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JAN NERUDA'S USE OF SHAKESPEARE IN HIS JOURNALISM

Lidmila Pantůčková

Every reader, lover and critic of Jan Neruda (1834—1891), the greatest personality of Czech literature in the second half of the 19th century, is familiar with the fact that this brilliant prose writer, journalist and poet, penetrating literary, dramatic and art critic, himself a substantially successful dramatist, was a profound admirer of William Shakespeare. Indeed, this admiration cannot pass unnoticed, for it is many times explicitly expressed. When writing about or referring to Shakespeare, Neruda more often than not makes use of this opportunity for paying tribute to him as the greatest dramatist of world literature and the most original and versatile poet of enormous creative power, or, to paraphrase his words, a spiritual giant who entirely fills the whole space between earth and the canopy of heaven. He ranks him among those titans who “elevated the human spirit and irradiated the human heart”,¹ and — typically for Neruda’s progressive world outlook, the fruit of his proletarian origin — among those great men who were no strangers to poverty and yet served mankind most excellently.²

Neruda’s relationship to Shakespeare is not, of course, limited to these explicit expressions — it permeates his whole work and all his activities. As *feuilletonist* dealing with Czech political, social, cultural and everyday life, and also as a critic of literature, music and the fine arts, Neruda used Shakespeare’s works as a rich quarry for quotations, paraphrases and references to illustrate his own views and make them thus more emphatic and attractive (in the same way he used, of course, the works of many other writers of almost all nationalities). As journalist and critic he also wrote three contributions concerned with Shakespeare, two of which might be considered reviews — the first positive, the second negative — of books dealing with some aspects of the English dramatist’s work, and one as a polemic with a Viennese journalist’s conception of Shylock.³ As editor Neruda contributed to the

For the note explaining the method used in the footnotes see p. 152.

¹ *NL* 15 Feb. 1891, *FAM* 438; see also *Hlas* 12 Apr. 1864, *CT* II, 272—273; *NL* 2 March 1870, *CT* IV, 120; *NL* 4 Feb. 1874, *CT* IV, 298; *NL* 23 Apr. 1876, *CS* IV, 21; *NL* 26 Nov. 1876, *CS* IV, 47; *NL* 1 Jan. 1879, *CS* IV, 164; and *NL* 19 and 20 May 1881, *Literature* III, 145; there are, however, many further tributes of this kind.

² See *NL* 15 Aug. 1869, *CS* II, 522.

³ “Shakespeare As — Student of Medicine” [“Shakespeare co — medik”], *NL* 4 Feb. 1874, *CT* IV, 298—302 (a review of *Shakespeare als Mediziner*, Rostock: Stiller, 1873,

widening of the knowledge of Shakespeare's works in his own country by publishing translations in his two magazines, *Pictures of Life* [*Obrazy života*] and *Family Chronicle* [*Rodinná kronika*], and by carefully preparing a special number of the latter magazine devoted to Shakespeare on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the dramatist's death.⁴ His relationship to Shakespeare manifested itself most strongly, however, in his dramatic criticism and in his own dramatic work.

As dramatic critic, in which function Neruda worked in several magazines and newspapers for twenty-three years,⁵ he was an untiring and passionate fighter for the future of the national Czech drama and theatre, firmly adhering to the ideological and aesthetic programme set for this sphere of Czech literary and cultural activity (and for literature and culture in general) by his own literary generation, the famous May group — a programme which was of course largely due to his own initiative and to a great extent formulated by himself. In harmony with this programme, and with his own conviction that the drama was the "summit of poetry" and the "foremost flower of every literature",⁶ he regarded the Czech theatre as one of the main and most powerful instruments in the struggle for the emancipation of his nation and for the achievement of its genuine equality with other nations. In his opinion, the theatre was a medium through which art could influence Czech society most directly and effectively — by deepening the national consciousness of the Czech audience, educating its aesthetic taste and speaking to the very heart of the people. The Czech theatre was therefore in his eyes a "national institute", a "school of aesthetics" and a "great political factor",⁷ inestimably important for Czech political and national life. Moreover, again in concordance with his own and his generation's programme, he was firmly convinced that the advancement of the Czech drama (as of the whole literature of his nation) could only be ensured by its liberation from the one-sided influence of German literature and culture and its integration into "the world literary stream, the 'modern' stream", as Neruda called it. In the spirit of the ideas of human liberty and equality born from the revolution of 1848 Neruda, like the other members of the May generation, envisaged this process as one of enrichment and inspiration

by Hermann Aubert, 1826—1892, a German physiologist; Neruda had the book in his library, catalogue number 2276); "'Romeo and Juliet' — A Pasquinade on Love" ["'Romeo a Julie' — Paskvil na lásku"], *NL* 20 and 21 March 1874, *Jokes* 163—170 (a sharp attack on *Shakespeare's Romeo und Julia*, Leipzig: J. F. Hartknoch, 1874, by Eduard von Hartmann, 1842—1902, a German philosopher-pessimist; this book is also preserved in Neruda's library, catalogue number 920); and "Shylock the Clown or Judas Maccabeus?" ["Shylock clown či Jidáš Machabejský?"], *Literární listy* 24 June 1865, *CT* II, 620—624; the Viennese journalist was Rudolph Valdeck, born about 1820, *feuilletonist* and dramatic critic in *Die Ostdeutsche Post* and later *Neue freie Presse*.

⁴ See his letter to J. V. Frič written before 3 Jan. 1864, *Letters* I, 83, No. 113, and the explanatory note to this letter, *ibid.*, 592.

⁵ From 1857, when he started in the Prague newspaper *Tagesbote aus Böhmen*, until 1880, when he stopped writing dramatic criticisms for the *Národní listy* (though he continued writing *feuilletons*, often concerned with the theatre, until his death). During these twenty-three years he wrote theatre criticisms for the following papers (excluding the two already mentioned): *Obrazy života*, *Rodinná kronika*, *Čas*, *Hlas*, *Literární listy*, *Květy*, *Lumír*, *Osvěta*, *Česká Thalia*, *Humoristické listy*, and also for *Národní noviny* and *Naše listy* which took the place of *Národní listy* during 1867—1869 when that paper was banned by the censors.

⁶ *NL* 31 Jan. 1868, *CT* III, 289 and *NL* 17 Apr. 1873, *CT* IV, 259.

⁷ *Hlas* 1 Feb. 1865, *CT* II, 526; *Lumír* 1873, *AS* 351; and *Hlas* 2 Feb. 1865, *CT* II, 530—531; see also *Hlas* 4 Sept. 1864, *CT* II, 425 and *Česká Thalia* 1867, *AS* 338.

for Czech literature through the works of those authors representing progressive, democratic and radical tendencies in their own nations in Neruda's own time as well as in the past. During this process, however, Czech literature must not lose any of its original national character — on the contrary, its Czech individuality was to be, in Neruda's words, "splendidly preserved" and "brought to the proudest flower". It was to develop concurrently with European literatures in a common endeavour towards progress and thus contribute its share to the development of world literature and culture. The Czech nation was thus to be placed on the "height of world consciousness and education",⁸ to achieve recognition and secure its very existence.

In harmony with this general conception of the advancement of Czech literature Neruda proclaimed his belief that the Czech theatre had a "noble aim", for it represented "a net through which world dramatic literature was to merge into our literature"⁹, and, as dramatic critic, called for the presentation of all important new works by world dramatists on the Czech stage, as well as for more frequent productions of the world classics. Among these classics a very important place was assumed — for Neruda and all the May group — by Shakespeare. They all admired the great dramatist and were attracted to him for several reasons. In the first place, they saw in him, as the authors of *The History of the Czech Theatre* have pointed out, "an ideological ally who, in spite of the dividing line of centuries, was akin to modern times" because he was "a democrat having nothing in common with the tyrannous feudal world", as well as the first dramatist who "depicted man without the prejudices of hypocritical feudal morality".¹⁰ Moreover, the May generation, along with the entire Czech intelligentsia and the Czech bourgeoisie, recognized in Shakespeare a poet of vital activity, energy and optimism, qualities so needful in their struggle for national existence and social and economic progress. They admired Shakespeare, too, for his masterly depiction of the rich psychology of the human individual in complex relationship to society and the resulting full-blooded dramas of genuine human passions and types. Finally, Shakespeare's plays were dear to them for their elemental stage qualities which were fully appreciated by the Czech audience of the time. Neruda gave an excellent summing up of these attitudes:

"Shakespeare was dear to the more educated class by his name, and by his energy, freshness and naturalness appealed to the majority as well".¹¹

It is therefore not surprising that Neruda, as dramatic critic, welcomed almost every new performance of a Shakespeare play (except in a few cases when it was too badly acted or produced¹²), called for more frequent productions of those dramas which had been staged in the past, but also pleaded for those which had

⁸ For the three quotations see *Humoristické listy* 29 June 1883, *Portraits* II, 180, No. 258 (the first two) and *Obrazy života* 24 June 1859, *Literature* I, 121.

⁹ *Hlas* 1 May 1864, *CT* II, 305; see also *Čas* 10 Oct. 1861, *CT* I, 166 and *Naše listy* 15 Oct. 1868, *AS* 294.

¹⁰ [*Dějiny českého divadla*], Praha: Academia, II (1969), 232 and III (1977), 25.

¹¹ *Obrazy života* 1 Jan. 1859, *CT* I, 14; see also *NL* 25 Nov. 1888, *CT* V, 441.

¹² See his criticisms of the production of *Henry IV* (*Hlas* 14 June 1862, *CT* I, 256), *Richard II* (*Hlas* 30 June 1864, *CT* II, 372), and *Richard III* (*NL* 31 July 1865, *CT* III, 28—29).

not yet been produced on the Czech stage,¹³ and altogether preferred Shakespeare to the German classics, to most German and French modern playwrights, and especially to the then very popular writers of Viennese farces.¹⁴ As dramatic critic, he of course also gave a critical evaluation of a considerable number of Shakespeare's dramas.¹⁵ In the same capacity, too, he helped to prepare and also reported the magnificently conceived Shakespeare celebrations organized by a group of Czech artists, writers and politicians united in the Artists' Club [Umělecká beseda] on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the dramatist's birth.¹⁶ Finally, as dramatic critic he frequently used Shakespeare's creative approach as his criterion for judging the work of Czech dramatists in particular, but also that of several playwrights of other nationalities.¹⁷

One of the most important aspects of Neruda's relationship to Shakespeare is that he used him as one of the sources of inspiration for his own creative work. The whole extent of this relationship has not yet been, however, definitively ascertained. Research has so far revealed that some traces of Shakespeare's influence, though of course transmuted in the cauldron of Neruda's original genius, might be found in the poetry, that Neruda's creative approach as comedy-writer reveals some slight resemblances to that of the English dramatist, and that his strongest indebtedness is to be found in his only tragedy, *Francesca di Rimini*.¹⁸

¹³ See e.g. NL 12 Oct. 1875, CT V, 57–58 and NL 19 June 1880, CT V, 407.

¹⁴ See e.g. NL 3 Feb. 1868, CT III, 291; NL 19 March 1868, CT III, 312–313; NL 1 Nov. 1870, CT IV, 153; and NL 19 June 1880, CT V, 407.

¹⁵ Altogether he wrote criticisms or brief critical notices of the productions of twenty of Shakespeare's dramas (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Twelfth Night*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *King John*, *Richard II*, *Henry IV*, *Richard III*, *Timon of Athens*, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*), but the overall number of his Shakespearean criticisms is 80, for he wrote about most plays several times. He might have been the author, too, of two further criticisms of the productions of Shakespeare's plays (of those of *Hamlet*, NL 5 Dec. 1876, and of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, NL 17 Jan. 1877 — see the editorial notes to CT V, 451–452 and 452–453). Besides his criticisms of Shakespeare's plays, Neruda also wrote two extensive critical articles on the performances of Shakespeare's dramas by the ensemble of the Meiningen Court Theatre and their art of acting (see NL 8 Oct. 1875, CT V, 53–57 and *Lumír* 20 Oct. 1878, CT V, 285–289).

¹⁶ The celebrations began with a cycle of the performances of Shakespeare's dramas along with Rossini's opera *Othello* in the Provisional Theatre (18–22 April 1864) and culminated in a festival in the New-Town Theatre on 22 April, concluded by a procession of Shakespearean characters which, after having passed through the auditorium, paid homage to the dramatist's gigantic bust on the stage. Neruda prepared his readers for the celebrations beforehand (see *Hlas* 23 Aug. 1863, CS I, 234 and *Hlas* 12 April 1864, CT II, 273), informed them about their progress (see e.g. *Hlas* 20 April 1864, CS I, 268–269), wrote criticisms of all the above-mentioned performances except Rossini's opera, and after the conclusion of the celebrations assessed them as a whole in an extensive article (see *Hlas* 25 April 1864, CT II, 297–299). We have also plentiful evidence that in his later years he many times referred to this epoch-making event in the history of the Czech theatre as unforgettable.

¹⁷ Of Czech dramatists especially Vítězslav Hálek, Gustav Pfeleger, Karel Sabina, F. V. Jeřábek, and K. S. Macháček, of foreign playwrights Goethe, Wilbrandt, Raupach, Augier, Dumas-fils, Belot, Calderón, Ibsen, Gogol, and Słowacki.

¹⁸ For poetry see Arne Novák: "Study of the Poetical Language of the Young Jan Neruda" ["Studie o básnickém jazyku mladého Jana Nerudy"], *Slovo a slovesnost* 1 (1935), 88–89, and F. V. Krejčí: *Jan Neruda. Study of His Development and Work* [Studie jeho vývoje a díla], Praha: Hejda & Tuček, n.d., 42–43; for comedies see Miloslav Novotný: *The Life of Jan Neruda. Letters — Documents* [Život Jana Nerudy. Dopisy — Dokumenty],

As we can see, Neruda's relationship to Shakespeare represents a very complex problem which cannot be satisfactorily solved in the space of a short study. I shall therefore concentrate on one of its many aspects — Neruda's employment of Shakespeare's works in his journalistic contributions and the way in which his relationship to the great English dramatist permeates his method and style as journalist.

I.

The main aim of Neruda's journalism was not only to inform his readers about everyday contemporary social, political, economic and cultural life at home and abroad and to entertain them by making this information as interesting as possible, but first and foremost to guide and educate them morally and politically, to arm them for their participation in the hard and at times seemingly hopeless struggle for the preservation of the Czech nation. In this sphere of his activity, as in all the others, the basic principles on which his work was founded were, as he himself defined them, "patriotism, the endeavour for truth, the endeavour to serve a just cause, sacred to us",¹⁹ that is, the cause of his nation. He did indeed serve this sacred cause as the foremost Czech journalist of the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, the spokesman of a whole generation of the progressive Czech intelligentsia, untiringly guarding the destiny of his nation for a full thirty years and fighting dauntlessly against its oppressors and for the fulfilment of all the demands of its widest social strata. As Felix Vodička has pointed out, one of the greatest merits of Neruda's journalism, and especially of one of its forms, the *feuilleton*, an innovation of his in Czech journalism, was his capability of seeing and describing contemporary events "in several aspects" and "in mutual relationships and changes", and of integrating the life, problems and desires of his own nation into the wide stream of the world of mankind, which enabled him "to place his finger on the pulsating arteries of contemporary life":

"Neruda's *feuilleton* was opening up horizons, was teaching [its readers] to see, to realize and to think over both the past and the present and, moreover, to imagine the future".²⁰

Although Neruda himself was very modest in his own assessment of his journalistic work and at times complained of its weariness and bitterness, of the ephemeral recognition and low financial award it brought, as well as of the potential danger of its disintegrating and destroying great talents and forming them into intellectual

Praha: Československý spisovatel, 4 vols, 1951, 1953, 1954, 1956, III, 123, and *Czech Literature of the 19th Century* [*Literatura česká devatenáctého století*], vol. III, part II (Praha: Jan Laichter, 1907), ch. X, Albert Pražák: "Neruda's Dramas" ["Nerudova dramata"], 407; for the tragedy see especially Albert Pražák, *op. cit.*, 409, Miloš Pohorský: "Neruda's Dramatic Works" ["Nerudova tvorba dramatická"], afterword to *Plays*, 261 to 263, and *The History of the Czech Theatre* III, 28.

¹⁹ In his letter to the Academic Association of Readers, 5 March 1885, *Letters* III, 310, No. 555.

²⁰ Felix Vodička: "Neruda's Selection from Feuilletons" ["Nerudův výbor z fejetonů"], afterword to *MT*, 522.

day-labourers,²¹ he more than once declared that the life of the journalist was, in spite of all its evil moments, "variegated" and "beautiful", and fully realized that journalism had raised itself to the level of art, thus earning a rightful place in literature and becoming a noble vocation, "equalling all the other noble professions".²²

Alongside his progressive world outlook which enabled Neruda to fulfil this noble vocation of a patriotic journalist, he found considerable support, too, in his wide culture and his sound knowledge of world literature of which he also took full advantage in his journalism. His method of working with world literature and other sources as *feuilletonist* has been analysed in detail especially by Albert Pražák in his evaluation of Neruda's personality and work published in the collective work *Czech Literature of the 19th Century*. This scholar, however, considerably underestimates Neruda's journalism as being merely work for the day, in contradistinction to his poetry and fiction as work for all ages. Moreover, he presents Neruda as a *feuilletonist* incapable of improvisation and too strongly dependent on foreign sources, especially on German anthologies and concordances of cultural and historical minutiae, which provided him with proofs and quotations for everything and created the impression of universal education. As Pražák sees it, with the progress of time reality as the source of Neruda's inspiration gradually gave way to book sources and the impressions and opinions of other writers:

"Neruda does not himself experience and collect his materials in the street, in society, in the living pulse of real life, but hunts them down in newspapers, foreign *feuilletons* and the books he has at home, excerpts, classifies on cards, and laboriously puts together an artificially combined *feuilleton* as a mosaic".²³

There is some truth in this statement, for Neruda did use such a method of work, as his excerpts preserved in the National Library in Prague testify, and his active participation in (and thence inspiration from) actual life did decrease in his later years; as we know especially from his correspondence.²⁴ Yet this "decline of Neruda's *feuilleton*", as Pražák calls it (he characterizes it as a happy decline, because it saved Neruda the poet), did in my opinion come much later than the quoted scholar believes (he places it as early as the end of the 1860s) and was not due to the exhaustion of the material from the life of Prague and lesser opportunities for travel, but by Neruda's serious illness which did not come until the last decade of his life. Even Pražák, however, who maintains that Neruda very often took over from his sources both the content and form, and at times whole *feuilletons*, admits that the great journalist did not do so "mechanically, passively", but "systematically pronounces his own opinion and into the foreign frame often puts original improvisation in thought or impression".²⁵

The question now arises of how far Pražák is justified in his critical opinion of Neruda's method as journalist in the case of Shakespeare's works. To answer

²¹ See e.g. *Hlas* 23 March 1862, CS I, 112–115; *Hlas* 28 Sept. 1862, CS I, 155–156; and his letter to J. V. Frič written before 8 Nov. 1865, *Letters* I, 85–86, No. 117.

²² *Hlas* 23 March 1862, CS I, 113. See also his programmatic article "Modern Man and Art" ["Moderní člověk a umění"], *NL* 27 Aug. 1867, *Studies* II, esp. 29.

²³ Pražák, op. cit., 593; see also *ibid.*, 591–594.

²⁴ See his letters to Julius Grégr written on 21 Oct. 1884, before 9 Nov. 1885, on 13 Jan. and 7 Feb. 1887 (*Letters* I, 246, 279, 323, and 326, Nos. 361, 406, 470, and 474).

²⁵ Pražák, op. cit., 593; see also *ibid.*, 598, 594, 594–596n., and 595.

this question it is at first necessary to examine the available evidence as to Neruda's actual knowledge of these works — evidence not analysed by Pražák, the purpose of whose work was different. One part of this evidence is provided by Neruda's biographers who draw upon the memories of Neruda's friends. From these sources we learn that he started to read Shakespeare in 1851, while still at grammar school, and that he read the works of the great dramatist, along with those of other representatives of world literature, in translations.²⁶ Indeed, he could not have read Shakespeare in the original at that time, for he started to learn English at a much later period of his life.²⁷ As to the language in which he read the translations, it could not have been French, for in the year mentioned he only just started to learn it,²⁸ nor was it, probably, Polish or Russian, even though translations of Shakespeare did appear in Poland and Russia at that time, were easily accessible in Prague,²⁹ and Neruda could have read them even without studying the two languages because of their close kinship to his own mother tongue. We do know that Neruda mastered Polish and Russian (along with Serbian and Croatian) perfectly in his later years,³⁰ yet we have no evidence whatever that he used these languages as intermediaries for his first acquaintance with Shakespeare. And so the only choice for Neruda in his first approach to Shakespeare was between Czech translations and German. Published Czech translations of Shakespeare's plays, however, were very limited in number up to 1851 — in fact only four appeared: Karel Ignác Thám's *Macbeth* (1786), Antonín Marek's *The Comedy of Errors* (1823), Jakub Malý's *Othello* (1843), and František Doucha's *Romeo and Juliet* (1847). Unfortunately, we have no evidence which of these translations Neruda had at his disposal when he started to read Shakespeare — they have not been preserved in his library (now in the possession of the National Library in Prague), though he certainly did read the last of them, for he quotes from it. Since the possibilities of reading Shakespeare in Czech were so limited at the time discussed, it seems more than probable that Neruda took recourse to German translations. They offered him an incomparably greater choice than the Czech, were obtainable in Germanized Prague,³¹ and he could have read them as easily as those in his

²⁶ See e.g. F. V. Krejčí, op. cit., 18; Miloslav Novotný, op. cit., I, 228, II, 55; and Albert Pražák, op. cit., 304—305.

²⁷ His studies probably began in 1872, as Miloslav Novotný (this time as editor of the third volume of Neruda's *Letters*) has pointed out (see Neruda's letter to Jaromír Čelakovský, Doctor of Law, probably written after the 1st May of that year, *Letters* III, 59, No. 68 and explanatory note, p. 472), but he does not confess to his "broken English" until 1878 (see his letter to Vratislav Sembera of 1st March, *Letters* II, 208, No. 315, and explanatory note, p. 614).

²⁸ See Jaroslav Vlček: *History of Czech Literature [Dějiny české literatury]*, (Praha: SNKLHU, 1960), III, 367.

²⁹ See e.g. František Doucha's references to Polish translations of 1840, 1856 and 1859, and Russian of 1787 and 1844, in his afterwords to his Museum translations of *Richard III*, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Romeo and Juliet*.

³⁰ In his works we may find quotations in these languages, as well as translated specimens from literatures written in them. It is familiar to every Nerudian scholar, too, that he was a great admirer of the Russian language and even recommended it as a common means of communication among Slavonic nations, but that he hated its Cyrillic alphabet, as he himself confessed (see e.g. *Národní noviny* 16 June 1867, *CS* II, 272 and *NL* 3 May 1891, *CS* V, 508).

³¹ As Otakar Vočadlo has pointed out in his preface "The Czech Shakespeare" ["Český Shakespeare"] to the edition of J. V. Sládek's translations of Shakespeare's dramas (William

mother tongue, for he was a perfect master of the German language since his early school years. We do know that he had three plays by Shakespeare in German translation in his library,³² though we have no evidence as to whether he bought them when he started to read this dramatist, or later.

The same library represents, however, an important part of the external evidence as to his acquaintance with Shakespeare's works in his later years — it shows that since the middle of the 1850s, that is a few years after his first acquaintance with Shakespeare, the possibilities open to him of reading the plays in Czech were considerably widened thanks to the famous Museum edition of the translations.³³ Twelve plays published in this edition have been preserved in what is left of this library, but he certainly read several others, as we know from his quotations.³⁴ We have also evidence, provided by his own statements, of how

Shakespeare: *Comedies* [Komedie] I, Praha: SNKLHU, 1959, 5–62), the first German translations, by F. J. Fischer, were published in Prague as early as 1777 and 1778 (see p. 8); see also *The History of the Czech Theatre* II, 232 and note 88, p. 375.

³² William Shakespeare: *Dramatische Werke*, übersetzt von Ernst Ortlepp (Stuttgart: F. L. Rieger, 1838), Band 2, Theil 3: 1. *Der Kaufmann von Venedig*. 2. *Die Irrungen*. 3. *Wie es euch gefällt*; catalogue number 585.

³³ It was launched in 1855, on the basis of the decision of the National Museum Committee of 26 April 1854, and ran up to 1872, when it was crowned by the publication of Jakub Malý's monograph *Shakespeare and His Works* [*Shakespeare a jeho díla*]. It included translations of all the dramas produced by the English dramatist by five translators — František Doucha (1810–1884, poet, lexicographer, author of books for children, translator, and the most learned philologist of all the Museum translators), J. B. Malý (1811–1885, conservative critic, journalist and translator, Neruda's greatest opponent in the long polemic struggle of the May group against the rebukes of cosmopolitanism), J. J. Kolár (1812–1896, famous actor, especially Shakespearean, called Kolár the elder to distinguish him from his nephew, F. K. Kolár, 1829–1895, also a distinguished actor), J. R. Čejka (1812–1862, doctor of medicine and musician), and Ladislav Čelakovský (1834–1902, botanist of world reputation, son of the famous poet). To simplify matters in the main part of this study, in which I shall use many of these translations for reference, I give the whole list in this place, quoting from the bibliographical data, however, only the year of publication. (All the volumes were published by the Museum of the Kingdom of Bohemia, most of them through F. Řivnác.) In the main part of this study I shall then refer to them only by the name of the translator and the page of the locus discussed (in a few cases, when the Museum translations were inaccessible, I shall refer to their later editions): I. *Richard III* (Doucha, 1855), II. *Hamlet* (Kolár, 1856), III. *King Lear* (Čelakovský, 1856), IV. *Cymbeline* (Čejka, 1856), V. *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Malý, 1856), VI. *Coriolanus* (Doucha, 1858), VII. *Antony and Cleopatra* (Čejka, 1858), VIII. *Henry VI*, Part I (Malý, 1858), IX. *Henry V* (Čejka, 1858), X. *Julius Caesar* (Doucha, 1859), XI. *The Merchant of Venice* (Kolár, 1859), XII. *Henry IV*, Part I (Čelakovský, 1859), XIII. *Henry VI*, Part II (Malý, 1861), XIV. *Richard II* (Doucha, 1862), XV. *Measure for Measure* (Čejka, 1862), XVI. *Twelfth Night* (Doucha, 1862), XVII. *Henry VI*, Part III (Malý, 1862), XVIII. *Much Ado About Nothing*, *The Comedy of Errors* (Malý, Čejka, 1864), XIX. *King John* (Doucha, 1866), XX. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Doucha, 1866), XXI. *Macbeth* (Kolár, 1868), XXII. *Timon of Athens* (Čejka, 1869), XXIII. *All's Well That Ends Well* (Malý, 1869), XXIV. *The Winter's Tale* (Čejka, 1869), XXV. *Othello* (Malý, 1869), XXVI. *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (Doucha, 1869), XXVII. *Henry IV*, Part II (Čelakovský, 1870), XXVIII. *Henry VIII* (Čejka, 1870), XXIX. *Love's Labour's Lost* (Malý, 1870), XXX. *Titus Andronicus* (Čejka, 1870), XXXI. *Troilus and Cressida* (Malý, 1870), XXXII. *As You Like It* (Malý, 1870), XXXIII. *The Tempest* (Čelakovský, 1870), XXXIV. *Romeo and Juliet* (Doucha, 1872), XXXV. *The Taming of the Shrew* (Kolár, 1872), XXXVI. *Pericles* (Malý, 1872).

³⁴ In his library he had Doucha's *Richard II*, *Twelfth Night*, *King John*, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Malý's *Henry VI*, Parts I–III, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Troilus and Cressida* (in two copies), *As You Like It*, and *Pericles*, Kolár's *The Taming of the Shrew*, Čejka's *Henry VIII*, and Čelakovský's *Henry IV*, Parts I–II. He might originally have had, however, also other

highly he appreciated the whole memorable and courageous venture, as well as the work of all its participants, both jointly and severally. He not only extolled the translators as “intermediaries between the great foreign poet and our people”, but was also convinced that their works, along with their presentation on the Czech stage, greatly enriched *Czech* dramatic literature and furthered the real progress of the art of the Czech actors.³⁵

Neruda's knowledge of Shakespeare's works was not, of course, limited only to his reading, but was considerably enlarged by his having seen so many of them performed on the stage. For this aspect of his acquaintance with Shakespeare in the years preceding his work as dramatic critic (up to 1857) we have only the evidence of his memories of the Shakespearean season of 1850—1856, which he characterized as “the time of the famous first production of Shakespeare's plays, the time which for the first time attracted the eyes of foreign countries to the Czech theatre”.³⁶ (It was, of course, not the first time Shakespeare was performed on the Czech stage — that happened before Neruda's lifetime, most probably in 1786 and certainly in 1791—1792³⁷). For the period of his work as dramatic critic, on the other

volumes of this edition, for we know, from his own words, that he gave away many of his books in his latter years, when he could not read as much as before owing to his illness (see his letter to Marie Kakšová, 23 March 1887, *Letters* III, 347, No. 637). In any case, he was familiar with many more than those he had in his possession — as we shall see in the main part of this study, he quoted also from *Richard III*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Coriolanus*, *Henry V*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Macbeth*, *Timon of Athens*, *Othello*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, and even from one translation published before the Museum edition — Doucha's first translation of *Romeo and Juliet* (Praha: Kronberger and Rívnác, 1847). We do know, too, of at least one instance of his borrowing Shakespeare's works (see his letter to Eduard Valečka of 14 Jan. 1891, *Letters* III, 407, No. 769).

³⁵ For the quotation see *Rodinná kronika* 23 Apr. 1864, *CT* II, 292; for the paraphrased opinion *Čas* 26 Nov. 1861, *CT* I, 184. As to individual translators, Neruda most highly appreciated Doucha for the “thoroughness of his translations” (*Rodinná kronika* 23 Apr. 1864, *CT* II, 293; see also *Humoristické listy* 21 Dec. 1878, *Portraits* I, 119, No. 57 and *NL* 9 Nov. 1884, *Literature* III, 204—205), but he warmly praised the work of all the other translators, including that of his inveterate enemy Jakub Malý (though he had some reservations to this translator's having made Shakespeare's works “virgin” literature by leaving out anything that seemed to him “immoral” — see his programmatic article “Harmful Trends” [“Škodlivé směry”], *Obrazy života* 24 June 1859, *Literature* I, esp. p. 98). For his opinions of Čelakovský and Čejka and his praise of Malý see *Humoristické listy* 9 Oct. 1880, *Portraits* I, 271, No. 129; *NL* 7 Apr. 1866, *CT* III, 95; *NL* 14 March 1867, *CT* III, 196; *Humoristické listy* 2 Aug. 1889, *Portraits* IV, 53, No. 570.

³⁶ *Humoristické listy* Nov.—Dec. 1883, *Portraits* II, 213; see also esp. *NL* 12 Oct. 1880, *CT* VI, 9. During this season, the following plays were performed (except the last two, in the older, mostly unpublished translations from the pen of the participants in the Museum edition): *As You Like It* (1850), *Twelfth Night* (1850), *Macbeth* (1852), *Romeo and Juliet* (1853), *The Taming of the Shrew* (1853), *Hamlet* (1853), *Richard III* (1854), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1855), *Merry Wives of Windsor* (1856), and *King Lear* (1856).

³⁷ In 1786 Karel Ignác Thám's translation of *Macbeth* was published and most probably also produced; either in 1791 or in 1792 Josef Jakub Tandler's translation of *Hamlet* and that of *King Lear* by Prokop Šedivý were performed in the first Czech-German theatre in the Horse-Fairground (now Wenceslas Square) in Prague, called the “Bouda” (see esp. *The History of the Czech Theatre* II, 51 and 56, and Vočadlo, op. cit., 12—15). Neruda was, of course, well informed about and highly appreciated the meritorious work of these patriotic authors and actors, though he does not mention their Shakespearean translations anywhere, and only states that in their times “the ground for Shakespeare was being prepared” (*NL* 7 Dec. 1877, *Literature* II, 301 — in Neruda's review of J. J. Stankovský's book on the “patriots from the Bouda”).

hard, we have the plentiful evidence of his criticisms. Moreover, Neruda enlarged his knowledge of Shakespeare's works by studying their critical evaluations in the works of German or French scholars and other writers or in histories of world literature (several works of both types have been preserved in his library,³⁸ to others he only refers). He might have gleaned useful information, too, from the afterwords in his Museum translations of Shakespeare written by individual translators, as well as from the last volume of this edition, mentioned in note 33 — Jakub Malý's *Shakespeare and His Works* — which has not been preserved in his library, but with which he was obviously familiar, as he refers to it with expert knowledge.³⁹

From his own reading of Shakespeare's dramas, from seeing them performed on the stage, as well as from his study of the above-mentioned books and perhaps of other sources for which we have no evidence, Neruda did indeed acquire a reliable knowledge of almost the whole work of the great English dramatist which formed a solid foundation for his dramatic criticism relating to Shakespeare, in which it is best shown (although this did not prevent him from committing a few factual errors⁴⁰), but which I hope will be to some extent demonstrated, too, in the next part of this study.

II.

In analysing the way in which Neruda makes use of Shakespeare's works in his journalism, we shall have to take into account almost its whole extensive thematic range, for quotations or paraphrases from and references to Shakespeare accompany nearly all the themes dealt with. As Neruda himself expressed it, his *feuilletons*

³⁸ For want of space I shall mention of these only biographical and critical works on Shakespeare and leave out the editors (the numbers are those of the catalogue): (691) Benno Tschischwitz: *Shakespeare's Staat und Königthum*. Nachgewiesen an der Lancaster-Tetralogie (Halle: 1866); (694) Robert Proelss: *Romeo und Julia im Lichte der Philosophie des Unbewussten* (Dresden: 1874); (696) Carl Stark: *König Lear. Eine psychiatrische Shakespeare-Studie* (Stuttgart: 1871); (725) Freiherr H. von Friessen: *Briefe über Shakespeare's Hamlet* (Leipzig: 1864); (733) Friedrich Kreyssig: *Shakespeare-Fragen. Kurze Einführung in das Studium des Dichters* (Leipzig: 1871); (920) Eduard von Hartmann: *Shakespeare's Romeo und Julia* (Leipzig: 1874); (932) J. R. Ehrlich: *Der Humor Shakespeares* (Wien: 1878); (936) Victor Kaiser: *Macbeth und Lady Macbeth in Shakespeare's Dichtung und in Kunstwerken von Cornelius und Kaulbach*. Psychologischer Essay (Basel: 1875); (1035) Victor Hugo: *William Shakespeare*. Deutsch von A. Diezmann (Leipzig: 1864); (2118) H. Graetz: *Shylock in der Sage, im Drama und in der Geschichte* (Krotoschin: 1880); (2218) A. von Winterfeld: *Shakespeare*. Nach authentischen Quellen und eigenen Forschungen (Berlin: n. d.); and (2276) Hermann Aubert: *Shakespeare als Mediziner* (Rostock: 1873).

³⁹ See NL 24 Sept. 1876, PG III, 117 and *Humoristické listy* 2 Aug. 1889, Portraits IV, 53, No. 570.

⁴⁰ He was obviously not quite sure about the number of dramas Shakespeare produced, for once he mentions twenty volumes (see NL 31 Dec. 1873, CS III, 356) and at another time thirty (see NL 16 Jan. 1875, Studies I, 322); he believed that the title role of *The Merchant of Venice* was that of Shylock (see *Literární listy* 24 June 1865, CT II, 622; NL 11 March 1868, CT III, 310; and NL 4 Dec. 1878, CT V, 306), and attributed to Shakespeare a quotation from Goethe's *Faust* (see *Lumír* 10 Jan. 1877, *Jokes* 184 and the explanatory note to this locus, p. 327, in which its author, Věra Vrzalová, points to the error).

contain all the categories cultivated in that *genre* in world literature — theatre, travels, local events, literature, social problems, political polemics⁴¹ (to these, however, must be added those which Neruda omitted to mention but in fact cultivated — foreign affairs, national problems, fine arts, sports and games, hobbies, fashion, manners and morals, human relationships, and human life in general).

In the first place, Neruda often uses references to or quotations and paraphrases from Shakespeare's works when bewailing the sad fortunes of his nation or characterizing the political situation in his country. For instance when he read, in 1866, the news about the renewal of the Inquisition considered by the ultra-Catholic circles of Spain, he maintained, with bitter irony, that undoubtedly that institution would be re-established also in Bohemia and that the whole heretic Czech nation would be burnt at the stake. That will happen soon, he writes, for there is almost nobody in the whole country who is not, according to the doctrines of the Inquisition, and in Hamlet's words, an "arrant knave".⁴² Or in 1873, when during the debate on the desirable political inner unity of Austrian nations the German-speaking representatives of Bohemia declared in the Imperial Assembly in Vienna that there was no Czech nation because its representatives had not appeared,⁴³ Neruda compared the whole history of the Czech nation to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* — with few sweet moments, however, and with fairies and Mendelssohn's music only at the misty beginning: "then struggle after struggle, victory and death, sanguinary din and a long, over-long sleep, and on awakening again only the struggle for existence, and finally at last a fortunate death".⁴⁴ Elsewhere he points out that every nation has its youth, but that to the Czechs it did not come for several thousand years, that is at the present, adding that it almost seems as if his nation had advanced from a bearded to a beardless state, from strength to weakness — that is backward, like the hair of the tail of Launcelot Gobbo's horse.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See his letter to Servác Bonifác Heller, written before 30 April 1876, *Letters* III, 82–84, No. 111.

⁴² *NL* 23 Dec. 1866, *CS* II, 146. Neruda uses here Hamlet's words from Act I, Scene 5 and Act III, Scene 1 and quotes them in Kolár's translation of the latter locus (p. 58), while that of the former is different (see p. 27).

⁴³ One of the means of breaking up Czech opposition to the December constitution of 1867 (which granted autonomy to the Hungarians, but not to the Czechs) was to be the amendment of the system of election passed on 2 April 1873 which introduced direct elections to the Imperial Assembly and raised the number of its members. Czech members, elected on the basis of this amendment in October 1873, did not appear at the session discussed by Neruda (see František Stýblo, explanatory notes to *CS* III, p. 553), persisting in their policy of passive resistance to the Imperial Assembly (for more information about this policy see note 53; for Neruda's relationship to it see further in the text).

⁴⁴ *NL* 14 Dec. 1873, *CS* III, 347.

⁴⁵ See *NL* 7 Sept. 1884, *CS* V, 51. It is worth noticing that this particular locus from *The Merchant of Venice*, Act II, Scene 2, is one of Neruda's favourite ones, for he paraphrases it or refers to it in a further three instances. In the first he applies it to his reading backward, from the end to the beginning, of a reactionary pastoral epistle of the Austrian cardinal in Zagreb, Jiří Haulík (1788–1869), because its end, praising the ruling classes, is in his opinion the "best" part of the whole (see *NL* 25 March 1868, *CS* II, 397) and in the second to the retrogressive growth of the liberalness of the German-speaking members of the Czech Assembly (see *Národní noviny* 23 Aug. 1868, *CS* II, 427). In the third instance he uses it in his reflection on grey beards having gone out of fashion — old men are ashamed of them and either have them shaved off or dyed, so that their beard grows younger, like the tail of Launcelot's horse (see *NL* 15 March 1885, *PG* V, 142).

On the other hand, however, he expresses his agreement with the intention of his nation to be represented — in spite of the disapproval of the German-language Austrian press — at the folklore exhibition in Moscow (which became a political demonstration of the Slavonic nations of Austro-Hungaria after the victory of dualism); he praises the Czechs for committing such offences and crimes as evoke the anger of their enemy and as would gain the assent even of the “dramatized incarnation of all badness”, King Richard III, who would clap them on their backs and say: “‘I like you, lads!’”⁴⁶

In three cases Neruda uses quotations from Shakespeare, too, in his frequent appeals to the Czech nation to be concordant, untiring in its fight for genuine liberty, and courageous. In the first of these instances he quotes the wish of “one good man” that in the coming year (1868) the Czech nation might be entirely concordant at last, characterizing this man, however, by a paraphrase of Launcelot Gobbo’s words about his father, as somewhat “‘sand-blind’”, and expressing his doubts as to whether the nation is at all capable of any concordance.⁴⁷ In the second case he cites, in an abbreviated version, Lady Macbeth’s words:

“‘When you durst do it, then you were a man;
And, to be more than what you were, you would
Be so much more the man. . . .’”⁴⁸

Another such appeal is accompanied by an abbreviated quotation of Bottom’s advice to his co-actors:

“‘Write me a prologue; and let the prologue seem to say, we will do no harm with our swords, . . . and for the more better assurance, tell them that I Pyramus am not Pyramus, but Bottom the weaver: . . .’”⁴⁹

This advice, however, must not be followed by the Czech representatives at the Imperial Assembly, as Neruda emphasizes — they must not say that they want to give their opponents only a little fright and that in fact they will not do anything to harm them.

Quotations and paraphrases from or references to Shakespeare are also used by Neruda in his attacks on the Austrian government’s oppression of the Czech nation by issuing laws threatening its future existence, on some members of Austrian governmental institutions who followed a similar policy, as well as on those Austro-German politicians who tried to undermine the rare attempts of the

⁴⁶ NL 28 Apr. 1867, CS II, 249. Neruda obviously quotes these words of Richard III to the two murderers, from Act I, Scene 3, in his own translation (at this time of his life most probably based on a German version of the drama), for that of Doucha is different (see p. 27). He does use Doucha’s translation, however, on another later occasion (see NL 18 Jan. 1891, CS V, 455), when he reflects on the importance of human sin as a source of inspiration for literature (the quotation is in this case more extensive, including, too, the first half of the preceding line: “‘Your eyes drop millstones’”).

⁴⁷ NL 29 Dec. 1867, PG II, 58. As the basis for his paraphrase of Launcelot’s words from *The Merchant of Venice*, Act II, Scene 2, Neruda uses Kolár’s very free translation of the word “sand-blind” (see new cheap edition, Praha: F. Řivnáč, 1883, pp. 20, 21).

⁴⁸ NL 7 Nov. 1869, PG II, 164. The words, from Act I, Scene 7, are quoted, with a slight alteration, in Kolár’s translation (p. 17).

⁴⁹ NL 14 Nov. 1880, CS IV, 284. Bottom’s words, from Act III, Scene 1, are quoted, with slight alterations, in Doucha’s translation (second edition, Praha: F. A. Urbánek, 1875, p. 28).

Austrian government to treat the situation of the Czech nation. Thus he protested, in 1872, against new school laws unfavourable for Czech communities (issued in 1869) and stated, with bitter irony, that after all many people could learn to read and write without school education (supporting this statement by a quotation of Dogberry's words that "to write and read comes by nature") and that under the new laws reading and writing would at least again be an art, as in good old times, and therefore would be respected.⁵⁰ Another instance of this type concerns the chairman of the highest law court in Vienna, Court Councillor Ritter Wittmann, born in Moravia, who rejected the demand of Antonín Čížek, Doctor of Law, that the law court proceedings should be held in the Czech language (in the situation discussed by Neruda, Čížek was counsel for defence of the Czech writer Jakub Arbes, accused — on the basis of his articles published in the *National Paper* [*Národní listy*] in 1869 — of disturbing public peace and order). Angered by this decision, and especially by Wittmann's statement "What's the Czech language to us!", Neruda transfers these words of a man he regarded as traitor to his birth into Hamlet's famous exclamation "What's Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba!"⁵¹ The last example of this sort comes shortly after the issue, on 24th September 1871, of the Emperor's proclamation of his willingness to compound with the Czechs, in a sharp attack on the "liberal" nationalist Germans of the Czech and Austrian lands, adherents of the December constitution of 1867, who by their stormy revolt against the proposed compound once again tried, as Neruda emphasizes, to put the Czech nation into chains and thus suppress truth, wanting Lear's Fool to be for ever right in his sarcastic definition:

"Truth's a dog must to kennel; he must be whipped out, when the lady brach may stand by the fire and stink".⁵²

Even more frequently does Neruda use Shakespeare's works when inveighing on those Czech politicians (especially the representatives of the conservative Old-Czech wing of the National Party and particularly their leader, František Ladislav Rieger) who were betraying the interests of their nation by their inactivity in

⁵⁰ NL 10 Nov. 1872, CS III, 281. Neruda quotes these words from *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act III, Scene 3, in Malý's translation (p. 114). The same quotation, with a slight alteration, is used by Neruda, too, in his satirical record of a fictitious conversation between him and the editor of the *Národní noviny* concerning the capacity for writing of a new contributor proposed by Neruda in the situation when everything he suggests as the subject for his *feuilleton* seems to the editor to be too dangerous (see *Národní noviny* 13 Sept. 1868, CS II, 449, and also the explanatory note, p. 612, for the error of the editor, Josef Polák, who maintains that "Shakespeare's alderman", as Neruda calls Dogberry in the text, appears in *Twelfth Night*). The irony and satire underlying this little scene consist in Neruda's proposing the police commissioner, František Dederá (1816–1878, a typical representative of Austrian bureaucracy and a reactionary notorious for his ambiguous attitudes to Havlíček) as a possible contributor. It was Dederá who conveyed Havlíček to exile in the Tyrol, posing the while as his friend and as a patriot.

⁵¹ NL 24 Apr. 1870, CS III, 47. Neruda obviously quotes these words of Hamlet, from Act II, Scene 2, in his own translation (at this time of his life most probably based on a German version of the tragedy), for that of Kolár is different (see p. 52). The same quotation, in a slightly different version, but still in his own translation, is used by Neruda in one of his earlier *feuilletons*, and is applied to the relationship of the dilettante to the nation and the theatre and *vice versa* (see NL 28 Nov. 1867, FAM 118).

⁵² NL 24 Sept. 1871, CS III, 159–160. Neruda quotes this definition, from Act I, Scene 4, in Čelakovský's translation (p. 22).

general and their policy of passive resistance in particular.⁵³ Thus for instance the defeat of a proposal concerning the Czech representation in the Czech Assembly, which he witnessed himself as reporter in 1863 and which took place in a calm atmosphere without any struggle or at least protests, made him exclaim that if the river were not so cold and poison so distasteful, he would kill himself, for, as he adds (misinterpreting the meaning of Doucha's translation of the locus),

“The world has been standing still for quite a long while’, as Shakespeare’s clown sings”.⁵⁴

In the years of the culmination of the passive resistance of Czech politicians (1868 to 1874), Neruda's protests grow in number and several of them are accompanied by Shakespearean quotations or references. Thus the year 1868 finds him ironically welcoming this policy and satirically rejecting it in the name of the Czech people, in a *feuilleton* introduced by a reflection on political struggle in general. In this he states that he is not against political struggle but, on the contrary, for it, though for a struggle “in gloves”, governed by mutual respect, like that between armies. He points out, however, that it is of course true that one cannot always *choose* one's opponent and that this is a pity (supporting his statement by quoting Polonius's remark to the King and the Queen regarding Hamlet's madness: “'tis true 'tis pity; | and pity 'tis 'tis true: . . .”⁵⁵), and concludes his reflection by complaining that the choice of one's opponents has become increasingly difficult, for among Czech journalists there have suddenly appeared representatives of impoliteness and childish guile.

The year 1869 witnessed two protests of this type. In his *feuilleton* of 25th July Neruda refers to the banning of the mass-meetings of the Czech people which had taken place, under the state of emergency, in the summer and autumn of the

⁵³ The policy of passive resistance was initiated in 1863 by the decision of both wings of the Czech National Party — the Old Czechs and the Young Czechs — not to send their representatives to the Imperial Assembly in Vienna, in protest against the inadequate representation of Slavonic nations. This resistance was extended, on the basis of the declaration of Czech representatives, issued in protest against the December constitution of 1867 on 22 August 1868, to include the Czech Assembly. In the first half of the 1870s, however, the Young-Czech wing of the National Party began to feel that passive opposition to the Czech Assembly prevented them from working for the benefit of their nation. Controversies between them and the Old Czechs progressively deepened and finally, at the beginning of 1874, led to an open rupture, the foundation of an independent Young-Czech party and the appearance of its representatives in the Czech Assembly in autumn 1874 (the Old Czechs did not enter it until September 1878). Both parties finished with their policy of passive resistance to the Imperial Assembly on 7 October 1879.

⁵⁴ *Hlas* 11 Jan. 1863, CS I, 177. As suggested in the text, this is not a genuine Shakespearean quotation, but my translation of Neruda's interpretation of one verse from the Clown's song which concludes the final scene of *Twelfth Night* (“A great while ago the world began”), based on Doucha's translation (see p. 89). Neruda cannot be blamed, however, for this misunderstanding, for Doucha's free translation, using for “began” a Czech verb having several meanings, does lend itself even to such an interpretation as Neruda gave it.

⁵⁵ *NL* 29 March 1868, PG II, 72. It is worth noticing that Neruda's quotation of this statement from Act II, Scene 2 corresponds more to the original (which he could not have read in the year mentioned) than does Kolár's translation on which it is based, for the latter gives it in a reversed order (“It is a pity that it is true, and it is true that it is a pity”, p. 37).

preceding year,⁵⁶ complains that nothing has happened for three weeks either in Bohemia or in the world and that everything that might have happened has remained in the stage of thought, adding that the reason for this is that the world is growing fat like Hamlet (and that he would like to write an aesthetic article on that theme).⁵⁷ In another *feuilleton* he deplores the cowardice of some Czech politicians which gives birth to political cynicism concerning the words "liberty" and "liberalness" and supports his statement by the quotation of Falstaff's words "I was a coward on instinct".⁵⁸ In 1872 Neruda again used a Shakespearean quotation when complaining about the inactivity of Czech politicians. He mentions the ironical advice given in the club of the members of the Czech Assembly that if the Czechs want to be represented in the Imperial Assembly in Vienna, they should send there deputations consisting of long-bearded men who would make a stronger impression, and adds:

"We shall ask one of our political weavers — we have more Mr. Bottoms than Shakespeare — and he will advise us whether we are to go to Vienna 'in either straw-coloured beard, or perfect yellow'".⁵⁹

After the definitive rupture between the Young Czechs and the Old Czechs over the question of active or passive political conception, when Rieger published (in January 1874) a list of candidates for the Imperial Assembly⁶⁰ (excluding Young-Czech politicians who voted for the return to the Czech Assembly and including only insignificant Old-Czech candidates), Neruda again attacked the Old Czechs as politicians doing nothing, because they all belong to a party which does nothing all the time. He calls the list an "immortal joke", imagines Rieger, "a man of genius", standing apart, biting his lips with laughter and murmuring

⁵⁶ As Josef Polák has it, in "the stormy year 1868 numerous mass-meetings of the people were organized in the country and emphatically declared national and social demands. Neruda, by his ironical allusions and by ridiculing the fear of the government and the police of revolution, shielded the most radical and progressive organizers" (afterword to *ČS II*, 632).

⁵⁷ See *NL 25 July 1869, PG II*, 155. Neruda refers here to the Queen's words about Hamlet during the latter's duel with Laertes in the final scene of the tragedy: "He's fat, and scant of breath. — Here, Hamlet, take my napkin, rub thy brows!"; as the authors of the explanatory note to this locus, Věra Vrzalová and Jarmila Sirotková, correctly point out (see p. 431; however, they spell the word "fat" wrongly as "fad", and maintain that it is homonymous with "sweat").

⁵⁸ *Náše listy 25 Apr. 1869, ČS II*, 485. The statement appears in *Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene 4, and Neruda obviously gives it in his own translation (most probably based on a German version), for that of Čelakovský is different (see p. 41).

⁵⁹ *NL 22 Dec. 1872, ČS III*, 287. Neruda quotes Bottom's statement (from Act I, Scene 2) in Doucha's translation (see second edition, p. 12), but in an abbreviated version.

⁶⁰ Rieger, however, persisted in his policy of passive resistance for several years yet — he did not return to the Imperial Assembly until 1879 (see also note 53). Neruda's relationship to František Ladislav Rieger (1818—1903) was motivated by his distaste for the conservative policy of Rieger's party which concentrated the financially strongest circles of the Czech bourgeoisie and was allied with the Czech aristocracy and ecclesiastical hierarchy — both of these hated and sharply attacked by Neruda, a child of poverty and an undogmatic Christian, throughout his whole literary career. Neruda's sympathies were on the side of the opposing Young-Czech wing of the National Party which championed the interests of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and the predominant part of the intelligentsia and endeavoured to preserve the democratic and liberal features of the Czech political programme.

with Falstaff: "If I be not ashamed of my soldiers, I am a soused gurnet", and compares his "army" to that of Shakespeare's immortal character (they all together have as many thoughts as Falstaff's soldiers shirts — one and a half). At the end of this diatribe Neruda maintains that the delegates selected by Rieger would be a wonderful cast for Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and, to support this statement, quotes from the conversation between Prince Henry, Westmoreland and Falstaff (Part I, Act IV, Scene 2) about the knight's soldiers:

"*Prince Henry*: . . . But tell me, Jack, whose fellows are these that come after?

Falstaff: Mine, Hal, mine.

Prince Henry: I did never see such pitiful rascals.

Falstaff: Tut tut; good enough to toss; food for powder, food for powder; they'll fill a pit as well as better: tush, man, mortal men, mortal men.

Westmoreland: Ay, but Sir John, methinks they are exceeding poor and bare — too beggarly".⁶¹

The last of Neruda's protests against the policy of passive opposition, which he associates with a Shakespearean quotation, comes in the very year when this policy was finally abandoned, in 1879. New Year's Day finds him ironically expressing his satisfaction that the bad political situation of his nation has not at all improved, but also emphasizing that if it were better, the Czechs would become too high-spirited and would perhaps even find friends in the world, "and what friends are worth is taught by Timon of Athens". He then maintains that a few political misfortunes do not matter, for "the same Timon asserts [of course not Timon,

⁶¹ *NL* 11 Jan. 1874, *CS* III, 364; for the preceding quotation see *ibid.*, 363. In both cases Neruda quotes from Čelakovský's translation (pp. 78, 79–80). This particular scene seems to have been one of Neruda's greatest favourites, for he quotes from it in three other instances and also refers to it twice more. Of these quotations one is used in the same meaning as that discussed in the text and is applied to Prague prisoners (see *NL* 10 Apr. 1868, *Studies* I, 69–71; it is much more extensive than that given in the text and contains, too, plentiful quotations from Falstaff's preceding description of his army, all from Čelakovský's translation, p. 78). Another is applied to young men who were to be recruited for the Austrian army on the basis of a new general conscription bill put forward in 1867, and is used in the opposite sense — as Neruda emphasizes, the appearance of these young men (among whom he includes himself) could certainly not make Falstaff ashamed of them as he was of his own army. To this quotation another from the same scene is added — as Neruda humorously notes, after the passing of this bill there will be full equality, not even the richest young man will be able to redeem himself for money, and no "pot-bellied Falstaff" will boast that he has got "in exchange of a hundred and fifty soldiers, three hundred and odd pounds". And finally, at the end of the second part of this *feuilleton*, Neruda quotes again from Falstaff's description of his army (see *NL* 11 Jan. 1867 and *NL* 19 Jan. 1867, *CS* II, 161 and 166; all quotations are again taken from Čelakovský's translation). The third quotation is used by Neruda in a *feuilleton* in which he sharply protests against the proposed new military tax to be paid by physically disabled young men not included in general conscription. If the bill proposing the tax is passed [it was passed a few days afterwards — *LP*], Neruda goes on in a bitingly satirical tone, Falstaff would not pronounce his statement "in exchange . . ." (quoted above) as a penitent confession, but "boastfully and proudly, with the consciousness of a conscientiously fulfilled duty" (*NL* 2 May 1880, *CS* IV, 262; also here Neruda quotes from Čelakovský's translation). Of the references worth noticing is that used in Neruda's sarcastic attack on the "miserable" Prague secret police (numbering 3, 200 members) which he compares to Falstaff's army by reminding their chief, Dederá, of Falstaff's example and asking him how many shirts his agents have among them (see *Národní noviny* 26 July, 1868, *CS* II, 418; in the erroneous opinion of the editor, Josef Polák, this reference concerns Falstaff dressed as a woman in *Merry Wives of Windsor* — see explanatory notes, p. 609).

see note — *LP*]: ‘there is no time so miserable but a man may be true’”, and appeals to his nation to cherish its present evil times which give such a splendid opportunity for honesty:

“Don’t let us seek to better them, don’t let us hurry! Let us listen to our leaders’ words which assert that it cannot be done so quickly, that powerful forces stand against us. If it is difficult to win, then let’s hurry up and have a few years of inactive policy instead!”⁶²

Some Shakespearean quotations and paraphrases are used by Neruda, too, in his reflections on the general social and economic situation in his country in the 1870s and 1880s, that is, in the period of the rapid development of capitalism. In 1871, for instance, he pointed out that humankind was governed by the money-bag and humorously maintained that he would follow the general trend and store up an enormous sum of money, for all the time he kept hearing Iago’s words to Roderigo: “‘Put money in thy purse’”, and they were no longer distasteful for him at all.⁶³ His profession was, of course, very far from being so lucrative, and so the year 1875 finds him confessing to his friend Vratislav Šembera that he has no money whatever, jokingly adding that he lies because he does have one gulden, and explaining the situation by a paraphrase of Polonius’s statement to the Queen (Act II, Scene 2), as his fellow-writer Vítězslav Hálek (heavily indebted to Shakespeare in his dramas) might have formulated it: “I have it, because I have it”.⁶⁴ But in 1883 he again jocosely maintained that he followed the general fashion and saved money:

“I folded my arms on my breast, hung down my head, like Hamlet, fixed my eye dreamily on infinity and set off — ‘To have or not to have?’”⁶⁵

Paraphrases of Shakespeare are employed by Neruda, too, in his reflections on his beloved Prague. One is written humorously, but meant seriously: Neruda attacks the “fathers” of the city (which figures here as Abdera) who ignore the wishes of the citizens, silence the Czech theatre and Czech literature and praise anything foreign, concluding his reflection with a paraphrase of Hamlet’s command to Ophelia (Act III, Scene 1): “. . . get thee to Abdera, Ophelia!” The second paraphrase, of the same place in Shakespeare, is used in Neruda’s humorous complaint about the non-existence of any genuine brawls in Prague taverns or streets which ends with his statement that he does not enjoy Prague any more, and with his command:

⁶² For the quotations see *NL* 1 Jan. 1879, *CS* IV, 165. The statement attributed to Timon is not, of course, pronounced by this title hero of Shakespeare’s drama, but by the first thief after he and his two companions have been “charmed” from their profession by Timon’s exhortations to thievery and murder (Act IV, Scene 3). Neruda quotes, with a slight alteration, from Čejka’s translation (p. 69).

⁶³ *NL* 30 Apr. 1871, *PG* II, 241. Neruda quotes these words, from Act I, Scene 3, in his own free translation (at this time of his life most probably based on a German version), for that of Malý is different (see its new cheap edition, Praha: F. Řivnáč, 1883, pp. 22–23). Iago is of course not, as the editor of this volume, Věra Vrzalová, believes, Othello’s “perfidious servant” (explanatory notes, p. 445), but his Ancient.

⁶⁴ Letter to Vratislav Šembera written at the beginning of September 1875, *Letters* II, 84, No. 110. The paraphrased statement runs as follows: “I have a daughter, — have whilst she is mine, —”.

⁶⁵ *NL* 21 Jan. 1883, *PG* IV, 343.

“Prague — Prague — get thee to a nunnery, Prague! Get thee to a nunnery — you have forsaken God!”⁶⁶

Shakespearean quotations or paraphrases serve Neruda, too, to emphasize his own opinions on foreign affairs, nations, rulers or other prominent personalities. The most extensive quotation is that from *Macbeth* in his angry protest against the massacres, committed by the Austrian army, of the Dalmatian inhabitants of Boka Kotorska who rose in revolt against Austria in 1869. Neruda makes parallels between Lady Macbeth and Austrian bureaucracy, between Macbeth and the two Austrian politicians who revealed the strongest anti-Dalmatian bias,⁶⁷ between the Doctor of Physic treating Lady Macbeth and the tribunal of the world, and between the Gentlewoman attending on Lady Macbeth and the Viennese press — the servant-maid of Austrian bureaucracy, and illustrates them by quotations.⁶⁸ A paraphrase may be found in his reflection on the Eastern question, written after the declaration of war by Russia on Turkey on 24th April 1877 and before the first Russian victory on 27th June of the same year. Neruda — who of course stood on the side of the South-Slavonic nations living under the Turkish yoke — expresses his impatience at the slow development of the situation, but tries to curb it by the following appeal to himself:

“Only patience, only patience, Menenius, and you will see that something will happen yet!”⁶⁹

The remaining quotations or paraphrases accompany Neruda’s considerations of less important foreign matters than those discussed above, and will be therefore mentioned only summarily. They may be found in his critical comments on the

⁶⁶ For the first paraphrase see *NL* 17 Dec. 1876, *Jokes* 232, for the second *NL* 17 Feb. 1889, *PG* VI, 115. As the basis for his paraphrases Neruda could have used either Kolár’s translation (see pp. 58, 59) or that of Malý, published outside the Museum edition (Praha: I. L. Kober, 1873; see p. 65).

⁶⁷ Luigi Lapenna (1825–1891), Austrian lawyer and statesman, in 1861–1870 member of the Austrian parliament and provincial member in Dalmatia, and Ritter Wagner, the deputy of the Austrian government in Zadar (see Věra Vrzalová and Jarmila Sirotková, explanatory notes to *PG* II, pp. 433–434).

⁶⁸ Six of these quotations are from Act V, Scene 1, one from Act I, Scene 7 — all taken over from Kolár’s translation (pp. 68, 18). In the order of their appearance they are: (*Lady Macbeth*): “all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand”; “What, will these hands ne’er be clean?”; “Yet who would have thought the old man [Neruda replaces “the old man” by “the old nation” — *LP*] to have had so much blood in him?”; “Fie, my lord, fie! a soldier, and afeard?”; “But screw your courage to the sticking place,”; “Yet here’s a spot”; (*Doctor to the Waiting-Gentlewoman*): “you have known what you should not” (*NL* 21 Nov. 1869, *PG* II, 166). It is worth noticing that Neruda uses the first of these quotations once again later, but in his own translation, applying it to the hands of Prague street-porters, and adding that the purpose of those hands was not, after all, to be sweet-smelling (see *NL* 12 Jan. 1877, *CS* IV, 51). The sixth quotation (“Yet here’s a spot”), enlarged by Lady Macbeth’s further remark “Here’s the smell of the blood still”, is used by Neruda in his *feuilleton* concerned with human sin as a strong source of inspiration for literature (see *NL* 18 Jan. 1891, *CS* V, 455; in this case Neruda again quotes from Kolár’s translation, p. 68).

⁶⁹ *NL* 17 June 1877, *PG* III, 197. This is Neruda’s very free paraphrase (Doucha’s translation is entirely different — see p. 114) of Scinius’s appeal to Menenius: “Nay, pray, be patient”, from *Coriolanus*, Act V, Scene 1.

Prussians,⁷⁰ on the ambiguous attitude of the Austrian press to the Hungarians,⁷¹ on the Jews,⁷² on Pope Pius IX,⁷³ on the deceased German despot Friedrich Wilhelm I,⁷⁴ and on the unjust treatment of the builder of the Suez Canal, Lesseps.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ See *NL* 14 Aug. 1870, *CS* III, 62, 64. Neruda uses here two quotations from Shakespeare — one which I have been unable to identify (applied to the Prussian language) and one from *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Scene 4, applied to the boastfulness of the Prussians (*Mercutio*: “O, flesh, flesh, how art thou fishified!”). Neruda quotes the latter, with a slight alteration, in the first translation of František Doucha (see note 34, pp. 54–55) who translates “flesh” by a vulgar Czech word for “mouth” (“huba”) and “to fishify” by “to grow thin” (“zhubnout”). Neruda uses this locus in the meaning given to it by Doucha, to express his conviction that the boastfulness of the Prussians (their “mouth”) will soon come to its end (“grow thin”).

⁷¹ See *Naše listy* 25 Feb. 1869, *PG* II, 138. Neruda writes here that he has read in official periodicals that the Hungarians, when presenting their demands for autonomy to the Austrian government, behaved so wisely that they were extolled by the Austrian press as an example to the Czechs, but points out that he still remembers the rebukes and abuse with which the same Hungarians were overwhelmed, in the same papers and at the same time, until they gained their autonomy in 1867. To illustrate his meaning he adds the quotation of Hamlet’s statement from Act I, Scene 2: “‘Thrift, thrift, Horatio! the funeral-bak’d meats | Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables’”. Neruda quotes in this case (as well as in another, when he uses a paraphrase of this quotation in his description of an exhibition of cold dishes in Prague — see *NL* 22 Feb. 1874, *CS* III, 382) in his own translation (in the first case probably based on a German version) — Kolár’s translation is different (see p. 13; also Malý’s translation of 1873 — see note 66 — which he could have used for his second quotation, is different: see p. 16).

⁷² See *NL* 25 June 1869, *Studies* II, 37. In one of his reflections on the history, fortunes and characteristic features of the Jewish nation contained in this “political study”, as Neruda subtitled it (“Jewish Scare” [“Pro strach židovský”]), he expresses his agreement with a statement which he puts into the mouth of Shylock: “Don’t we feel frost and warmth as you do? Does it not hurt us, when you burn us?” This is not, of course, a genuine quotation, but my translation of Neruda’s very free and much abbreviated paraphrase of Shylock’s speech to Salarino and Solanio from Act III, Scene 1.

⁷³ See *NL* 30 Dec. 1877, *PG* III, 260. Pius IX, so much hated and sharply criticized by Neruda as the creator of the dogma of the Pope’s infallibility and for many aspects of his policy, was then 85 years old. Neruda compares his vacillation between life and death, as well as between anathematizing and blessing, to that of Mohammed’s coffin between heaven and earth and that of Hamlet’s between “To be, or not to be”, quoting the famous words from Act III, Scene 1 in Kolár’s translation (p. 56). This remark of Hamlet is naturally Neruda’s great favourite — he several times applies it in paraphrases adapted to the point he wants to make, either in his *feuilletons* (besides the paraphrase quoted on p. 139, see another — “To drink, or not to drink?” — in his reflection on the bad quality of beer in Prague in the particular year: *NL* 7 Oct. 1883, *PG* IV, 432) or even in his own play (see the monologue of the hero of his comedy *A Bridegroom From Hunger* [*Zenich z hladu*] on the theme of whether to marry or to die of hunger — “To eat, or not to eat”: 1859, *Plays* 20). And, of course, he also quotes these words, in Kolár’s translation, in several criticisms of this tragedy when he assesses the performance of the famous monologue.

⁷⁴ *NL* 10 Jan. 1875, *PG* III, 12. Friedrich Wilhelm I (1802–1875) died in exile in Prague, where he had lived since his dethronement as King of Hessen in 1867 (i.e., after the adjointment of his country to Prussia during the Austro-Prussian war). During his reign, as Neruda points out, he could not bear “either the parliament or freedom of the press; he abolished the constitution and fettered the word” (*ibid.*, 11). In further characterizing this exiled despot, Neruda uses one quotation from *Henry VI*, Part III, Act III, Scene 1 (in his exile this tyrant certainly could not say, as could Henry VI: “my crown is call’d content”) — Neruda quotes here in Malý’s translation, p. 52), and several from *Richard II* (like the title hero of this drama, the Kurfürst all the time summoned against the foes of “his earth”, “venomous ‘spiders’”, “heavy-gaited toads”, and “lurking adders”, but, since he was exiled and could not return, he could not call out, as Richard II did when he landed on the coast of Wales: “greet I thee, my earth, | And do thee favour

Neruda, however, as a journalist often uses Shakespeare in a way different to any yet discussed — he compares the appearance or behaviour of the people he describes in his contributions, or their relationships, to those depicted by Shakespeare. Thus, besides the instances already mentioned in other connections,⁷⁶ a lady he sees standing at the shore of the river in Prague and looking into the water reminds him of Ophelia and makes him wonder about her future behaviour, a mother proudly going with her child along a Prague street evokes in him a reminiscence of Juliet's nurse going with her fan after Peter, while an imaginary unattractive prospective bridegroom of Othello.⁷⁷ People he met in Venice during his visit in 1868 reminded him of the characters in *The Merchant of Venice*, and the language of a Japanese visitor to Prague of Dogberry's "gift" for speech, while a Christmas proverb giving advice to guests and sent to him by his friend inspired comment in a paraphrase of the words of Juliet's Nurse.⁷⁸ Even the possible behaviour of the Prague citizens in a situation not likely ever to happen (that there would be no beer in the city) reminds him of Shakespearean characters — horrible and pale figures, closely resembling the witches in *Macbeth*, would totter along the streets.⁷⁹ In contradistinction to these instances in which Neruda uses only one Shakespearean paraphrase, his advices to a young Czech man how to behave at the table and how to entertain his partner at a dance contain quotations (in both cases from *Hamlet*).⁸⁰ As for human relationships, one of the most important, love, is several times illustrated by quotations from Shakespeare (along with relationships between parents or nurses and children, and between relatives) in Neruda's above-mentioned critical *feuilleton* "Romeo and Juliet" — A Pasquinade on Love",⁸¹ although, of course, Neruda's purpose here is different to

with my royal hands"); Neruda quotes or paraphrases these words and passages from Act III, Scene 2 in Doucha's translation (p. 52).

⁷⁵ See *NL* 21 Nov. 1869, *PG* II, 165. Neruda writes about Ferdinand Lesseps's still not having been awarded a dukedom and prophesies further ingratitude in store for him, by quoting, with slight alterations, the Fool's critical assessment of Lear's relationship to his daughters and its consequences, from Act I, Scene 4 (the Fool answers Lear's question as to since when he has been so full of songs by saying: "'e'er since thou madest thy daughters thy mothers: for when thou gavest them the rod, and puttest down thine own breeches, | [Then they for sudden joy did weep, | And I for sorrow sung, | That such a king should play bo-peep, | And go the fools among.]'"); Neruda quotes the first part of this answer in Čelakovský's translation, p. 23).

⁷⁶ See comparisons referred to in notes 61 and 68.

⁷⁷ See *NL* 20 June 1880, *PG* IV, 200; *NL* 10 June 1877, *CS* IV, 89; and *NL* 2 March 1876, *Jokes* 32.

⁷⁸ See *Národní noviny* 5 Aug. 1868, *PA* 231; *NL* 7 Apr. 1878, *PG* III, 296; and *NL* 28 Dec. 1890, *PG* VI, 355. In the last instance, Neruda paraphrases the Nurse's words from Act II, Scene 4: "it is well said".

⁷⁹ See *NL* 21 Sept. 1879, *PG* IV, 119.

⁸⁰ See *NL* 23 Feb. 1873, *Studies* II, 149 (Neruda quotes here Hamlet's advice to the actors from Act III, Scene 2: "'Nor do not saw the air too much with your hand'", in Kolár's translation, p. 60). In the second instance, *NL* 22 Jan. 1888, *PG* VI, 15, Neruda sends the following advice to the "respectable master, Mr. Czech Young Man" in the ballroom: "If only [the lady] hears 'words — words' she is immediately contented". The quotation is from Act II, Scene 2, and is given either in Kolár's translation (p. 40), or might have been translated, of course, by Neruda himself.

⁸¹ See note 3. All the eighteen quotations, which cannot be cited here because of their extent (altogether sixty-one lines, both incomplete and complete), are taken from Doucha's Museum translation of this tragedy. It is worth noticing that love is defined, through the medium of a Shakespearean quotation, also in Neruda's own fiction — in his arabesque

that in all the instances so far discussed. He uses quotations from Shakespeare to pillory Eduard von Hartmann's misinterpretation of the tragedy and not to make his own opinions more convincing (even though, of course, it is on these that his judgments of Hartmann are based, while his own positive interpretation, explicitly expressed throughout the *feuilleton*, cannot be missed by any reader). A similar example of Neruda's different purpose supported by plentiful Shakespearean quotations (in this case concerning the human body in health, illness and death) is represented by another critical *feuilleton*, also referred to above — "Shakespeare As — Student of Medicine".⁸²

Not a few Shakespearean quotations, paraphrases or references illustrate Neruda's reflections on various amusements, hobbies and vices of humankind. When he chats with his readers about winter sports, for instance, he imagines the ensemble of the Czech theatre performing *Romeo and Juliet* and *Macbeth* on ice, and while talking about games, he quotes the dialogue on bowls from *Richard II* or reminds his readers of Hamlet's reference to loggats.⁸³ When envisaging future flying, he expresses his conviction that when man flies in the air, there will be an enormous number of weddings, mankind will increase in number, new characters will be born, and Shakespeare will have to write supplements.⁸⁴ Many quotations and references may be found, too, in his *feuilletons* or "studies" dealing with

"Reminiscences of a Touring Actor" ["Z paměti kočujícího herce"] (*Rose. Almanac for the year 1860 [Růže, almanach na rok 1860]*, pp. 75–87) he puts into the mouth of the narrator, who loved another girl, but, to save the company, married its directress, Romeo's definition of love, from Act I, Scene 1, as "a madness most discreet, | A choking gall, and a preserving sweet. —" (*Arabesques*, 34). He obviously gives this definition in his own translation (in the year mentioned probably based on a German version of the tragedy), for the only translation he could have used at the time, the first of Doucha's of 1847, is different (see p. 12).

⁸² See note 3. All the quotations are given in the translations published in the Museum edition. In order of their appearance they are: The Clown's characterization of Sir Toby Belch from *Twelfth Night*, Act I, Scene 5 ("for here he comes, one of thy kin, has a most weak *pia mater*"); in Doucha's translation, p. 14); the schoolmaster Holofernes's statement about his extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, etc., from *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act IV, Scene 2 ("these are begot in the ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of *pia mater*, and delivered upon the mellowing of occasion"); in Malý's translation, p. 35); Menenius's tale of the rebellion of the body's members against the belly from *Coriolanus*, Act I, Scene 1 (from "True is it, my incorporate friends" to "Whereby they live"; in Doucha's translation, p. 5); Hamlet's speech to the King on our fattening ourselves for worms from Act IV, Scene 3 (from "we fat all creatures else" to "but to one table", from "A man may fish" to "of that worm", and from "Nothing but to show you" to "through the guts of a beggar"; in Kolár's translation, p. 89); the Hostess's description of Falstaff's dying from *Henry V*, Act II, Scene 3 (from "for after I saw him" to "as cold as any stone"; in Čejka's translation, p. 28); and the proof of death made by Lear on Cordelia, Act V, Scene 3 ("— Lend me a looking-glass; | If that her breath will mist or stain the stone, | Why, then she lives. . . | This feather stirs; . . ."); in Čelakovský's translation, pp. 115, 116). In between these quotations there is a reference to Falstaff's "learned disquisition" on the influence of sack on man (see *Henry IV*, Part II, Act IV, Scene 3).

⁸³ See *Hlas* 19 Feb. 1865, PG I, 338; *NL* 25 Apr. 1880, CS IV, 258–259 (Neruda quotes here a passage from *Richard II*, Act III, Scene 4: "Queen. What sport shall we devise here in this garden, | To drive away the heavy thought of care? | 1st Lady. Madam, we'll play at bowls"; in Doucha's translation, p. 69); and *NL* 5 July 1885, PG V, 176 (here Neruda has in mind Hamlet's words to Horatio from Act V, Scene 1).

⁸⁴ See *NL* 12 May 1869, *Studies* II, 78.

fashion, dancing, gardening, smoking, and even joking.⁸⁵ Moreover, Neruda often employs Shakespeare's works, too, when reporting various natural disasters or

⁸⁵ In this note I present only a condensed summary of the extensive material to be found in Neruda's contributions dealing with the spheres mentioned in the text — even so, however, the note cannot be short.

Fashion: When chatting about ball fashions or fashion in general, Neruda likes to quote especially Romeo's exclamation from Act II, Scene 2: "O, that I were a glove upon that hand!" (NL 21 Dec. 1877, PG III, 257 and NL 25 Jan. 1891, PG VI, 362; both in Doucha's translation of 1847, p. 41), but he also cites a few verses from the dialogue between Othello and Desdemona on the human hand from Act III, Scene 4 (see NL 9 Jan. 1875, *Studies* I, 231; in Malý's translation, see its new cheap edition, p. 71), and the Nurse's command "My fan, Peter" from *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Scene 4 (NL 14 Jan. 1874, *Studies* I, 238; in his own translation). When talking about new fashion in hats (NL 24 March 1878, PG III, 289), he quotes, in his own translation (that of Malý is different — see p. 73), Beatrice's statement about Benedick: "he wears his faith but as the fashion of his hat; it ever changes with the next block" (*Much Ado About Nothing*, Act I, Scene 1 — Neruda wrongly places it, however, in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, as the editor, Jarmila Višková, correctly points out: see explanatory note, p. 414).

Dancing: In a *feuilleton* humorously discussing dancing in his country (NL 23 Nov. 1879, PG IV, 133) he deplors the disappearance of "that of course over-hideous custom mentioned by Shakespeare in *Henry VIII*, Act I, Scene 4", and quotes two incomplete verses from King Henry's speech to Anne Bullen ("I were unmannerly to take you out, | And not to kiss you") in his own translation — that of Čejka is different (see p. 26). Or, when writing about the reappearance of masked balls in Prague (NL 26 Jan. 1879, PG IV, 22), he formulates as the first paragraph of their code the rule saying that after paying the entrance fee everybody may enter with the full consciousness of his spiritual weight, illustrating it by his very free paraphrase of Viola's words about the Clown from *Twelfth Night*, Act III, Scene 1: "This fellow's wise enough to play the fool; . . .".

Gardening: In one of his *feuilletons* on roses (NL 16 June 1889), Neruda reflects on the names given to these flowers, in some cases not very fitting, in his opinion, as for instance the name of Ophelia: "A tragic woman. 'Be thou [. . .] as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny!' — that rose, however, is yellow all around. — 'Get thee to a nunnery, Ophelia!'" (PG VI, 157). These quotations, from Act III, Scene 1, were slightly adapted by Neruda, but their basis was Kolár's translation (p. 58).

Smoking: In one of his "studies" on tobacco, Neruda compares the nose of a snuff-taker to that of Bardolph, and characterizes the latter by a definition which he presents as a quotation — it "could serve in the place of light in darkness or in the case of necessity for making fire" (NL 16 Jan. 1875, *Studies* I, 322). The editor, Jaroslav Zima, has nothing to say about this definition and only places Bardolph among the characters of *Merry Wives of Windsor* (see explanatory note, p. 410); no such statement can be found, however, in this comedy, nor in either part of *Henry IV* or in *Henry V* (though in the two historical tragedies there are, of course, several disquisitions on Bardolph's nose, but entirely different). In my opinion, Neruda's "quotation" is a condensed expression of his reminiscences of all these passages, perhaps particularly of Falstaff's two speeches to Bardolph about the latter's nose, in *Henry IV*, Part I, Act III, Scene 3. It is also worth noticing that on the same page of the same "study" Neruda maintains that Shakespeare snuffed tobacco, while elsewhere in these "studies" he asserts that he smoked a pipe (see NL 21 Aug. 1874, *Studies* I, 304).

Joking: In his *feuilleton* concerned with unintentional jokes which happened on the Czech stage (NL 13 Dec. 1874, *Jokes* 171), Neruda records, among others, two long-lasting ones from *Othello* — the exclamation of Kolár the elder in the role of Iago when Othello pounced upon him ("Don't tear down my wig!") and J. B. Malý's translation of Iago's exclamation in Act II, Scene 1: "The Moor! I know his trumpet". The latter joke lies in the word "trouba" chosen by Malý for translating "the trumpet" (in Czech a synonym for "idiot, fool, blockhead") and in the whole arrangement of the second part of the exclamation; the outcome of this is that the actual meaning of Malý's translation is: "The Moor! I know that idiot" (new cheap edition, p. 31). This "genuinely Shakespearean joke", as Neruda characterizes it, is repeated by him once again in a *feuilleton* in which he describes the arrival of a mail-coach (see NL 30 May 1886, *FAM* 418).

irregularities in the weather. When informing his readers about floods, earthquakes and other such catastrophes which have taken place abroad, he likes to quote Ross's answer to Malcolm's question "What's the newest grief?" from *Macbeth*, Act IV, Scene 3:

"That of an hour's age doth hiss the speaker;
Each minute teems a new one",

but he also uses, as a preface to his description of a strong wind in his own country, Lear's exclamation from Act III, Scene 2:

"Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow!"⁸⁶

Or, in his report about bad weather in his country (cold, ice, mud — a week after the official arrival of spring), he states that these irregularities in nature, when "the heaven stood itself on its head and the earth flutters its legs in the clouds", remind him of *Hamlet*.⁸⁷ In the last case of this sort Neruda complains of the bad weather his country suffers from all the year round and maintains that if Shakespeare had written his *Much Ado About Nothing* in Bohemia (adding that he several times reflected on why the great dramatist actually was not a Czech), "he would not have let the lighthearted and otherwise reasonable Benedick make himself so ridiculous, in the very first act, first scene, by his comparison that 'there's her cousin, [. . .] exceeds her as much in beauty as the first of May does the last of December'". In this country, Neruda goes on, "the last of December is just as beautiful as the first of May, and the 17th June [the day on which he wrote this *feuilleton* — LP] almost as cold as the 1st January".⁸⁸

Also when writing of local events, Neruda often makes use of the work of the great English dramatist. Thus for instance quarrels among the Prague associations of German-speaking nationalist students (*Burschenschaften*), which recurred in spite of all the professed love and harmony, make him conclude his reflection by quoting Fabian's words from *Twelfth Night*:

"If this were played upon the stage now, I could condemn it as an improbable fiction".⁸⁹

In his *feuilleton* humorously discussing the introduction of new weights and measures in his country, he points out that the Czech translation of all the weights and measures in the Museum edition of Shakespeare will have to be converted by the foremost Czech mathematician Professor F. J. Studnička, and quotes, besides another locus from Shakespeare to be mentioned further on, Shylock's words

⁸⁶ The first quotation is repeated by him twice (*NL* 26 Apr. 1874, *PG* II, 375 and *NL* 13 March 1881, *CS* IV, 319). In the first case, he uses only the quotation, in the second he prefaces it with "It's as merry as *Macbeth*", and uses a different translation. In both cases it is probably his own translation, for that of Kolár is different (see p. 64). For the second quotation see *Naše listy* 13 Dec. 1868, *CS* II, 465; Neruda quotes from Čelakovský's translation (p. 56).

⁸⁷ See *Hlas* 30 March 1865, *CT* II, 563; Neruda most probably refers to *Hamlet*'s words "The time is out of joint", from Act II, Scene 5.

⁸⁸ *NL* 18 June 1876, *PG* III, 91; Neruda quotes from Malý's translation (p. 76).

⁸⁹ *Hlas* 11 Jan. 1863, *CS* I, 179. The words, from Act III, Scene 4, are quoted in Doucha's translation (p. 57).

“You'll ask me why I rather choose to have
A weight of carrion flesh than to receive
Three thousand ducats: . . .”

along with his own paraphrase converting the pound to kilograms (the translator here used the Czech “*libra*”, i. e. “pound”, instead of “weight”).⁹⁰ In another *feuilleton*, a new reward proposed by the Town Council of Prague for saving drowning people (five guldens per human body) makes him think again of human flesh sold by the pound, adding that he passes over the alluring opportunity of boasting of his erudition and surprising the reader by a reference to Shylock.⁹¹ In yet another *feuilleton*, in which he protests against the exclusion of Saint John of Nepomuk, his favourite saint, from history by V. V. Tomek who showed that he was a legendary figure,⁹² Neruda exclaims:

“Shakespeare is more famous than Tomek and he said that ‘there are a great many things between heaven and earth than are dreamt of by learned men!’”⁹³

Not a few Shakespearean quotations or references may be found, too, in Neruda's reflections on and criticisms of literature, the fine arts, music and the theatre. When writing, for instance, on the art of eating as a source of inspiration for literature, he humorously rebukes Shakespeare for making his heroes “go from action to action so quickly that they do not even have time for eating”.⁹⁴ In dis-

⁹⁰ *NL* 17 Oct. 1875, *Jokes* 52; these words, from Act IV, Scene 1, are quoted in Kolár's translation (new cheap edition, p. 71).

⁹¹ See *NL* 30 May 1878, *PG* III, 308–309.

⁹² Václav Vladivoj Tomek (1818–1905), Professor of Austrian history at the Prague University, showed in the third volume of his *History of the Town of Prague* (1855–1901) that Saint John Nepomuk never existed as a historical character and that the prototype used for his creation was John of Pomuk, Doctor of Law (?1345–1393) whose violent death was not caused, however, by his having refused to give away a confessional secret (as his legendary twin is supposed to have done), but by strife between the King and the archbishop whose Vicar General and Notary he was (see František Stýblo, explanatory notes to *ČS* V, p. 543, and Jan Thon, explanatory notes to *Literature* III, p. 325). Neruda was not a deeply religious man, but he regarded Saint John as the patron of all the Johns, including himself, and liked him especially for his being the cause of popular national May festivals in Prague. For his defences of this saint, protests against Tomek's discovery, and reports of the festival see, for instance, *NL* 13 May 1877, *PG* III, 189–190; *NL* 23 March 1879, *PG* IV, 46; *NL* 16 May 1879, *PG* IV, 65; and *NL* 11 May 1890, *CS* V, 416–421.

⁹³ *NL* 16 May 1885, *CS* V, 109. As obvious, this is Neruda's paraphrase (in my translation) of Hamlet's words to Horatio, Act I, Scene 5 (the editor František Stýblo wrongly places them, however, in *Romeo and Juliet* — see explanatory notes, p. 543): “There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, | Than are dreamt of in your philosophy”. It is worth noticing that Neruda uses this quotation in yet another variation (also obviously his own, though rather nearer to Kolár's translation than that quoted in the text), in one of his reflections on the strange things happening in the repertoire and ensemble of the Czech theatre (see *Hlas* 8 Apr. 1863, *CT* II, 93), but also in Kolár's translation (p. 29) in a *feuilleton* discussing “horrible events” (such as All Souls' Day, forebodings, etc.; see *NL* 1 Nov. 1877, *PG* III, 233). In the last case he correctly identifies the quotation as a “Hamletian statement of Shakespeare's known all over the world”, humorously remarking that he could have quoted it (he of course *does* quote it before these very words), but that he would be ashamed of such a trite quotation. As follows from this, Neruda knew very well — in contradistinction to his editor — in which drama of Shakespeare's this quotation may be found.

⁹⁴ *NL* 29 May 1874, *Studies* II, 158.

cussing another such source of inspiration — human sin — he highly appreciates, as one of the most powerful scenes in Shakespeare, that which depicts the consequences of filial ingratitude — Lear’s wanderings in the storm, quoting the Fool’s appeal to Lear to be calm when the latter is tearing off his clothes.⁹⁵ When he sharply attacks Professors T. G. Masaryk and Jan Gebauer for their pillorying the Manuscript of Königinhof as a forgery in the Czech magazine *Athenium* (at that time and long afterwards Neruda firmly believed in the authenticity of both forged manuscripts), he characterizes them as “merry Athenians”, having in mind Bottom and his companions.⁹⁶ In Neruda’s art criticisms there are no Shakespearean quotations and only one paraphrase (that of Richard III’s famous exclamation, in Neruda’s version calling for the exchange of the kingdom for a thought, and of the whole world for poetry and humour in *genre* pictures⁹⁷), but Neruda several times evaluates pictures on themes taken from Shakespeare’s dramas. Neruda’s criticisms of music are not illustrated by any quotations or paraphrases, but they reveal that he was well informed about operas and other musical works composed before and during his own lifetime and based on Shakespeare’s dramas.

Much more numerous, of course, are Neruda’s references to and quotations from Shakespeare’s works in his *feuilletons* discussing theatre matters and in his dramatic criticisms concerned with other dramatists than Shakespeare (in his criticisms of the performances of Shakespeare’s plays there are only a few minute quotations some of which have been mentioned in other connections⁹⁸). As the number of references is too large, I shall pass them over and concentrate on the quotations, and from these on the more extensive. Thus in his aphorisms on the drama and the theatre, Neruda quotes two passages from Hamlet’s speech to the players from Act III, Scene 2, and in his criticism of the performance of the Calderón drama *El Médico de su Honra*, which he measures by Shakespeare’s *Othello*, we may find two quotations from the latter tragedy⁹⁹. In his critical

⁹⁵ See *NL* 18 Jan. 1891, *CS* V, 455. He situates Lear’s wanderings, however, on the seashore and not on the heath where they actually took place, and instead of the actual appeal to be found in the quoted place of the tragedy (Act III, Scene 4: “Pr’ythee, nuncle, be contented”), he quotes another from Act I, Scene 5 (“Then, I pr’ythee, be merry”), in a slightly adapted translation of Čelakovský (p. 30).

⁹⁶ See *NL* 28 March 1886, *Literature* III, 228. In the fifth number of the *Athenium* (15 Feb. 1886) Gebauer published two articles in which he pointed to inaccuracies and mistakes in the language of both manuscripts and demanded their further examination; adjoined was, too, a letter from the editor of the magazine, Professor T. G. Masaryk, written in January 1886 and asking Gebauer for such contributions as were the above-mentioned articles (see Jan Thon, explanatory notes to *Literature* III, pp. 324–325).

⁹⁷ See *NL* 15 May 1869, *FAM* 145. Neruda uses his own translation for the paraphrase of this locus from Act V, Scene 4, for the word “kingdom”, which he translates literally, is translated by Doucha differently (see p. 129).

⁹⁸ See his quotations of Hamlet’s “To be, or not to be” referred to in note 73. To these the following may be added: the quotation of Hamlet’s “Words, words, words”, from Act II, Scene 1 (*Hlas* 7 March 1863, *CT* II, 83), of the Ghost’s “Swear” from *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 5 (*Hlas* 29 Aug. 1863, *CT* II, 151), of two stage directions from *Macbeth* (*Lumír* 20 Oct. 1878, *CT* V, 287), and of the setting of the scene in *Coriolanus* (*NL* 28 Oct. 1888, *CT* V, 438).

⁹⁹ For the first quotation see *Lumír* 1865, *AS* 71. The first passage begins with “O, it offends me to the soul” and ends with “inexplicable dumb shows and noise”, the second begins with “And let those that play your clowns” and ends with “in the fool that uses it”. The translation is probably Neruda’s own (at this time of his life based on

article on Ernst Raupach's mediocre play *The Miller and His Child*, performed in Prague every year on All Souls' Day because of its ghostly graveyard atmosphere, he informs his readers about a banquet annually held on that day by the Parisian gravediggers, characterizing it as one "purely for noblemen", in the spirit of the statement of the first Clown from *Hamlet*, which he also quotes:

"There is no ancient gentlemen but gardeners, ditchers, and grave-makers'".¹⁰⁰

In his criticism of the performance of Adolphe Belot's drama *L'Article 47* (on the Czech stage *Cora*), Neruda reflects on possible critical assessments, giving as one possibility, for the more exacting critics, a rejection of Bottom's remark, "A very good piece of work, I assure you...'", while in his critical evaluation of the Polish actress Marie Derygová in the roles of Shakespeare's Juliet and Goethe's Margaret, he uses three quotations from *Romeo and Juliet*.¹⁰¹ The last quotation in the category discussed is questionable — in his announcement of the approaching 25th anniversary of the activity of the Shakespearean actor František Kolár on the Czech stage, Neruda quotes a line pronounced by this actor in the role of Menenius in *Coriolanus*:

"Before a month passes, you will learn much yet".¹⁰²

No such line, however, is to be found in Shakespeare's drama, nor in its Czech translation — it might have been, however, the actor's extempore statement.

A few quotations or paraphrases illustrate, too, Neruda's reflections on himself and his own work. Two of these reflections concern his quarrel with J. S. Skrej-

a German version), for it substantially differs from that of Kolár (see pp. 60–62). For the two quotations from *Othello* see *NL* 2 March 1870, *CT* IV, 121, 123. The quoted incomplete verses (*Othello*: "An honourable murderer, . . . | For [naught] I did [in hate], [but] all in honour", and *Lodovico*: "Your power [and your command] is taken off"), both from Act V, Scene 2, are presented in Malý's translation (new cheap edition, pp. 121, 123).

¹⁰⁰ "Year After Year 'The Miller and His Child'" ["Rok co rok 'Mlynář a jeho dítě'"], 1873, *Jokes* 263. The statement, from Act V, Scene 1, is quoted in Kolár's translation (p. 109).

¹⁰¹ For the quotation of Bottom's statement (from Act I, Scene 2) see *NL* 29 Oct. 1878, *CT* V, 289. It is quoted in Doucha's translation (see second edition, p. 9), but Neruda reverses its order to: "I assure you, a very good piece of work". For the three quotations from *Romeo and Juliet* see *NL* 17 Dec. 1879, *CT* V, 363, 364. They are: Lady Capulet's statement about Juliet's age, repeated then by the Nurse, "She's not fourteen" (from Act I, Scene 3), four incomplete verses from the ensuing appeal of Lady Capulet to Juliet to think of marriage (beginning with "younger than you" and ending with "That you are now a maid"), and four abbreviated verses from Juliet's monologue in Act IV, Scene 3 before her taking the drug ("Where . . . the bones | Of all my buried ancestors are pack'd; | Where bloody Tybalt . . . | Lies festering in his shroud; . . ."). Neruda quotes from the first translation of Doucha (pp. 20, 22, 115) which he only slightly adapts in the third quotation.

¹⁰² *NL* 19 Nov. 1876, *PG* III, 143. A minor genuine quotation appears, however, in the article in which Neruda celebrated this anniversary (*Osvěta* No. 12, 1876, pp. 942–954). He mentions as an example of remarkable coincidence that the last role of the great German actor Konrad Eckhof was that of the ghost in *Hamlet*, whose last words are: "Adieu, adieu! [Hamlet], remember me" (*CT* V, 163). Neruda quotes these words, from Act I, Scene 5, in Kolár's translation (p. 26).

šovský, an Old-Czech journalist, who unjustly accused him of having sent slanderous reports about Czech political personalities to the Viennese magazine *Montagsrevue* (this accusation, along with other slanders, appeared in Skrejšovský's magazine *Progress [Pokrok]* even before 21st May 1871, but the most offensive is to be found in an article published on that day and entitled "Documents Concerning the Conspiracy of Czech Literary Judases" ["Doklady stran konšpirace českých literárních jidášů"]). Neruda's first reaction, published on the above-mentioned day, is a recapitulation of the quarrel to date, written in a sad tone, but containing, too, his positive appreciation of the fact that Skrejšovský's magazines have begun to support his own principles — that is those for which he had by that time fought for fourteen years as dramatic critic. Such a support is welcome, he adds, for others have fought side by side with him and they have all (himself included) relaxed their efforts, depressed by the hopelessness of the struggle for a better repertoire, good adaptations of plays, good casting, and correct language on the stage, and feel in a "Shakespearean mood", which Neruda characterizes by the following not genuinely Shakespearean verses:

"Would that the time for sleep were come
And all were finished".¹⁰³

The second reaction, in contradistinction to the first, is written jocosely, in the form of a fictitious advertisement of himself as an eligible husband, but contains, too, bitter tones (especially in the signature "pro tem., sgd., a literary Judas"). The advertisement describes Neruda's supposed appearance, closely resembling that of his "ancestor", the biblical Judas, and gives his real age in his assertion that he is by twelve years younger than was Kent when he answered Lear's question about his age in the words (quoted): "Not so young, sir, to love a woman for singing; nor so old to dote on her for anything: . . ." (the continuation of the quotation containing the asked-for information — "I have years on my back forty-eight" — is not quoted).¹⁰⁴

The last instance to be given here is again written in a humorous vein — Neruda jokingly complains that his fingers want to write, and to write a great deal, in the German manner, and that this sudden whim of theirs seems to him to be dangerous and therefore he will not obey it, for what he would write in such a situation, would only be "Words, words, words!"¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, after a few reflections as to the possible theme of his *feuilleton*, he does write it, concentrating on the May tributes to famous Czech people buried in the Prague cemeteries and ending with a fiery appeal to the Czech nation to fling off its inertia and go on working in science, art, and political and social life.

All the quotations and paraphrases so far dealt with in this study were presented by Neruda, as we have seen, in their Czech versions — from the pen of other translators (predominantly those of the Museum edition) or from that of Neruda

¹⁰³ NL 21 May 1871, CS III, 140. This may be Neruda's paraphrase of Falstaff's statement from *Henry IV*, Part I, Act V, Scene 1: "I would it were bed-time, Hal, and all well".

¹⁰⁴ NL 4 June 1871, PG II, 244. This statement from *King Lear*, Act I, Scene 4, is given in Čelakovský's translation (p. 19). Neruda was at that time 37 years old.

¹⁰⁵ NL 27 June 1872, CS III, 249. Neruda quotes these words of Hamlet, from Act II, Scene 2, in Kolár's translation (p. 40).

himself. There remain three very exceptional cases to be discussed, in which Neruda quotes from the English original. Two of them fall — though only to a certain extent — into the category of comparisons of living people with Shakespearean characters: Neruda twice quotes Lear's answer "[Ay,] every inch a king" to Gloster's question "Is't not the king?" (evoked by the entrance of Lear fantastically dressed up with flowers, in Act IV, Scene 6), once applying it to a typical representative of Prague street-porters, once to his friend, the singer Josef Lev, in the dedication of his *Jokes, Frivolous and Fierce* [*Žerty hravé i dravé*].¹⁰⁶ The third instance belongs to the category of literary criticism — Neruda uses a quotation of Lady Macbeth's words to Macbeth (Act II, Scene 1) when the latter is unwilling to return to the scene of the murder ("The 'sleeping and the dead are but as pictures'") as a motto to his obituary of the Shakespearean translator Antonín Marek.¹⁰⁷

In the conclusion of my analysis it might be of some interest to point out that in spite of Neruda's frequent comparisons of the behaviour, virtues and vices of humankind and situations in which its members find themselves in real life to characters and situations in Shakespeare's dramas, he several times gives explicit preference to real life itself and not to Shakespeare. As he emphasizes, even though "all art grows from life", "life itself has of course an unsurpassable wealth of creative artistic power", and "at times creates a poem, an incarnate poem, which cannot be attained by any descriptive word, any imitating line — all art is poor in comparison with it". To drive home this conviction, he several times maintains that real life is nobler, more moving, but also more horrible than Shakespeare, or, as he formulates it in the article from which the above quotations are taken, it has "more fantasy than Ariosto, more tenderness than Kálidása, more brilliance than Shakespeare, more luminous poetry than Raphael, and more depictive power than Angelo".¹⁰⁸

* * *

Although I do not regard the analysis of Neruda's employment of Shakespeare's works in his journalism presented in this study as a definitive solution of the problem but only as a partial contribution to it, I trust that it provides sufficient

¹⁰⁶ For the first instance see *NL* 12 Jan. 1877, *CS* IV, 51 (in this case Neruda also provides his own Czech paraphrase — "every inch a 'street-porter!'"). The second quotation (in the dedication, *Jokes* 9, 1877) is given only in its original English version. It is worth noticing, however, that in his *feuilleton* concerned with the introduction of new weights and measures in his country, mentioned on p. 145, Neruda does use this quotation in Čelakovský's translation (though he wrongly attributes it to Kolár) and not in the English original. He adds to the quotation — as to that from *The Merchant of Venice* discussed on the page referred to — his own conversion (in this case of the old Czech unit of measure corresponding to the "inch" in Lear's statement to centimetres and millimetres; see *NL* 17 Oct. 1875, *Jokes* 52).

¹⁰⁷ *NL* 18 Feb. 1877, *Literature* II, 250. In this case Neruda also provides a Czech translation, and his own, as the editor Jan Thon correctly points out, for Kolár's translation (quoted, too, by the editor) is really different. Jan Thon, however, also compares Neruda's version to the translation by J. V. Sládek which the former, of course, could not have known, as it appeared seven years after his death, in 1898 (see explanatory notes, p. 353).

¹⁰⁸ For the quotations see *NL* 7 June 1874, *CT* IV, 324; for the paraphrased statements see *Čas* 9 May 1861, *CT* I, 128; *NL* 2 July 1878, *CT* V, 270; and *NL* 11 March 1880, *CT* V, 376.

ground for a number of conclusions. In the first place, it does, for the field discussed, confirm the statement pronounced in the introduction to this study to the effect that Neruda's relationship to Shakespeare is reflected in all the fields of his activity — and it certainly does permeate his journalism. I hope I have shown that it pervades all the forms Neruda uses as journalist — Shakespearean quotations, paraphrases, or references may be found, as a careful reader must have noticed, in his *feuilletons*, polemical articles, "studies", book reviews, dramatic and art criticism, travel pictures, as well as in the lighter forms characterized by him as "jokes" and "petty gossip". At the same time, of course, this relationship is closely connected with the material of all these types and forms — Shakespeare stands at Neruda's side, as we have seen, when the latter deals with any of the thematic categories investigated in the main part of this study, and we are therefore justified in asserting that his relationship to the great English dramatist pervades the whole thematic range of his journalism.

Moreover, Neruda's comments accompanying the quotations, paraphrases and references analysed here, when assessed as a whole, also convincingly show the great variety of creative approaches characteristic for Neruda the journalist — keen wit, sharp satire, bitter irony, but also kindly humour, and the tender emotion of a soft heart. This manysidedness, necessary especially for a *feuilletonist*, was after all most aptly characterized by the writer himself, who did indeed possess all the qualities he attributes to the successful *feuilletonist* in the following characterization:

"If the god Janus had two faces for his whole 'eternal' life, the *feuilletonist* must have at least a hundred faces a year, and each of them different. Once enthusiastic, for the second time tearful, for the third time childlike, for the fourth time wise, for the fifth time frisky, etc. He must *entertain*, whether he entertains by truth or by a joke. If he is earnest, however, they will tell him that he has no wit, if he is jocose, they will say that he only makes fun of everything — he will never satisfy *everybody*. And the nicest thing about him is that he does not mind this. He must be a poet, a philosopher, a scholar, a humorist, a critic, a man full of emotion, and then again a man of a stony heart, but of all these things he again must have only a pinch so as not to be a bore, not to be monotonous, or whatever else they often blame him for. The *feuilletonist* must be himself a mosaic, like his *feuilleton*".¹⁰⁹

My investigation enables me, moreover, to argue against the opinion of Albert Pražák — otherwise a great enthusiast for Neruda — who maintains that the great Czech journalist did not take his quotations straight from the works of any of the authors he employed for this purpose (that is, not from Shakespeare's works either, though Pražák does not explicitly refer to them in this connection) but in all cases from anthologies of aphorisms and other works of this type he had in his library.¹¹⁰ Whatever method Neruda might have used in his quoting from other writers, in the case of Shakespeare, as our analysis sufficiently clearly shows, he took over most of his quotations from the Czech translations of Shakespeare's plays, especially those published in the Museum edition. It is only in the three instances when he quotes in English, as well as in his own translations and paraphrases, that he might have used, in the latter case along with the Czech translations, the sources suggested by Pražák, or other books or translations most

¹⁰⁹ *NL* 9 March 1873, *Studies* II, 344.

¹¹⁰ See Pražák, *op. cit.*, 594.

probably written in German, but this aspect of our problem would require a thorough separate treatment and its definitive solution must therefore be deferred to the future.

The study of the Czech translations Neruda used as the basis for his quotations, as well as the necessary reading of his own works, enables us to point to the last aspect of Neruda's relationship to Shakespeare to be mentioned in this place — an aspect of a different character than all the preceding, for it cannot be apparent to the reader of this study which is written in English, so that Neruda's quotations from Shakespeare are also presented in their original version. The aspect in question is the influence of Shakespeare's works on the Czech journalist's style. Although Shakespeare was by no means the only representative of world literature who exercised such an influence on Neruda, as every Nerudian scholar well knows, there is, in my opinion, no doubt that Neruda's study and employment of the Czech versions of Shakespeare's dramas considerably widened the range of his means of expression, that Shakespeare's rich diction and subtle style, adequately rendered especially in the translations published in the Museum edition (highly appreciated as an "enormous enrichment" of Czech poetical language in general by Otakar Vočadlo¹¹¹), played a considerable role in the formation of his journalistic style, famous for its brilliant clarity of expression, directness of utterance, homeliness and sobriety. A detailed investigation of this influence might be, in my opinion, an attractive and rewarding subject for any scholar whose interest is centred on the style of the great Czech journalist or on Czech style in general.

All references to Neruda's works used in this study concern the edition in the Library of Classics (*Spisy Jana Nerudy* [*The Works of Jan Neruda*], Praha: Československý spisovatel, SNKLU and Odeon, issued since 1950; the last volume, containing indexes, bibliography and biographical data, is still to appear). The titles of the works referred to here are used in their English versions, but generally in the following short titles and abbreviations:

Studies — *Studies, Short and Shorter* [*Studie, krátké a kratší*]

Jokes — *Jokes, Frivolous and Fierce* [*Žerty, hravé i dravé*]

PA — *Pictures from Abroad* [*Obrazy z ciziny*]

MT — *Minor Travels* [*Menší cesty*]

Plays — *Theatre Plays* [*Divadelní hry*]

CT — *Czech Theatre* [*České divadlo*]

FAM — *Fine Art and Music* [*Výtvarné umění a hudba*]

CS — *Czech Society* [*Česká společnost*]

PG — *Petty Gossip* [*Drobné klepy*]

AS — *Aphorisms and Supplements* [*Aforismy a dodatky*]

One-word titles are used unabbreviated: *Arabesques* [*Arabesky*], *Literature* [*Literatura*], *Portraits* [*Podobizny*], and *Letters* [*Dopisy*].

The titles of magazines and newspapers are given in their unabbreviated original Czech versions, except the most frequently recurring, the *National Paper* [*Národní listy*], for which the Czech abbreviation *NL* is used. To simplify matters further, in the references to individual contributions only the dates of their publication are given and not their titles, for some are untitled and some titled, while the titles of the latter are often very long.

¹¹¹ Vočadlo, op. cit., 37.

SHAKESPEARE V NERUDOVĚ NOVINÁŘSKÉ TVORBĚ

V úvodu článku autorka podává přehled celé složité problematiky Nerudova vztahu k Shakespeareovi a naznačuje, jak se tento vztah obráží v činnosti Jana Nerudy jako novináře, redaktora, divadelního referenta i tvůrčího umělce. K podrobnějšímu prozkoumání si vybírá jeden aspekt této problematiky — Nerudovo používání Shakespeareových děl v jeho novinářské tvorbě.

V první části článku autorka nejprve celkově hodnotí Nerudu jako novináře a zejména fejetonistu a zdůrazňuje, že vedle jeho pokrokového světového názoru mu v plnění jeho ušlechtilého poslání vlasteneckého novináře napomáhala i jeho dobrá znalost světové literatury. Soustřeďuje se pak na prozkoumání dostupné evidence o Nerudově obeznámenosti s díly Shakespeareovými, a to evidence vnější (údaje Nerudových životopisců a stav jeho knihovny) i vnitřní (odkazy k Shakespeareovi v Nerudově tvorbě). Dospívá k závěru, že vlastní četbou německých a zejména českých překladů Shakespeareových dramát (které měl ve své knihovně), shlednutím jejich představení především na pražském českém jevišti (o kterém podávají svědectví zejména jeho divadelní referáty) a studiem jejich kritického hodnocení v dílech francouzských a německých vědců a jiných autorů (která se rovněž dochovala v jeho knihovně) Neruda získal spolehlivou znalost téměř celé tvorby velkého anglického dramatika, která tvořila solidní základnu pro jeho divadelní kritiku, v níž se také nejvýrazněji projevuje, ale která je také patrná v jeho tvorbě novinářské.

Té je věnována hlavní část článku, v níž autorka podrobně rozebírá shakespeareovské citáty, parafráze a odkazy v Nerudových novinářských příspěvcích. Na základě tohoto rozboru dospívá k následujícím závěrům: Nerudův vztah k Shakespeareovi skutečně prolíná celou jeho novinářskou tvorbou. Shakespeareovské citáty, parafráze a odkazy se objevují ve všech formách, kterých Neruda jako novinář používal a jsou současně těsně spjaty s obsahem tlumočeným prostřednictvím těchto forem. Navíc Nerudovy komentáře doprovázející tyto citáty, parafráze či odkazy ve svém celku také přesvědčivě dokumentují různotvárnost tvůrčích přístupů charakteristických pro jeho novinářskou tvorbu. Autorčina analýza jí také umožňuje polemizovat s názorem Alberta Pražáka, že Neruda všechny citáty ze světové literatury přejímal výhradně ze sekundárních pramenů. Pokud jde o Shakespeareova díla, jak rozbor dokumentuje, Neruda přejímá své citáty přímo z těchto děl, a to zejména z jejich českých překladů vydaných Maticí českou v letech 1855–1872. Jedině ve třech případech, kdy cituje z anglického originálu a v případech, kdy překládá sám, mohl snad používat zdrojů, o nichž se zmiňuje Pražák — tento aspekt problému by však vyžadoval důkladnějšího zvláštního rozboru. Studium českých překladů Shakespeara, z nichž Neruda citoval a jeho vlastní tvorby vedlo autorku navíc k závěru, který čtenáři její anglicky psané studie nemůže být zřejmý, že bohaté výrazové prostředky a vytríbený styl velkého anglického dramatika, adekvátně převedené do češtiny v uvedených překladech, ovlivnily také Nerudův novinářský styl. Zpracování tohoto problému předkládá autorka k úvaze vědcům, jejichž badatelský zájem je soustředěn na styl velkého českého novináře nebo český styl vůbec.