

*Rudolf Filipović:*

## **Shakespeare in Croatia**

### I.

During his life Shakespeare was not known outside England, although he had great success in English theatres. But even there his plays were not performed during the Puritan Republic from the closing of the theatres by order of Parliament in 1642 until 1660 when the Stuart monarchy was restored by the return of Charles II to his capital.

The Restoration theatre revived Shakespeare, but adapted him to the taste of the new public. It was not before the 18th century that Shakespeare was properly studied and performed again in the original text. It was then that Shakespearian studies were founded in England: a great interest began to be shown in Shakespeare's life and the original text of his plays. At the same time Shakespeare began to penetrate into some other European countries: France, Germany and Russia. The translators, however, did not follow the original text, but produced adaptations and it was in this form that Shakespeare's plays were performed in continental countries for quite a long time.

In France J. F. Ducis's adaptations were performed. In Russia Shakespeare was given in the Russian translations of French adaptations. In Germany there were several adaptations and they were used by German theatre companies when they performed Shakespeare in Germany or abroad. It was in these German adaptations that Shakespeare was performed in Austria and at the beginning of the 19th century in Croatia. Later when a need was felt for a Croatian version of one of Shakespeare's plays it was made from these German adaptations and not from the original.

## II.

In three main Yugoslav territories Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia the interest for Shakespeare and his plays started in the period between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. Then his name appeared for the first time in literature and some fragments from his plays were translated either from adaptations or very rarely from the original. The history of Shakespeare in Slovenia was written by Dušan Moravec in his study »Shakespeare pri Slovencih«<sup>1</sup> (Shakespeare among the Slovenes) and there we read that Shakespeare's name was mentioned for the first time in Slovene literature by the dramatist and historian Anton Tomaž Linhart in 1780, while the first translation into Slovene is a fragment from *Romeo and Juliet* translated by Ivan Vrban and printed in the almanack *Lada* in 1864.

The history of Shakespeare in Serbia appeared under the title of *Shakespeare in Serbia*,<sup>2</sup> written by Vladeta Popović. Popović stated that Shakespeare's name and quotations from his works had appeared for the first time in Serbian literature in 1810 in a book entitled *Alexis and Nadina* or *An Englishman in America*. The book was translated from English by a teacher of languages, Joakim Vujić. Every chapter of the story begins with a quotation from Shakespeare, but Vujić retained only two: one from *The Merchant of Venice* and another from *Measure for Measure*. And the first translation from Shakespeare in Serbia appeared some forty years later: it was a fragment from *Romeo and Juliet*, "Capulet's orchard", that was translated by Laza Kostić and appeared in the journal *Srpski letopis* in 1859.

In part of my doctoral thesis of 1947 *English literature in 19th Century Croatia*, I dealt with the history of Shakespeare in Croatia. Although this thesis has not been published<sup>3</sup> I did print in 1948 a shortened version of the part dealing with Shakespeare in a booklet written in Serbo-Croat: *Shakespeare i Hrvati*<sup>4</sup> (Shakespeare and the Croats) but only in 100 privately printed copies.<sup>5</sup> So the history of Shakespeare in Croatia is in fact being presented here for the first time in order to complete the survey of Shakespeare in Yugoslavia (the other

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<sup>1</sup> *Slavistička revija*, II, (Ljubljana 1949) 1—2, pp. 51—74, 3—4, pp. 250—291.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1928, 128 pp.

<sup>3</sup> A long summary of it, under the title of "Anglo-Croatian Literary Relations in the 19th Century", was published in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, (London) Vol. XXXII, No. 78, Dec. 1953, pp. 92—107.

<sup>4</sup> Zagreb 1948, 16 pp.

<sup>5</sup> Copies of this booklet can be found in some libraries.

two studies have been available to the public for years<sup>6</sup>) and as my contribution to the Shakespeare quatercentenary that is being celebrated this year all over the world. I still hope that a complete study of Shakespeare in Croatia or better still, of Shakespeare among the Yugoslavs, in the form of a book covering the whole field will be printed sooner or later. Until then all I should like to do here now, in an article whose space is limited, is to show how and when Shakespeare was introduced to Croatia, when the Croats mentioned his name for the first time, how often his plays were translated and performed in the theatre, how many Croatian writers, especially those who were creating modern Croatian literature, knew Shakespeare and read his plays, what they learnt from him and how much they were influenced by Shakespeare.

In order to do this I must go as far back as the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, to the period when there was no Croatian theatre and when the beginning of modern Croatian literature could be only faintly seen. That was the period of Croatian cultural history when people did not read so much as we read today, when in Croatia there were hardly any newspapers and journals, when all Croatian cultural life was under very strong German and Italian influence and consequently people hardly knew anything about England and English literature. So if at that time a Croatian writer knew something about Shakespeare and his plays this consequently had a greater significance and a much greater effect on the development of Croatian literature.

### III.

The theatre-going public in Croatia got acquainted with Shakespeare's plays in the second half of the 18th century when some German theatre companies came to Zagreb and performed several German adaptations of Shakespeare's plays.<sup>7</sup> The first contact was made through German and had, of course, very little impact on Croatian literature. These German adaptations preserved hardly anything of the real Shakespeare as they were very much simplified. Very often one could find just enough of the formal elements and of the original plot to be

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<sup>6</sup> *Shakespeare in Slovenia* is coming out this year in its second and revised edition in a special volume to celebrate the Shakespeare quatercentenary.

<sup>7</sup> Blanka Breyer: *Das deutsche Theater in Zagreb (1780—1840)*. Zagreb 1938.

able to identify the source. (In the case of a kajkavic translation of such an adaptation in 1791 one cannot even trace the original. It is believed that Shakespeare's name was put in the subtitle merely to advertise the play.)<sup>8</sup>

So if we want to quote the first performance of one of Shakespeare's plays in Croatia we have to refer to a German adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, that was performed in Zagreb in 1785.<sup>9</sup> Then followed the adaptations of *Hamlet* in 1802, of *Macheth* in 1804, of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1811 and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1826. In the same year, in 1826, *Hamlet* was played in a German translation from the original, in 1827 *King Lear* and *Othello* and in 1839 *The Merchant of Venice*.<sup>10</sup>

The German-speaking theatre-going public in Zagreb was lucky enough to see even some real Shakespeare at the time when adaptations of Shakespeare's plays were more popular and more common than the translations from the original. But unfortunately, there was no Shakespeare in Croatian at that time; a Croatian theatre did not exist then. We have to wait until the birth of the Croatian theatre to see Shakespeare's name on the Croatian repertory. The first Croatian drama was played on June 10th 1840 and in the first season (1840—41) *Romeo and Juliet*<sup>10a</sup> was performed in an adaptation which is generally considered to be very bad.<sup>11</sup> It was, however, slightly corrected and improved by Dimitrije Demeter who translated the tomb scene from the original. This was first Shakespeare in Croatian. The Zagreb journal *Croatia* praised the performance, reported the great interest and applause of the audience, but strongly objected to the adaptation: "It is a pity that the translation was not made from the original of the great Briton... The only exception worth praising is the scene in the tomb which was corrected according to Shakespeare who deserves such labour of love for his beautiful love-story from Verona."<sup>12</sup>

That work of Demeter's was not without effect on his original literary work. When the following year (in 1842) in

<sup>8</sup> Nikola Andrić: *Izvori starih kajkavskih drama. Rad*, Vol. CXLVI, 1901.

<sup>9</sup> Blanka Breyer: *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Cf.: Vladimir Lunaček: *Građa za povijest Hrvatskog kazališta. Prve godine prošlog stoljeća. Njemačko kazalište na pozornici baruna Kulmera. Obzor*, 1922., No. 236. pp. 1—2.

Milan Ogrizović: *Pedeset godina Hrvatskog kazališta*. Zagreb. 1910.

<sup>10a</sup> *Romeo i Julija*. Translated by D. Demeter from Weisse's German adaptation.

<sup>11</sup> Slavko Batušić: »Prva preradba Shakespearea na zagrebačkoj pozornici«. *Kazališni list*, 1946—7, No. 41.

<sup>12</sup> *Croatia*, No. 34, 23. XI 1841.

the literary journal *Kolo*<sup>13</sup> appeared his epic poem *Grobničko polje*, there was a line in which he speaks about the "bone-ashes of the lovers from Verona".<sup>14</sup> In a note added to this line we read: "The tragic love of Romeo and Juliet... is well known to the whole world from Shakespeare's beautiful tragedy".<sup>15</sup> In Demeter's romantic drama *Teuta* literary critics (Franjo Marković<sup>16</sup> and Vladoje Dukat<sup>17</sup>) find several reminiscences from Shakespeare's plays especially from *Richard II* and *Julius Caesar*.

Another contemporary of Demeter's Antun Nemčić was also quite familiar with Shakespeare's plays, particularly with *Romeo and Juliet*. In his travel book *Putositnice*<sup>18</sup> he speaks about *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello* in several places<sup>19</sup> and informs his readers even about biographical data of Shakespeare.

Although it has been generally agreed upon that the first published example of Shakespeare in Croatian is the above-mentioned translation of *Romeo and Juliet* (of 1841), this is not the earliest translation of Shakespeare in Croatian literature. Several years before 1841 there lived in Croatian Zagorje (at Marija Bistrica) an abbot, Ivan Krizmanić,<sup>20</sup> who knew English and read English books. He was one of the predecessors of the Croatian Illyrians and his home at Marija Bistrica was a gathering place and a second home of several well-known Illyrian writers. In his legacy he handed down to posterity among other things two manuscripts of great value and importance. The first is a kajkavic translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*<sup>21</sup> made in 1827. The second is the translation of the Queen Mab speech from *Romeo and Juliet*<sup>22</sup> dated 1836. The

<sup>13</sup> *Kolo*, I, Zagreb, 1842, pp. 1—18.

<sup>14</sup> »Pepeo kosti ljubavnika iz Verone.«

<sup>15</sup> »Tragična ljubav Romea i Julije... svemu je svijetu poznata iz Shakespeareove divne tragedije.« *Ibid.* p. 23

<sup>16</sup> Franjo Marković: *O dru Dimitriji Demetru kao dramatiku ilirske dobe*. *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije*, Vol. 80 (1885), pp. 73—99.

<sup>17</sup> Vladoje Dukat: »Neke shakspereske reminiscencije u Demetrovoj *Teuti*«. *Školski vjesnik*, 1901, pp. 562—570.

<sup>18</sup> A. Nemčić: *Putositnice*. Zagreb, 1845.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 225, 285, 291.

<sup>20</sup> Cf., R. Filipović: "Anglo-Croatian Literary Relations in the 19th Century". *The Slavonic Review*, XXXII, No. 78, 1953, p. 96.

Vladoje Dukat: *Život i književni rad Ivana Krizmanića*. *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije*, Vol. 191, Zagreb 1912.

<sup>21</sup> Raj zgubljen — Pripovest skladno svezanim govorenjem vu dvanajesteh knjigah ispisana po Ivanu Miltonu iz angljanskoga na hrvatski jezik prenešena, 1827.

<sup>22</sup> Flundra — Senje zrokujuća polag — Šakspearova — najglasovitijega dramatičkoga — pismenika od 1564 do 1616 živućega — iz angljanskoga — *Romeo and Juliet*: Nürnberg and new York (sic)... u horvacko prenešena 1836.

former translation is important for us (in spite of the fact that it has been preserved only in manuscript) because it is there in 1827 that Shakespeare's name was mentioned for the first time in Croatia as far as we know. In a note on page 196 of the manuscript Krizmanić, explaining the word *Ariel*, mentions "the well-known English poet Shakespeare".<sup>23</sup> It was much later, in 1837, that Shakespeare's name was mentioned in a printed text: that was in an article "The Origin and Age of well-known Europeans"<sup>24</sup> printed in the Croatian journal *Danica*<sup>25</sup> in which we read that Shakespeare was the son of a butcher.

The latter translation, the Queen Mab speech from *Romeo and Juliet*, which Krizmanić translated into the kajkavic dialect twice, in prose and in verse, is, according to the date that appears on the manuscript, the first Croatian translation from Shakespeare, whom Krizmanić calls on the front page "the most famous dramatic writer".<sup>26</sup>

Another Croatian author of the Illyrian Movement who read Shakespeare in the original was Stanko Vraz. From Vraz's correspondence<sup>27</sup> we learn that he read Shakespeare with two friends of his, Trstenjak and Šoklić. In his letter<sup>28</sup> to Rakovac Vraz quotes two lines from *Hamlet*<sup>29</sup> and even adapts them<sup>30</sup> for the occasion which means that he not only knew English well (he was a successful translator from English<sup>31</sup>) but was also familiar with Shakespeare, which was also proved by Ljudevit Vukotinović in his article printed in the *Hrvatski svjetozor*.<sup>32</sup>

In the forties of the 19th century there was another Croatian writer, Imbro Tkalec,<sup>33</sup> whose knowledge of English allowed him to read Shakespeare. That was also the reason why he had a rather critical opinion about some of the Croatian literary products of that time.<sup>34</sup>

In that period Shakespeare's plays were not translated and there was very little if anything written about him and his works. Some less known Croatian writers, however, show from

<sup>23</sup> »...glasovitog anglianskog pesnika Shakespear-a«.

<sup>24</sup> »Rod i starost glasovitih Europeacah«.

<sup>25</sup> No. 10, 11 March 1837.

<sup>26</sup> »Najglasovitejega dramatickoga pismenika«.

<sup>27</sup> *Vrazova korespondencija*. MSS in the National and University Library, Zagreb, R — 3981.

<sup>28</sup> Zagreb, 30 January 1840.

<sup>29</sup> *There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,  
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.*

<sup>30</sup> *There are more things in heaven and earth  
Than are dreamt of in our philosophy.*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Vladoje Dukat: »O Vrazovim pjesničkim prijevodima s engleskog«. *Nastavni vjesnik*, IX, 1901, p. 187—205.

<sup>32</sup> *Iz ilirske dobe*. Nekolike uspomene na Stanka Vraza. Zagreb, 1878, No. 38, pp. 297—299

<sup>33</sup> In his memoirs *Jugenderinnerungen aus Kroatien*. Leipzig 1894.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*.

time to time that Shakespeare and some of his plays were not entirely unknown to them. In the journal *Danica* we find several articles in which Shakespeare is either mentioned or even discussed, although not from the literary point of view. When Vraz printed in the *Kolo*<sup>35</sup> a national tale from Bosnia *Dram jezika* whose theme is very similar to the pound of flesh story of *The Merchant of Venice*, he added a note in which he pointed out the similarities between the two: "We are surprised that this story contains a theme which the wise Englishman Shakespeare made famous, having described it in vivid colours in his well-known drama, *The Merchant of Venice*."<sup>36</sup>

And then a remarkable advance in the interest for Shakespeare was made which may have been inspired or encouraged by the activities in this field in other Slavonic countries. In *Danica*<sup>37</sup> and *Kolo*<sup>38</sup> there are articles dealing with the translations of Shakespeare's plays into Russian<sup>39</sup> and Polish.<sup>40</sup> Quotations from Shakespeare's plays occur more and more frequently in literary articles written by Croatian writers and even more often as mottos both in English<sup>41</sup> and in Croatian.<sup>42</sup> We find more proofs that leading Croatian authors of that time read Shakespeare. Bogović and Nemčić led the way and this is well reflected in their works. Nemčić says in his travel book *Putositnice* in 1845: "What will the admirers of the great Shakespeare tell me if I do not begin with his knights."<sup>43</sup> In Bogović's dramas Shakespeare's influence is so evident that it has been pointed out several times. Franjo Marković compared Bogović's *Stjepan* with *Julius Caesar*,<sup>44</sup> Vladoje Dukat with *Macbeth* and *Richard III*,<sup>45</sup> while Antun Barac went even further in saying that in Bogović's *Stjepan* we cannot speak only about similarities to Shakespeare's plays or Shakespeare's

<sup>35</sup> Vol. VI (1847). Cf. also: J. Pasarić: *Hrvatska narodna šala*. Zagreb 1923, I, pp. IX—XII.

<sup>36</sup> »Za čudo nam je, što uzdržava zgodu jednu, koju je umnosni Englez Shakespeare proslavio opisavši je živim bojama u svojoj glasovitoj drami *The Merchant of Venice*«.

<sup>37</sup> 1841, No. 47.

<sup>38</sup> 1843, III, p. 111

<sup>39</sup> P. Dubrovsky's letter about Shakespeare's translations into Russian.

<sup>40</sup> K. VI. Zapp's letter about Shakespeare's translations into Polish.

<sup>41</sup> »Imen-dan« (*Danica*, 1849, No. 6) has as a motto three lines from *Romeo and Juliet*.

<sup>42</sup> »Imna Padšim 29. srpnja« (*Danica*, 1848, No. 32) has as a motto a translation from *Macbeth*.

<sup>43</sup> »Što će mi počitatelji velikog Shakespeara, ak s njegovimi vitezi ne počnem.«

<sup>44</sup> Franjo Marković: *O tragičnom problemu u Bogoviću »Stjepanu, posljednjem kralju bosanskom«, i u analognih značajih svjetske dramske literature*. Rad, Vol. 144, Zagreb 1900, pp. 132—197.

<sup>45</sup> Vladoje Dukat: »Shakespeare i Bogovićev *Stjepan, posljednji kralj bosanski*«. *Školski vjesnik*, 1905, pp. 21—25, 84—86, 159—163.

influence on Bogović; Barac had the impression that Bogović wanted to give a Croatian Macbeth in his Stjepan.<sup>46</sup>

In the fifties it was quite natural and common to read in the three literary journals *Danica*, *Kolo* and *Neven* articles in which Shakespeare was quoted or discussed; and Shakespeare's influence on Croatian writers was pointed out in the analyses of their works. In the Zagreb theatre there was no Croatian performance of any play by Shakespeare. The German performance of *Othello* with Ira Frederick Aldridge (1804—1867), the famous Negro actor of that time in the leading part can be considered as the only manifestation of the interest for Shakespeare.

At that time, in 1853, *Julius Caesar* was translated from the original by Antun Kazali<sup>47</sup> in Dubrovnik. This translation was later printed in the Dubrovnik journal *Slovinac*<sup>48</sup> (1880). It is a pity that it was never used in the Zagreb theatre as this was the first Croatian translation of a Shakespeare play from the original in its entirety. Kazali also translated *King Lear*<sup>49</sup> but we do not know exactly when, as it has been preserved only in manuscript.

And then in 1863, about 20 years after the first Croatian performance of a Shakespeare play (*Romeo and Juliet*), another adaptation was given in Zagreb, *The Taming of the Shrew*<sup>50</sup>; and in 1867 *The Merchant of Venice*<sup>51</sup> (also translated from a German adaptation) was performed. Several other translations followed, but all of them also from German adaptations which, although they were of varying quality, still manifested the great interest for Shakespeare and his plays. The number of performances was also increasing from year to year, but the theatre going public did not always show the same interest for those performances. We are told by the *Narodne novine*<sup>52</sup> that "the public does not appreciate as it ought to real dramatic art... the best plays by Shakespeare..."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Antun Barac: *Bogović. Rad Jugoslavenske akademije*, Vol. 245, Zagreb 1933.

<sup>47</sup> Antun Barac: *A. Kazali*. Dubrovnik, 1931.

A. Haler: *Antun Kazali*. Dubrovnik, 1935.

<sup>48</sup> *Jul Cesar*. Djestvo W. Shakespeara, ponašio A. Kazali. *Slovinac*, Dubrovnik, 1880, Nos. 19—23.

<sup>49</sup> MS is kept in the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts in Belgrade

<sup>50</sup> *Ljubav sve može ili Ukročena tverdokornica*, translated by Spiro Dimitrović.

<sup>51</sup> *Mletački trgovac*, the first translation by Jovan Popović, corrected and revised by D. Demeter in 1867 (which was used in the theatre) and the second by J. M. Šporer in 1867.

<sup>52</sup> 1864, No. 15.

<sup>53</sup> »Općinstvo ne cijeni, kako bi trebalo, pravu dramatičku umjetnost... njemu se ljube više štokakve lakrdije, nego najizvrsnija djela Shakespeara ili Schillera«.



In the sixties Shakespeare already occupied such an important place in the literary culture of the majority of Croatian writers that Croatian journals of that time were full of references to Shakespeare. Vraz is a great admirer of *Hamlet*,<sup>54</sup> Velimir Gaj uses Shakespeare's lines as mottos<sup>55</sup> or quotations in his article,<sup>56</sup> L. Svilović compares Shakespeare with Voltaire,<sup>57</sup> B. Lorković makes the characters in his long story *Ispovijest*<sup>58</sup> use the English text from Shakespeare, etc. etc. August Šenoa was in his time one of the best experts in Shakespeare and one of the greatest admirers of his plays. He translated three plays for the Croatian National Theatre: two of them were performed and appeared in book form (*Much Ado About Nothing*<sup>59</sup> and *Romeo and Juliet*<sup>60</sup>) while the third (*As You Like It*<sup>61</sup>) has never been used and has been preserved in manuscript in the archives of the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb. Šenoa also translated one poem (No. XVIII) from *The Passionate Pilgrim*<sup>62</sup> and left unfinished the translation of two other plays, *King Lear*<sup>63</sup> and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.<sup>64</sup> Šenoa did not translate Shakespeare from the original, but from a German adaptation which was very close to the original. But we have learnt about Šenoa's familiarity with Shakespeare's plays and his understanding Shakespeare's art from his theatre reports and his articles "About the Croatian Theatre"<sup>65</sup> and "William Shakespeare".<sup>66</sup>

The Zagreb Croatian National Theatre encouraged translators by a permanent open competition, the result of which was a new series of Shakespeare's translations and performances in the theatre. Then three new plays were translated: *Macbeth*<sup>67</sup> in 1871, *Othello*<sup>68</sup> in 1875 and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*<sup>69</sup> in 1876.

<sup>54</sup> »...mi opet s Hamletom uzviknuti moramo«, a note appended to Vraz's poem *Nepozvani. Gusle i tambure*. Zagreb, 1864.

<sup>55</sup> »Historički aforizmi«. *Danica*, 1865, Nos. 13, 33.

<sup>56</sup> »Zemljopisne vijesti o Bosni i Hercegovini«. *Danica*, 1886, No. 11.

<sup>57</sup> In his article »On Tragedy«. *Glasnik dalmatinski*, 1864, No. 81.

<sup>58</sup> *Dragoljub*, 1868, Nos. 33, 34.

<sup>59</sup> *Mnogo vike ni za što*, the first performance in the theatre in 1868.

<sup>60</sup> *Romeo i Julija*, the first performance in the theatre in 1870. The former was printed in 1873 and the latter in 1883.

<sup>61</sup> *Kako god želite*

<sup>62</sup> *Nauk mladoženji. Naše gore list*, II, 1862, No. 32, p. 254.

<sup>63</sup> *Kralj Lear*

<sup>64</sup> *Ljetni san*

<sup>65</sup> *Pozor*, 1866, Nos. 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 250, 253, 254, 256.

<sup>66</sup> *Vienac*, 1876, No. 41, 672—674; 42, 688—691.

<sup>67</sup> *Macbeth*. Translated by Dimitrije Demeter.

<sup>68</sup> *Otelo*. Translated by P. Brani.

<sup>69</sup> *Vesele žene windsorske*. Translated by J. E. Tomić.

Soon after this Trnski translated six sonnets<sup>70</sup> and Becić one<sup>71</sup>, so that the readers of *Vienac* became acquainted also with Shakespeare's sonnets. All that must have increased Shakespeare's popularity in Croatia among Croatian writers so much that there were very few essays or studies dealing with literary questions (as for instance "Croatian Drama",<sup>72</sup> "the Croatian Novel",<sup>73</sup> etc.) in which Shakespeare and his plays were not either quoted or analyzed. Among the plays of Shakespeare's most often referred to were *The Merchant of Venice* and *Hamlet*. The reason why the former was so often quoted seems to have been the fact that it was already then that the etymology of the word "Argosy" so often used in *The Merchant of Venice* was connected with Ragusa — Dubrovnik.<sup>74</sup>

And now we have reached the period during which we can best see how Croatian writers of that time were building up their literary culture and literary points of view under the direct influence of Shakespeare. We shall mention only a few better known Croatian writers.

Janko Jurković read Shakespeare very thoroughly and this is well evident both in his stories and essays. *The Merchant of Venice* was fresh in his mind when he was writing his article *Basne*<sup>75</sup> and *Hamlet* must have inspired the scene in the cemetery in Jurković's longer story *Razoreni ideal*.<sup>76</sup>

Josip Kozarac in his *Autobiography*<sup>77</sup> states very explicitly what Shakespeare meant to him in his literary work. As a secondary-school boy, says Kozarac, he was very lucky to have a teacher who explained to the pupils the beauties of Shakespeare's plays so well that they all became poets. Later in Vienna Kozarac always had Shakespeare's plays on his desk.<sup>78</sup> The reason was that whenever he would read 20 to 30 lines from any play of Shakespeare he would get enough inspiration to start writing himself.<sup>79</sup>

S. S. Kranjčević is also among the Croatian writers who read and admired Shakespeare especially *Romeo and Juliet*.<sup>80</sup> He had nearly all Shakespeare's plays in his library and in his

<sup>70</sup> *Vienac*, 1873, Nos. 47—49.

<sup>71</sup> *Vienac*, 1882, No. 26.

<sup>72</sup> *Hrvatski svjetozor*, 1877, No. 3.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, 1878, No. 1.

<sup>74</sup> »Ocjena književna«. *Slovinac*, Dubrovnik, 1878, No. 5.

<sup>75</sup> *Danica*, 1853, Nos. 10, 11, 13.

<sup>76</sup> Janko Jurković: *Razoreni ideal*. *Vienac*, 1872, No. 19.

<sup>77</sup> J. Kozarac: »Autobiografija. Pismo D. N. Plavšiću.« *Život* I, 1900, No. 1.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>79</sup> M. Nikolić: »Uspomene na J. Kozarca.« *Savremenik* II, 1906, p. 245—247.

<sup>80</sup> Corović: »Lektira S. S. Kranjčevića«. *Grada za povijest književnosti*. Zagreb, 1927. Vol. 10, pp. 1—100.

literary legacy a fragment of a translation of *Julius Caesar* was found.<sup>81</sup>

We know that Ante Kovačić<sup>82</sup> was very fond of reading Shakespeare and that E. Kumičić knew Shakespeare quite well as in his library Shakespeare's plays were found. Vladimir Nazor's father read Shakespeare in the original all his life.<sup>83</sup> He taught his son Vladimir English and read to him, explained and translated several passages from Shakespeare's plays. It must have been under that influence that Vladimir as a 16-year old boy wrote three poems *Kralj Lear*, *Julija* and *Macbeth*.<sup>84</sup> And later Nazor never stopped being an admirer of Shakespeare, whose works he always had on his desk. If a scene appealed to him while he was reading Shakespeare he would never stop trying until he translated it.<sup>85</sup> The final result of his interest for Shakespeare is his translation of *Macbeth*<sup>85a</sup> which was for quite a long time the only translation of *Macbeth* available in Croatia.

Another Croatian writer Lavoslav Vukelić did all he could to be able to read Shakespeare in the original in order, as he said, to be able to feel all the beauty of Shakespeare's literary work. As a student in Vienna Vukelić used to read Shakespeare every night and started to learn English to read Shakespeare. When he had learnt English well enough his greatest pleasure was to read *Hamlet*, which he then read twice in succession.<sup>86</sup> He also began to translate *King Lear*<sup>87</sup> but never finished it as he died too early.

In the eighties Shakespeare's plays were performed in the theatre even more often and the translations were printed in book form. Every performance and newly printed translation was reviewed in the newspapers and literary journals. The reviewers were good experts of Shakespeare's plays and Shakespearian studies. So when in 1882 *King Lear* was performed in the translation of Josip Miškatović two very serious articles appeared on the occasion of the first performance, one in *Vienac*<sup>88</sup> and another in the *Narodne novine*.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Later printed in the journal *Behar*, 1909—1910, No. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Krešimir Kovačić: »O Anti Kovačiću«. *Savremenik*, 1920, p. 24.

<sup>83</sup> Vlad. Nazor: »Ivan Krnic o Drechslerovom izdanju *Macbetha*«. *Obzor*, 1917, No. 157.

<sup>84</sup> *Iskra*, Zadar, 1894, No. 8.

<sup>85</sup> *Obzor*, 1917, No. 157.

<sup>85a</sup> *Macbeth*. Zagreb, 1917.

<sup>86</sup> B. Budisavljević: »Lavoslav Vukelić«. *Vienac*, 1880, No. 30.

<sup>87</sup> Later printed in his book: *Književno cvijeće*. Zagreb 1882.

<sup>88</sup> 1882, Nos. 22—25.

<sup>89</sup> 1882, Nos. 112, 122.

In 1883 two translations of *Othello* were printed, one by Ivan Trnski<sup>89a</sup> and another by Josip Karlović.<sup>89b</sup> Both books were well reviewed with a detailed analysis in the *Vienac*<sup>90</sup> in Zagreb and in the *Nada*<sup>91</sup> in Split.

By this time Croatian critics learnt so much about Shakespeare that they began to write articles dealing with some special Shakespearian questions. They were particularly interested in the question of Shakespeare's authorship and most of them were against the Baconian theory.<sup>92</sup> Vladoje Dukat wrote several articles against Bacon, considering this theory ridiculous.<sup>93</sup>

While in the sixties the dramatic critics complained about the theatre-going public's negligence concerning the theatrical productions of Shakespeare's plays, now in the eighties the interest for Shakespeare had grown so much that the theatre reviewer of the *Dom i svijet*<sup>94</sup> on the occasion of the new performance of *Othello* in 1885 and of *Hamlet* in 1889 writes that the Zagreb theatre-going public showed such great interest for both plays that the theatre was full.

One step further meant also the appearance of new translations leaning more on the original although not yet without any help from German translations. Such new translations were accompanied by commentaries and notes and regularly prefaced by a general introduction on Shakespeare.

The number of Shakespeare's plays known in Croatia was increased by those that were earlier less known (e. g. *Henry IV*). By the end of the 19th century some Croatian dramatists could not resist Shakespeare's influence and the critics objected to it when it was too evident. One of them criticised Milan Šenoa for having imitated Shakespeare in the minor characters of

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<sup>89a</sup> *Otelo*. Zagreb 1883.

<sup>89b</sup> *Otello*. Zagreb 1883.

<sup>90</sup> 1883, No. 33.

<sup>91</sup> 1883, No. 17.

<sup>92</sup> Josip Pasarić: »Shakespeare i Baco«, *Vienac* 1883, No. 35.  
Mladen Tucić: »Pjesnik Shakespeare nije glumac Shakespeare.«  
*Hrvatska*, 1889. Nos. 50—54.

»Shakespeare ili Bacon«. *Narodne novine*, 1889, No. 6.

N. I. Špun-Strižić: »Povijest Shakespeareove tajne«. *Vienac* 1897, No. 46.

<sup>93</sup> Vladoje Dukat: »Nove knjige o Shakespeareu«. (O Baconovoj teoriji) *Narodne novine*, 1899, Nos. 25—26.

Vladoje Dukat: »Shakespeare i Bacon«. *Narodne novine*, 1903, No. 108.

Vladoje Dukat: »Legenda o Shakespeareu.« *Narodne novine*, 1904, No. 85.

<sup>94</sup> »Kazalište i glazba«. 1891, No. 21.

his play *Kneginja Dora*.<sup>95</sup> The same was the case with S. Miletić's *Boleslav*.<sup>96</sup>

All that must have brought about what is called the golden era of the Croatian National Theatre. During the period when Stjepan Miletić<sup>97</sup> was the intendant of the theatre in Zagreb Shakespeare attained a triumph which was never reached before or since. It was under the influence of Miletić who was a very cultured man, particularly fond of Shakespeare, that Shakespeare's plays stopped being performed in adaptations. It was then that all new translations were done from the original. Miletić knew Shakespeare very well, his Ph. D. dissertation<sup>98</sup> (printed in Zagreb in 1892) deals with Shakespeare's plays and his original dramatic work is full of reminiscences, not to say imitations of Shakespeare. When necessary he also helped the translators or translated himself some of Shakespeare's plays from the original to avoid using adaptations. During Miletić's period (1894—1898) more Shakespeare's plays were performed in the Zagreb theatre than probably in all the time since then. During the first season (1894/5) alone seven plays were given: *Coriolanus*,<sup>99</sup> *Julius Caesar*<sup>100</sup>, *King Lear*,<sup>101</sup> *Hamlet*,<sup>102</sup> *Macbeth*,<sup>103</sup> *Romeo and Juliet*<sup>104</sup> and *The Taming of the Shrew*.<sup>105</sup> Then next season (1895/6) in the new building<sup>106</sup> he added some more plays: *Much Ado About Nothing*,<sup>107</sup> *A Mid-*

<sup>95</sup> H-v in *Nova Nada* 1897, No. 1.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Marko Fotez: *Stjepan Miletić*, Zagreb 1943.

<sup>98</sup> Stjepan Miletić: *Die ästhetische Form das abschliessenden Ausgleiches in Shakespeareschen Dramen*. Zagreb 1892.

<sup>99</sup> Miletić used the old but very good translation by Hugo Badalić which was printed in 1889: *Koriolan*. Preveo (uvod i bilješke napisao) Hugo Badalić, Zagreb 1889.

<sup>100</sup> *Julije Cesar*, translated by August Harambašić and reviewed by M. Grlović in the *Narodne novine*, 1894, No. 277. This translation appeared in the journal *Prosvjeta*, II, 1894; 8, 227—234; 9, 260—267; 10, 292—296; 11, 324—328; 12, 356—362; 13, 388—392. and in book form (Zagreb 1894).

<sup>101</sup> Miletić was unhappy to have to use the old translation by Josip Miškatović of 1882.

<sup>102</sup> *Hamlet*, translated by A. Harambašić in 1887, printed in the journal *Balkan* (1887, Nos. 1—5) and in book form (Zagreb 1887) and produced in the Zagreb theatre in 1889. On Miletić's request Harambašić revised his own translation following the original text for Miletić's production in 1895.

<sup>103</sup> Miletić and Andrić revised A. Harambašić's translation of Schiller's version of 1891 for the new performance in 1895, following the original text.

<sup>104</sup> In the old translation by A. Šenoa: *Romeo i Julija*, Zagreb 1883.

<sup>105</sup> *Ukročena goropadnica*. Translated from the German adaptation by Stjepko Španić.

<sup>106</sup> The new building, today's Croatian National Theatre, was open 14 October 1895.

<sup>107</sup> In the old translation by A. Šenoa, printed much earlier: *Mnogo vike ni za što*. Zagreb 1873.

*summer Night's Dream*,<sup>108</sup> *The Winter's Tale*,<sup>109</sup> *Henry IV, Part One*<sup>110</sup>, *Othello*,<sup>111</sup> and *Richard III*<sup>112</sup>. Until the end of Miletić's era were performed *Twelfth Night*<sup>113</sup>, *Henry IV, Part Two*<sup>114</sup>, and *The Comedy of Errors*<sup>115</sup>. That all makes 10 new first time performed plays and 16 regularly performed plays. By the end of the 19th century *Pericles*<sup>116</sup> (1899) was given and at the beginning of the 20th century *Troilus and Cressida* (1903)<sup>117</sup> and *Anthony and Cleopatra*<sup>117a</sup>.

It would be impossible in this short article to exhaust the very rich material we find in the newspapers and journals of this period. They abound in articles about Shakespeare and reviews of his plays, their performances in Zagreb and Croatian translations. Special articles on Shakespeare were written by many authors dealing with various themes and topics. One of the most successful and most prolific writers was Vladoje Dukat.<sup>113</sup> For quite a long period he was writing articles on English literature, especially on Shakespeare. His intention was to introduce to the Croatian reading public those plays of Shakespeare that were less known. He also wrote articles on some special questions especially those he believed that the Croatian reading public would be interested in. Dukat's articles show the variety of his interest for Shakespeare. Here are only a few examples: "Shakespeare's *Othello* and its Historical Back-

<sup>108</sup> *San ljetne noći* first performed in the translation by Stjepko Španić, and printed in *Vienac*, 1895. 2, 22—26; 3, 36—39; 4, 54—56; 5, 69—71; 6, 86—88; 7, 98—102; 8, 116—119; 9, 132—138.

<sup>109</sup> *Zimska priča*, translated from the German adaptation by A. Harambašić, adapted for the stage by N. Andrić and B. Livadić.

<sup>110</sup> *Kralj Henrik IV*, prvi dio, first performed in the translation from the original by Milan Šenoa.

<sup>111</sup> In the old translation from the German adaptation by Ivan Trnski printed in 1883, first performed in 1885.

<sup>112</sup> *Rikard III*, first performed in the translation from the German adaptation by A. Harambašić and N. Andrić.

<sup>113</sup> *Noć svetih triju kraljeva*, first performed in the translation from the original by Miletić, Andrić, Šenoa and Harambašić.

<sup>114</sup> *Kralj Henrik IV*, drugi dio, first performed in the translation from the original by Milan Šenoa.

<sup>115</sup> *Komedija bludnja*, first performed in the translation by Milan Šrabc (who changed his name into Bogdanović and went on translating Shakespeare's plays for years).

<sup>116</sup> *Perikles, knez tirski*, first performed in the translation from the German adaptation by A. Harambašić.

<sup>117</sup> *Troilo i Kresida*, first performed in the translation of Nikola Andrić from a German adaptation.

<sup>117a</sup> *Antonije i Kleopatra*, first performed in the translation of Nikola Andrić from a German adaptation.

<sup>118</sup> R. Filipović: *Počeci anglistike u Hrvatskoj*. (The Beginnings of English Studies in Croatia) *Zbornik radova I*, Zagreb 1951, pp. 707—751, where chapter IV (pp. 728—740) deals with Vladoje Dukat. The bibliography of his works is added there (pp. 742—750).

ground",<sup>119</sup> "300th Anniversary of *Julius Caesar*",<sup>120</sup> "*The Merchant of Venice* and its Sources",<sup>121</sup> "News on Shakespeare",<sup>122</sup> "Shakespeareana",<sup>123</sup> etc, etc. In his articles he covered nearly all possible questions in connection with Shakespeare. From all his works we get the impression that Dukat, one of the best experts of Shakespeare's works in Croatia at that time, wanted to introduce to the Croatian public the Shakespeare that was less known or not known at all. It was important then to popularize and bring nearer to the reading public all these problems as the interest for Shakespeare was so great that people wanted to know more about him. It was at the beginning of this century that one could read such a specialized analysis of Shakespeare's plays as is Miller's article on Shakespeare and jurisprudence.<sup>124</sup> Miller looks upon Shakespeare's characters from the point of view of law and psychology. According to Miller's standpoint Macbeth is a born criminal, Hamlet is a criminal madman, and Othello is a criminal out of passion.

#### IV

And so we could go on reporting about Shakespeare in the 20th century Croatia. The picture would change a little from period to period as Shakespeare's popularity in Croatia had its ups and downs, but Shakespeare never disappeared from the stage of the theatre<sup>124a</sup> or from the lists of printed books in Croatia.<sup>124b</sup>

Between the two wars there were some attempts to give a Croatian version of Shakespeare's plays. I will mention only two translators whose work deserves to be mentioned. These are: Vinko Krišković and Milan Bogdanović. Krišković translated 24 or maybe even 29 plays, all except *Hamlet*<sup>125</sup> preserved

<sup>119</sup> »Shakespeareov *Otelo* i njegov historijski izvor«. *Vienac*, 1901, 46, 931—933.

<sup>120</sup> »*Julije Cezar*. Povodom 300-godišnjice.« *Narodne novine*, 1901, No. 55

<sup>121</sup> »*Mletački trgovac* i njegovi izvori«. *Narodne novine*, 1902, No 179.

<sup>122</sup> »Novosti o Shakespeareu«. *Narodne novine*, 1904, No. 9.

<sup>123</sup> »Shakespeareana«. *Narodne novine*, 1904, No. 242.

<sup>124</sup> E. Miller: »Šekspir pred forumom jurisprudencije.« *Vienac*, 1903, 1, 11—15; 2, 52—54; 3, 89—90.

<sup>124a</sup> A short survey of Shakespeare on the Zagreb stage up till the present day can be found in "Shakespeare i Zagreb" (Shakespeare and Zagreb) by Slavko Batušić. *Pozorište*, VI, Tuzla, 1904, No. 2—3, pp. 75—94.

<sup>124b</sup> See pp. 73—101 and »Shakespeare: An Annotated Bibliography« in *Shakespeare Quarterly* to which I have been contributing since 1952 (Vol. IV, New York 1953.).

<sup>125</sup> *Hamlet* — Kraljević danski. Zagreb, 1926.

only in manuscript. From the *Introductions*,<sup>126</sup> two volumes of which were printed in 1934 and 1935, we knew that he was translating from English, from very good editions: *The New Cambridge Shakespeare* and *The Arden Shakespeare*. Milan Bogdanović was for some time an official translator for the Zagreb theatre and translated as such a number of Shakespeare's plays. Some of these translations were printed by Matica Hrvatska.<sup>127</sup>

The comparison of the work done in the two centuries would show that there has been a great advance in quality and in the number of copies of the translations printed between the two wars. All that can be considered as a result of Shakespeare's tradition that was built up in the period I have tried to describe in this article. On that same tradition, which runs continuously from the days when Shakespeare's name was hardly known, when his plays were only known by their titles and plots rather than by their great poetic and dramatic values, a new approach to Shakespeare has been built up: modern Croatian Shakespearian studies, headed by the best Shakespearian scholar in Yugoslavia Profesor Josip Torbarina who has achieved international reputation by his studies and interpretations as well as translations of Shakespeare's plays. It was he who first combined high scholarly understanding of Shakespeare's text with a fine poetic feeling for its beauties. The results of his research are a few articles which have introduced him to the world of Shakespearian Studies. I will quote only four of them: two deal with the theory of translating Shakespeare and the other two with interpretation of the text. The first is: "On Translating Shakespeare"<sup>123</sup> the paper that Professor Torbarina read at the International Conference of IAUPE at Lausanne in 1959. The second is "On Rendering Shakespeare's Blank Verse Into Other Languages".<sup>129</sup> The other two articles

<sup>126</sup> *Shakespeare. Predgovori dramama*. Vol. I. Zagreb 1934. Vol. II. Zagreb 1935.

<sup>127</sup> *Koriolan* (Coriolanus), Zagreb 1943; *Hamlet, danski kraljević*, Zagreb 1924 (1950, 1956); *Julije Cezar*, (Julius Caesar), Zagreb 1920 (1951); *Kralj Lear* (King Lear), Zagreb 1919; *Mletački trgovac* (The Merchant of Venice), Zagreb 1947; *San Ivanjske noći* (A Midsummer Night's Dream), Zagreb 1947; *Mnogo vike ni za što* (Much Ado About Nothing), Zagreb 1926 (1952); *Otelo, mletački crnac* (Othello), Zagreb 1919 (1950); *Kralj Rikard III* (Richard III), Zagreb 1923 (1951); *Romeo i Julija* (Romeo and Juliet), Zagreb 1927 (1950); *Ukročena goropadnica* (The Taming of the Shrew), Zagreb 1922 (1952); *Oluja* (The Tempest), Zagreb 1924 (1951); *Na tri kralja ili kako hoćete* (Twelfth Night), Zagreb 1922 (1951). For other details see: *Shakespeare in Croatia: An Annotated Bibliography*. Pp. 73—101.

<sup>128</sup> *English Studies Today — Second Series*. Edited by G. A. Bonnard. Bern 1961, pp. 247—258.

<sup>129</sup> *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagradiensia*. Zagreb 1959. No. 8, pp. 3—12.



are "A Minor Crux in *Hamlet*"<sup>130</sup> in which Torbarina gives his interpretation of a line from *Hamlet*: "Observe his inclination in yourself", and the paper read at the International Shakespeare Conference at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1961 in the course of a symposium on "Shakespeare's Impact Today: The 'Nakedness' of the Shakespearian Tragic Hero".<sup>131</sup>

Fortunately when revising a few of the translations of Bogdanović's<sup>132</sup> Torbarina decided to start translating Shakespeare's plays himself.<sup>132a</sup> He translated four plays: three of which have been printed by *Matica Hrvatska*: *The Merry Wives of Windsor*,<sup>133</sup> *Measure for Measure*<sup>134</sup> and *Troilus and Cressida*<sup>135</sup> (which won the Zagreb May prize in 1961); the fourth, *Macbeth*, is in press and will appear this year as *Matica's* contribution to the Shakespeare Quatercentenary. All Torbarina's translations have first class commentaries, notes and special introductions which make them particularly suitable for the general reader. His translations are the nucleus of a new Croatian translation of the complete Shakespeare done on an entirely new basis. Only a good Shakespearian scholar who knows both languages very well indeed and who knows the problems of Shakespeare's text and can interpret it in a scholarly way, and who is at the same time poet enough to turn Shakespeare's poetry and art into Croatian, only such a translator can make what is usually called a congenial translation.

The results achieved in this way can hardly be compared with those accomplished by Shakespeare's admirers rather than Shakespearian scholars from the 19th century.

I should like to close this article with a sincere wish that before another Shakespeare's jubilee is celebrated in Croatia we shall have a complete Croatian translation of Shakespeare's works.

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<sup>130</sup> *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagradiensia*. Zagreb 1958, No. 6, pp. 3—13.

<sup>131</sup> *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagradiensia*. Zagreb 1961, No. 12, pp. 3—7.

<sup>132</sup> Torbarina has revised three translations by Milan Bogdanović: *Mletački trgovac* (The Merchant of Venice), Zagreb 1947.; *San Ivanjske noći* (A Midsummer-Night's Dream), Zagreb 1947, and *Hamlet*, Zagreb 1950.

<sup>132a</sup> Ivo Hergešić discusses Bogdanović's translations and Torbarina's revisions in his article »Shakespeare u Hrvatskoj«. *Hrvatsko Kolo*, 11, No. 2—3, pp. 505—528.

<sup>133</sup> *Vesele žene windsorske*. Zagreb 1948.

<sup>134</sup> *Mjera za mjeru*. Zagreb 1957.

<sup>135</sup> *Troilo i Kresida*. Zagreb 1960.