol. II). A Russian translation appeared in 1874: I. Massa i E. Gerkmans Skazaniia o smutnom vremeni v. Rossii ; transl. A. Shakhovskoi ; ed. E.E. Zamyslovskii. Sankt-peterburg : s.n.; better known is I. Massa Kratkoe izvestie o Moskovii v nachale XVII veka ; ed. and transl. A.A. Morozov. Moskva : Sotsekgiz, 1937. In English there is now the translation by Orchard quoted in note 2. Unfortunately the translator has not been able to cope with the difficult Dutch text.
- 7 The essays have been reprinted and translated several times in the 17th century. A facsimile of the Dutch edition of 1612, the Latin translation of 1613, is Hessel Gerritsz, I. Massa and De Quir[os] Detectio freti Hudsoni, or Hessel Gerritsz's

- collection of tracts ; augm. with a new English transl. by F.J. Millard. Amsterdam : Muller, 1878.
- 8 The tsar's letter received January 1614<sup>1</sup> Staten-Generaal 7361 (A.R.A.).
- 9 The Resolutions (decisions) of the States-General have been published until 1622 in the "Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën" (R.G.P.). The relevant volumes are: Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal... 1613-1616 ; ed. A.Th. van Deursen. 's-Gravenhage : Nijhoff, 1984. (R.G.P. Grote Serie ; 151). Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal... 1617-1618 ; ed. J.G. Smit. 's-Gravenhage : Nijhoff, 1975. (R.G.P. Grote Serie ; 152). Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal... 1619-1620 ; ed. J.G. Smit en J. Roelevink. 's-Gravenhage : Nijhoff, 1981. (R.G.P. Grote Serie ; 176). Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal... 1621-1622 ; ed. J. Roelevink. 's-Gravenhage : Nijhoff, 1983. (R.G.P. Grote Serie ; 187). Sometimes, however, I have had to quote the original handwritten resolutions kept in the archives of the States-General (A.R.A.), as the printed ones did not give all the necessary information. The resolution of 12 March 1614 is to be found in Resolutiën 1613-1616 p. 220.
- 10 Resolutiën 1613-1616 p. 248.
- 11 Only in the handwritten resolution 23 May 1614 Staten-Generaal (A.R.A.).
- 12 Resolutiën 1613-1616 p. 257.
- 13 I conclude this from Massa's letter from Arkhangel 2 August 1614 mentioned in note 3, again the passage deleted by Obolensky and Van der Linde.
- 14 His letters from Arkhangel printed in Massa I p. 225-240, especially p. 239.
- 15 Their instruction d.d. 15 August 1615 in Resolutiën 1613-1616 p. 492-493.
- 16 Letters from the tsar rec. October 1615 Staten-Generaal 7361 (A.R.A.).  
Resolutiën 1613-1616 p. 526-527.
- 17 Resolutiën 1613-1616 p. 529.
- 18 Resolutiën 1613-1616 p. 532-533.
- 19 See the request of Amsterdam merchants to have sent Lambert Massa, Isaac's brother, to Moscow in Resolutiën 1613-1616 p. 553.
- 20 Resolution States of Holland March/April 1616 (no exact date; A.R.A.) and resolution Staten-Generaal 25 April 1616 (A.R.A.).
- 21 Resolutiën 1613-1616 p. 618-619. His instruction p. 623.
- 22 Kordt p. CXLIX.
- 23 The tsar's letters, together with Massa's report rec. 31 October 1617 in Staten-Generaal 7361 (A.R.A.).
- 24 Resolutiën 1617-1618 p. 278, 296, 343, 344, 350, 355, 358, 380. The remark that he should no more trouble the States-General only in the handwritten resolution 27 April 1618 Staten-Generaal (A.R.A.). He did, however, receive another 500 guilders resolution 3 May 1618 Staten-Generaal (A.R.A.).
- 25 27 April 1618 in Resolutiën 1617-1618 p. 380.
- 26 Resolutiën 1617-1618 p. 402, 405, 408.
- 27 Kordt p. CLXI.
- 28 Resolutiën 1617-1618 p. 412.
- 29 Resolutiën 1617-1618 p. 426, 428, 429, 434.
- 30 Resolutiën 1619-1620 p. 307, 397.
- 31 Resolutiën 1619-1620 p. 466. The request has been printed in Massa I p. 252-263.

- 32 Resolutiën 1621-1622 p. 161.
- 33 The marriage contract in Rechterlijke Archieven in Zuid-Holland, Lisse 5 fol. 13-16 (A.R.A.).  
There is a beautiful double portrait in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, by the famous Dutch painter Frans Hals, described as portrait of Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen. See however Seymour Slive Frans Hals. 3 vols. London : Phaidon, 1970. Vol. I p. 67. Sive is sceptical about the question whether the couple do present Massa and his wife.
- 34 Uhlenbeck p. 21. Uhlenbeck is here describing documents kept in what is now TsGADA, Moscow.
- 35 Staten-Generaal 12584-33 (A.R.A.). The letter quoted here is dated 20 June 1626, the other one 20 April 1626.
- 36 Letters from Massa to Axel Oxenstierna in Oxenstiernska Samling E 658 (Riksarkivet, Stockholm). I am indebted to Mason C. Hoadley for procuring me copies of these letters.
- 37 Kordt p. CLXXXVII. Text of the letter-patent of nobility in Keuning p. 72 note 2.
- 38 Kordt p. CXCIV.
- 39 Uhlenbeck p. 24.
- 40 Resolution 19 April 1635 Staten-Generaal (A.R.A.). Massa was by then living in Haarlem.
- 41 Keuning p. 71, 73.
- 42 P.W. Klein De Trippen in de 17e eeuw. Assen : Van Gorcum, 1965. p. 154, 159.
- 43 Resolution 17 and 23 January 1626 Staten-Generaal (A.R.A.). Massa II p. LXXII-LXXV.
- 44 Nicolaes van Wassenaer Historisch verhael aller gedenckwaerdiger geschiedenissen die van den beginne des jaeres 1621... tot 1632 voorgevallen zijn. 21 vols. Amsterdam : Jan Jansz., 1622-1635. Vol. 14 p. 41.
- 45 Notarial acts 15 December 1628 printed by D.S. van Zuiden "Nieuwe bijdrage tot de kennis van de Hollandsch-Russische relaties in de 16e-18e eeuw : bronnenpublicatie uit de Amsterdamsche notaris-protocollen" in: Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek 2 (1916) p. 258-295, the here quoted documents p. 270-274.
- 46 Hals made at least two portraits of Massa. One is now in the Art Gallery of Ontario, the other one is in the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego. Then there is the famous double portrait in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (see note 33) and a portrait in oval form, owned by the Duke of Devonshire. Slive III p. 13 is about this last portrait again not sure whether the portrayed man really is Massa.
- 47 I owe the translation to Thomas Eekman, to whom I am indebted in many other respects.

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