



**SAPIENZA**  
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA



**CHARLES**  
**UNIVERSITY**

**Roman Jakobson's Collaboration**  
**with Interwar Czech Press**

*A. Y. / 2023-2024*

**Candidate:** Martina Mecco

**Supervisors:** prof. Annalisa Cosentino, prof. Libuše Heczková, prof. Tomáš Glanc

## Table of contents

<b>1. Roman Jakobson's activity in the interwar press: contextualisation and approaches</b>	<b>p. 3</b>
1.1 Jakobson in the press: preliminary considerations	p. 7
1.2 A chronological presentation of Jakobson's activity in the press	p. 25
<b>2. Roman Jakobson's activity in the press: genres and style</b>	<b>p. 61</b>
2.1 Jakobson's obituaries	p. 66
2.2 Essays or ideological articles? Jakobson on Russian studies and Eurasianism	p. 85
2.3 Reports: Jakobson and the international academic context	p. 95
2.4 Jakobson and translation: practice and theory	p. 106
2.5 Reviews	p. 116
2.5.1 Naděžda Melniková-Papoušková: Blok and Majakovskij	p. 116
2.5.2 Il'ja Erenburg's dialogue between Russia, France, and Czechoslovakia	p. 124
2.5.3 Anton Florovskij: Bohemian echoes in Russian Medieval literature	p. 127
2.5.4 Zdeněk Nejedlý's Masaryk commented by Jakobson and René Wellek	p. 129
2.5.5 Jakobson and prosody: reviews	p. 133
2.6 Polemics	p. 140
2.6.1 Jakobson's theory of Czech prosody: deconstructing Josef Král	p. 140
2.6.2 André Mazon: genesis and developments of a controversy through the twentieth century	p. 148
2.6.3 Konrad Bittner's <i>Deutsche und Tschechen</i> : Jakobson and identity	p. 158

<b>3. Poetry and folklore in Roman Jakobson's activity in the interwar press</b>	<b>p. 167</b>
3.1 Jakobson and poetry: some remarks	p. 167
3.1.1 Jakobson's and Puškin studies	p. 179
3.1.2 The contours of "Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak"	p. 190
3.2 Folklore as a common dialogue: Jakobson, Bogatyrev and Jurij Sokolov	p. 203
<b>4. Avant-garde: Jakobson as a theoretician in film studies?</b>	<b>p. 217</b>
<b>5. Jakobson's correspondences</b>	<b>p. 225</b>
5.1 Correspondences 1920-1939: <i>Slavische Rundschau</i>	p. 228
<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>p. 245</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>p. 253</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>p. 385</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>p. 387</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>p. 399</b>

## **Chapter 1.**

### **Roman Jakobson's activity in the interwar press: contextualisation and approaches**

This thesis, dedicated to Roman Jakobson's activity in the interwar Czech press, is divided into five chapters. First, it is necessary to explain what "Czech press" means. The adjective "Czech" does not provide a linguistic classification but a geographical delimitation. Referring to the press, I have decided to use the adjective "Czech" instead of "Czechoslovak" because the periodicals analysed in my dissertation were published in Prague or Brno, there is no evidence of articles published by Jakobson in today's Slovakia. While analysing Jakobson's activity in the press, it is fundamental to consider both the writings he published and the context in which these writings appeared. The question is not just what he wrote, but rather where he published, to which kind of public he addressed to and why he collaborated with a specific periodical instead of another one. It is necessary to also consider that interwar Czechoslovakia, especially Prague, must be investigated in terms of an international and multicultural milieu, as I will demonstrate in the following pages. One of the most relevant problems in the Jakobsonian studies is the lack of such a perspective. The large corpus of writings dedicated to Jakobson's Czechoslovakian period mostly considers the activity of the scholar from only one perspective and not through a comprehensive one. Regarding this, it is notably correct to state that Structuralism always had a privileged position in the research dedicated to Jakobson's activity in Czechoslovakia and, on the other hand, some important questions have never been considered. For example, the research on Jakobson's relationship with the German community is significantly lacking, if not non-existent. The analysis of Jakobson's role in the interwar Czech press offers the possibility of investigating other pivotal questions related to the same context. First, while analysing Jakobson's activity in Czechoslovakia it is necessary to deal with the evolution of Slavic studies in the Czech context and the importance this context played in the international milieu. Second, the analysis of the press demonstrates how important the international relationships were during the interwar period. As I will demonstrate, most of these relationships still need a proper analysis, such as the relationship between Czech and Scandinavian linguists or the one between Czech and Russian folklorists (see § 2.3 and § 3.2).

The intercultural perspective is significantly important while researching on Jakobson because he can be conceived as a proper cultural transfer in the Slavic context.<sup>1</sup> Concerning the methodology of the cultural transfer, I refer to Michel Espagne and Michael Werner's concept.<sup>2</sup> While analysing Jakobson as a *cultural transfer* I consider as the main poles Russia and Czechoslovakia, but it does not mean that I intend to simplify Jakobson's interactions developed in the interwar period. On the opposite, my purpose is to describe how Jakobson became a scholar in this multilinguistic and multicultural milieu.<sup>3</sup> The aim of investigating Jakobson through this methodology is then twofold. First, I will depict the role he had in building cultural and academic relations between Russia and Czechoslovakia, describing the initiatives and the effects of his activity as a *mediator* between his own culture and the *other* one. Second, I will analyse the effects that this intercultural context had on Jakobson, how it influenced the evolution of his career. If Jakobson's Russian period can be associated with the idea of "the education of a scholar", it is possible to synthetise the period in Czechoslovakia as "the formation of a scholar". The frame is more complex than this. As I will discuss, the main feature which will emerge from this study is the evolution of Jakobson's role, the development of his function – from a young postgraduate scholar (Russia) towards an affirmed and recognised scholar (United States). This evolution happens in a multifaced, multilinguistic, and multicultural sphere, in which Jakobson's figure is hybrid and chameleonic, as result of being influences by a wide range of new stimuli and perspectives.

Jakobson's activity in the press has never been the object of a proper research. Before 2014, most of the writings Jakobson published in the interwar years were neither collected in the *Selected Writings*. It was Jindřich Toman the first scholar who chronologically organised them in two volumes (Jakobson 2013; Jakobson 2014). From this editorial work Toman also proposed a shorter selection of the Jakobsonian writings appeared in the press in the volume *Angažovaná čítanka Romana Jakobsona: články, recenze, polemiky 1920-1945 a Moudrost starých Čechů* [*Roman Jakobson's Engaged Reading: Articles, Reviews, Polemics 1920-1945 and The Wisdom of the Old Czechs*], published in 2017 (Toman 2017). Despite the importance of the considerations outlined in the postface, Toman's volume can be conceived only as a

---

<sup>1</sup> See Glanc (2023) and Toman in Gadet - Sériot (1997).

<sup>2</sup> See, at least Espagne - Werner (1988), Espagne (1994), (1999), (2013). Espagne analysed Viktor Žirmunskij through this methodology in (2018).

<sup>3</sup> As Espagne stated: "Un transfert culturel n'a jamais lieu seulement entre deux langues, deux pays ou deux aires culturelles: il y a quasiment toujours des tiers impliqués. On doit donc plutôt se représenter les transferts culturels comme des interactions complexes entre plusieurs pôles, plusieurs aires linguistiques." (Espagne 2013, 3).

preliminary and selected overview. Besides *Angažovaná čítanka*, another scholar who partially dealt with Jakobson's activity in the press was Henryk Baran, who proposed an analysis of the style in Jakobson's obituary genre (Baran 2016).<sup>4</sup> The aforementioned studies represent some exceptions rather than a constant pattern of research. Concerning Jakobson in the German press or in the German community, the disinterest for this question is that significant that an archive such as the *Slavische Rundschau's* one, kept at the LA PNP, has never been processed. The discovery of this collection represented an important development and enrichment in the materials at disposal for the study of Jakobson's Czechoslovakian period and for the comprehension of the way the Slavic studies developed in interwar Czechoslovakia or, in a wider sense, in Central Europe. I will present this archive in § 5.1 and I will also provide a selection of transcriptions in the § Appendix, which will represent a draft of a volume I intend to prepare during my post-doctoral studies.<sup>5</sup>

In the first part of the first chapter I will describe the Czech press analysing each linguistic context Jakobson was involved in, i.e., the Russian, the Czech, the German, and the French one. This must be conceived just as an operative distinction since each linguistic context should not be intended as separated but connected within the broader Czech cultural milieu. Through distinguishing the periodicals by language in this first preliminary analysis, I aim to dive into the complexity of Jakobson's activity. After a comprehensive analysis of the context, in the second part I will chronologically list and contextualise each periodical Jakobson was involved in and concentrating the investigation on those which had a significant role during the years the scholar spent in Czechoslovakia. The second chapter will be dedicated to the genres Jakobson employed in the press: the obituary, the report, the translation, the ideological essay, the review, and the polemical writing. Discussing the genres, I will provide some examples which are explicative not only to describe how Jakobson employed them but also his involvement in the Czech context from different perspectives. In the third chapter I have decided to focus my analysis on those topics which I consider having a significant role in Jakobson's activity in the press: poetry and folklore. The fourth chapter discusses Jakobson's involvement in film studies. The last chapter will analyse a selection Jakobson's correspondences.

---

<sup>4</sup> Concerning Jakobson's period in Czechoslovakia see Kuldánová in Mikulášek (1996).

<sup>5</sup> My article dedicated to Jakobson and *Slavische Rundschau* is planned for being published in the forthcoming issue of *Cahiers de Ferdinand de Saussure* (75). As part of my post-doctoral projects, I am also planning to prepare a volume in which publish the most relevant letters of this correspondence and describe the activity of Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian scholars in *Slavische Rundschau*.

The approach I intend to adopt is primarily philological and addresses directly to Jakobson's writings. While considering the interwar years, I will not conceive this period as separated from the other phases of Jakobson's life. On the contrary, I intend to put the Czechoslovak phase in a continue dialogue both with the Russian and the American one, because I believe that Jakobson's stay in Czechoslovakia must be considered as a hiatus of transition. Regarding this, one of the main features I aim to outline in my analysis is the importance of this phase as a dynamic one from different points of view. For example, one can observe how the strong legacy coming from the Russian academic and cultural context, especially Formalism,<sup>6</sup> coexisted with the emerging of new concepts and stimuli that will later be taken up and systematised during the American period. The phases of Jakobson career are not so clearly distinguishable. For example, as emphasised by Peter Steiner (1984), it is impossible to trace a line between Jakobson's militancy in Formalism and his later involvement in Structuralism. This dialectic movement between tradition and innovation, between the roots and the future can be clearly dethatched though an encompassing analysis of Jakobson's activity in the press, in which he could experiment his writing and debate ideological or methodological issues.

Besides the philological analysis, an important role is played by my significant archival research, which I conducted in different archives: at Museum of Czech Literature (LA PNP) of Prague, at the Masaryk University's Archive in Brno, at Heidelberg University, at the Roman Jakobson's Papers (RJPs) kept at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in the Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian & East European Culture of Columbia University, at Oslo National Library (Nasjonalbiblioteket) and at RGALI in Moscow (through correspondence). With the support of these materials and a transcultural perspective I aim to reconstruct Jakobson's activity in the press and to depict a new perspective of analysis in Jakobsonian studies. An extract of this massive research is presented in the **§ Appendix**.

---

<sup>6</sup> Concerning Formalism, see Hansen-Löwe (1978), Depretto (2009), Levčenko (2012), Tihanov (2019) and Merrill (2022).

## 1.1 Jakobson in the press: preliminary considerations

Jakobson first arrived in Prague in July 1920 as a member of Solomon Gillerson's diplomatic mission. The mission's goal was to repatriate Russian soldiers who had remained abroad after the WWI.<sup>7</sup> Despite the diplomatic function of Gillerson's mission, Jakobson's aims were mainly scientific: the young Jakobson, who graduated in Moscow, wanted to improve his skills and further his academic career. Due to the lack of Jakobson's autobiographical materials,<sup>8</sup> it is difficult and, as Jindřich Toman emphasised, nearly impossible to ascertain Jakobson's real goal in leaving Moscow (Toman 2017). In the *Budetljanin nauki* (translated by Stephen Rudy as *My Futurist Years*), he seems to partially clarify his intentions:

The head of the Mission was Dr. Gillerson, who took me on with pleasure, and took me on, moreover, on conditions that were, I must say, most honest. He asked me why I wanted to go. I told him the truth: when I became an advanced graduate student at the university, they told me it would be desirable for me to have a closer acquaintance with other Slavic countries and languages, and that I wanted to work at the university in Prague. He replied: "If it's possible for you to combine the two, then that's fine." Later it turned out that he was against my working in the university [...] [a]nd then he asked me to make a choice. [...] I chose the university. (Jakobson 1992, 84)

When Jakobson came to Czechoslovakia, he already had some experience in the Russian academic context. After he graduated at the Moscow university in 1918, he had been researcher associated at the same institute from 1918 to 1920. But which kind of environment was the young Russian scholar arriving in? In the first sheet of some notes Jakobson wrote in 1946 for the speech "Slavic Studies in Czechoslovakia", he gave some fragmental information about the Czech academic context in the nineteenth century:

---

<sup>7</sup> For an analysis of Jakobson's first months in Czechoslovakia, when he was under the control of the police, see Steiner (2019).

<sup>8</sup> Jakobson never intended to write an autobiography: "During a discussion after his lecture at Moscow University in October 1979 somebody asked Roman Jakobson 'to summarise briefly' his biography. He answered: 'I do not like to turn to my past. I am living by my future.' And he added: 'Although there is not much of it left for me, yet I am living by the future.' When asked about writing his memoirs of a life 'so rich and adventurous,' he would shrug with disgust." (Pomorska 1987, 217) There are some of his writings which can be considered "autobiographical", such as *Dialogues* with Pomorska, *Budetljanin nauki* and the "Retrospects" included in the *Selected Writings*. Pomorska also emphasised another important characteristic of Jakobson's attitude towards "memories", i.e., his preference for dialogues rather than monologues.

Nineteenth century, beginnings – several prominent centres of Slavic studies  
– Prague occupied the first place – one domain cultivated comparative Slavic  
studies – comp. gr. of Slav. languages [...] Slavic interrelations [...] lack of  
Slavists: rarity.<sup>9</sup>

Once in Prague, Jakobson became aware of being in one of the leading European sites for the development of Slavic studies, where contemporary scholars were continuing the tradition of predecessors such as Josef Dobrovský, Pavel Šafařík or Ján Kollár (as Jakobson quoted in the same note). After having been in Prague, in 1931 the French slavist and linguist Antoine Meillet, who had a close relationship with the PLK, also stated that Prague was the city where *slavisme* was most prominent.<sup>10</sup> With the aim of joining the Czech cultural and academic milieu, Jakobson started building his relationships and publishing in several periodicals in the 1920s, while still publishing in Russian periodicals edited in Russia and those which appeared in Berlin, another important European centre of Russian emigration alongside Prague, Paris and Belgrade. The 1928 publication of “Problemy izučeniya literatury i jazyka” [“Problems in the Study of Literature and Language”], an essay-manifesto written with Jurij Tynjanov, in the Russian journal *Novyj Lef* symbolically represented the end of Jakobson’s activity in Russian periodicals during the interwar years. The theses announced in this writing are fundamental in that they represented a stance (from a theoretical point of view) by Jakobson and Tynjanov against the direction Formalism had taken and an attempt to propose possible future developments for the movement.<sup>11</sup> These theses also have to be read as a reaction against Šklovskij’s new theories; as Galin Tihanov emphasised, Tynjanov and Jakobson found the concentration on the literary device and the internal dynamics of its (de)automatisation unproductive (Tihanov 2019, 39).<sup>12</sup> Writing about the theoretical divergences between the Formalist scholars, Il’ja Kalinin stated that they became more and more apparent from the start

---

<sup>9</sup> RJP, Box 32, Folder 60. Jakobson wrote this annotation in English.

<sup>10</sup> “Ce n’est pas par hasard que le groupe se réunit à Prague. Prague est la ville où le sentiment du slavisme est le plus vif. Or, ce groupe de linguistes comprend surtout des savants qui ont pour langue maternelle des langues slaves. Le linguiste qui lui donne le plus sa marque propre est le prince Troubetskoy, Russe émigré qui enseigne à Vienne. A côté de lui se trouvent, au premier plan, M. Karcevskij, qui enseigne à Genève, et M. R. Jakobson, qui réside à Prague [...]. Des linguistes tchèques comme M. Mathesius, M. Havránek, M. Weingart tiennent une large place dans le groupe.” (Meillet 1931, 8).

<sup>11</sup> On the reestablishing of the OPOJAZ in the late 1920s, see Galuškin (2000).

<sup>12</sup> In his monograph, Tihanov also pointed an interesting fact which proves Formalist’s engagement with leftists: “After all, two of the most seminal and innovative theoretical pieces of the mature Formalists – Jurij Tynjanov’s ‘On Literary Evolution’ (1927) and Boris Eichenbaum’s ‘Literature and the Literature Everyday’ (1927) – were both published in *Na literaturnom postu*, a journal of the radical leftist Russian Association of Proletarian Writers (RAPP)” (Tihanov 2019, 11).

of the 1930s in the work of Jakobson, who was more free not being influenced by the Soviet context as Šklovskij (Kalinin 2017, 344).

Analysing the corpus of Jakobson's writings published in the interwar period, we can observe that he published most frequently in Russian journals between 1921 and 1922: in 1920 he published in *Chudožestvennaja žizn'* the letter "Novoe iskusstvo na zapade" ["A New Art in the West"], in 1921 "Dada" appeared in the Russian journal *Vestnik teatra*,<sup>13</sup> and in 1922 he published "Brjusovskaja stichologija i nauka o stiche" ["Brjusovian Versology and the Science of Verse"] in *Naučnye izvestija*. In 1923, he wrote with Petr Bogatyrev<sup>14</sup> two chapters of the collection *Českij kukol'nyj i ruskij narodnyj teatr* ["Czech Puppet and Russian Folk Theatre"] and the pamphlet *Slavjanskaja filologija v Rossii za gody vojny o revoljucii*<sup>15</sup> ["Slavic Philology in Russia during the Years of the War and the Revolution"] ([1921 in *Slavia*] 1923), both published by the Berlin publishing house OPOJAZ. In the same year, he also published "Zametka o drevnebolgarskom stichosloženii" ["A Note on Old Bulgarian Versification"] in *Izvestija Otdelenija ruskogo jazyka i slovesnosti Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk*. During the 1930s, two more writings appeared, the abovementioned "Problemy izučenija literatury i jazyka" and "K probleme razmeževanija fol'kloristiki i literaturovedenija" ["On the Boundary between Studies of Folklore and Literature"], an essay written with Bogatyrev and published in the Polish journal *Lud Słowiański* in 1931. In the same year Jakobson published (requested by Savickij) "K charakteristike evrazijskogo jazykovogo sojuza" ["Towards a Characterisation of the Eurasian Linguistic Union"] for the Parisian publishing house Izdanie Evrazijcev. During the 1930s, Jakobson did not stop writing in Russian altogether, but he preferred collaborating with Russian-language periodicals published in Czechoslovakia such as *Slavia* or *Central'naja Evropa*.

Jakobson never published for periodicals run by Russian scholars emigrated to Prague and was not acquainted with the *émigré* community.<sup>16</sup> In order to introduce his activity in the

---

<sup>13</sup> See Glanc (2017).

<sup>14</sup> Concerning Bogatyrev, see Ehlers – Nekula (2011), (Ehlers 1998) and (1999). About the correspondence between Jakobson and Bogatyrev after they left Czechoslovakia, see Robinson – Dostal' (1994). More in general about Bogatyrev's corpus of correspondences, see Sorokina (2002). See also Tchougounnikov – Trautmann-Waller (2013).

<sup>15</sup> As I will show later, it also appeared in the first issue of *Slavia*.

<sup>16</sup> Employing the concept of "émigré" I refer to the proceedings published in Magidova (1995). In her contribution, Činajeva emphasised that Russians insisted on defining themselves *émigrés* and never refugees. Renouncing the Russian identity appeared as an uncontemplable option. This necessarily also provoked a different attitude towards the "alien" host culture. The preservation of identity implied that of two other fundamental factors: a common history and culture. Sorokina mentioned Jakobson as a *neformal'nyj nevozvraščeneec*, an "informal non-returner", see Sorokina (2018).

Czech press, it is necessary to give some preliminary information about his relationship with Russian scholars and the presence of Russian *émigrés* in Prague during the interwar years. West European and Russian cultural context profoundly influenced Czechoslovakia on many levels, as emphasised by Sus while describing the origin of Czech Structuralisms in his article “Český formalismus a český prestrukturálníismus” [“Czech Formalism and Czech Prestructuralism”]: he conceived the Pražský lingvistický kroužek (Prague Linguistic Circle, PLK) as a synthesis between Russian Formalism and Czech theories, especially Otakar Zich’s psychological school and the aesthetic school of Prague, led by Otakar Hostinský and Josef Durdík (Sus 1968).<sup>17</sup> Conceived from the start as an international organisation, the PLK is then indicative of this encounter between West and East. In 1936, Vilém Mathesius, the president of the PLK, published a detailed report about the Circle’s first ten years of activity, “Deset let lingvistického kroužku” [“Ten Years of the Prague Linguistic Circle”], in *Slovo a slovesnost*:

Among the lecturers all those who were first at the meeting were quickly replaced, and the participation of foreign, mainly Russian, linguists, already characteristic of the Prague Linguistic Circle in the first two years, became prominent. In the period from October 1926 to June 1928, among the lecturers (some of them gave seminars two or three times), there were eight Czechs (Havránek, Ilek, Trnka, Oberpfalcer, Mukařovský, Mathesius, Rypka, Buben), five Russians (Jakobson, Karcevskij, Trubeckoj, Tomaševskij, Bogatyrev), two French (Tesnière and Brun) and one German (Becker).<sup>18</sup> (Mathesius 1936, 139)

Czechoslovakia was founded as a multicultural country and multiculturalism was one of the main questions that Masaryk had to deal with once he was elected president. This “Babylonian” space became more complicated after the October Revolution and the Civil war, when many *émigrés* came to Czechoslovakia, mainly from Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. Emigration influenced the cultural and political life of the country and had a great impact in the development of the interwar Czech context. To support the *émigrés*, the Czechoslovakian

---

<sup>17</sup> On the development of Czech criticism in the first decades of the twentieth century, see Cosentino (2000).

<sup>18</sup> “Mezi přednášejícími se ovšem rychle vystřídali všichni, kdo byli na schůzi první a výrazně vystoupila již v prvních dvou letech charakteristická pro Pražský lingvistický kroužek účast lingvistů cizích, především ruských. V době od října 1926 do června 1928 bylo z přednášejících (někteří z nich přednášeli dvakrát nebo i třikrát) osm Čechů (Havránek, Ilek, Trnka, Oberpfalcer, Mukařovský, Mathesius, Rypka, Buben), pět Rusů (Jakobson, Karcevskij, Trubeckoj, Tomaševskij, Bogatyrev), dva Francouzi (Tesnière a Brun) a jeden Němec (Becker).” [Where not otherwise specified, translations are mine (M.M.)]

government founded the *Russkaja akcija pomošči*,<sup>19</sup> intended for people who came to the country with the aim of continuing their studies or their research freely. Russian scholars participated actively in the cultural and academic life of the country and became involved in the Czech universities. Some Russians were nominated professors at Czech institutions, such as Evgenij Ljackij at Charles University.<sup>20</sup> The Russian historian Nikolaj Andreev, who came to Czechoslovakia as a student, in his memories collected in *To, čto vspominaetsja* [*Things that Come to Mind*] remembers his years as a student in Prague:

Ljackij taught in Russian, often very witty. He had few Czechs. People who fully understood Russian had to go to him, and there were few such people among the Czechs at my time. Ljackij had an abstract manner of teaching, sometimes difficult to comprehend. But interesting. He often ridiculed critics and venomously prowled about the subject matter of some authors. [...] Ljackij was in a good mood and announced that that day, the subject of the seminar, the first of the season, would be a discussion of the new method of criticism that is fashionable in the Soviet Union, the so-called formal method.<sup>21</sup> (Andreev 1996, 254-255)

The aim of the *Russkaja akcija pomošči* was twofold: it was not just way to provide economic support for *émigrés*, but it was also ideological. Masaryk and Beneš intended to detach the scholars from the values of the October Revolution and give them an education in the spirit of democracy, which they could bring back to Russia. Besides being integrated into Czech institutions, the *émigrés* also founded their own, such as the *Russkij narodnyj fakultet* (Russian National Faculty) or the *Ukraïnskyj vil'nyj universytet* (Ukrainian Free University). The Russian emigration had a significant influence in the Prague context, so much so the city was nicknamed “Russian Oxford” or “Russian Athens”.<sup>22</sup> *Émigrés* both published for Czech periodicals and ran their own. Prague did not see the publication of such comprehensive and

---

<sup>19</sup> In Czech “*Ruská pomocná akce*”, the “Russian Assistance Action”. See Babka – Zolotarev (2012) and Vandalkovskaja (2005).

<sup>20</sup> Regarding Ljackij, see Nykl (2021).

<sup>21</sup> “[Г]лавное внимание я обращал на философский факультет Карлова университета. [...] Ляцкий читал по-русски, часто очень остроумно. У него было мало чехов. К нему должны были идти люди, которые вполне понимали русский язык, а таких среди чехов в мое время было мало. У Ляцкого была отвлеченная, иногда трудно уловимая манера. Но интересная. Часто он высмеивал кого-нибудь из критиков, ядовито прохаживался насчет тематики авторов. [...] Ляцкий был в хорошем настроении и объявил, что предметом сегодняшнего семинара, первого в сезоне, будет обсуждение нового, модного в Советском Союзе метода критики, так называемого формального метода.”

<sup>22</sup> See the biographical dictionary *Osobnosti emigrace z území Ruské říše v meziválečném Československu. Biografický slovník*, Hašková (2023).

representative emigrant periodicals, such as the Parisian *Poslednie Novosti*, *Vozroždenie* or *Rul'*. On the other hand, Prague was a kingdom of smaller periodicals, primarily culturally and politically oriented. The essential Prague monthly journals were *Volja Rossii* and *Nova Ukraïna*. The young generation of the Belarusian intelligentsia was represented by the magazine *Iskry Skaryny*.<sup>23</sup>

Founded in January 1922, *Volja Rossii* appeared with the financial support of the Czechoslovakian government twice a month with the subtitle “žurnal o politike i kulture” (“journal of politics and culture”) and, later, became a monthly magazine until 1932, when its activity ended. *Volija Rossii* published authors who were prominent figures in the cultural life of *émigré* society, such as Mark Slonim, who had made his mark in the history of Russian literature as one of the leading critics of his time. Slonim also collaborated with *Ogni*, a journal with a shorter life than *Volja Rossii*, fourteen issues of which were published in Prague from 8<sup>th</sup> August to 21<sup>st</sup> November 1921. In *Volja Rossii* also published the Russian poet Marina Cvetaeva, who lived in Czechoslovakia from 1922 to 1925, when she moved to Paris.<sup>24</sup>

Jakobson never wrote for periodicals affiliated with this flourishing “Russian Oxford” and was never involved with any Russian *émigré* institutions. Moreover, he never defined himself as a “Russian *émigré*”, keeping the distance from such an appellative, preferring instead to be identified as a “ruskij filolog” (Russian philologist).<sup>25</sup> This demonstrates that he was more inclined to maintain his ties with those scholars and poets who stayed in the Soviet Union instead of building ones with the Prague *émigrés*. This inclination is exemplified by his correspondence with the Russian folklorist Jurij Sokolov, which I will describe in the third chapter (§ 3.2). These relationships with scholars who remained in the Soviet Union continued also after the WWII, when Jakobson, differently from scholars who were openly declared *émigrés* (such as Vladimir Nabokov), used to visit the country to attend some conferences. This

---

<sup>23</sup> See Rachůnková – Řeháková – Vacek (1996).

<sup>24</sup> Concerning Cvetaeva in Bohemia see Pechterev (1993), and Vanečkova (2006), regarding her poems dedicated to Bohemia see Cveateva (2000), and for her relationship with Anna Tešková, see Hlaváček (2002), Cvetaeva (2009) and Tria (2013a).

<sup>25</sup> The question about Jakobson’s status is complicated and misunderstood by many scholars who often define Jakobson as an *émigré*. Sorokina included Jakobson in the group of those Russian scholars abroad who never returned back and she correctly stated that “Он уехал из Советской России в 1920 году и жил в Чехословакии до 1939 года с достаточно неясным и по сей день миграционным (эмигрант, невозвращенец, а может быть, беженец?) и служебным статусами и еще более непонятной, а значит весьма подозрительной, для многих политической ориентацией” [He left Soviet Russia in 1920 and lived in Czechoslovakia until 1939, with a migration (emigrant, non-returnee, or perhaps refugee?) and official status that is still rather unclear to this day, and an even more unclear, and therefore highly suspicious, political orientation for many.] See Sorokina (2018).

does not mean that Jakobson did not have relationships with other scholars who had left Russia, such as Nikolaj Trubeckoj, Petr Savickij, Sergej Karcevskij or Petr Bogatyrev. The case of Bogatyrev is very interesting as he was, like Jakobson, also very reluctant to build ties with Prague's Russian *émigrés* (see § 3.2). Anton Florovskij, a Russian historian with whom Jakobson had a fruitful exchange, was an exception to this trend. I will discuss Florovskij more fully in the second chapter (§ 2.5.3), but it is a matter of fact that Florovskij's research in history were significant for Jakobson's interest in the relations between Czech and Russian history. Jakobson was in constant contact with Russians scholars and poets, trying to build a bridge between the Czech and the Soviet academic spheres, as the correspondences kept in *Slavische Rundschau's* archive clearly testify. During the interwar years many Russians visited Czechoslovakia: in 1926, Vladimir Majakovskij visited Prague and Czech poets celebrated him as a "hero" and a model of proletarian poetry, while in 1928, Jurij Tynjanov reached Jakobson in Prague and the two co-authored "Problemy izučenija literatury i jazyka". Jakobson's relationship with Russian scholars was enabled through Berlin, one of the most important cities for Russian *émigrés* after the Civil War. It was in Berlin, for example, that Il'ja Erenburg<sup>26</sup> and Jakobson met for the first time, a meeting remembered in the third volume of Erenburg's *Ljudi, gody, žizn'* [*People, Years, Life*]:

As I remember, in September 1923 came to Berlin a friend of Majakovskij and E. Ju. Triolet from Prague, the redheaded Romka: the linguist Roman Osipovič Jakobson, who worked in the Soviet delegation. [...] Roman was rosy, blue-eyed, one eye squinting; he drank a lot, but remained clear-headed, just after the tenth shot fastened his jacket on the wrong button. I was struck by the fact that he knew everything: the construction of Chlebnikov's verse, the old Czech literature, Rimbaud, the intrigues of Curzon or MacDonald. Sometimes he fantasised, but if anyone attempted to accuse him of inaccuracy, he would smile and reply, "That was just a working hypothesis from my side." Roman Jakobson tried to persuade me to go to Prague, tempting me with baroque houses, young poets, and even Moravian sausages (he loved eating and was beginning to get fat, although he was still very young).<sup>27</sup> (Erenburg 1990, 422)

---

<sup>26</sup> Concerning Erenburg, see § 2.5.2.

<sup>27</sup> "Кажется, в сентябре 1923 года из Праги приехал в Берлин друг Маяковского и Э. Ю. Триоле рыжий Ромка — лингвист Роман Осипович Якобсон, работавший в советском представительстве. [...] Роман был розовым, голубоглазым, один глаз косил; много пил, но сохранял ясную голову, только после десятой рюмки застегивал пиджак не на ту пуговицу. Меня он поразил тем, что все знал — и построение

The gradual decline in number of Jakobson's publications in Russian periodicals corresponds to an intensification of his activity in the Czech press. Before introducing Jakobson's activity in the Czech press, I will briefly illustrate his position in the Czech context through some examples. Jakobson's name appeared for the first time in the journal *Čas* on Tuesday, 13<sup>th</sup> July 1920, in the section "Kronika denní" ["Everyday Chronicle"]: the journal reported that the Sovetskij krasnyj krest (Soviet Red Cross) mission, a group of five Russians guided by Solomon Gillerson, had arrived in Prague on the previous Saturday (10<sup>th</sup> July). Jakobson was presented positively, and as a scholar instead of a diplomat: "Mr. Jakobson, a young professor from the University of Moscow, is a Slavist with an extraordinary interest in Czech and Slavic literature in general, and he is looking forward to his stay in Prague, the current centre of Slavic studies."<sup>28</sup> This was Jakobson's first (extant) appearance in a Czech periodical and eight days later, on 21<sup>st</sup> July, in *Lidové noviny* published an interview with him led by Naděžda Melniková-Papoušková (see § 2.5.1). Czech periodicals frequently reported about Jakobson's activity in Czechoslovakia. On 14<sup>th</sup> January 1930, a very positive review of Jakobson's *Nejstarší české písně duchovní* [*The Oldest Czech Spiritual Songs*] appeared in *Národní osvobození*: it praised his work as innovative in methodology and essential for the development of the study of Old Czech literature. On 20<sup>th</sup> May 1931, the same journal republished the first paragraph of Jakobson's review of Vladislav Vančura's *Markéta Lazarová*, which was published previously in *Literární noviny* on 9<sup>th</sup> of May that year. In the excerpt that *Národní osvobození* published, Jakobson reflected on the possible stagnation of literature and the characteristics of this phenomenon. On 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1933, *Národní osvobození* reviewed Vančura's film *Na sluneční straně* ("On the Sunny Side"), which Jakobson co-wrote with Vítězslav Nezval and Miloslav Disman. On 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1936, Jakobson's essay about Puškin's lyrics was defined as "interesting and erudite".<sup>29</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> June 1937, the article "Prof. Jakobson přednáší v Bulharsku" ["Prof. Jakobson teaches in Bulgaria"] described the summer that the scholar spent in Sofia that year. These examples show how close Jakobson and the editorial board were: they supported and defended him against accusations on different occasions, as we will shortly see. On 29<sup>th</sup> December 1928, *Národní osvobození* reported about

---

стиха Хлебникова, и старую чешскую литературу, и Рембо, и козни Керзона или Макдональда. Иногда он фантазировал, но, если кто-либо пытался уличить его в неточности, улыбаясь отвечал: 'Это было с моей стороны рабочей гипотезой.' Роман Якобсон начал меня уговаривать съездить в Прагу, соблазнял и домами барокко, и молодыми поэтами, и даже моравскими колбасами (он любил поесть и начинал полнеть, хотя был еще очень молод)."

<sup>28</sup> "P. Jakobson, mladý docent moskevské univerzity, je slavista, jenž se neobyčejně zajímá o českou a slovanskou literaturu vůbec a těší se na pobyt v Praze, v nynějším hlavním centru slavistiky."

<sup>29</sup> "Zajímaví a vzdělaní jsou poznámky Romana Jakobsona na okraj Puškinovy lyriky".

Vladimir Antonov-Ovseenko leaving Prague.<sup>30</sup> Jakobson had collaborated with Ovseenko but left his mission earlier:

Not long before Ovseenko's departure, the press and cultural attaché Roman Jakobson, who was famous for his knowledge not only of our political but also of cultural affairs (he had shown his deep interest in Czechoslovak culture through his several scientific studies on the history of Czechoslovak language and literature), had left the Soviet mission.<sup>31</sup>

Ovseenko was depicted as a protagonist of the October Revolution and a friend of the Czechoslovak legionnaires, who acted as an ambassador building good relations with the Czechoslovakian milieu. Jakobson was described as "famous for his knowledge" of Czechoslovakian political and cultural affairs, and the article highlighted that he was involved in the Czechoslovakian press. This was a pivotal statement revealing that Jakobson's status had evolved since the first years when he had not been considered a member of the Czech academic community.

In 1930, the editorial board of *Národní osvobození* defended Jakobson against accusations published in *Národní listy*. It was not the first time a periodical accused Jakobson in the Czechoslovakian press; it had already happened in the first months after his arrival. Shortly after arriving in Prague, he decided to meet with Emil Smetánka to discuss his concerns about the theorisation of Czech prosody. Smetánka reacted by stating that the discrepancies noticed by Jakobson were merely due to the poets being such idlers (lit. *takoví lajdači*) and too lazy to write according to the rules. In a letter to Elsa Triolet dated 4<sup>th</sup> November 1920, Jakobson explained the difficulties of his position and the initial adversity of the Czech scholars:

I have no idea if you know about this, but in September I was viciously attacked as a member of the Red Cross mission. The newspapers complained about "the boa constrictor, which crushes our professors in its tenacious grasp" (they talk about me) etc.; some professors wondered whether I was a

---

<sup>30</sup> He was a Soviet ambassador in Prague from 1925.

<sup>31</sup> "Nedlouho před odchodem Ovsejenka odešel ze sovětské mise tiskový a kulturní atašé Romana Jakobson, který proslul znalostí nejen našich politických, nýbrž i kulturních věcí (svůj hluboký zájem o československou kulturu prokázal několika svými vědeckými studiemi z dějin československého jazyka a literatury)." The fragment is signed R., see *Národní osvobození*, 29/12/1928, p. 5.

bandit, a scholar, or an illegitimate bastard; at the cabaret they sang certain ditties about me, it was not very pleasant. (Jakobson 1998, 117)

The circumstances in which Jakobson was welcomed were not favourable. Another testimony of the problems he had to face can be evinced in the correspondence with Trubeckoj. According to him, Jakobson's stay in Czechoslovakia did not seem favourable for the development of his research and in a letter sent on 21<sup>st</sup> January 1923 he wrote to Jakobson: "You need to find a position or a place related to your speciality, and it is clear that you cannot find such a place in Bohemia"<sup>32</sup> (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 42). In 1921, the German newspaper based in Prague, *Prager Presse*, defended Jakobson from *Česká demokracie*, which had accused him of being a "lunatic Leninist" and decried his Jewish origins. One year earlier, in 1920, he had been criticised by *Národní politika*, where an article emphasising in derogatory tones his Jewish origins appeared.<sup>33</sup> On 15<sup>th</sup> July 1928, the journal *Národní listy* reported suspicious about Jakobson's travel to Slovakia<sup>34</sup> with Il'ja Ehrenburg:

These days, the communist writer Ehrenburg and a member of the Soviet trade mission in Prague, Jakobson, are undertaking agitation and propaganda tours across Slovakia. The purpose of these promotional tours is, of course, all too clear, and therefore it is surprising that in some places they are even provided with a state car for these travels.<sup>35</sup>

On 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1929, *Národní listy* published the anonymous article "Ve Slovanském ústavu" ["At the Slavic Institute"], which criticised Jakobson's designation as a member of the institute. The author emphasised the importance of the institution and the relevance of Slavic studies in Czechoslovakia, which they described as "the most Slavic of Slavic countries". The day after, another article appeared, in which "Tovaryš Jakobson" was identified as a scholar without qualifications.<sup>36</sup> The disagreement with Jakobson's nomination as a member of the institute was based on three assumptions: Jakobson was not qualified enough to receive that nomination since his work in *Slavische Rundschau* and his academic titles were insignificant (he had not

---

<sup>32</sup> "Вам необходимо найти службу или место по специальности, и ясно, что в Чехии такое место найти невозможно."

<sup>33</sup> See Mecco (2023).

<sup>34</sup> Concerning Jakobson in Slovakia, see Zavacká (2019).

<sup>35</sup> "V těchto dnech konají po Slovensku agitační a propagační cesty kom. Spisovatel Ehrenburg a člen sovětové obchodné mise v Praze Jakobson. Účel těchto propagačních cest jest ovšem příliš jasný a proto lze vysloviti podiv, že k těmto cestám jest jim dokonce propůjčováno v některých místech k dispozici státní auto." The fragment is not signed, see *Národní listy*, 15/07/1928, p. 4.

<sup>36</sup> The fragments are not signed, see *Národní listy* 23/06/1929, p. 3 and 24/06/1929, p. 2. See the full texts in the § **Appendix**.

defended his doctoral thesis yet). According to the author, instead of Jakobson, many other scholars devoted to Slavic studies deserved a position in the institute and Jakobson's academic activities were merely a cover for the real reason he was in Czechoslovakia: to be a *sovětský agent*, a Soviet agent. Jakobson was criticised for receiving funding from the Czechoslovak government, an institution towards which he, as a *pocitivý komunista*, an honest communist, had a subversive stance. In the conclusions, the author appealed directly to the Slovanský ústav to demand that this situation be resolved to restore dignity to the institution. Jakobson was thus discredited and slandered as a “communist”, a pro-Soviet intellectual. It is not difficult to imagine the reason for this reaction. Although Jakobson had already achieved a status in the Czech context, there was still a mistrust of his activity, and many scholars always attempted to impede his career, such as when he was nominated professor at Masaryk University in Brno.<sup>37</sup> Jakobson had to defend himself from being accused of collaborating with the Soviet Communist party also in American years. In a letter sent on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1950, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Cabinet Peter Zenkl wrote:

We have been informed that rumours are being spread concerning Dr. Jakobson's political reliability. Since we have known Professor Jakobson for more than twenty years we want to testify that during his stay in Czechoslovakia Dr. Jakobson always was a loyal and democratic minded citizen, who enjoyed full confidence from government and scientific quarters. President Masaryk showed his special confidence by assigning him to specific slavonic studies; Dr. Beneš, who equally trusted him completely, gave him efficient support. [...] We want to confirm that Dr. Jakobson acted always as a real democrat and that his political conviction is definitely anticommunistic.<sup>38</sup>

On 26<sup>th</sup> June 1929, *Národní osvobození* defended Jakobson against *Národní listy*'s accusations with an article titled “Bolševický agent ve Slovanském ústavu” [“A Bolshevick Agent at the Slavic Institute”] which reported about the controversy and its consequences.<sup>39</sup> According to the article, *Národní listy* improperly accused the Slovanský ústav of Bolshevism and insulted Jakobson. Jakobson, who did not accept such accusations and undermining of his academic career, forced the journal to withdraw the accusations. The editorial board was satisfied with this “well-deserved disgrace” of *Národní listy* and argued that the journal should ask for

---

<sup>37</sup> See Jakobson – Glanc (2005).

<sup>38</sup> In RJP, Box 1, Folder 7.

<sup>39</sup> The fragment is signed “R”. See the full text in the § **Appendix**.

forgiveness from Jakobson. *Prager Presse*, a pro-Masarykian journal, also defended Jakobson, and this confirms the support that such journalistic institutions and the government reserved for him.

Toman interpreted Jakobson's changing reception in the Czech press in the postscript to the monograph *Angažovaná čítanka Romana Jakobsona*. According to Toman, Jakobson's activity in the Czech press can be split into two phases, symbolically divided by his move to Brno in the 1930s, where he was nominated professor: "Jakobson became involved in a defined public space after his move to Brno in the 1930s. This period, during which he often wrote for *Lidové noviny*, coincides with the second phase of his engagement"<sup>40</sup> (Toman 2017, 255). This classification reflects the evolution of Jakobson's activity in the Czech press and the evolution of his role in Czechoslovakia.

Biographical materials at disposal are useful to have a wider comprehension of Jakobson's activity in the press, such as an interview published by the Italian scholar Angelo Maria Ripellino. Jakobson and Ripellino knew each other quite well and built a long-lasting friendship: they were in contact by the time Jakobson had emigrated to the United States.<sup>41</sup> In the chapter on Poetism in *Storia della poesia ceca contemporanea [A History of Contemporary Czech Poetry]* ([1950] 2022), Ripellino quoted a letter sent by Jakobson.<sup>42</sup> In this chapter, Ripellino wrote that Jakobson was the first to bring information about Majakovskij and Chlebnikov to the Czech cultural context: they were barely known before him.<sup>43</sup> Ripellino also recognised Jakobson as having acted as "cultural transfer" between Formalism and Structuralism (Glanc 2022). Ripellino probably exaggerated in stating that Jakobson was the one who brought to Prague the Formalist attitude of connecting poets and scholars: this was already a practice in Czech academia. On 18<sup>th</sup> February 1967, *Literární noviny* published an interview led by Ripellino with Jakobson titled "V Římě o Praze" ["About Prague in Rome"].

---

<sup>40</sup> "Jakobson se bude pohybovat v takto definovaném veřejném prostoru, přičemž druhá vlna angažovanosti přijde v jeho brněnském období ve třicátých letech, kdy bude často psát mj. pro *Lidové noviny*."

<sup>41</sup> See Cosentino (2017)

<sup>42</sup> "I came to Prague in 1920 and made the acquaintance of Seifert in 1921. A little later, but still in the early 1920s began my friendship with Biebl and especially with Nezval. I brought to Czechoslovakia the first information about Chlebnikov and Majakovskij. Even their names were completely unknown in Prague before I came. Often, I spoke with the Devětsil people about the abovementioned Russian poets and about the current problems of Russian poetry of that time" (Ripellino 2022, 53-54).

<sup>43</sup> Majakovskij and Chlebnikov are two pivotal poets in Ripellino's interest in Russian poetry. In a letter sent on 8<sup>th</sup> of December 1948 Ripellino wrote "For my history of Czech Contemporary poetry I pray you to write me when and where you know the poets Nezval and Biebl. It's, in my opinion, thing of the highest importance for modern Czech poetry. I would also learn if these poets were acquainted with Chlebnikov, before your arrival in Czechoslovakia." In RJP, Box 44, Folder 49. Ripellino wrote this letter in English.

The journal requested Ripellino to conduct this interview when Jakobson was in Rome, where they met on 28<sup>th</sup> January 1967 at the Hotel Savoy.<sup>44</sup> This interview is relevant because Jakobson's answers contain some pivotal information about his period in Prague and his relationship with Czech poets. According to Jakobson, the first poet he met in Prague was Stanislav Kostka Neumann:

The first poet I met in Prague and became close friends with was Stanislav Kostka Neumann. Shortly after I arrived in Prague, he came to me in August 1920 to discuss rhythmical questions of Soviet and Czech poetry. I read to him and, with the help of Jiří Weil, transposed in prose the poems of Majakovskij, about whom he knew nothing before. Our meetings were recurrent. I often stayed in his apartment for two or three days. Neumann was very keenly interested in Russian formalism. I told him about the Moscow Linguistic Circle and OPOJAZ, and at his invitation, I published a Czech translation of the introduction to my monograph on Chlebnikov in his journal. [...] He liked my article on Realism, published for the first time in his famous *Červen*.<sup>45</sup> (Ripellino 1967, 1)

In 1925, Jakobson published *Vesenní rytmy*, a Russian translation of Neumann's poem *Jarní rytmy* ["Spring Rhythms"] in *Nové Rusko*<sup>46</sup> to celebrate Neumann's fiftieth birthday. In the brief introduction, Jakobson defined Neumann as "the greatest of contemporary Czech poets" with a fundamental role in the avant-garde and one of the pioneers of modernism who first introduced the motifs of Italian Futurism into Czech poetry. Pomorska also confirms this early relationship with Neumann in her afterword to the *Dialogues* (Jakobson – Pomorska 1983, 176). This relationship was crucial and represented Jakobson's first phase of integration in the Czech cultural sphere and, consequently, the Czech press. In 1921 Jakobson published in

---

<sup>44</sup> Jakobson and Ripellino met again in Prague in August 1968 during the Fourth International Conference of Slavists: in *Listy*, a picture of Jakobson, Ripellino and Bogatyrev was published in an interview with Jakobson and Bogatyrev (Jakobson – Bogatyrev 1968). Ripellino also dedicated his book about Chlebnikov to Jakobson: "To you, Roman, in memory of those Roman evenings full of talk about modern Art, the Marx Brothers, the poetry of Nezval, Seifert and Majakovskij, when Chlebnikov, our Chlebnikov, was deemed the greatest poet of the country." (Ripellino in Chlebnikov 2024, V).

<sup>45</sup> "První básník, se kterým jsem se v Praze setkal a se kterým jsem se těsně spřátelil, byl Stanislav Kostka Neumann. Přišel ke mně v srpnu 1920, krátce po mém příjezdu do Prahy, pohovořit o časových otázkách sovětské a české poezie. Četl jsem mu a s pomocí Jiřího Weila prózou tlumočil básně Majakovského, a o nichž předtím nic nevěděl. Naše schůzky byly velmi časté. Často jsem v jeho bytě zůstal na dva tři dny. Neumann se velmi živě zajímal o ruský formalismus. Vyprávěl jsme mu o Moskevském lingvistickém kroužku a o OPOJAZu a ne jeho vyzvání jsem uveřejnil v jeho časopise český překlad úvodu své monografie o Chlebnikov. [...] Velmi se mu zamlouval můj článek o uměleckém realismu, který dokonce byl poprvé uveřejněn v jeho věhlasném *Červenu*."

<sup>46</sup> A transcription of the translation is provided in the § **Appendix**. For the Czech version, see Neumann (1967).

Neumann's periodical *Červen* "O realismu v umění" ["On Realism in Art"] (Jakobson 1981, 723-731), which he had published previously in Russian during his first months in Prague. In Ripellino's interview, Jakobson recalled how he slowly distanced from Neumann during the 1930s:

When I moved to Brno in the early 1930s, my encounters with Neumann became less frequent. [...] Neumann, unlike the members of the Devětsil or Olbracht and Hora, stayed away from scientific debates. In the 1930s, I was much closer to Nezval, Seifert, Vančura, Teige,<sup>47</sup> Biebl, Olbracht, and Hora [...] from literary Prague.<sup>48</sup> (Ripellino 1967, 2)

His move to Brno made Jakobson's constant interaction with Prague scholars and poets more complex, even if, as testified by the documents of the PLK, Jakobson continued to attend the events promoted by the Circle. While Jakobson distanced himself from Neumann, his relationship with members of the Devětsil intensified, and they often visited him in Brno. For example, a letter sent on 21<sup>st</sup> December 1937 testifies Karel Teige's visit with the architect Jaromír Krejcar: "I would be delighted if I could talk to you in more detail about many things"<sup>49</sup> (Havránková – Petkevič 2018, 326). The distance between Jakobson and Neumann was also determined in the 1920s by Neumann's disinterest in the theories developed by the PLK and they even faced a controversy when Jakobson published "Konec básnického umprumáctví a živnostnictví" in *Pásmo* ["The End of 'Umprumism' and Small Scale Undertaking in Poetry"] (Jakobson 2013, 173-177). In this article, published in 1925, Jakobson criticised Neumann's idea of art. Neumann published an unfriendly reaction in *Reflektor*, accused Jakobson of having a negative apolitical attitude and criticising him for sympathising with the Devětsil: "I do, however, understand that given your non-party and classless attitude, you sympathise with this circus of *Pásmo* whose major daring consists in frivolously mixing Marxism and communism with the latest convulsions of bourgeois art"<sup>50</sup> (Neumann 1925). Despite this controversy,

---

<sup>47</sup> Concerning Teige and Jakobson, Peter Zuzi noticed: "Major figures of the Prague Linguistic Circle not only saw themselves as intellectual allies but were also personal friends and collaborators with members of Devětsil, including Teige, who took direct inspiration from some of the semiotic and linguistic explorations of Jakobson and Mukařovský and described 'language as an unknown ground, the as-yet unanalysed material of culture and civilization'." (2024, 162-163) Concerning Jakobson and the avant-garde, see Toman (1987) and (1995).

<sup>48</sup> "Kdy jsem se na začátku třicátých let přestěhoval do Brna, moje setkání s Neumannem se stala řidší. [...] Neumann na rozdíl od devětsiláků nebo Olbrachta a Hory se držel stranou vědeckých debat. V třicátých letech mi byli z literární Prahy mnohem bližší Nezval, Seifert, Vančura, Teige, Biebl, Olbracht, Hora [...]"

<sup>49</sup> "Byl bych velice rád, kdybych mohl s Tebou podrobněji hovořit o mnohých věcech."

<sup>50</sup> For more on the conflict between Jakobson and Neumann see Toman (1995, 220-221). Toman summarised the controversy between them relating this to Jakobson's election as member of the Devětsil and Neumann's Soviet tendencies. I have used Toman's translations of Neumann.

Neumann played a pivotal role in the first phase of Jakobson's activity in the Czech press, which is characterised by close collaboration with journals related to the poetic and artistic context of Prague (for example, the already mentioned *Pásmo* or *Volné směry*, which was affiliated with Mánes group) and the publication of writings that reflect the insecure position of Jakobson in the academic milieu.

Rather than using, according to Toman, his move to Brno (1931) as the key division in Jakobson's career, I suggest 1929 as the year representing a turning point in his activity in the Czech press. By 1929, Jakobson had become a member of the editorial board of *Slavische Rundschau* and responsible for the journal's section devoted to Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian writings; thus, he held a more critical function than a mere editor. Jakobson's role in the Czech press changes in 1929, and he takes on roles of greater responsibility and importance. Furthermore, one can observe a greater maturity in content and style and a greater engagement in the Czech academic and cultural context. In this regard and taking this considerations, one can certainly agree with what Toman stated about *Lidové noviny* and Jakobson's "second wave of engagement coming in his Brno period". It then becomes necessary to distinguish the two periods by conceiving of the 1920s as a more prolific phase of collaboration with the avant-garde and the 1930s as a period in which Jakobson is more oriented towards consolidating his academic status. Nevertheless, it is already possible to trace two main tendencies common to both these periods. First, Jakobson never renounced his polemical attitude, which I will analyse in the second chapter, which remains a characteristic trait of his entire career. Second, it is evident that most of the journals and newspapers he collaborated with were related to or supported Masaryk's politics. Masaryk also published in them: during his presidency, he could no longer express himself as freely as he had done during his previous political engagement and he was forced to find alternative solutions, such as publishing under a pseudonym or anonymously, for example in *Lidové noviny* or *Prager Presse*.<sup>51</sup>

As already emphasised, considering Czech periodicals in the interwar period means dealing with a complex system of periodicals published also in other languages, such as German or those affiliated with the Russian *émigré* community. After Czechoslovakia became independent, the German press started building relationships with the new government. Moreover, periodicals such as *Bohemia* or *Prager Tagblatt*, which before the war were just

---

<sup>51</sup> Concerning Masaryk in the press see Vašek (2019).

culturally focussed, also became politically and socially oriented (Bednařík – Jiráček – Köpplová 2019, 162). In the interwar years, new periodicals appeared. This phenomenon affected the regional press (*regionale Presse*) and the superregional one (*überregionale Presse*). German-language journalism proliferated in Prague and in other parts of Czechoslovakia, such as Brno where *Brünnener Morgenpost*, founded in 1891, resumed its activity in 1920. German periodicals were also based in those regions where there were significant German communities, such as the Sudetes. German was the international language of Slavic studies during the interwar years and scholars used to communicate in German using it as an “academic common language”. Remarkably, twenty per cent of the lectures were given in German during the first ten years of the PLK’s activity (Ehlers 1996), especially by Russian scholars such as Trubeckoj or Bogatyrev. The role of the German language in the development of Slavic studies was prominent in Czechoslovakia where Slavic and German studies were strictly bounded. For example, Jakobson received his doctoral degree with a dissertation written in German from the Deutsche Universität Prag. On 29<sup>th</sup> March 1929, Otokar Fischer published an article in the *Prager Presse* entitled “Deutsche Slavistik und tschechischen Germanistik” [“German Slavic Studies and Czech German Studies”] where he reflected on the boundaries between Slavic and Germanic studies, defining them as “philologische Grenzdisziplinen” (“neighbouring philological disciplines”) and emphasising how “eine wechselseitige Erhellung” (“mutual enlightenment”) existed between them (Fischer 1929, 7).<sup>52</sup> The Czech cultural context favoured the development of a dialogue between the two disciplines, as it was deeply permeated by a mutual influence of the two cultures. Gerard Gesemann,<sup>53</sup> in the same year as Fischer’s article, discussed the same question at the I. Sjezd slovanských filologů (First Congress of Slavic Philology),<sup>54</sup> held in Prague between 6<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1929. This Congress marked a turning point in developing Slavic studies in Czechoslovakia and contributed to establishing

---

<sup>52</sup> Otokar Fischer (1883-1938) was a fundamental figure in the context of Czech-German relations and the mediation between the two cultures. See Petrbock – Stašková – Zbytovský (2020) and Petrbock (2021).

<sup>53</sup> Gerhard Gesemann (1888-1948) main interests relied in Russian literature of the nineteenth century and south Slavic folklore. Concerning Gesemann, see Ehlers in Gletter – Míšková (2001, 351-379) and Konrád (2011, 190-194).

<sup>54</sup> A detailed report on the activities of the congress was published in *Slavia*, see Horák – Petřa (1930). Jakobson spoke on 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1929. His lecture was in the “Literárně historická sekce” (“Literary-historical section”). Other intellectuals also participated in that section, including Jan Mukařovský, Otokar Fischer, Frank Wollman, Gerard Gesemann, and Edmund Schneeweis. In the linguistic section, some issues concerning the PLK were discussed: methodological problems considering language as a system and more specific questions, for example related to lexicology or phonology. Jakobson probably participated in the discussion, but the members are not mentioned. The congress was introduced by Matija Murko (his speech is also reported in *Slavia*) who dedicated the activities to the memory of Josef Dobrovský. The congress was supported by Masaryk.

the country as the site of an international scientific milieu. In his speech, “Eins ist not” [“One Thing is Necessary”], Gesemann stated:

There is hardly any other region in Europe where the spirituality and materiality of different peoples collide as hard as here in Czechoslovakia. There is hardly any other country where the various elements determine and condition each other in their understanding as they do here. There are scientific problems to be solved here that seem to have been created to test the value of collective work.”<sup>55</sup> (Gesemann 1929, 627)

This peculiar situation favoured the proliferation in Czechoslovakia of periodicals published in German with an international aim, such as *Prager Presse*, *Slavische Rundschau*, *Germanoslavica* or *Prager Rundschau*. The pre-war archetypical editorial model of this interwar phenomenon was *Čechische Revue*. Founded by Arnošt Vilém Kraus in 1907 (and published until 1912), it was the first journal published in German and completely dedicated to Czech studies, as Kraus wrote in the first editorial:

What our journal wants and promises is expressed in its title; it is not intended to provide a coherent presentation, but rather to provide information on current phenomena from all areas about the being, will and skills of the Czech people, to counter false views and, by examining prejudices, to initiate and facilitate understanding with other, especially neighbouring, cultural peoples.<sup>56</sup>

Jakobson had a pivotal role in the Czech German-language press, promoting academic links between Slavic countries and the West. Jakobson’s activity in the German-language press of Prague during the interwar years was intense and mainly involved two periodicals, *Prager Presse* and *Slavische Rundschau*. The two publications differ from each other: while *Prager Presse* was a newspaper published in Prague, *Slavische Rundschau* was an academic journal specialising in Slavic studies. *Prager Presse* published almost only scholars who were active

---

<sup>55</sup> “Es gibt in Europa kaum ein zweites Gebiet, in dem Geistigkeit und Materialität verschiedener Völker so hart aufeinander prallt wie hier in der Čechoslovakei, – es gibt kaum ein anderes Land, in dem die verschiedenen Elemente sich so gegenseitig bestimmen und bedingen, in ihren Verständigungen, wie hier. Es gibt hier wissenschaftliche Probleme zu lösen, die förmlich dazu geschaffen zu sein scheinen, daß man an ihnen den Wert der kollektiven Arbeit erprobe.”

<sup>56</sup> “Was unsere Zeitschrift will und verspricht, sagt ihr Titel; sie soll, nicht in zusammenhängender Darstellung, sondern anknüpfend an aktuelle Erscheinungen aus allen Gebieten, über Sein, Wollen und Können des čechischen Volkes belehren, falschen Ansichten entgegentreten und durch Besichtigung von Vorurteilen eine Verständigung mit den anderen, zumal den benachbarten Kulturvölkern anbahnen und ermöglichen.”

in Czechoslovakia, whereas *Slavische Rundschau* published articles and reviews also written by foreign scholars, including Russians, Italians, and Germans. In particular, the number of articles written by scholars who lived in the Soviet Union was significant and, in some cases, more relevant than the presence of Czech contributors. As I will show in my further analysis, Jakobson's role in the two periodicals was different because in *Prager Presse* he was just a contributor, while in *Slavische Rundschau* he was part of the editorial board.

Concluding this first part, it urges to provide some remarks about Jakobson's linguistic knowledge. One of the most remarkable issues is his linguistic knowledge, he is often remembered as a polyglot scholar with a linguistic competence that ranged from Semitic languages (Hebrew) to Romance languages to Germanic languages. When I spoke to scholars who were themselves students of Jakobson, I was often told that he spoke every possible language while maintaining a strong and distinctive Russian accent. When Jakobson arrived in Czechoslovakia he naturally knew Russian, mastering both the forms of modern Russian with a particular focus on the language of Futurism (as exemplified by his poems published under the pseudonym Aljagrov) and the changes that historical events (the October Revolution and the formation of the Soviet Union) had led to, as well as Old Russian. Jakobson published in Russian throughout his academic career and the Russian language played an important role in his own identity, since, as I previously stated, he defined himself as a "russkij filolog". During the 1920s he already had a working knowledge of the Czech language that enabled him to understand and interact with other scholars: he had been hired by Gillerson precisely because of his language skills in Czech. According to Nezval in his *Z mého života* [*From My Life*], Jakobson approached him with a "rozkolísaná čeština" ("broken Czech") asking his opinion about the rhythm and the prosody of Czech verse. As far as writing is concerned, initially most of the texts published in Czech were translated by third parties. He also knew Polish, as evidenced by the fact that he often referred to Julius Tuwim's translations and writings. As far as the Romance languages are concerned, his knowledge of French is undoubtedly from his student years. In the *Dialogues* with Pomorska, Jakobson recalled how Prof. Tastevin proposed that he write a composition on Stéphane Mallarmé's verse. Subsequently, he had also translated the poem "Une dentelle s'abolit".<sup>57</sup> Regarding Mallarmé's poetry, Jakobson wrote:

---

<sup>57</sup> A transcription of the translation is provided in Jakobson (2012, 207).

I became even more intrigued by problems of poetic structure through my studies of French poetry, in particular that of Stéphane Mallarmé. Mallarmé's verse and his aphorisms on poetry unequivocally raised the most essential questions of poetic structure and placed us squarely against both the abstract and the concrete problems of the relation between sound and meaning. (Jakobson – Pomorska 1983, 6)

It is evident from the materials found in *Slavische Rundschau's* archive that Jakobson's knowledge of German was mainly passive and was not enough to edit articles directly in German. As testified by the drafts in Russian, the articles published in German were translated by other scholars.<sup>58</sup>

## 1.2 A chronological presentation of Jakobson's activity in the press

### *Čas*

Jakobson published for the newspaper *Čas* between 1920 and 1921: it was the first Czech periodical he contributed to after he arrived in Prague. Czechoslovakian historical events influenced the evolution and editorial history of *Čas*: it was initially founded by the Moravian politician and journalist Jan Herben in 1899 and on 26<sup>th</sup> August 1915, *Čas* went on hiatus for the remainder of the WWI.<sup>59</sup> Only on 13<sup>th</sup> June 1920, after five years of silence, did it resume its activity, and on the first page its editorial board discussed the previous phase:

After nearly five years, we are starting to publish *Čas* again. Those five years mark an extraordinary piece of history; it remains undeniably the credit to Realism, of which the old *Čas* was the journalistic representative, that it made a decisive writing to that history. Beyond borders, the Realists, grouped around Masaryk, were at the forefront of the liberation movement; at home, the forcible cessation of *Čas* in August 1915 could not prevent the ideas it

---

<sup>58</sup> I still have not identified who but some evidence from *Slavische Rundschau's* collection let me believe that his brother, Sergej, used to translate his articles from Russian into German. I found a hint in a letter sent on 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1930 by Bem: “У меня к Вам личная просьба. Я все не могу найти переводчика для совей книги о Достоевском на нѣмецкій язык. Вот в связи с этим, послѣ разговора о Чижевским, у меня явилась мысль - не взялся ли бы Ваш брат за эту работу? Мнѣ кажется, что он с такой работой вполне бы справился.” (“I have a personal favour to ask of you. I am still unable to find a translator for my book on Dostoevsky in German. In this connection, after talking about Čuževs'kyj, I had a thought - would your brother take on this work? It seems to me that he would be quite happy with such work.”)

<sup>59</sup> Jan Herben (1885-1936) was a controversial figure, whose antisemitic ideals were not a mystery, see Mareček (2022). Herben initially was an important friend and collaborator of Masaryk.

spread from continuing to act as a living force which had a substantial share in the disintegration of Austria and the building of Czechoslovak independence. We are, therefore, continuing a good tradition. Still, we are very clearly aware that this only increases our responsibility because to revoke the tradition means to continue it, to adapt it to the new tasks of today and tomorrow, which are no more accessible than those which have already been solved.<sup>60</sup>

The newspaper's program was designed as "democratic" and "progressist", and the editors of *Čas* emphasised the importance of progressivist journalism in a democratic state such as the newly formed Czechoslovakia. Its aim was to influence and encourage the evolution of a new public opinion, which should be to the nation as conscience was to the individual. An interview with Masaryk followed this declaration of intent, in which two passages are particularly significant. He emphasised the pivotal characteristics of his political programme: the importance of those ideals conveyed by the group of the realists and the awareness that the Czechoslovak question was a world question: "česká otázka je světovou otázkou".<sup>61</sup> Conceiving the Czechoslovak problem as a "world" problem meant taking an international perspective, thus opening to a dialogue with other states. As we will also see later with *Prager Presse*, this implied the need to build an international dialogue in the press as well. The relationship between Czechoslovakia and the other nations was pivotal for Masaryk, since he was aware that the WWI changed the shape of Europe.<sup>62</sup> In the interview, he underlined the necessity of being aware of the Russian sociopolitical situation, i.e., the Revolution and its effects:<sup>63</sup> "I must demand a knowledge of Russia, and those who know Russia even

---

<sup>60</sup> "Po představce téměř pětileté začínáme znovu vydávat *Čas*. Těch pět let znamená velkou historii; a zůstane nepopíratelnou zásluhou realismu, jehož žurnalistickým představitelem byl starý *Čas*, že do této historie zasáhl směřodatně. Za hranicemi realisté, seskupení kolem Masaryka, stáli v prvních řadách osvobozeného hnutí; doma pak násilné zastavení *Času* v srpnu 1915 nemohlo zamezit, aby myšlenky jím šířené nepůsobily dále jako živoucí síla, která v rozkladu Rakouska a v budování československé samostatnosti měla podstatný podíl. Navazujeme tedy na dobrou tradici; jsme si však velmi jasně vědomi, že právě tím vzrůstá jen naše odpovědnost, poněvadž navazovat na tradici znamená pokračovat v ní, přizpůsobovat ji novým úkolům dneška a zítřka nejsou snadnější těch, které již byly rozřešeny."

<sup>61</sup> For an overview of the Masaryk's politics, see Orzoff (2009). About Masaryk and the other Slavic countries, see Doubek – Hradký – Vlček (2013). Furthermore, about Masaryk and Russia, see the proceedings of the conference "TGM, Rusko a Evropa" held from 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> of September 1997 in Prague, see Krátky (2002).

<sup>62</sup> In the pamphlet *Slované po válce [Slavs after the War]* (1923) Masaryk tried to determine the role of Czechoslovakia after the WWI as a crossroad between Slavic and German sphere and emphasised the distinction between them, stating that "[...] the war was a war between the Slavic and the German worlds". (Masaryk 1923, 6) and emphasising the country's strategical position: "Czechoslovakia's special task consists in the fact that it is, in the true sense of the word, the geographical heart of Europe" (Masaryk 1923, 10).

<sup>63</sup> Masaryk was deeply interested in Russian culture and politics, as testified by the three volumes of *Rusko a Evropa [Russia and Europe]*, in which comprehensively reflected on Russian history, literature, philosophy, and ideology. Concerning the reception of this writing abroad, including in Russia, see Nykl (2020).

approximately must undertake that we cannot blindly imitate what the Russians did.”<sup>64</sup> *Čas* published writings on a number of different topics: political, social, economic, and literary. The focus was on both internal and external affairs within Czechoslovakia, as testified by the publication of news from other countries, including Russia.

## *Den*

The first issue of *Den* was published on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1920. Initially it appeared daily with the subtitle “umění – tělesná výchova – společnost” (“art – physical education – society”).<sup>65</sup> The main aim was to inform about cultural life in Czechoslovakia, especially Prague, and from other countries such as Russia, Germany, or Italy. After some weeks, on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1920, it changed name to *Den. Kulturní list* (“cultural journal”) and started appearing weekly, also publishing translations from different languages. During these years, many relevant scholars and poets were part of the editorial board: members of the Devěsil (such as Nezval) and others who were slightly affiliated with the avant-garde movement (such as Zdeněk Kallista). In *Den*, many articles and translations were related to Russian literature, especially through collaboration with Jiří Weil.<sup>66</sup> For example, Weil translated and published in *Den* Aleksander Blok’s poem *Dvenadcat’* [*The Twelves*] or Vladimir Majakovskij’s prologue of *Misterija Buff* [*Myster Buff*]. He also wrote articles on Russian literature, such as “Ruská literatura za války a po válce” [“Russian Literature during the War and after the War”] and “Básníci ruské revoluce” [“Poets of the Russian Revolution”]. Jakobson met Weil after he arrived in Prague and in the aforementioned interview with Ripellino published in 1967, Jakobson remembered that when he came to Prague, he translated Majakovskij’s poems to Neumann with Weil’s support (Ripellino 1967). Weil also discusses Jakobson in articles published in other journals. For example, on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1921, Weil wrote in *Rudé právo* on a debate that took place on 30<sup>th</sup> June. In this report, titled “Je možné proletářské umění? Debatní večer Česko-ruské jednoty 30. června” [Is Proletarian Art Possible? Evening Debate of the Czech-Russian Association. 30<sup>th</sup> June], Weil described this meeting as *bouřlivá*, “stormy”, and the theme as *nebezpečné*, “dangerous”. Boris Sokolov, the Russian folklorist, opened the debate emphasising concepts that Weil conceived as outrageous, such as the relationship between Marxism and militarism, and the statement “Marxism je měšťáctví”, “Marxism is

---

<sup>64</sup> “[M]usím požadovat znalost Ruska, a kdo Rusko jen přibližně zní, musí vědět, že nemůžeme slepě napodobovat, co dělali Rusové. To se týká také ruských rad.”

<sup>65</sup> Vojtěch Malínek reconstructed the editorial history of *Den*, see Malínek (2012).

<sup>66</sup> Jiří Weil was a Czech writer, literary critic and translator. He mainly translated from Russian. Michal Špirit is now editing Weil’s writings for the publishing house Triáda. See at least Weil (2021) and (2022).

bourgeois”. Weil wrote that Sokolov’s speech lacked scientific basis. Jakobson participated in the debate and Weil reported: “Dr. R. Jakobson accuses Sokolov of factual errors. He shows him to be completely ignorant of the artistic life of recent times in Russia” (Weil 2021, 144).<sup>67</sup>

### *Červen*

*Červen* appeared for the first time on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1918 with the subtitle “Nové umění, příroda, technická doba, socialismus, svoboda” (“New art, nature, technological time, socialism, freedom”). Run by Neumann, the editorial plan was to publish it on the first and third Thursday of every month. The journal changed structure through the three years of its activity: there is a huge difference between its first issue and its last, published on 8<sup>th</sup> December 1921. During its first phase *Červen* was mainly a journal in which Czech authors published poems or tales: for example, the first issue opened with Karel Čapek’s<sup>68</sup> short story *Otcové* [*Fathers*]. Another characteristic of this first phase which did not persist was an emphasis on visual art: each issue had a different cover and contained many illustrations by artists such as Josef Čapek or Jan Zrzavý. Besides the Brothers Čapek and Neumann, many other Czech authors published their writings in *Červen*, including the poet Josef Hora or Otokar Fischer. It is relevant to also underline the presence of the young Karel Teige, who published both illustrations and articles, such as “S novou generací” [“With the New Generation”] on 25<sup>th</sup> May 1921. The contribution of Teige is a signal of the important role played by Neumann during the earliest phase of the Czech avant-garde as a representative of the previous older generation. During its second year of activity (1919-1920) *Červen* appeared to be significantly reshaped, without illustrations and more openly focused on issues related to literature and politics, following Neumann’s Leninist tendencies. Adhering to the new ideas promoted by Russian politics, *Červen* started publishing the translations of Russian speeches by Lenin, Aleksandr Bogdanov, Nikolaj Bucharin or Maksim Gor’kij on education, culture, and society. The translation of writings from Russian progressively replaces those from French, which were predominant in the years 1918-1919. Significantly, on 13<sup>th</sup> October 1921, Jakobson published an essay previously written in Russian “O realismu v umění” [“Realism in art”]. In the journal’s index from that year, it appeared under the heading “Literatura, umění, proletkult” [“Literature, Art, Proletkult”], together with writings like Bogdanov’s “Čto takoe proletarskaja poezija”

---

<sup>67</sup> “Dr. R. Jakobsona vytýká věcné omyly Sokolovovi. Dokazuje mu, že úplně nezná uměleckého života poslední doby v Rusku.”

<sup>68</sup> Karel Čapek (1890-1938) is one of the most important and respected writers and journalist of his time. His activity in the Czech press was essential, especially in *Lidové noviny*.

[“What is the Proletarian Poetry”], Anatolij Lunačarskij’s “Literatura i revolucija” [“Literature and Revolution”] or Valerij Brjusov’s “Smysl’ sovremennoj poezii” [“The Meaning of Contemporary Poetry”]. Neumann’s most relevant writings of that time, i.e., “Proletkult” and “Proletářská kultura” [“Proletarian Culture”] appeared under the same heading.

### *Nové Atheneum*

The journal *Nové Atheneum* appeared monthly in the years between 1919 and 1921, the subtitle was “vědecký měsíčník” (“scientific monthly”). The journal’s name suggests the desire of its editorial board to draw on Czech tradition, namely on the nineteenth century journal *Athenaeum*, published between 1883 and 1893. Published by Jan Otto and founded following the 1882 separation of the Prague University into two institutions, the Czech and the German, *Athenaeum* was the venue for the publication of writings relating to the development of Czech studies: among its authors were Jan Gebauer (in charge of the linguistics section), Josef Pekař (in charge of the history section) and Masaryk, who was editor-in-chief between 1883 and 1888.<sup>69</sup> It was in the pages of *Athenaeum* that Gebauer published in February 1886 his first linguistic remarks on the genuineness of the Dvůr Králové and Zelená Hora manuscripts, then published in “Potřeba dalších zkoušek Rukopisu Královédvorského a Zelenohorského” [“The Need for Further Examinations of the Královédvorský and Zelenohorský Manuscripts”], which, following an enthusiastic response from Masaryk, led to the famous battle over whether the manuscripts were genuine.<sup>70</sup> This intention to directly refer to *Athenaeum* is emphasised in the first issue of *Nové Atheneum*:

The basic idea of the *Athenaeum* remains the same: to raise the level of Czech spiritual life through the critical study of science, to promote critical thinking, a sense of reasoning, and the rule of science in private and public life. *Nové Atheneum* will consider science from an international point of view, will follow its progress, new ideas and new discoveries and their significance in social life; it will be attentive to the overview of science and the contacts between scientific disciplines.<sup>71</sup> (Redakce 1919, 1)

---

<sup>69</sup> Concerning *Athenaeum* and Masaryk see Špět (1968), Rejchrt (2004), Masaryk (2004) and Kučera (2004-2006).

<sup>70</sup> Concerning the false manuscripts see Hanuš (1906), Dolanský (1968), Ivanon (1969, 1970), Dalibor (2010). Catalano wrote about the Italian reception in 2020. See also Opat (1990) and Otáhal (1992).

<sup>71</sup> “Základní idea *Athenea* zůstane stejná: kritickým studiem vědy povznášeti úroveň českého života duchovního, podporovati kritické myšlení, smysl pro zdůvodňování názorů, vládu vědy v životě soukromém i veřejném. *Nové Atheneum* bude dbáti vědy se stanoviska mezinárodního, sledovati její pokrok, nové myšlenky a nové objevy i jejich význam v životě sociálním; bude dbáti přehledu po vědě a styků mezi vědními obory.”

The members of the editorial board were professors from the Czech section of the Charles University, such as the editor Emil Rádl or Vilém Mathesius, who was responsible for the field of linguistics and literary history. The fields covered by *Nové Atheneum* ranged from the literary to the scientific: alongside linguistic studies, one also found articles on medicine, sociology, and mineralogy. Browsing through the issues of the journal, alongside professors from the Charles University, including Emil Smetánka or the Slovenian Matija Murko, there are also names of scholars who would later gravitate around the PLK, if not constitute its founding nucleus, such as the aforementioned Mathesius, Bohuslav Havránek or Miloš Weingart. Relevant is the presence of Karel Teige, who published an article in November 1920. Though the journal set itself the aim of investigating areas outside of Czechoslovakia, its interaction with Russian studies appears to be limited. The few writings published in *Nové Atheneum* are significant. In December 1920 Rudolf Souček published “Filozofické pojmy Leninovy” [“Lenin’s Philosophical Concepts”]. Between 1920 and 1921 Jakobson published “Vliv revoluce na ruský jazyk” [“The Influence of the Revolution on the Russian Language”], a review of André Mazon’s writing *Lexique de la guerre et de la révolution en Russie*, which initiated an intense polemic with the French scholar (see § 2.6.2). The same year also saw the publication of Jiří Polívka’s very long obituary (January and February 1921 issues) written on the occasion of the death of Aleksej Šachmatov, one of Jakobson’s masters (see § 2.1).

### *Prager Presse*

*Prager Presse* was one of the most influential German-language newspapers published in Prague during the inter-war period.<sup>72</sup> Founded in 1921 under Masaryk’s influence, the primary purpose was to propagate information about culture, society, and politics in the new-born democratic Czechoslovakia (Bednařík – Jiráková – Köpplová 2019, 162). This intention is made clear by “Unser Program” [“Our Programme”], the editorial of the first issue published on 24<sup>th</sup> March 1921:

We will deal with it calmly and objectively and present the individual theses to our and the foreign public. [...] We are not concerned with parties or individuals. We are concerned with the state, and we will serve the state. [...]

---

<sup>72</sup> On Jakobson and *Prager Presse*, see Mecco (2023).

Our aim is purely synthetic, uplifting, and positive. We do not want to destroy, eliminate, or oppress anyone. We address the people well disposed.<sup>73</sup>

*Prager Presse* was intended as an editorial project not associated with any political parties; its programme was only apparently apolitical. *Prager Presse* was deeply bound with Masaryk's politics since, as already emphasised regarding *Čas*, one of the primary political purposes of the Castle was the internationalisation of Czechoslovakia, presenting the country as a symbol of democracy and progress. Arne Laurin, the editor-in-chief, was very close to the Czechoslovakian president.<sup>74</sup> Jakobson wrote an obituary when Laurin died in 1945, though this was never published. Jakobson called Laurin a "disciple of Masaryk" (Toman 2017, 130) and emphasised his vision of the Czechoslovakian people and their temperament:

For the cultural section of *Prager Presse*, Laurin found good collaborators and created a cultural patrol that gave a clear, objective picture of not only Czechoslovakia and Russia but the whole Slavic culture was living and creating. This was more than just the relationship to the culture of a journalist. Laurin was a man of profound artistic talent. There was no art to which he felt distant.<sup>75</sup> (Toman 2017, 130)

Jakobson constantly underlined one of Laurin's fundamental intentions, i.e., to eliminate all elements of provincialism from Czechoslovakian culture in the aftermath of independence. The term chosen by Jakobson to describe Laurin was *bojovník*, "fighter". As I will underline in the second chapter, in Jakobson's semantic spectrum, the concept of "fight" had an ideological function: "dans l'argumentation et la rhétorique de Jakobson, la lutte est le fondement de toute la dynamique culturelle" (Glanc 2003b, 124).<sup>76</sup> For Laurin, as for Jakobson, the fight against provincialism had a cultural connotation. Besides Masaryk's influence on Laurin, there is other evidence the newspaper's collaboration with the Castle: Masarykian government financed the journal and Masaryk himself published in it.

---

<sup>73</sup> "Wir werden es in ruhiger Form und objektiv behandeln und die einzelnen Thesen unserer und der ausländischen Öffentlichkeit darlegen. [...] Es handelt sich uns weder um Parteien noch um Personen. Es handelt sich uns um den Staat, und wir werden dem Staate dienen. [...] Unser Ziel ist rein synthetisch, aufbauend und positiv, wir wollen niemanden vernichten, beseitigen oder bedrücken. Wir wenden uns einfach an die Menschen, die guten Willens sind."

<sup>74</sup> Concerning Laurin see Topor – Řehák (2019) and Laurin (2019).

<sup>75</sup> "Pro kulturní rubriku *Prager Presse* dovedl Laurin vyhledat dobré spolupracovníky a vytvořil kulturní hlídku, která dávala jasnou objektivní představu, jak kulturně žije a tvoří nejen Československo a Rusko, ale celé Slovanstvo. To nebyl jenom poměr kulturního žurnalisty ke kultuře. Laurin sám byl člověk hloubce múzický. Nebylo umění, kterému by se byl cítil vzdálen."

<sup>76</sup> Regarding Jakobson's ideological language, see Toman (1994).

*Prager Presse* collaborated with prominent scholars and journalists of the interwar period, such as Otokar Fischer, Robert Saudek, Václav Tille, and Paul Eisner. Antonín Stanislav Mágr played a pivotal role.<sup>77</sup> Mágr was a Slavist, journalist and editor, one of “the most important propagators of Slavic literature” (Bečka 1961, 166), especially of Polish literature, and one of the most significant editors in the field of Slavic studies (Kudělka 1960, 582). Mágr was a fundamental figure in the Czechoslovakian German press during the interwar years and organised the contents published in the cultural column of *Prager Presse*, organising its contents (Köpplová 1989, 89). He conceived of it as a section of the newspaper which would inform about Czechoslovakian cultural life, showing the progress achieved in various fields: art, music, literature, and science. It also had another important function, namely encouraging debates around cultural issues that were relevant at the time. In the column, special attention was given to the development of Slavic studies in other countries, informing about the publication of articles and studies in the section “Aus den Revuen” [“From the Journals”].<sup>78</sup> Jakobson wrote to Mágr about the PLK:

Let me, my dear friend, on behalf of the Prague Linguistic Circle, to offer you my warmest congratulations and thanks for your unknown but precious and practical cooperation with us. Few people have understood and appreciated our efforts, plans, struggles and difficulties as soon and thoroughly as you have, and few have walked with us on such a common path.<sup>79</sup> (Havránková – Petkevič 2014, 220)

On 27<sup>th</sup> January 1936, Mágr gave a speech in the PLK with Paul Eisner, a retrospect of the first year of *Slovo a slovesnost*. He stressed that he was an outsider: “I am not a member of the PLK, I am not a specialist in linguistics or literature”<sup>80</sup> (Čermák – Poeta – Čermák 2012, 189),

---

<sup>77</sup> A proper study related to Mágr has yet to be written, despite the richness of his personal fond kept at LA PNP and his importance in interwar Czechoslovakia.

<sup>78</sup> This also applies to the Italian context. In fact, names of Italian Slavists, such as Giorgio Maver, Ettore Lo Gatto or Arturo Cronia, appear frequently within *Prager Presse*. For example, on 18<sup>th</sup> December 1929, the section “Aus den Revuen” discussed translation of Slavic literature in Italy in the brief article “Italienische Übersetzungen slavischer Literatur” [“Italian Translations of Slavic Literature”]. Discourse surrounding the involvement of Italian scholars within the Czech context is a broad topic to be tackled, also considering how these two realities interacted on several levels, i.e., through periodicals, participation in congresses and personal correspondence. This is a topic that, at least as far as figures such as Maver or Lo Gatto are concerned, would need more in-depth study. Concerning Cronia, see Catalano (2019) and Zelenka (2021). Regarding Lo Gatto and his relationship with Evgenij Ljackij, see Tria (2013b).

<sup>79</sup> “Dovolte mi, milý příteli, abych také jménem Pražského lingvistického kroužku Vám co nejvřeleji blahopřál a poděkoval za Vaší široké veřejnosti neznámou, ale pro nás tak vzácnou a účinnou spolupráci s námi. Málokdo pochopil a zhodnotil tak záhy a tak plně jako Vy naše úsilí, plány, boj a nesnáze a málokdo šel s námi tak společnou cestou.”

<sup>80</sup> “Stojím mimo Pr. ling. kroužek, nejsem odborníkem ani v lingvistice ani v literární vědě”.

emphasising on the other hand his editorial and journalistic activity. He stressed the importance of knowing to whom the activity of a periodical was addressed: “an editor or a journalist always thinks about whom he is writing for, whom he is addressing, whereas the author usually and rightly thinks about his problem”<sup>81</sup> (Čermák – Poeta – Čermák 2012,191). There is no doubt about Jakobson’s esteem for Mágr and his activity press as testified in his article “Věda a noviny v pojetí Mágrově” [“Science and Journalism in Mágr’s Vision”], published in *Lidové noviny* on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1937. Jakobson praised Mágr’s work, stating that he “[u]nderstood that rapid information intended for a wide public, to which newspapers are addressed or should be addressed, should include not only events related to politics, economics, art and sport but also the scientific life” (Toman 2017, 15).<sup>82</sup> In the conclusion he emphasised his esteem for Mágr again, remarking that “[s]o few journalists understand and apply these principles with such evident consistency”<sup>83</sup> (Toman 2017, 16). Although the article had a celebratory purpose (Mágr’s fiftieth birthday) Jakobson’s intentions were different. On 6<sup>th</sup> April 1937, a pamphlet dedicated to Mágr appeared under the title *A. St. Mágrovi k padesátým narozeninám* [To A. St. Mágr on his Fiftieth Birthday] with contributions by scholars such as Jiří Horák, Paul Eisner, Jan Mukařovský and Frank Wollman and a compiled bibliography of Mágr’s articles published on *Prager Presse*, *Prager Rundschau* and *Slavische Rundschau*. Jakobson did not contribute to this celebrative collection but preferred to publish his own writing in *Lidové noviny*. He did not write a proper celebratory article as he did on other occasions, so it could not fit in a collection like the one mentioned, which had a traditional commemorative purpose. Unlike Jakobson’s article, the writings collected in the pamphlet do not attempt to reflect on the function of the press in Czechoslovakia nor on the activity of Mágr from an ideological perspective. The respect and admiration for the journalist and his journalistic career are evident, since they were aware that he undoubtedly created in the press an intercultural space that did not exist before.

Jakobson’s esteem of Mágr emerges also in the correspondence they exchanged after WWII. In the letter from the 26<sup>th</sup> of March 1947 Jakobson recalls the article he published in 1937 in *Lidové noviny* to celebrate Mágr’s birthday (Jakobson 1937). Since he could not find

---

<sup>81</sup> “Redaktor nebo novinář vždy myslí na to, pro koho píše, na koho se obrací, kdežto autor zpravidla a právem myslí na svůj problém.”

<sup>82</sup> “[p]ochopil, že rychlá informace určená širokému obecnstvu, kterou poskytují nebo mají poskytovat noviny, musí zahrnovat vedle politického, hospodářského, uměleckého a sportovního dění také vědecký život”.

<sup>83</sup> “[j]e to málo žurnalistů, kteří chápou a uplatňují tyto zásady s takovou důsledností”.

a journal in which publish another article to celebrate his sixtieth birthday, he expresses his gratitude in the same letter:

I have nowhere to write some celebratory lines on the occasion of your new anniversary. But a feeling of deep respect for your truly meritorious and truly relentless work, and an even deeper feeling of heartfelt gratitude for your many years of true friendship, directly compel me to celebrate your jubilee despite your well-known reluctance, to congratulate you most heartily, and to wish myself and all of us on this occasion that you will continue to work so beautifully and effectively in the field of Czech culture for many decades to come, as you have always done with such unique self-effacement and modesty.<sup>84</sup>

This respect corresponded to a sentiment of trust. For example, when in 1947 Jakobson was invited to move to Harvard he asked for Mágr's advice. Then Mágr helped Jakobson, when in many letters from 1948 (such as the one sent on 6<sup>th</sup> of October) he complained that he did not receive the manuscripts he left to Mukařovský and Novotný, stating that the lack of those materials was slowing his research on Medieval Czech literature, to which he dedicated "30 years of his research". In the correspondence with Mágr kept at RJP's we can deduce that he was one of Jakobson's primary sources of information about the development of the Czech scholarly context after the WWII. Mágr's collaboration, which revealed to be significant in the interwar period, was pivotal for Jakobson also after the war. He became one of his "windows" toward a country from which he had to depart and to which he was not welcomed as previously, especially for those who at that time were running some of the most prestigious academic positions.

In 1945, Mágr published the pamphlet *Kulturní slavika v "Prager Presse"* [*Cultural Slavic in "Prager Presse"*] with the Czech publishing house Orbis. In its thirty pages, he described the development of Slavic studies in *Prager Presse*. He wrote that the journal conformed to Masaryk's thinking and that a Slavic programme existed since the beginning with the aim to inform the public about the cultural life of the Slavic people. According to Mágr, this ideological program harked back to the tradition of the *České národní obrození* (Czech

---

<sup>84</sup> RJP's, Box 44, Folder 7. "Nemám teď kam napsat oslavné řádky k Vašemu novému jubileu. Ale cit hluboké úcty k Vaší opravdu záslužné a opravdu neúporné práci a ještě hlubší cit srdečně vděčnosti za dlouhá léta opravdového přátelství přímo nutí mě abych přes Vaši známou nechuť k oslavám vlastních jubilei, Vám co nejvroucněji blahopřál, a abych při této příležitosti sobě a všem nám přál, abyste ještě dlouhá desítiletí tak krásně a účinně pracoval na poli české kultury, jak ještě to vždy s tak jedinečnou samozřejmostí a skromností činil."

National Revival), when German was still the official language. Among the beginners of this tradition, Mágr identified Josef Dobrovský, Ján Kollár, and Pavel Šafařík. *Prager Presse*'s section dedicated to Slavic cultures and literature had been active since the beginning and dealt with pivotal questions, such as the relationship between the Slavic countries and the role of Slavic culture in Europe, especially in the West European milieu. The phenomenon of emigration was included as well: in the journal there was a section called “Aus der Emigration” [“From the Emigration”].

	Slavs (general)	Russia	Yugoslavia	Poland	Bulgaria	Ukraine	Emigration	Belarus	Sorbs	Total
1921	10	80	9	0	7	3	8	0	3	120
1922	15	140	46	27	5	2	6	0	2	243
1923	59	120	117	45	6	8	14	0	4	373
1924	34	107	150	54	16	15	13	0	5	394
1925	44	135	108	125	24	19	9	0	1	465
1926	41	131	95	94	31	26	11	6	1	436
1927	19	164	83	120	33	22	4	12	4	461
1928	19	62	58	71	15	11	1	1	1	239
1929	59	75	75	102	7	14	3	0	1	336
1930	46	118	58	111	12	26	0	1	3	375
1931	51	132	97	128	11	21	16	0	10	466
1932	47	171	76	90	9	27	5	0	21	446
1933	21	94	65	55	4	7	6	0	7	259
1934	21	83	86	30	6	13	7	0	7	253
1935	15	95	129	40	18	8	1	0	4	310
1936	7	78	75	46	8	9	8	0	8	239
1937	21	133	80	70	16	16	5	0	9	350
1938	12	71	136	57	38	16	12	0	3	345
<b>Total</b>	541	1989	1543	1265	266	263	129	20	94	6110

**Table 1.** (Mágr 1945, 9)

Mágr's table shows that Russia was the journal's most frequent subject between 1921 and 1938, followed by Yugoslavia with 1543 writings and Poland with 1265. Almost every year, Russian studies had the largest number of articles devoted to it. Only in 1924, 1935 and 1938 did Yugoslavia have more. These data are not surprising considering the interests of the contributors involved in *Prager Presse*, as Mágr was mainly devoted to Polish studies.

In this pamphlet, Mágr analysed the role of each Slavic context presented in the table. It appears as a pivotal retrospect since it permits to comprehend the importance of Slavic studies in a newspaper such as *Prager Presse*. Since the aim of this thesis is to analyse Jakobson's activity, I will only take as an example the section of the pamphlet in which Mágr presented writings related to Russia, which concerned literature, theatre, music, art, icons, and

museums. In the following table, he summarised the activity of *Prager Presse* about Russia, showing the number of articles dedicated to each topic:

	Science		Theatre and music		Art		Literature		Translations	Total
	articles	notes	articles	notes	articles	notes	articles	notes		
1921	14	0	21	0	3	0	13	0	29	80
1922	12	0	19	0	8	0	19	0	82	140
1923	9	0	13	0	6	0	9	0	83	120
1924	14	2	7	0	2	1	12	2	67	107
1925	13	9	6	0	5	0	22	9	71	135
1926	9	11	13	1	13	1	23	6	54	131
1927	19	11	19	3	13	5	28	39	27	164
1928	2	1	7	1	3	1	27	5	15	62
1929	12	6	3	1	6	4	12	10	21	75
1930	8	15	16	8	7	4	19	18	23	118
1931	6	19	8	8	4	1	26	40	20	132
1932	12	16	6	13	8	7	33	57	19	171
1933	5	7	1	6	6	3	14	34	18	94
1934	7	4	2	4	6	3	9	24	24	83
1935	3	8	9	11	2	2	15	24	21	95
1936	4	6	6	6	1	2	11	18	24	78
1937	2	6	8	13	2	11	30	32	29	133
1938	0	1	3	8	2	11	17	14	15	71
<b>Total</b>	151	122	167	83	97	56	339	332	642	1989

**Table 2.** (Mágr 1945, 10)

The contents of *Prager Presse* adhered to the principle of a *kollektive Arbeit* (“collective work”) and many contributors acted as mediators between Slavic and German cultures. For example, Paul Eisner was a pivotal author in *Prager Presse*.<sup>85</sup> Of Jewish origin, he grew up in a transcultural environment and studied at the Deutsche Universität Prag. His journalistic activity, which started after the end of the WWI, developed in German, Czech and Jewish contexts and was particularly fruitful, as Michael Wögerbauer’s quantitative study clearly showed (Dudková – Kaiserová – Petrbok 2009, 241-252). Relevant also are his translations of Karel Hynek Mácha’s *Máj* [*May*] and Franz Kafka’s writings.

*Prager Presse* developed a dialogue between Germanic and Slavic studies in a transcultural perspective. *Germanoslavica*, a journal oriented towards the fusion of Slavic and Germanic Studies, presented the same aim. Members of the PLK often published in *Prager Presse*, and Mágr assiduously reported on the PLK’s activities and supported the members

---

<sup>85</sup> In this context, it was decided to adopt the German and not the Czech version (Pavel) of the name, as this is the one that appears in *Prager Presse*.

involved in debates, as in 1933, when they discussed about the standardisation of the Czech language against Jiří Haller and the periodical *Naše řeč*.<sup>86</sup>

While mapping Jakobson's collaboration with *Prager Presse*, a question immediately occurs. Looking at Jakobson's bibliography compiled by Rudy and later supplemented by Toman,<sup>87</sup> his debut in *Prager Presse* coincided with "Ein neuer Beitrag zur slavischen Verslehre" ["A New Contribution on the Study of Slavonic Verse"] (Jakobson 2013, 178-182), a review published on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1925 and dedicated to the work of the German linguist Eduard Sievers. A more thorough investigation of the actual beginning of the scholar's activity in *Prager Presse* is needed because Jakobson's name had already appeared in 1920. In his monograph dedicated to Laurin, Michal Topor quoted from the archives of the publishing house Orbis:

Maximilian Röder and Arnošt Hromada have been selected for internal politics. For foreign politics, [Emil] Oplatka and Mirko Taus[k]. [Roman] Jakobson will work as an external collaborator. Neffzern will be the editor of the evening paper, and Otto Fischer will be the night editor. Co-editor of the feuilleton will be Otto Pick and local editor Melichar Fischer [i.e., Melchior Vischer].<sup>88</sup> (Topor – Řehák 2019, 247)

Jakobson was nominated as an external collaborator but none of his writings are attested in the newspaper before 1925. The suspicion that Jakobson was, on the other hand, an active author since the beginning is confirmed by an article signed by the editorial board entitled "In eigener Sache" ["In our Cause"]. It was published on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1921 as reaction to accusations made against *Prager Presse* by other periodicals. In the introduction of the article, values already expressed in "Unser Program" were emphasised again (the expression "mit Stolz", "proudly", appears several times). The negative comments published in other periodicals were criticised, taking the case of Jakobson as an example:

---

<sup>86</sup> The only attempt to map PLK's collaboration with the German press is an article by Martin Bernátek, a quantitative study which does not provide an interpretation of the materials presented. See Bernátek (2014) and (2016). Klaas-Hinrich Ehlers analysed the role of the German press in the context of the PLK and referring to *Prager Rundschau*, emphasised how the PLK used the German press to broaden the reception of the linguistic debate beyond Czechoslovakia's national borders (Ehlers 1996, 119). He also dedicated a significant monograph to the reception of PLK's theories in Germany. See Ehlers (2005).

<sup>87</sup> See <<http://comenius-bibl.wz.cz/Jakobson.html#1937alpha>>.

<sup>88</sup> "Po vnitřní politiku jsou určeni páni: Maximilian Röder a Arnošt Hromada. Pro politiku zahraniční [Emil] Oplatka a Mirko Taus[k]. [Roman] Jakobson bude pracovat jako spolupracovník externí. Redaktorem večerníku bude Neffzern, nočním redaktorem Otto Fischer. Spoluredaktorem fejetonu Otto Pick, lokálkářem Melichar Fischer [tj. Melchior Vischer]."

As an example, we quote the case of Jakobson. Mr Jakobson, who, by the way, had already left the Gillerson mission several months ago to devote himself to the study of Slavic studies, has never been, and still is not, a member of the editorial board of the *Prager Presse*. For occasional contributions, and by no means the person of the author, the character of the individual contributions is decisive, as was the case with those papers that abundantly quoted Jakobson's anti-Bolshevik pointed articles. The editors of the *Prager Presse* believe that they have proved in the short time of its publication that this newspaper is an idealistic deed representing an essential stage in the life and coexistence of all nationalities inhabiting this state.<sup>89</sup> (Redakce 1921, 6)

The editors directly referred to Jakobson as an "occasional contributor". Jakobson's decision to publish anonymously is understandable, especially considering his status in his early Prague years and the fact that he had been repeatedly accused of espionage and collaboration with the Bolshevik government. Another evidence about Jakobson's early involvement with *Prager Presse* is the incipit of the already mentioned obituary dedicated to Laurin:

I met Arne Laurin precisely 25 years ago, in January 1921. He came to me, and, speaking directly, he said: "I will create a journal, *Prager Presse*, and I want you as a collaborator. You will write about Slavic cultures".<sup>90</sup> (Toman 2017, 129)

Although Jakobson recalled his first meeting with Laurin in January 1921, it is nonetheless relevant that the editor-in-chief of *Prager Presse* himself proposed to the young Russian philologist to collaborate with the journal and he had an essential role in selecting internal and external collaborators (Topor – Řehák 2019, 275). As recorded in Rudy's bibliography, Jakobson's activity in *Prager Presse* covered July 1925 to August 1938, several months before he left the country in April 1939 due to the Nazi occupation. Most of his contributions appeared

---

<sup>89</sup> "Als Beispiel führen wir den Fall Jakobson an. Herr Jakobson, der übrigens schon sein einer Reihe von Monaten aus der Mission Gillerson ausgeschieden war, um sich dem Studium der Slavistik zu widmen, war nie und ist auch heute nicht Mitglieder der Redaktion der *Prager Presse*. Für gelegentliche Beiträge ist und keineswegs die Person des Autors, sondern der Charakter der einzelnen Beiträge maßgebend, wie dies übrigens sicherlich bei jenen Blättern der Fall war, welche die antibolschewistisch pointierten Artikel Jakobsons reichlich zitiert haben. Die Redaktion der *Prager Presse* glaubt in der kurzen Zeit des Erscheinens dieses Blattes bewiesen zu haben, daß diese Zeitung eine ideelle Tat ist, die einen wichtigen Abschnitt in dem Leben und Zusammenleben aller Nationalitäten bedeutet, die diesen Staat bewohnen."

<sup>90</sup> "Poznal jsem Arne Laurina přesně před 25 lety, v únoru r. 1921. Přišel ke mně a po svém způsobu začal rovnou: 'Budu dělat noviny, *Prager Presse*, a chci, abyste spolupracoval. Budete psát o kulturních věcech slovanských'".

in Mágr's cultural column. Mágr informed Jakobson about the end of *Prager Presse*'s activity during the protectorate and the fate of their common friends:

You are asking what happened to the other colleagues. If you mean the former *P[rager] P[resse]* editorial board, then you probably know that [Otto] Picka and [Karel] Benda died in London. [František] Kubka is a union leader in the Ministry of Information and will go as soon as possible as an envoy to Sofia. Eisner has happily survived everything and is now writing in all sorts of magazine. He has also translated everything possible and it is not sure if there is not enough paper for what has not appeared yet. I am not in touch with him myself, I sent him my publication *In Memoriam Arne Laurin* (by the way, I have kept the last copy for you) but he has not answered to it. [Josef] Laufer works in the ČTK [Česká tisková kancelář – Office of the Czech press]. That would probably be all you would be interested in.<sup>91</sup>

### *Tribuna*

The newspaper *Tribuna* appeared between 1919 and 1928.<sup>92</sup> As *Prager Presse*, it was founded as an apolitical periodical. Its stance was motivated by a specific purpose, i.e., to serve the country and its citizens through the publication of articles. *Tribuna* wanted to contribute to the development of Czechoslovakia, defined by the editors as a “young country”, following the democratic ideals that animated Masarykian politics. The editorial board was composed of Jewish Czechs involved in the process of assimilation of the Jewish community that had begun in the nineteenth century and continued to be a crucial question even during the Masarykian period.<sup>93</sup> The newspaper was not only aimed at a Jewish audience, but also open to communities and included writings that dealt with issues both inside and outside Czechoslovakia. This explains how on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1921 they agreed to publish an article like Jakobson's “Ruský básník před soudem ruské literatury” [“A Russian Poet at the Court of Russian Literature”] (Jakobson 2013, 70-73), a polemical reaction against Melniková-Papoušková's article

---

<sup>91</sup> RJP, Box 44, Folder 7. “Ptáte se co je s ostatními kolegy. Myslíte-li na bývalou redakci *P[rager] P[resse]*, pak asi sám víte, že Picka and Benda zemřeli v Londýně. Kubka je odborovým přednostou v ministerstvu informací a půjde co nejdříve jako vyslanec do Sofii. Eisner všechno šťastně přežil a píše teď ve všech možných časopisech, všelicos také přeložil, co ještě nevyšlo, poněvadž není dost papíru. Sám se s ním nestýkám, poslal jsem mu svou publikaci *In memoriam Arne Laurina* – poslední výtisk jsem ostatně uschoval pro Vás –, ale nereagoval na to. Laufer pracuje v ČTK. To by asi byli všichni, o které byste se mohl zajímat.”

<sup>92</sup> Interest in *Tribuna* has not yet reached scholars. There is a bachelor's thesis by Michal Chmela (2015) that summarises the editorial history of the newspaper and offers some valuable information for some preliminary considerations.

<sup>93</sup> Concerning the Jewish assimilation and antisemitisms, see Pěkný (1993), Frankl (2007) and Kieval ([1998] 2011).

“Futurismus jako oficiální bolševická poezie” [“Futurism as the Official Poetry of Bolshevism”], which appeared on 8<sup>th</sup> February of that year in *Čas*. To understand the reasons behind Jakobson’s (according to evidence) one-time publication in *Tribuna*, it is essential to further consider another aspect. Essential information about the foundation and the further development of *Tribuna* can be found in some articles by Lev Vohryzek, published in the journal *Die Brücke – Most* in the 1930s.<sup>94</sup> The editor-in-chief was Bedřich Hlaváč, a friend of Masaryk, and contributing editors to the journal at the time were such important people in press as Arne Laurin or František Peroutka:

The beginning was rather dilettantish. Apart from Schick, the economist, we did not have a single editor who had a journalistic background. [...] It did not take long, however, for *Tribuna* to make its mark: “Peroutka’s editorials were sensational, Kodíček’s theatre criticism became a trend-setter, as did Vomáček’s music criticism and the articles on the visual arts from the pen of Dr. Nebeský.” [...] But this whole excellent ensemble would not have made *Tribuna* what it was if it had not been for Arne Laurin. The editor-in-chief was indeed Hlaváč, as representative as one could wish for. But the driving force behind everything was Laurin. He didn’t write much, but he managed to get excellent external collaborators. The greatest plus that Laurin brought to *Tribuna* was his invaluable ability to sense what should and should not go into the paper and what would catch the reader’s eye.<sup>95</sup> (Vohryzek 1937)

Laurin, who had already demonstrated his skills as editor-in-chief of the *Prager Presse*, therefore also had an important role in this journal in which the Jewish presence was crucial. As I have already shown in the earlier section on the *Prager Presse*, Laurin and Jakobson already knew each other by 1921, and thus it can be deduced that Jakobson’s publication in *Tribuna* was therefore precisely on the advice of Laurin, who at the time exerted a very important influence on the journal in question. Moreover, on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1921, *Tribuna* published the translation of “In eigener Sache”, where *Prager Presse* openly defended Jakobson and who

---

<sup>94</sup> See Vohryzek (1936), (1937) and (1938).

<sup>95</sup> “Začátek byl dosti diletantský. Mimo národohospodáře Schicka neměli jsme jediného redaktora, který by měl za sebou deníkářskou praxi. [...] Netrvalo ale dlouho a *Tribuně* se podařilo se prosadit: ‘Peroutkovy úvodníky byly sensací, Kodíčkovy divadelní kritiky staly se směrodatnými, stejně jako Vomáčkovy kritiky hudební a články o výtvarném umění z pera dra Nebeského.’ [...] Ale celý tento znamenitý soubor nebyl by Tribunu udělal tím, co byla, kdyby nebylo bývalo Arne Laurina. Šéfredaktorem byl sice Hlaváč, representant, jakého si jen bylo přát. Hybnou pákou všeho byl však Laurin. Nepsal mnoho, ale dovedl získati znamenité externí spolupracovníky. Největší plus, jež Laurin do *Tribuny* přinesl, byla jeho nedocenitelná schopnost vycítiti, co má a co nemá do listu přijít a co čtenářstvo chytí.”

if not Laurin might have suggested such a publication. *Tribuna* thus presented the reaction against Melniková-Paopušková's article by introducing Jakobson as a Russian slavist active in Prague, in opposition to all the suspicions and accusations of pro-Bolshevism that had been directed at him up in those years.

*Slavia, časopis pro slovanskou filologii*

The first issue of the journal *Slavia, časopis pro slovanskou filologii* appeared in 1923. Its editors were Oldřich Hujer and Matija Murko.<sup>96</sup> The editorial history of *Slavia* to the date has already been reconstructed.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, I only intend to highlight a few aspects that are relevant to my analysis of Jakobson's activity, who published in *Slavia* from the very first issue onwards and inconstantly throughout his stay in Czechoslovakia. As Zelenka noted, *Slavia* was founded in a relatively young country (Czechoslovakia had gained its independence in 1918) which played a key role from a geographical and thus cultural point of view (Zelenka 2000). I have already emphasised the importance of Prague multiculturalism and Masaryk's intentions in defining Czechoslovakia's role in the new European political and cultural landscape: Prague inherited the role that had been played by Vienna in Habsburg times, becoming the main point of reference for the development of Central European Slavistics. Matija Murko was "un des derniers grands slavistes universels qui s'inscrivent dans la lignée de J. Dobrovský, B. Kopitar, Fr. Miklošič et V. Jagić" (Zelenková 2006, 677). Murko played an essential role in the development of Slavic studies in interwar Czechoslovakia and when he arrived in Prague, unlike other scholars such as Jakobson, he already had many years of experience in different academic institutions and an academic status. After studying Slavic and German studies in Vienna, he was nominated professor there (1915-1917) and then in Leipzig (1917-1920). He moved to Prague where he was appointed professor at the Charles University. Among his relationships with other professors, his collaboration with Jiří Polívka was pivotal (Zelenková – Hlôšková 2008) and, as mentioned by Wollman, Murko and Polívka belonged to that generation of scholars who founded the Czech school of comparatists (Wollmann 1947).

---

<sup>96</sup> Even if there is more to be researched, a wide bibliography regarding Murko already exists. For a selected bibliography of Murko's writings see Bečka – Zelenková (2003). Then see the paper Zelenka (2003) and the collection Pospíšil – Zelenka (2005). In Pospíšil – Zelenka (2005) the Italian Sergio Bonazza investigated Murko's relationships with Russian Scholars in within the paper "Mathias Murkos russische Beziehungen" ["Mathias Murko's Russian Relationships"].

<sup>97</sup> See Kurz (1971), Zelenka (2000) and the article published by the redaction of *Slavia* in 2022 "Sto let časopisu *Slavia*" ["One Hundred Year of the Journal *Slavia*"].

Murko also had good relations with Russian professors who taught at Karlova, such as Evgenij Ljackij and Vladimir Francev.<sup>98</sup>

Among the Russians, Professor V. A. Francev, who was admitted for his great contribution to Czech-Russian scientific relations and for his works on the history of Slavic philology [...]. He also lectured on Russian literature in Prague, but the faculty also suggested E. A. Ljackij.<sup>99</sup> (Murko 1949, 71)

Murko was a scholar who, despite his traditional education and his belonging to the generation preceding Jakobson's one (he studied under the Slovenian Franc Miklošič,<sup>100</sup> one of the leading European representatives of nineteenth century philology and pre-Saussurian linguistics), was able to create a dialogue between different generations of scholars who often disagreed with each other. This is also evident by looking at the names of the authors appeared in *Slavia*'s issues. In the first one there are both Jakobson and Bogatyrev as well as more conservative scholars such as the already mentioned Ljackij or Francev. *Slavia* was also international and, in the journal, published Russian linguists such as Trubeckoj, Karcevskij or Durnovo, and scholars of the French academy, such as Meillet. This desire to create an international debate is also manifested in Murko's tendency to organise international events, such as the First Congress of Slavists held in Prague in 1929. Another element that demonstrates this international openness of Murko's is his massive archive kept at the LA PNP in Prague in which several names appear, including his correspondence with Max Vasmer and André Mazon. Murko's correspondence with Vasmer and Mazon highlights another important question, namely the fact that the Slovenian-born scholar was in contact with those who ran two other important European Slavic journals: Mazon was the director of the *Revue des études*

---

<sup>98</sup> Regarding Francev, see the research led by Ljudmila Lapteva in Lapteva (1996), (1997), (2012) and (2016).

<sup>99</sup> "Z Rusů přijel do Prahy dobrovolně profesor V. A. Francev, jenž byl přijat pro své velké zásluhy o česko-ruské vědecké styky a pro svá díla z dějin slovanské filologie [...]. V Praze přednášel také ruskou literaturu, avšak fakulta navrhla pro starší a zvláště novější literatur také E. A. Ljackého."

<sup>100</sup> Franc Miklošič (1813-1891) wrote a comparative grammar of Slavic languages, *Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen* [*A Comparative Grammar of Slavic Languages*], published in 1852 and an etymological vocabulary *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen* [*Etymological Dictionary of Slavic Languages*], published in 1886. Concerning Miklošič see the research led by Katja Sturm-Schnabl (2004) and (2001). She also edited Miklošič's correspondence with other scholars from south Balkans (1991). See also Slodnjak (1975) and Zoltán (1922). <[https://austria-forum.org/af/AustriaWiki/Franz\\_von\\_Miklosich](https://austria-forum.org/af/AustriaWiki/Franz_von_Miklosich)>.

*slaves*<sup>101</sup> in Paris, while Vasmer ran the German journal *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*.<sup>102</sup> In fact, Zelenka perhaps exaggerated in emphasising that *Slavia* was unique in the European context, the Czech-based journal was closer to the norm rather than an exception. Although a more in-depth comparative study between the three journals is still needed, an initial observation already reveals many parallels in both editorial structure and themes. Moreover, the same authors are also found: the European landscape was more international than we imagine it to be today. Considering the Czech context, rather than conceiving of *Slavia* as a unique journal, one should perhaps consider it as a model which inspired many other periodicals, such as *Slavische Rundschau*. Murko's intention was to create a journal that would meet the need for an editorial space in which the new Slavic studies could flourish and be in step with the new European trends in the aftermath of the WWI:

The transitional break [the post-war period] was also suitable for the establishment of a new journal of the Slavic countries, which should be published in all Slavic languages and, in addition, in the languages of the world. A six-member committee was elected by the slavists of Prague, which discussed about the new journal for a long time and entrusted its editorship to Prof. O. Hujer for the linguistic part and me for the other parts [...]. We were concerned with cooperation [with the journals that already existed] and mainly to make the new journal the central organ of all Slavists and to cultivate Slavic philology as a whole. I proposed the name "Slavia" [...], the main reason for me was that already in 1789 the Lusatian German Anton had proposed to Dobrovský the publication of *Slavia* for general Slavonic studies, and he himself wanted to start it in 1790, but he had no publisher.<sup>103</sup> (Murko 1949, 174-175)

---

<sup>101</sup> This was (and it is nowadays) the most significant editorial project in France dedicated to Slavic cultures and it acted as a centre of progress and international exchanges among scholars. "Fondée en 1921, la *Revue des études slaves* est une revue internationale de slavistique. Tout en maintenant sa vocation originelle (la philologie, l'histoire, la critique et l'histoire littéraires des pays slaves) elle s'est élargie à la linguistique moderne, l'anthropologie historique, l'ethnologie, l'histoire des idées, des littératures, des arts, des cultures et des religions. Le champ couvert est celui de 'l'autre Europe', qui, en grande partie, a fait depuis 2004 son entrée dans l'Union européenne, et également du monde biélorusse, ukrainien et russe (et de ses extensions) avec lequel l'Europe redéfinit en permanence ses rapports." <<https://journals.openedition.org/res/267>>.

<sup>102</sup> See Zeil – Zeil (1979).

<sup>103</sup> "Přechodná přestávka [poválečná doba] byla také vhod založení nového časopisu slovanských zemí, který měl vycházet ve všech jazycích slovanských a kromě toho i v jazycích světových. Byla pražskými slavisty zvolena šestičlenná komise, která delší dobu jednala o novém časopise a pověřila jeho redakci prof. O. Hujera pro část lingvistickou a mne pro části ostatní [...]. Nám šlo o spolupráci [s časopisy, které už existovali] a hlavně o to, aby nový časopis byl ústředním orgánem všech slavistů a pěstoval slovanskou filologii jako celek. Jméno 'Slavia' jsem navrhl já [...], hlavním důvodem bylo pro mne to, že už r. 1789 lužický Němec Anton navrhoval Dobrovskému vydávání časopisu *Slavia* pro všeobecné slavistické obory, a sám chtěl s ním r. 1790 začít, ale

In the introduction to the first issue of *Slavia* Murko quoted Jagić's definition of Slavic studies. The reference to Vatroslav Jagić is even more evident so that *Slavia* is conceivable in terms of an heir to the journal *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, the oldest European Slavic philological journal founded in 1875 by Jagić (who was the director until 1920) and published by Weidmannsche Buchhandlung in Berlin. As Zelenka also rightly emphasised, there were also scholars who collaborated with *Archiv für slavische Philologie* who played a fundamental role in Jakobson's education, such as Fortunatov, or scholars which Jakobson used to refer to in his writings, such as Leskien or Broch.

The temporal extremes of Jakobson's collaboration are 1923, the year in which Jakobson and Bogatyrev published in the section "Zprávy" ("News") the article "Slavjanskaja filologija v Rossii za g. g. 1914-1921" and 1939, when Jakobson, having already emigrated, published "Sobaka Kalin car" (Jakobson 1966, 64-81), in memory of Vsevolod Miller, under the pseudonym Olaf Jansen.

### *Kritika*

*Kritika* appeared in the years between 1924 and 1928. Notably, scholars who had, for political motivations, severed their collaborations with *Národní kultura* began to publish in this journal. Among them, there was František Xavier Šalda,<sup>104</sup> whose involvement played a pivotal role in shaping the distinctive identity of *Kritika*. The editor-in-chief was Rudolf Malý, who was politically left-wing (and Masaryk) oriented.<sup>105</sup>

Within the pages of *Kritika*, there is a wide range of genres, encompassing both articles on literary criticism and tales or poems. Notably, unlike several other periodicals examined hitherto, *Kritika* displayed a pronounced and unabashed political orientation. As an illustration of this ideological stance, the journal adhered to the notion of "proletarian art", a perspective underscored by the publication of Jiří Wolker's poems in 1924. Jakobson published for *Kritika* in 1925. Notably, the same issue also featured writings by other prominent scholars who were close to him, including Otokar Fischer, Jan Bartoš, Jan Sedlák, and Antonín Mágr.

---

neměl nakladatele." Murko was aware of the necessity of collaborating with periodicals which already existed, i.e., *Listy filologické* and *Časopis pro moderní filologii*.

<sup>104</sup> See Vodička (1968), Burianek (1987).

<sup>105</sup> From 1919 to 1923, Rudolf Malý (1889-1965) was a member of the Strana národních dělníků (National Workers's Party, today ČSNS), managing the literary supplement of *České slovo* and the periodical *Národní kultura*. Despite his importance in the Czech press, where he also published in several periodicals as *Ruch filosofický*, Malý was a controversial figure and later demonstrated sympathy for the Italian fascist ideology.

*Pásmo: Revue internationale moderne*<sup>106</sup> was a journal affiliated with the Czech avant-garde, linked to the section of the Devětsil group based in Brno.<sup>107</sup> The Prague section of the Devětsil actively collaborated with *Pásmo*. Published between 1924 and 1926, *Pásmo* included writings by various members of the avant-garde and featured illustrations by artists or graphic designers such as Josef Šima or Karel Teige. Members of the editorial board included, for example, František Halas or Bedřich Václavek and among the authors there were many relevant names of the time, like the theatrical and cinematographic director Jindřich Honzl or the painter Jindřich Štyrský.

The most emblematic writings that illustrate Jakobson's relationship with the Czech avant-garde are the article "Konec básnického umprumáctví a živnostnictví", published in *Pásmo* in 1925, and the "Dopis Jiřímu Voskovcovi a Janu Werichovi o noetice a semantice švandy" ["Letter to Jiří Voskovec and Jan Werich regarding the noetic and semantic of the farce"] (Jakobson 1981, 757-762) published in *10 let Osvobozeného divadla [10 years of Liberated Theatre]* in 1937. The relationship between Jakobson and *Pásmo* was part of a mutual and pivotal collaboration between members of the PLK and the Czech avant-garde. This collaboration has already been investigated<sup>108</sup> and the studies that analyse this phenomenon underline the presence of a theoretical and methodological influx between the two groups. Jakobson conceived Structuralism itself as an avant-garde group which had to "fight" (*bojovat* is among the most performative words employed by the scholar) against traditional methods for a new approach in linguistics and literary studies.

Jakobson actively participated in the cultural life promoted by the Czech avant-garde,<sup>109</sup> such as Bogatyrev, who in an interview from 1968 mentioned the collaboration between scholars and artists as a tendency shared by the MLK and the PLK, which should have been taken as a model also by other circles (Jakobson-Bogatyrev 1968, 10). Bogatyrev's personal and socio-cultural commitment to the Czech avant-garde was undoubtedly less intense. His

---

<sup>106</sup> See Kubiček (2010).

<sup>107</sup> Regarding Poetismus, see Chvatík-Pešat (1967), Vlašín (1970), (1971) and (1972), Chvatík (2004) and Vojvodík-Wiendl (2011). Concerning the avant-garde in Brno, see Bílek – Sus (1996).

<sup>108</sup> Concerning Structuralism and avant-garde, see Chvatík (1970).

<sup>109</sup> Concerning Jakobson and avant-garde see Fabianová (2005), Winner in Armstrong – Schooneveld (1977), Winner (1996), Toman (1995, 217-241). Searching through the newspaper reports of the time, it is possible to find several traces of Jakobson's collaboration with the Devětsil. For example, *Lidové noviny* reported on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1938 that Jakobson gave an open speech for Jindřich Štyrský and Toyen's art exhibition in Prague.

scientific research results represent a synthesis between ethnographical and theatrical studies and in this mutual exchange, “the scholars of the Prague School were inspired by contemporary performance, folk and puppet theatre, film and drama while the directors Jindřich Honzl and Emil František Burian<sup>110</sup> conceptualised their stage experience [...]” (Ambros 2012, 75). For Bogatyrev, the collaboration with Burian was crucial. Although their aims were different, they were driven by the same desire to investigate popular forms of theatre (Šlaisová 2016). Bogatyrev was interested in developing a theoretical reflection and elaborating a new and practical methodology of a structuralist nature. The case of Burian, who accepted and shared Bogatyrev’s theoretical elaborations, is not the only one in which such connections occur. As mentioned by Toman, it is possible to trace similar interactions between Jakobson and Teige. The theoretician of Poetism, in the essay “Slovo, Slovo, Slovo” [“*Word, Word, Word*”] (1937), recognised as authentic and fundamental the idea that poetic language was an autonomous system. In other words, they openly recognised the existence of an aesthetic (and thus, poetic) function of language (Toman 1995, 225-226).

#### *Le Monde Slave: revue sur le monde slave*

During his stay in Czechoslovakia Jakobson also published in French in *Le Monde Slave: revue sur le monde slave*. Ernest Denis founded the journal in 1917 but due to the WWI, it was short-lived, and its activity stopped in 1918. As Louis Eisenmann stated,<sup>111</sup> “Le premier *Monde Slave*, né de la révolution russe, est mort de la paix de Brest-Litovsk” (Eisenmann 1924, 1). After six years of silence, in 1924, Eisenmann decided to resume the journal and in “Notre programme”, which opened the first issue, he emphasised the aims of this new phase: he intended to continue the project already started by Denis, to discuss cultural, political, and social issues relating to Slavic countries. The first part of the programme is a tribute to Denis, where the scholar appeared as a prophet of solidarity between France and Slavic countries, the promoter of the first French journal (i.e., *Le Monde Slave*) dedicated to the development of Slavic studies. In the second part, Eisenmann attributed to the war the paradoxical merit of having ignited the Occidental interest in the Slavic cultures, ending what he called “a great mistake”, and of having favoured the foundation of academic institutes in France and abroad:

---

<sup>110</sup> Emil František Burian (1904-1959) was a multifaceted figure in interwar Czechoslovakia, involved in the avant-garde above all for his work as a playwright and poet. See Srba (1981) and Papoušek (2014).

<sup>111</sup> Louis Eisenmann (1869-1937) was a scholar of Jewish origins. He studied law and then literature specialising in the history of the Slavic countries and then focused his main research on the history of Czechoslovakia, the Habsburg Empire and Russia. He became director of the Institut français Ernest Denis of Prague from 1925. An essential bio-bibliography can be found in Christophe (1986).

“La lumière des études slaves rayonne aujourd’hui avec une puissance décuplée” (Eisenmann 1924, 5). The renewed *Le Monde Slave* differed qualitatively from Denis’ one, in that there were no longer those difficulties present before the war and regular channels of communication between France and the Slavic peoples had developed. Eisenmann wrote: “On pourra ici se pencher sur la Russie nouvelle non plus avec les yeux de l’inquisiteur ou de l’exorciste, mais avec ceux de l’historien.” (Eisenmann 1924, 6) In the last part of the programme, Eisenmann referred to Meillet and Masaryk. Emphasising the importance of Slavic studies as an autonomous scientific field and no longer as a mere curiosity (a “curiosité de l’esprit”), he asserted that the important position the field had achieved in the French academy was due to the contribution made by the studies of Meillet, who stated that “chez les peuples slaves fait peut-être unique dans l’histoire, partout... le littérature et la philologie ont devancé la politique” (Eisenmann 1924, 7). Returning then to the question about the creation of new states from the disintegration of the great empires, Eisenmann echoed Masaryk’s thought, calling for the need to refuse of all those prejudices of the past to identify countries like Czechoslovakia as examples of the realisation of the new European concept of democracy.

Jakobson published in *Le Monde Slave* three times. Only one article was originally written in French, while the others had been previously published in other periodicals. In 1931 Jakobson published “Les unions phonologiques de langues”, a translation of “Über die phonologischen Sprachbünde”, which appeared in the same year in *Travaux de Cercle Linguistique de Prague*. In 1933 “Masaryk vu par Tolstoï” appeared, a revised and expanded version of an article firstly published in Russian in *Central’naja Evropa* in 1931. In 1937 Jakobson published “L’histoire du tchèqe et du slovaque littéraires” (Jakobson 2014, 227-237), a review of Bohuslav Havránek’s *Vývoj spisovného jazyka českého* [*The Evolution of Literary Czech*] (1936) written directly of *Le Monde Slave*.

### *Národní osvobození*

The journal *Národní osvobození* was founded on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1924 and was active until 25<sup>th</sup> January 1939. The chief director was Lev Sycharova.<sup>112</sup> His journalism was characterised by three characteristics: he wrote against fascism, supported the emigration of antifascist Germans in the 1930s, and worked to reinforce the relationships between Czechoslovakia and

---

<sup>112</sup> Lev Sycharova (1887-1958) devoted his entire career to supporting the politics of the Castle and was particularly close to Masaryk. Before founding *Národní osvobození*, Sycharova spent much time abroad: for example, in 1918 he became the first Czechoslovakian ambassador in Paris. In 1920, he tried to become chief director of *Čas*, but he did not get the position.

the Soviet Union. *Národní osvobození* can be conceived as a synthesis of three Czechoslovakian periodicals founded in the interwar years: *Čas*, *Československé noviny* and *Leigionářský směr*. Two traits of *Národní osvobození* led to Jakobson's collaboration with it: the cooperation and mutual support with Masaryk (he even published in the journal under a pseudonym as it happened, for example, in *Čas* or *Lidové noviny*), and the presence exponents of the Czech avant-garde in the journal, such as Karel Teige and Konstantin Biebl.

### *Čin*

*Čin*, directed by Marie Majerová,<sup>113</sup> published articles and creative writing, such as poems or prose, between 1929 and 1939. The subtitle was “týdeník pro veřejné a kulturní otázky” (“weekly for public and cultural issues”) and among the authors there were Paul Eisner, Josef Čapek and poets such as František Halas. Jakobson published the article “Romantické všeslovanství – nová slavistika” [“Romantic Panslavism vs. New Slavistics”] in 1929 (Jakobson 2013, 231-233), a transcription of the speech he delivered after the First Congress of Slavic Philology. It was a translation of “Über die heutigen Voraussetzungen der russischen Slavistik” [“Today's Preconditions for Russian Slavistic”], published the same year in *Slavische Rundschau*.

### *Slavische Rundschau*

*Slavische Rundschau* was founded in 1929 by two professors of the Deutsche Universität Prag, Franz Spina<sup>114</sup> and Gerhard Gesemann, with whom Jakobson also defended his doctoral thesis.<sup>115</sup> The journal's purpose was twofold. First, their project was to create an international platform where scholars who had emigrated abroad could participate. Second, they aimed to address the international public about developments in Slavic studies in Czechoslovakia and abroad. In Prague a crucial role was played by the Slovanský ústav (Slavic Institut), an institution founded in 1922, which edited periodicals conceived as international platforms, such as the aforementioned *Slavia* or *Germanoslavica* and *Byzantinoslavica*. The contents published in *Slavische Rundschau* were divided into four parts: articles were sorted in the “Aufsätze” section, reviews appeared in “Referate”, “Kulturkronik” contained information and news about

---

<sup>113</sup> Marie Majerová (1881-1967) was an avant-gardist Czech author, literary critic, and editor. She was a declared leftist. See Nývltová (2011), Nývltová – Hylmar (2018).

<sup>114</sup> Concerning Franz Spina (1868-1938) was a Czech politic, scholar and professor at the Deutsche Universität Prag, see Höhne – Udolph (2012).

<sup>115</sup> In the registers the Deutsche Universität Prag they appear as the examiners. See <<https://is.cuni.cz/webapps/archiv/public/book/bo/1840355044744327/1/?lang=en#1711761640198>>

the different scientific and cultural contexts and “Bibliographie” followed. After 1930, a final section with short obituaries was included. It changed its name over the years. Until 1934, it was called “Nekrologe”; from 1935 till the last issue of 1940, it changed to “Nachrufe”.

Looking at *Slavische Rundschau*'s issues comprehensively, it is possible to individuate several Russian, Ukrainian, or Belarusian contributors.<sup>116</sup> Many of them were close to Jakobson in both scientific and personal terms, such as the Russian folklorist and ethnographer Petr Bogatyrev, the Eurasianist Petr Savickij or the Ukrainian linguist and philosopher Dmytro Čyževs'kyj.<sup>117</sup> Czech scholars and journalists, such as Eugen Rippl or Antonín Stanislav Mágr, were also involved in the journal. Jakobson was also the head of *Slavische Rundschau*'s Ostslavisches Referat (East Slavic Section). He had to handle the correspondence with scholars from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus and edit or co-edit their contributions. Since the beginning, he had been looking for scholars interested in the project and inviting friends and colleagues, such as Bogatyrev or Čyževs'kyj, to publish. In a letter sent by Trubeckoj to Jakobson in the summer of 1928, there is some advice about who could be involved in *Slavische Rundschau*:

The orientalist Nikitin (I think Vasilij Petrovič) is of little interest: he is a nongraduated (former Russian Consul in Persia), a lover of Persia, an “expert” to some extent – but not at all “scholarly”, and he has little critical flair, so he can praise an unfit (from the scientific point of view) book and not notice a good one. If you want an Orientalist, you would better take Minorskij: Suvčinskij can give you his name and address (somewhere in Paris).<sup>118</sup>  
(Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 115)

---

<sup>116</sup> In her article, Tat'jana Marčenko undertakes an analysis of the Russian contributors to each *Slavische Rundschau* issue: “Among the authors of the articles in the year's content list, there are slightly more Russian ‘Soviet’ names than émigré ones [...]” (Marčenko 2016). This constatation is valid, but the author is imprecise in using the word *émigrantskij* (*émigré*) in referring to scholars such as Jakobson or Bogatyrev.

<sup>117</sup> There are several variants of the name, both proposed by Dmytro Čyževs'kyj and by scholars. In his letters to Jakobson he signs himself in Russian as “Dm. Čyževskij”, in his publications in Russian he appears as “Dmitrij Čyževskij”, Marie Škarpová writes “Dmitrij Čyževskij/ Čyževský” referring to his correspondence with Antonín Škarka (Škarpová 2022). Since my dissertation is addressed to an international audience and considering the discussions at the last Conference “Dmytro Čyževs'kyj and Prague. Perspectives of Intellectual Entanglement”, held in Prague in January 2024, I decided to adopt the Ukrainian variant “Dmytro Čyževs'kyj”. I have discussed with prof. Roman Mnich about which name could be used referring to the interwar period and we agreed on this variant. Concerning Čyževs'kyj, see Blaškv (2010) and (2019), Blaškv – Mnich (2016) and Korthaase's writings, at least Korthaase (2010).

<sup>118</sup> “Ориенталист Никитин (кажется Василий Петрович) мало интересен: он – практик (бывш. русский консул в Персии), любитель Персии, до известной степени ‘знаток’, - но совсем не ‘учебный’, и него мало критического чутья, так что он может расхвалить негодную (с научной точки зрения) книгу и не заметить хорошую. Уж если хотите ориенталиста, то лучше возьмите Минорского: имя-отчество и адрес (где то в Париже) Вам может сообщить Сувчинский.”

Later, on 19<sup>th</sup> September 1928, Trubeckoj asks for news about *Slavische Rundschau* and Jakobson's new book, referring to *Remarques sur l'évolution philologique du russe comparée à celle des autres langues slaves* (1929): "How is going with your book? How about the *Slavische Rundschau*?"<sup>119</sup> (Trubeckoj – Jakobson 1985, 118). In one letter from 11<sup>th</sup> October 1929, he expresses his opinion about the Russian-French Japanologist Sergej Eliseev and the Russian Vsevolod Ivanov: "Turn to Eliseev; they say he is smart. It is better to stay away from Ivanov (Far Eastern studies). By the way, he is *not* a Eurasian"<sup>120</sup> (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 119). Jakobson called on Trubeckoj to write for *Slavische Rundschau*. One month later Trubeckoj declines Jakobson's request to write an article which summarises the developments of Slavic Studies in Russia: "Regarding the article on new tendencies in Russian Slavic studies (for *Rundschau*'s issue of September), I cannot write a review either. I believe you can write better than me" (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 122).<sup>121</sup> Despite Jakobson's attempts, Trubeckoj never published for the journal.

*Slavische Rundschau*'s archive stored in LA PNP contains correspondence and editorial materials revealing unknown aspects of Jakobson's involvement with the journal. First, he was also responsible for compiling bibliographies and writing short obituaries. Although his production of articles and reviews is evident and already traced (each of Jakobson's writing is registered in Rudy's bibliography and reprinted in the *Selected Writings*), it is possible to identify his contribution to bibliographies and obituaries only thanks to these archival materials. Second, through the preserved correspondences, it is possible to reconstruct Jakobson's relationships with scholars abroad, particularly linguists and philologists.<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> "Как подвигается Ваша книга? Как *Slavische Rundschau*?"

<sup>120</sup> As reported by Jakobson in the footnotes of the same page: "RJ looked for an article on the Russian influence upon modern Japanese and Chinese culture, to be published in *Slavische Rundschau*, and asked NT whether Elisséeff could be approached on the first and V. N. Ivanov on the second topic. V. N. Ivanov, the author of the quasi-Eurasian historic-philosophical and geopolitical pamphlet *My*, was at the time living in China." (Jakobson 1985, 119) Jakobson's relationship with Eliseev (Elisséef) and Ivanov is attested after the WWII by a significant correspondence kept in Roman Jakobson Papers. See RJP, Box 41, Folder 13 and RJP, Box 42, Folder 30.

<sup>121</sup> As reported by Jakobson in the footnotes of the same page, Trubeckoj "declined the invitation to write an article on the new tendencies in Russian Slavic studies for the issue of *Slavische Rundschau* dedicated to the First Congress of Slavic Philologists" (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 122).

<sup>122</sup> The rich archival collection of *Slavische Rundschau* represents an exception. During my research I have tried to find archival collections related to periodicals, but without success. Concerning *Prager Presse*, something is believed to be kept in Moscow at GRAF, but due to the current geopolitical situation I could not go to Russia.

## *Plán*

*Plán* was a periodical published by Josef Hora<sup>123</sup> between 1929 and 1932. Jakobson published two articles on poetry in 1929 and 1930. Jakobson and Hora had a good relationship during the interwar years. As I will show in the following chapter (§ 2.4), Hora translated from Russian and was involved in Jakobson and Alfred Bem's project about Puškin, *Vybrané spisy A. S. Puškina* [*A. S. Puškin's Selected Writings*]: Jakobson edited Hora's translation of *Evgenij Onegin* [*Eugene Onegin*] (Puškin 1937b).

Like *Kritika* and *Čin*, *Plán* published both articles and belletrist poetry, short stories, and excerpts of novels. Among its authors were members of the Czech avant-garde such as Konstantin Biebl and Jaroslav Seifert. Neumann and Vladislav Vančura also published in *Plán*. Translations from other languages were published, and the presence of Russian literature was relevant. In 1929-1930, Bohumil Mathesius translated Velimir Chlebnikov's poem *Vozzvanie predsedatelej zemnogo šara* [*Proclamation of the Chairmen of the Globe*] and Pasternak's *God 1905* [*The Year 1905*], and Josef Hora translated the tale *Otec* [*The Father*] by Isaac Babel. The second section contained articles published in Czech (authors included Václav Černý, Otokar Fischer, Jan Mukařovský) and translations of articles published abroad. Bohumil Mathesius translated Viktor Šklovskij's "Stroenie rasskaza i romana" ["The Structure of the Tale and the Novel] and Jurij Tynjanov's "O Chlebnikove" ["About Chlebnikov"], originally published in *Archaisty i novatory* in 1929. Josef Hora translated an excerpt by Boris Pil'njak titled "Felčari i Akademikové" ["Fellows and Academics"].<sup>124</sup> In 1932, the journal published a eulogy to Majakovskij and Lubomír Linhart's translation of Vsevolod Pudovnik's "Montážní a technická komposice scény filmu" ["Editing and Technical Compositing of the Film Scene"].

## *Central'naja Evropa*

*Central'naja Evropa* was a weekly journal directed by Jaroslav Papoušek and published by Orbis.<sup>125</sup> A former Czech Legionnaire, after his wartime mission to Russia where he had met his wife Nadežda, Papoušek had returned to Czechoslovakia where he had taken up

---

<sup>123</sup> Josef Hora (1891-1945) was a Czech poet, literary critic and translator. During the interwar period he intensively collaborated with Jakobson. I will discuss Hora's relationship with Jakobson in § 2.4.

<sup>124</sup> The reception of Boris Pil'njak's novel *Golj god* [*The Naked Year*] in Czechoslovakia began with the first translation by Vladimír Vendyš. In 1990, Jan Zábřana's version was published. Vendyš's translation had a second edition in 1970, but the title was changed from *Nahý rok* to *Holý rok*. In his later translation, Zábřana kept the first title.

<sup>125</sup> For more on Jaroslav Papoušek (1890-1945) see Frisov (1998), Dejmek (2013) and the bachelor's thesis by Radka Rubilina (2000).

diplomatic posts. Very close to President Masaryk, Papoušek had forged important links with Russian scholars of the time, including Jakobson who encountered him when he was still affiliated with the mission of the *Sovetskij krasnyj krest* (Steiner 2019).

In the editorial to the first issue, appeared on 26<sup>th</sup> March 1927, Papoušek introduced the journal and its aims. After the WWI Europe changed its shape and the national movements favoured the foundation of new countries, such as Czechoslovakia. had already made great progress in building both cultural and economic dialogue. Much remained to be done, according to Papoušek. In envisioning a “new” Europe, *Central'naja Evropa* aimed to inform about the economic and social development of these countries, while giving less space to the political sphere:

This gave us the idea of founding a journal that would undertake at least part of this task and would accelerate the process of mutual rapprochement by providing systematic and objective information on the state, cultural and economic life of the individual states of Central Europe.<sup>126</sup> (Papoušek 1927, 1)

The newspaper focused on Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Romania. There were two sections within the newspaper: the cultural section, in which essays, reviews and information about exhibitions and initiatives appeared, and the economic section. Authors published in the cultural section included Melniková-Papoušková or, to a much larger extent than Jakobson, Bogatyrev. Jakobson's activity in *Central'naja Evropa* was not so substantial: he published four articles between 1930 and 1931.<sup>127</sup>

### *Literární noviny*

Founded in 1927, *Literární noviny* was a monthly journal related to culture and politics, run by Josef Hora and Bohumil Mathesius.<sup>128</sup> In the introduction to the first issue, Bohumil Mathesius addressed directly to the readers:

---

<sup>126</sup> “Это подало нам мысль основать журнал, который взял бы на себя хотя бы часть этой задачи и путем систематического и объективного информирования о государственной, культурной и экономической жизни отдельных государств центральной Европы ускорил бы процесс взаимного сближения.”

<sup>127</sup> Jakobson's relationship with a political figure such as Papoušek is significant, and Papoušek's role within the Czechoslovak cultural context still awaits a proper analysis which cannot be conducted in this thesis.

<sup>128</sup> Bohumil Mathesius (1888-1952) was a Czech journalist and translator, mainly from Russian. In 1945 he became professor of Russian literature at Charles University. He was Vilém Mathesius' cousin. Between 1926 and 1927 he was the editor of *Tvorba* together with Šalda and Julius Fučík.

We do not care about publisher's cliques and tricks, do not worry that we will lead you wrong on this one. But first we want to know who you are, who we are talking to. [...] Do not be afraid of us, we are not afraid of you either. We are not a review, we are a journal. We bring you everything we think is important about the book, the books and those who wrote them.<sup>129</sup> (Mathesius 1927, 1)

The aim of the journal was to organise and promote Czech literature, paying particular attention to contemporary one. It published, for example, writings by members of the Devětsil like Biebl or Nezval and by writers from older generations, like Neumann or Jan Neruda. Among those who wrote literary criticism, Weil played a pivotal role. Jakobson's was not a frequent figure collaborator with the journal, publishing just twice in 1931.

### *Listy pro umění a kritiku*

*Listy pro umění a kritiku* appeared between 1933 and 1937. The initial editor-in-chief was Bedřich Fučík,<sup>130</sup> who was replaced in 1935 by Vilém Závada.<sup>131</sup> The aim of the journal was to reflect the literary spirit of the 1930s. Although the journal had no fixed editorial board, some regular contributors can be identified, such as Hora, Mukařovský, René Wellek or Neumann. Figures from the avant-garde also published in the periodical, such as Jaroslav Seifert, Vladislav Vančura or Jindřich Štyrský. Jakobson published three times in the journal. In 1933 his article “Úpadek filmu?” [“The Decline of Cinema?”] (Jakobson 1981, 732-739) appeared; in 1934 “Perpetuum mobile kyvadla: Pokus o montáž” [“The Perpetuum Mobile of a Pendulum: Attempt at a Montage”] (Jakobson 2014, 26-34). Both publications are connected to the film context. In 1936, he republished “Na okraj lyrických básní Puškinových” [“Marginal Notes on Puškin's Lyrical Poetry”] (Jakobson 1979, 281-286), which had appeared for the first time in the first volume of *Vybrané spisy A. S. Puškina*, the editorial project redacted by Jakobson and Bem.<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>129</sup> “Není nám nic po nakladatelských klikách a kličkách, neboj se, že tě v tomhle spatně povedeme. Ale napřed chceme vědět, kdo jsi ty, s kým mluvíme. [...] Neboj se nás, my se tě také nebojíme. My nejsme revue, my jsme noviny. Přineseme všechno, o čem myslíme, že je důležité o knize, knihách a těch, kdo je napsali.”

<sup>130</sup> Bedřich Fučík (1900-1984) was a Czech journalist and translator. During the Normalisation he became known for his translations from German.

<sup>131</sup> Vilém Závada (1905-1982) was a Czech poet, journalist, and translator. Beside *Listy pro umění a kritiku*, his activity in *Rozpravy Aventina* is of note.

<sup>132</sup> I will explain this editorial project in the § 2.4.

## *Volné směry*

In 1934, Jakobson published the article “Co je poesie?” [“What is poetry?”] (Jakobson 1996, 23-33), which initially was a lecture that he delivered during a meeting of the Spolek výtvarných umělců Mánes (Mánes Society of Visual Artists). The journal was edited and published by the members of this society and, unlike the periodicals analysed so far, literature was not its main topic. On the contrary, *Volné směry* mainly focused on the visual arts. It devoted articles to Czech and foreign artists, new trends in contemporary art, and archaeological discoveries. The periodical’s iconographic apparatus was surprising; there are numerous reproductions of works from the period. There was also room for critical writings like Jakobson’s one.

## *Psychologie – časopis pro teoretickou a užitou psychologii*

Jakobson published only once in the journal *Psychologie – časopis pro teoretickou a užitou psychologii*, which appeared in Brno between 1935 and 1943. It was the journal related to Brno’s Institute of Psychology, founded in 1926.<sup>133</sup> In 1936 Jakobson published in it the obituary for Gregorij Čelpanov (Jakobson 2014, 188-189).<sup>134</sup> It is the only writing published by Jakobson in this periodical and it is the only evidence of him being openly interested in psychology during the interwar years.

## *Lidové noviny*

*Lidové noviny* is a Czech newspaper whose history is marked by great changes throughout the twentieth century.<sup>135</sup> There is a profound difference between the *Lidové noviny* published nowadays (the newspaper is still active and has an online version) and the *Lidové noviny* published in the interwar years. The WWII marked a significant change in the ideology and structure of the newspaper. Therefore, I intend to briefly summarise the salient moments of the newspaper’s development from its foundation to the end of the 1930s. This first phase was marked by continuous evolutions due to changes in its masthead, and these changes reflected the dynamism of Czech society in the interwar years. *Lidové noviny* was founded in 1893 in Brno by Adolf Stránský (1855-1931). The first issue appeared on 16<sup>th</sup> of December.

---

<sup>133</sup> For an historiography of Czechoslovakian psychology, see Hoskovcová – Hoskovec (2000).

<sup>134</sup> Concerning Čelpanov, see at least Bogdančikov (2013). The study Zalambani (2022) offers a wide overview of the development of Russian psychology in the first part of the twentieth century with a rich bibliography.

<sup>135</sup> Concerning *Lidové noviny*, see Pernes (1993) and Zidek (2014).

At the time, Brno was more provincial than Prague and more intensely affected by its proximity to Vienna. Moreover, from a political and ideological point of view, the region was much more conservative and not very inclined to some forms of radicalism. Stránský was a Czech journalist of Jewish origin. After studying law in Prague, he moved to Brno in 1880. He began working as a journalist as a student with *Národní listy*, then in Brno he was editor of the *Moravské listy* between 1889 and 1893. This first activity gave him the skills to found and direct *Lidové noviny*. In 1908, he ceded his position of editor-in-chief to Arnošt Heinrich (1880-1933). Heinrich was originally from Prague and was educated among the new political and cultural trends of the late nineteenth century. During his university years, he established meaningful relationships, such as those with Antonín Veselý and Neumann. Moreover, during his youth, he became close to Masaryk. Heinrich's early attraction to Masarykian ideas and writings developed later into a direct personal relationship with the president. Heinrich was editor of the newspaper until his death in 1933. Eduard Bass (1888-1946) replaced him and remained in office until 1938. In these years Jakobson became an active contributor to *Lidové noviny*. Bass began collaborating with *Lidové noviny* in 1915 at Heinrich's behest and, from 1920, became one of the newspaper's most prominent contributors. Heinrich and Bass were more than collaborators, forging a deep bond of friendship. Fundamental was Bass' closeness to the Brothers Čapek, who in *Lidové noviny* published both articles of literary criticism and short stories or *feuilleton*. Jiří Pernes said of Bass:

Thus, at the beginning of the 1930s, under the prudent leadership of Eduard Bass, who took Heinrich's orphaned place, *Lidové noviny* changed its face again. Thanks to the new young people who sat at the editorial desks, it was transformed from a good newspaper into an even improved and modern one. Moreover, it became an inseparable part of everyday Czechoslovak reality and one of the symbols of Czechoslovak democracy.<sup>136</sup> (Pernes 1993, 86)

Pernes emphasised a modernisation of the newspaper and the presence of "young people" in the editorial board. Indeed, a significant generational change occurred within *Lidové noviny* in the 1930s. Many collaborators associated with Heinrich quit the newspaper after his death, while younger journalists such as Ferdinand Peroutka (1895-1978) or Hubert Ripka (1895-1958) joined it. Peroutka was a prominent Czech journalist during the interwar years. From a

---

<sup>136</sup> "*Lidové noviny* tak počátkem třicátých let pod rozvážným vedením Eduarda Basse, jenž nastoupil na osiřelé Heinrichovo místo, měnily opět svoji tvář. Díky novým mladým lidem, kteří usedali k redakčním stolům, se přetvářely z novin dobrých v noviny ještě lepší a v noviny moderní. A co víc - staly se neodmyslitelnou součástí každodenní československé reality a jedním ze symbolů československé demokracie."

political point of view, he was close to Masaryk and openly critical of fascism and communism. During his activity in *Lidové noviny*, he commented on political topics, often taking a very polemical stance. During the period when Bass was an editor, *Lidové noviny* took an increasingly political stance in defence of democracy and its values, openly assuming an anti-fascist tendency. Fundamental to Peroutka was his editorial experience in *Tribuna* (1919-1924) and, later, the foundation and direction of *Přítomnost* in 1924, of which he was editor-in-chief until 1938.<sup>137</sup> Concerning Ripka, he was also a close collaborator of *Národní osvobození*, where he contributed as an international editor. In the 1930s, prominent figures in Czech circles mentioned before collaborated with *Lidové noviny* and many of these were in Prague. Some notable names are Majerová, Neumann, and Fischer. Furthermore, Arne Novák was active in the newspaper. After moving to Brno to become a professor at the Masaryk University, he began his activity in *Lidové noviny* by writing articles mainly related to the cultural and literary field. From the first issue, the newspaper aimed to publish articles on politics, economics, culture, and literature. Furthermore, there was also a section of literary works, and a very successful genre was serials.

Jakobson appeared for the first time in *Lidové noviny* on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1920. Melniková-Papoušková interviewed him, asking about the current state of culture in Russia (see § 2.5.1). Jakobson's activity in *Lidové noviny* officially began in 1935 and continued throughout his last few years in Czechoslovakia. Besides *Slovo a slovesnost*, it is the Czech periodical with which he collaborated the most. As in the case of the German language newspaper *Prager Presse*, Jakobson also published writings of different genres in *Lidové noviny*: articles, obituaries, reviews, reportages, and a report.

### *Slovo a slovesnost*

*Slovo a slovesnost* was founded in 1935 as the journal associated with the PLK. The archival documents of the Circle reveal that the idea of this periodical was conceived by Jakobson, who introduced the proposal to the other members during a meeting held on 28<sup>th</sup> May 1934 (Čermák – Poeta – Čermák 2012, 37). As emphasised by Josef Vachek (1965) this scientific journal only began to be published when the PLK had achieved recognition in Czechoslovakia and abroad: by 1935 it already counted nine years of activity and research. The publication of the journal was undertaken by the prestigious publishing house Melantrich,

---

<sup>137</sup> In *Přítomnost* published writers or journalists such as the Brothers Čapek, Paul Eisner, Eduard Kisch or Eduard Bass.

which stood as one of the preeminent publishing houses during the interwar years. This publishing house was known for its multifaceted literary endeavours, encompassing the production of books and periodicals spanning various genres, including political and scientific.

There are several stages in the journal's evolution, as delineated by Petr Kaderka (2017). The initial phase of Jakobson's involvement, from 1935 to 1943, is pivotal. *Slovo a slovesnost* transformed after the WWII, as many members of the PLK left the Circle, including Jakobson: following a brief sojourn in Scandinavia, he emigrated to the United States in response to the Nazi invasion. Nevertheless, *Slovo a slovesnost* remained essential to the PLK's members and its activity continues to date. It continues to publish retrospective articles relevant to this thesis, such as “‘Balancovat v nepředstavitelných situacích’: poznámky k českým létům Romana Jakobsona” [“‘Balancing in Unimaginable Situations’: Notes on Roman Jakobson's Czech Years”] by Toman.<sup>138</sup>

Jakobson was a founding member of *Slovo a slovesnost*, and actively participated in meetings to decide on its editorial direction and its organisation. On 27<sup>th</sup> January 1936, Eisner and Mágr were invited by the PLK to discuss *Slovo a slovesnost*'s first year of activity. During their speech, they suggested some changes to the editorial program (Čermák – Poeta – Čermák 2012, 186-192). Many of PLK's members, including Jakobson, participated in the debate. Leopold Silberstein,<sup>139</sup> who actively followed the Circle's initiatives, wrote a report on this meeting. The article appeared on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1936 in *Prager Presse* (in the section “Kulturchronik”) under the title “Bilanz einer Zeitschrift” [“Retrospect of a Journal”]. Silberstein retraced the salient points of the discussion:

[Jakobson] advocated auto-criticism: the analysis of the colloquial language, the stage language, the dialect, the lecture style, the minority languages of the republic, but especially the Slovak form of the state language remained severe obligations for the future, others (the language of science, of the newspaper) would soon begin to be redeemed.<sup>140</sup> (Silberstein 1936, 6)

---

<sup>138</sup> Notice that Sládek and Kaderka are currently curating a new issue of *Slovo a slovesnost* titled “Czech Structuralism revisited”, which is planned to be published in 2024.

<sup>139</sup> Concerning Silberstein, see Ehlers (2015) and Konrad (2015).

<sup>140</sup> “Die Autokritik vertrat Roman Jakobson: die Analyse der Umgangs-, der Bühnensprache, des Dialekts, des Vortragsstils, der Minderheitssprachen der Republik, insbesondere aber der slowakischen Form der Staatssprache blieben ernste Verpflichtungen für die Zukunft, andere (Sprache der Wissenschaft, der Zeitung) werde man demnächst einzulösen beginnen.”

Before analysing Jakobson's activity in *Slovo a slovesnost*, it is necessary to clarify who collaborated with the journal and which contents were published. In the periodical, writings were written by members of the PLK and individuals who were not. For example, in the first issue of *Slovo a slovesnost*, an article by Karel Čapek<sup>141</sup> entitled "Kdybych byl linguistou" ["If I Was a Linguist"] (Čapek 1935) appeared and in the journal published many scholars who were guests of the PLK and lectured, such as Louis Hjelmslev. Reflecting the interests of the Circle, the articles appeared in *Slovo a slovesnost* were mainly related to linguistics or literature and its issues often promoted polemics. *Slovo a slovesnost* published many scholars close to Jakobson, such as Bogatyrev, Čyževs'kyj, and Trubeckoj. Trubeckoj wrote a significant letter, on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1935, in which he spoke to Jakobson's crisis in research:

You write that you have no new scientific ideas, are exhausted, and need a "change of subject". And under this pretext, you withdraw into the interests of the *Slovo a slovesnost*, into journalism, into dialogue with the bohème of Czech literates, into the struggle of Czech groups and other nonsense. And I think that's what prevents you from creating scientifically. I don't believe in your scientific fruitlessness. I guess that *mutatis mutandis*, you are going through the same thing as I am: transition from a too-long mental youth to mental maturity. Maturity is not yet old age and does not mark infertility. [...] If you go into Czech journalism under the pretext of stopping your scientific work, you will soon become impoverished, degenerate and morally degraded.<sup>142</sup> (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 313-314)

Trubeckoj harshly criticised Jakobson's engagement in *Slovo a slovesnost* and, generally, in the Czech press. Moreover, he also despised Jakobson's involvement with the avant-garde group Devětsil. In his Trubeckoj's conception of scientific work, a scholar had to be alienated from everything that was outside the purely academic context. Jakobson had held a different opinion since his early years in Moscow. Whereas Trubeckoj represented the scholar closed within his Viennese "ivory tower," Jakobson was instead an active participant in the cultural

---

<sup>141</sup> About Čapek and the PLK, see Toman (1992).

<sup>142</sup> "Вы пишете что у Вас нет новых научных мыслей, что Вы иссякли, что Вам необходима "измена теме". И под этом предлогом Вы уходите в интересы *Слова а словесности*, в журналистику, в общение с богемой чешских литераторов, в борьбу чешских группировок и прочую ерунду. А я думаю, что именно это Вам и мешает научно творить. В Вашу научную бесплодность я не верю. Полагаю, что *mutatis mutandis* у Вас происходит тоже самое, что у меня: переход от чересчур затянувшейся умственной молодости к умственной зрелости. Зрелость не есть еще старость и не знаменует собой бесплодия. [...] Если Вы под предлогом прекращения Вашего научного творчества уйдете в чешскую журналистику, то очень скоро действительно обездаритесь, опуститесь и морально разложитесь."

and artistic milieu. Trubeckoj also refused to actively participate in the activities of journals published in Czechoslovakia, such as *Slavische Rundschau*. Frequently recurring in the letters are Trubeckoj's negative comments, who did not spare his judgement, such as his very incisive commentary on the issue of *Slavia* dedicated to Puškin published 1937: "*Slavia's* issue on Puškin: such a horror!"<sup>143</sup> (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 401). In a letter sent on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1915, Trubeckoj underscored his disagreement with Jakobson's activity in *Slovo a slovesnost*, complaining about Jakobson's lack of answers in the last two months and states: "As you will recall, I feared from the beginning that the new magazine would drag you down, and I did not believe you would be able to resist taking a leadership role in the editorial board"<sup>144</sup> (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 320). In the letter from 14<sup>th</sup> March 1935, Trubeckoj commented on the first issue of the journal, which he read with the help of Julia Heidenreich (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 326-328). In his view, it was far from being excellent scientific writing. Trubeckoj claimed it contained nothing interesting and decried an absence of valuable articles, save for Jakobson and Mukařovský's. He deemed Jindřich Honzl's article interesting but without a clear purpose and Jan Uher's as just trivial. He harshly criticised Šalda's article, stating that he was not able to write any linguistics-related writings. According to Trubeckoj, the articles published in its first issue lacked strength. Despite this initial negative comment, he fruitfully collaborated with *Slovo a slovesnost* from the journal's second issue in 1935.<sup>145</sup>

In conclusion, regarding Jakobson's activity in *Slovo a slovesnost*, in necessary a preliminary consideration. Unlike Toman's assumption in the second part of the ninth volume of the *Selected Writings*, I do not consider Jakobson to be author of "Geopolitická lingvistiska?" ["Geopolitical Linguistics?"] (Jakobson 2014, 81-82). The writing is signed "Kžk." but I do not assume it is the abbreviation of "Kroužek" (Circle) since when a collective paper was published, the abbreviation "rd." for "Redakce" (Editorial board) occurs, but instead I suggest that the author is Karel Kožešník, as reported in *Slovo a slovesnost*.<sup>146</sup>

After this long excursus dedicated to Jakobson's activity in the Czech press, in the next chapter I intend to delve my analysis into the main genres he employed, showing the characteristics of his journalistic style.

---

<sup>143</sup> "Пушкинский номер Славии – одна жуть!" Trubeckoj wrote this statement in a letter sent on 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1937 (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 401).

<sup>144</sup> "Как Вы помните, я с самого начала опасался что новый журнал Вас затянет, и не верил, чтобы Вам удалось отбояриться от руководящей роли в редакции."

<sup>145</sup> Trubeckoj published "Písmo" ["Writing"] in the section "Kronika", see Trubeckoj (1935).

<sup>146</sup> See <<http://sas.ujc.cas.cz/archiv.php?art=69>>.



## Chapter 2. Roman Jakobson's activity in the Press: genres, style, and language

This second chapter aims to analyse a selection of Jakobson's writings published in the Czech press. This selection was necessary since I do not intend to depict Jakobson's whole period in Czechoslovakia but to propose a new key of interpretation and delineate the main characteristics of his activity with the press. While preparing my selection I have decided to exclude those writings with which scholars have already intensively dealt, such as those related to linguistics. I have excluded scientific articles published in *Slovo a slovesnost* (with the only exception of that related to Puškin, to which I will refer in the third chapter), studies related to linguistics, as those appeared in *Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague*, and proceedings published in volumes.

Among the writings that have been omitted from the analysis of this dissertation are those that fall within Jakobsonian dedication to south Slavic and Medieval studies. Initially I previewed to dedicate an entire section to Medieval studies, but while studying these writings I have decided that Jakobson's involvement in Medieval studies should be discussed separately. This does not imply that I will not consider these writings, but I will refer to them only as secondary sources. I will rather discuss Jakobson's involvement in Medieval studies while referring to his courses in Brno dedicated to Czech Medieval poetry in the third chapter (§ 3.1).

As I have already stated in the first chapter, Jakobson activity in Czechoslovakia cannot be conceived as isolated from the Russian period and the American one. For this reason, while diving into Jakobson's writings published in Czechoslovakia. I have included materials related to the American phase of his work, such as in the case of Jakobson's polemic with André Mazon on the authenticity of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*.

To encompass Jakobson's activity in the press, this chapter is divided into subchapters, each one corresponding to one genre he employed: obituary, ideological writings, reports, translations, reviews, and polemics. Each subchapter will present some case studies selected according to a "localistic" approach, emphasising pivotal questions which still need a further discussion.

### *Preliminary remarks*

As discussed in the first chapter, during the interwar period the Czech press intensively developed, both quantitatively and qualitatively. First, it is possible to detach an intense proliferation of new periodicals, both newspapers and journals. Second, the press evolved also stylistically. Periodicals appeared more sharply organised, clearly structured into specific columns (such as politics, economics, culture, and sport), and the writings were shaped differently, being more succinct and synthetic. This new style was less rambling or pretentious, permitting the authors to have a straightforward and direct communication with the reader.

When Jakobson came to Czechoslovakia he had to find his own path in the Czech cultural and academic context. As I have already emphasised in the previous chapter, if the encounter with poets was successful, in that with the academy many problems arose and he had to face the hostility of other Czech scholars, especially from those involved at Charles University. As I will show in this chapter (§ 2.6.1), when Jakobson attempted to discuss his concerns about the theories of Czech prosody, he got quickly dismissed and discredited. At the beginning of the 1920s, the young Jakobson was far from being the famous and respected philologist he became later. On the contrary, he was struggling to find an academic position and establish his own voice in this new and hostile milieu. Since initially it was not possible in the academy, he found a favorable and alternative solution in the press.

The Czech journalistic context of the interwar period was not an isolated system, but its interactions with other social spheres were a pivotal and distinctive trait. On one hand, in the interwar period the roles played by the figures involved in journalism became more and more specialised, such as in the case of the editor Arne Laurin. On the other hand, since the nineteenth century the Czech press was characterised by a hybrid nuance, i.e., people involved in journalism came from different contexts. A journalist could be a scholar or a poet because the demarcation between the academic, the poetic and the journalistic sphere was dismantled. According to Wellek, the most significant phase of this collaboration between criticism and scientific research was represented by interwar Czechoslovakia (Wellek 1991). An iconic example is of course that of Šalda, who cannot be pigeonholed in a fixed category. Other two examples are those of Eisner or Mágr, both involved in journalism and, at the same time, acquainted with scientific research, even if they were not members of any academic institution. During the period spent in Czechoslovakia, Jakobson embodied this hybrid position between journalism and academy. That is specific trait of this period: neither during the previous

Russian phase nor during the following American one Jakobson never embraced such a “hybrid” role. During the period in Czechoslovakia, Jakobson stood at the meeting point of three spheres: the journalistic literary criticism, the artistic-poetic circles of the avant-garde, and the academic institutions.

The press can be considered a proper tribune where the representative personalities of that time could find a place for openly discuss both political and cultural questions. Concerning culture, it is of note that literary criticism was not just developed in specialised journals, such as *Slavia*, but also in newspapers, as in *Prager Presse*'s column “Kultur der Gegenwart”. It was not only Czech culture that was discussed in the journalistic discourse but, as I have already emphasised several times, there was a lively interest in international culture. It was in the periodicals that translations, articles, and news related to the international literary and scholarly production appeared. Jakobson jumped at the chance to exploit this dynamic space with two aims, namely, to fit into the Czech context and to participate in the debates as a representative of Russian culture.

It is therefore no coincidence that at the beginning of the 1920s in the Czech press Jakobson did not employ the genre of the article, but the obituary and the review. These genres offered the possibility of establishing a dialogue: in the first case to maintain a reference to the original context (the Russian one) and, in the second, to enter to a new debate. Browsing Jakobson's body of journalistic writings it is of notice that the publication of obituaries and reviews is more remarkable in the first phase of his activity (1920-1929), while in the second one it tends to be less intense. This change can be interpreted as an effect of the evolution of his position in the Czech context.

Regarding obituaries, as I will show in the following portion of the chapter (§ 2.1), Jakobson often betrays the typical form of the genre. Instead of describing the life and activity of the figure to whom the obituary is dedicated, he often proposes broader discourses that embrace more general questions.

Concerning reviews, Jakobson used to write about writings mainly related to Russian studies and his critical take was usually preponderant than the descriptive approach.

Concluding these preliminary considerations, it is necessary to reflect on another genre that presents some remarkable specificities in the Czech context, namely the polemic.<sup>147</sup> The polemic is a genre that, establishing a dialogue between two positions, can lead to two outcomes, namely a constructive confrontation or a misunderstanding. The most important characteristic of this genre is its dynamism, i.e., the fact that the polemic is more stylistically varied than other genres, such as those mentioned above, the obituary or the review. In the Czech press of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the polemic played a predominant role and was connected to a militant attitude. The importance of the concept of *boj*, fight, in the Jakobsonian semantics derives precisely from its involvement in the genre of the polemic. This lexicon that emerged from the military sphere was employed by many other prominent Czech figures, among whom Šalda<sup>148</sup> stands out. For example, relevant is his book *Boje o zítřek: meditace a rapsodie* [Fighting for Tomorrow: Meditation and Rhapsody], published in 1905 or the series of the *Šaldův zápisník* [Šalda's notebooks], appeared between 1928 and 1937. Besides Šalda, Karel Čapek<sup>149</sup> or Tomáš Masaryk<sup>150</sup> can be mentioned.

The reference to the militarist lexicon emerges both in Jakobson's writings and correspondence. In an article published in *Cahiers du monde russe* in 2002, Aleksander Dmitriev notices a relevant feature of Jakobson and Trubeckoj's correspondence: the tendency of employing a military vocabulary, emphasising the necessity of self-organising against the obsolete epigons of the traditional science.<sup>151</sup> Such a semantic spectrum returns later in Jakobson and Georgij Vernadskij's correspondence.<sup>152</sup> For example, in a letter dated the 14<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>147</sup> The bibliography dealing with the description of this genre in the Czech context is, of course, extensive. Among the latest relevant works devoted to this topic is Luboš Merhaut's monograph *Cesty polemiky* [Polemical Paths] (2021). See also Brabec (2001), Cosentino (2000), Homoláč (1998), Med (1998), Vojtěch (2008).

<sup>148</sup> Concerning Šalda and the polemic, see Bednaříková (2007), Černý (1940b), Králík (1947), Kraus (1998), Pistorius (1947), Rambousek (2007), Špirit (2000), Topor (2006), Vojtěch (1998).

<sup>149</sup> See Buriánek (1995) and Malevič (2009).

<sup>150</sup> See Kraus (1994).

<sup>151</sup> "Dans la correspondance de Jakobson et de Trubeckoj, l'offensive contre la science traditionnelle et l'affirmation des principes de la phonologie étaient planifiées comme une opération militaire. On trouve constamment des expressions comme 's'organiser', 'mener une préparation' (*provesti podgotovku*), 'les laisser s'exprimer, et ensuite leur coller une bonne dégelée' (*vmazat' kak sleduet*) dans ce document passionnant de la vie intellectuelle des années 20 et 30 ; elles visent, en règle générale, des personnes bien précises." (Dmitriev 2002, 436).

<sup>152</sup> Their correspondence is limited to the period between 1946 and 1969, there are not any exemplars of letters sent in the interwar period. During the period of their correspondences, Vernadskij was at Yale, while Jakobson was firstly at Columbia and later moved to Harvard. The topics mainly regard their scientific activity, the scholars used to inform each other about their mutual research and publication or asking for advice. Both Vernadskij and Jakobson has consolidated and prestigious positions in the American academy, following the example of their older collaborators, Michail Rastovcev and Michael Karpovič. This correspondence between Jakobson and Vernadskij presents many characteristics in common with the one between Jakobson and Trubeckoj, such as the contents: discussions of linguistic nature, comments about their research, or even the tendency of sharing information about common acquaintances.

of June 1946 Jakobson emphasises the necessity of publishing reviews of *La geste* with the following expression: “There is only one method of fight [*boj!*]: good and numerous reviews.”<sup>153</sup> In other letters he refers to the scholars who supported the French André Mazon as the “opposition” and talks about the difficulty of “mobilising” the reviewers. It is probably in the letter sent on 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1948 that Jakobson’s combative spirit emerges at its full potential: “Various types of fights against us for Mazon’s thesis are a characteristic manifestation of a widespread campaign for a denial of the Russian cultural past. We will see many surprises, and we must be very vigilant, it is not an exaggeration.”<sup>154</sup>

In 1913 Otokar Fischer published in *Národní listy* “O polemikách” [“About polemics”], republished in 1947 in the collection *Slovo o kritice*. In the introduction Fischer described how preponderant polemic was in the Czech press of the 1910s:

In musical life, in science and in painting, not to mention the turbulent world of politics, the theatre, literature, everywhere a struggle, as much about things as about individualities, as much a dispute of principle as of personality; indeed, controversy has so absorbed us in flesh and blood that those who do not for the moment take an active part in the dispute follow its course as tensely as possible.<sup>155</sup> (Fischer 1913, 1)

Fischer was deeply critical of Czech polemic, stating that he pitied anyone for whom polemic represented a goal and not a premise. He proposed a different approach, based on the idea that as criticism, also polemic should be productive. According to Fischer, polemic should be conceived to be “a movement and a force to be a weapon and a joy of the spirit, to be productive”<sup>156</sup> (Fischer 1913, 1). He therefore criticised the fact that, among journalists or scholars, polemic was associated with a purely deconstructive intent and did not aim to build a dialogue that could be, on the contrary, productive.

Jakobson’s polemical writings addressed to Fischer’s idea and, as I will show in this chapter, were not just mere deconstructions, but aimed to reanimate a specific dialogue. For example, in his polemic against Josef Král’s theory of prosody Jakobson emphasised the

---

<sup>153</sup> RJP, Box 46, Folder 53.

<sup>154</sup> RJP, Box 46, Folder 53. For a contextualization of the relationship between Mazon and Jakobson, see § 2.6.2.

<sup>155</sup> “V hudebním životě, ve vědě a v malířství, nehledě ani k pohnutému světu politiky, divadla, literatury, všude boj, stejně o věci jak o individuality, stejně spor zásadní jako osobní; ba polemika se nám do té míry vžila o vsála v maso a krev, že kdož se pro okamžik sporu neúčastní činně, sledují jeho průběh co nejnapjatěji.”

<sup>156</sup> “Býti pohybem a silou, býti zbraní a radostí ducha, býti produktivním.”

necessity of discussing this question among Czech scholars. Differently from the other genres experienced by the young Jakobson, the polemic is a constant in his activity in the press before and after WWII. Within the portion of the chapter in which I will discuss the genre of polemic (§ 2.6) in Jakobson, I had to select some cases studies to be analysed, choosing three that could show how diverse the spectrum of Jakobsonian interests was in the interwar period.

## 2.1 Jakobson's obituaries

In this portion of chapter I will present a selection of the most relevant of Jakobson's obituaries, especially those dedicated to Russian scholars, and explain their function in his body of work.

Research on obituaries is wide and has significantly developed in recent decades. This genre is mainly read through the lens of cultural memory studies, a twentieth-century theory advanced by scholars including Pierre Nora, Maurice Halbwachs (1992)<sup>157</sup> and Jan Assmann (2011), who build upon Henri Bergson's positivistic idea of memory. In *The Obituary as Collective Memory* (2007) Bridget Fowler analysed obituaries published between the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first with a perspective based on gender and postcolonial studies. Jakobson's obituaries are not directly within the scope of Fowler's monograph but her analysis is nonetheless instructive here. She emphasises that the obituary has a double role: it has a significant cultural function and evaluates the career of a scholar in their domain (Fowler 2007, 8). Fowler provides a classification, identifying four subgenres of the obituary: traditional positive (the most common celebratory ones), negative (in terms of abuse of power or corruption), tragic (those related to heroes), ironic (most employed in the political field) and untraditional yet positive. Fowler's analysis was largely based on that of Pierre Bourdieu, who in the post-script of *Homo Academicus* analysed the academic obituary, considering the social and stylistic characteristics of obituaries aimed to celebrate the life of those he ironically called "old boys" (Bourdieu 1988, 211). Bourdieu's analysis aimed to criticise this kind of academic praxis through its emphasis of the hierarchisation it provoked being "hidden instruments of social classification" (215). Two passages are significant. First, Bourdieu identifies a relationship between the author and the object of his obituary which is not arbitrary, since "in general they share the same origins, discipline and type of career,

---

<sup>157</sup> See Ansart (2014).

roughly defined” (211). Second, Bourdieu analyses a corpus of thirty-four academic obituaries published in the years 1962-1965, marking recurrent expressions (systems of epithets) and structures (such as emphasising moral and intellectual qualities, stressing the most important achievements of a scholar’s career). Both these characteristics are applicable to Jakobson: there is always a correlation between Jakobson and the object of his obituaries (all of them were scholars, mostly of Russian origins or whose activity was related to Russian studies), and they present a regular structure.

Henryk Baran’s article “R. O. Jakobson a žanr nekrologa” [“R. O. Jakobson and the Obituary Genre”] (2016) is significant here. Baran read obituaries written by Jakobson in memory of Russian scholars while he was in Czechoslovakia and, later, America. He noted the recurrence of a dramatic beginning aimed to underline that these Russian scholars died young. I believe that such an introduction was not just dramatic but functional for Jakobson’s audience, which was not Russian: readers knew little about Russian linguistic or philological studies and a more heartfelt introduction was necessary to spark their interest. According to Baran, Jakobson tried to combine information about the academic work of these scholars with biographical information, proving himself to be a narrator who could effectively weave a discourse that connected these two aspects. Associating Jakobson with the idea that biography can be crucial in describing an academic (or literary) work leads to some problems, especially while considering his work during the Czechoslovakian period. As I will elaborate later in this chapter, Jakobson had a profound antipsychologist attitude and refused to consider the biography of authors as a pivotal trait in the analysis of their work. There are two significant passages in Baran’s article with which I agree. First, he echoed Vjačeslav Ivanov’s 1987 analysis of Jakobson’s obituary of Majakovskij as a borderline example of the form, that does not entirely fit into the classical genre of the obituary, but rather considers it an essay about Majakovskij’s work and the legacy of the Futurist generation. Second, Baran posited Jakobson’s involvement in the writing of part of the obituaries in *Slavische Rundschau* (Baran 2016, 9). After analysing the journal’s archive, I can ascertain that Jakobson wrote (at least) one hundred obituaries (see a comprehensive table in the § **Appendix**).

The obituary is one of the genres most frequently employed by Jakobson, especially in the period in which he did not have a fixed status in academia. He began writing obituaries during the interwar years and continued, although less intensively, after he left Czechoslovakia. The last year in which his interest in this genre is evident is 1944, when he wrote obituaries for the Belgian journal *Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, on

to Arne Novák, Evgenij Ljackij, Oldřich Hujer, Miloš Weingart and other scholars active in Czechoslovakia. In the following decades Jakobson wrote only a few obituaries, devoted to scholars he had been close to, such as Bogatyrev, Tynjanov and Brik.

*Jakobson's obituaries in the Czech press: preliminary remarks*

This introduction requires some further considerations. Jakobson wrote both long obituaries and short ones, aiming to give just basic information. He wrote many short obituaries for *Slavische Rundschau*, as preparatory materials preserved in the journal's archive prove. These obituaries are heterogeneous in nature: sometimes only a typescript occurs; sometimes, there is a manuscript; in some cases, there are both. The typewritten versions are all in German and correspond to the final version published in the journal. The language of the manuscript drafts is usually Russian, but German words are also employed, as Jakobson attempts to write them in German or suggest the use of a specific terminology. This allows us to better understand Jakobson's grasp of the German language. This fact is anything but secondary, given his intense activity in the German press and the importance of many of his publications in *Slavische Rundschau* and *Prager Presse*. Considering Jakobson's extensive activity in *Slavische Rundschau* and that the archive documents only cover a few years of his activity in the journal, I believe that Jakobson wrote more of the obituaries published in *Slavische Rundschau*, but no documents can prove his authorship.

One of the most significant examples is the obituary written in memory of Antoine Meillet. The transcription of the Russian manuscript and the German published version follow:

Antoine Meillet, der grosse franz. Sprachforscher, starb in Paris ~~in~~ на 70ом году жизни. Среди многообразных областей, охватываемых durch die bahnbrechende Forschungsarbeit покойного, видное место занимает вопросы славистики, которым на раду с разнообразными статьями in den Fachzeitschriften (Arbeit für slavische Philol.[ologie], Revue des études slaves, Slavia... и др.) и многочисленными рецензиями в Bulletin de la Société de Linguist. [П]освящены книги Recherches sur l'emploi de génitif-accusatif en vieux-slave (1897), Études sur l'étymologie et le vocabulaire de vieux-slave (I – 1902, II – 1905.), Le slave commun (2ое переработанное издание вышло в 1934.) и Handbücher польского (совместно с Willman-Grabowska) и сербохорв.[атского.] языка (совместно с Vaillant). Больше внимание уделяет Meillet славянским языкам также в своих трудах по сравнительному языковедению в обзорах der heutigen Sprachwelt.

Hervorragend заслуг Meillet по созданию и развитию руководству ин Institut des études slaves и его публикационной деятельности. (Месту Meillet в славистике будет посвящена в следующем номере журнала особая статья)[.]<sup>158</sup>

Antoine Meillet, der große französische Sprachforscher, starb in Paris im 70. Lebensjahre. Unter den mannigfaltigen Gebieten, auf die sich die bahnbrechende Forschungsarbeit des Verstorbenen erstreckt, nehmen einen angesehenen Platz Fragen der Slavistik ein, denen er neben zahlreichen Aufsätzen in Fachzeitschriften (*Archiv für slavische Philologie*, *Revue des études slaves*, *Slavia*) und Rezensionen in *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique* die Bücher *Recherches due l'emploi du génitif-accusatif en vieux-slave* (1897), *Études sur l'étymologie et le vocabulaire de vieux-slave* (I. B. 1902, II. B. 1905), *Le slave commun* (2. Umgearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage 1934) sowie die Handbücher der polnischen (gemeinsam mit Willman-Grabowska) und der serbokroatischen Sprache (gemeinsam mit Vaillant) widmete. Viel Aufmerksamkeit widmet Meillet den slavischen Sprachen ebenfalls in seinen Arbeiten zur vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft und in den Übersichten der heutigen Sprachwelt. Hervorragend sind die Verdienste Meillet's an der Schaffung und Leitung des Institut d'études slaves und an dessen Publikationstätigkeit.<sup>159</sup> (Jakobson 1936, 422)

---

<sup>158</sup> “Antoine Meillet, the great French Linguist, died in Paris at the age of 70. Among the diverse range of areas encompassed by the deceased through his pioneering research work, a prominent place is occupied by the questions related to Slavic studies, on which a great number of articles appeared in specialised journals (*Arbeit für slavische Philol.[ologie]*, *Revue des études slaves*, *Slavia* et al.) and a large amount of reviews in the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguist.* [T]he books related [to these questions] are *Recherches sur l'emploi de génitif-accusatif en vieux-slave* (1897), *Études sur l'étymologie et le vocabulaire de vieux-slave* (I – 1902, II – 1905.), *Le slave commun* (The 2<sup>nd</sup> revised edition was published in 1934) and the manuals of Polish (in co-operation with Willman-Grabowska) and [Serbo-Croatian] language (in co-operation with Vaillant). Meillet devotes more attention to Slavic languages also while working on comparative linguistics in his overviews of the contemporary linguistic world. Outstanding are Meillet's efforts to create and develop the leadership of the Institut d'étude slaves and his activity in the press. (Meillet's place in Slavic studies will be the focus of a special article in the next issue of the journal) [.]”

<sup>159</sup> “Antoine Meillet, the great French linguist, died in Paris at 70. Among the various fields in which the pioneering research work of the deceased extended, questions of Slavic studies occupy a distinguished place, to which he devoted numerous essays in specialist periodicals (*Archiv für slavische Philologie*, *Revue des études slaves*, *Slavia*) and reviews in *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique*, the books *Recherches due l'emploi du génitif-accusatif en vieux-slave* (1897), *Études sur l'étymologie et le vocabulaire de vieux-slave* (I. B. 1902, II. B. 1905), *Le slave commun* (2nd revised and supplemented edition 1934) as well as the handbooks of the Polish language (together with Willman-Grabowska) and the Serbo-Croatian language (together with Vaillant). Meillet also devoted much attention to the Slavic languages in his works on comparative linguistics and in the overviews of the contemporary linguistic world. Meillet's contributions to creating and managing the Institut d'études slaves and his publication activities are outstanding.”

There are no evident differences between the Russian manuscripts and the editions printed in *Slavische Rundschau*. Meillet was probably originally better known to the members of the PLK: he was a renowned Slavic linguist. For example, Sergej Karcevskij mentions Meillet, Bally, and de Saussure as his “mentors” (Krásová 2021, 288).<sup>160</sup>

One year after the death of the French linguist, Jakobson published the obituary titled “Antoine Meillet zum Gedächtnis” [“In Memory of Antoine Meillet”] in *Slavische Rundschau* (Jakobson 1971, 497-500). In *Slavische Rundschau* archive are two Russian manuscripts handwritten by Jakobson: the short one transcribed above and the one published in 1937. These are broadly similar. The manuscript of the short one contains an annotation put in brackets by Jakobson: “Meillet’s position in Slavic studies will be the subject of a settling article in the next issue of the journal”.<sup>161</sup> This reveals that in 1936 he had already planned to write Meillet’s obituary published one year later. In the second part of the *Select Writings IX*, Toman claims that the author of the obituary “Antoine Meillet gestorben” [“Antoine Meillet Dies”], published in *Prager Presse* on 23<sup>rd</sup> of September 1936, is Jakobson. The editorial note states: “Jakobson’s authorship can be considered; see his Meillet obituary in *Slavische Rundschau*, vol. 9, 1937, pp. 24-26” (Jakobson 2014, 197). Considering him the author of this obituary is quite reasonable given the importance of Meillet and the relevance of his linguistic studies for Jakobson and the entire PLK, but his authorship cannot be proved.<sup>162</sup>

Jakobson’s obituaries do not just transmit information, but they exemplify Jakobson’s role as a cultural transfer between the Russian and Czech contexts. Indeed, in addition to describing the activities of the scholars they are dedicated to, he also gave useful information for the Czech readers which were unfamiliar with the Russian academic context. In ideological writings, such as “Über die heutigen Voraussetzungen der russischen Slavistik” [“Today’s Preconditions for Russian Slavistics”] (see § 2.2), Jakobson repeatedly lamented the lack of dialogue between the Russian and Western academic contexts, describing this as a gap which should be filled.

---

<sup>160</sup> Eva Krásová’s research on the relationship between Meillet and the members of the PLK is significant. See Krásová (2021) and her monograph on Benveniste (2018).

<sup>161</sup> “Месту Meillet в славистике будет посвящена в следующем номере журнала оседающая статья”.

<sup>162</sup> As shown, the documents of *Slavische Rundschau*’s archive ascertain that Jakobson already wrote a short obituary on Meillet in 1936. There are some discrepancies between Jakobson’s short obituary published in *Slavische Rundschau* and that appeared in *Prager Presse*. The obituary published in *Prager Presse* does not emphasise Meillet’s involvement in Slavic studies, while this question was essential for Jakobson. The last paragraph regards Meillet’s acquaintance with the leading figure at the French Institute of Prague, Ernest Denis, during the WWI. Such an information is not related to Meillet’s scientific activity and it is rather related to Meillet as a representant of the and Jakobson would have rather commented on Meillet’s relationship with the PLK.

Before describing the obituaries dedicated to Russian scholars published by Jakobson it would be beneficial to provide some more information about his relationship with the Russian academy. To this end, I intend to focus my attention into a conversation Jakobson had with the Hungarian scholar László Dezső I found in the RJP, transcribed in a draft entitled “Razgovor s profesorom R. Jakobsonom” [“A Conversation with Professor R. Jakobson”].<sup>163</sup> In the conversation Jakobson recalled his years as a student:

I even had a close friend [...] Buslaev, the grandson of the famous Buslaev. [...] he told me: “You are a bricklayer, but I want to be an engineer”. And I said that you must do the work of a bricklayer, you must really feel this material to be able to build theories.<sup>164</sup>

According to the interview, while he was a student at Lazarevskij Institut Jakobson became interested in linguistics reading Potebnja’s *Mysl’ i jazyk* [*Thought and Language*], discovered through a speech given by the Symbolist poet Andrej Belyj. He considered Potebnja’s book as “weak” and “unoriginal”,<sup>165</sup> but he evaluated as “promising” the scholar’s research on Ukrainian folklore. Despite this, *Mysl’ i jazyk* had a great impact on the young Jakobson, who dedicated his studies to linguistics.

Once he was at the university, he became interested in dialectology, the field which dominated the Moscow academy at that time, especially because of the important role played by the Moskovskaja dialektologičeskaja komissija (Moscow Dialectological Commission, MDK henceforth). Jakobson’s main academic point of reference at that time was Fortunatov and followed his method of researching the sign of every linguistic phenomenon. As he stated, during his years in Moscow he was not familiar with de Courtenay’s Kazanskaja škola. Despite his frequent voyages to Saint Petersburg to assist at seminars, Jakobson said that he never had the chance to encounter de Courtenay, and his knowledge of the scholar and the Kazanskaja škola came from one of de Courtenay’s disciples, Lev Šcerba. In the interview, Jakobson stated

---

<sup>163</sup> This interview is typescripted and never appeared. The correspondence between Jakobson and Dezső is not relevant. The structure suggests that it should be longer. During the interview, Pomorska sometimes takes the floor to correct Jakobson or suggest some further remarks.

<sup>164</sup> “Даже был у меня близкий друг [...] Буслаев, внук знаменитого Буслаева. [...] он говорил мне: ‘Ты каменщик, а я хочу быть инженером’. А я говорил, что нужно проделать работу и каменщика, нужно действительно ощупать этот материал для того, чтобы можно было строить теории.” In RJP, Box 147, Folder -, p. 6.

<sup>165</sup> Regarding Jakobson and Potebnja, see Glanc (2016).

that Šcerba had a significant impact on the young Jakobson, despite Dmitrij Ušakov's disdain for his works.<sup>166</sup> This was a common state of affairs: the new generation of Russian linguists tended to lack acquaintance of de Courtenay and the Kazanskaja škola. Trubeckoj did not know his work either and later, when he became interested in his writings, considered his theories "distant".<sup>167</sup> Rather, Fortunatov was the point of reference for younger linguists in Moscow.

Jakobson was also attracted by Aleksej Šachmatov's seminars: Šachmatov was teaching in Saint Petersburg to young students like Savickij. In the interview Jakobson also recognised the impact of philosophy on his early studies. In this regard he differed from Trubeckoj, who professed to having no interests in philosophy, despite his father being a renowned philosopher.

Georgij Čelpanov, who at that time was teaching philosophy in Moscow, also had a great impact on Jakobson. Through Čelpanov, young Russian scholars such as Gustav Špet discovered phenomenology even if Husserl's books were prohibited. In Russia, phenomenology developed through Husserlianism and Hegelianism, filtered through Jurij Samarin's criticisms. Despite this, Jakobson did not define him as a phenomenologist, but rather a scholar who wanted his students to learn "as much as possible" from Western philosophy.

Once Jakobson arrived in Czechoslovakia, he discovered that scholars knew nothing about Russian's philology or linguistics. This situation slowly changed. They only knew de Courtenay, who visited Prague in 1929 to lecture at the First Congress of Slavic Philologists, and Šachmatov, who befriended Jiří Polívka. They knew each other already the end of the nineteenth century and Šachmatov published some articles in Polívka's journal *Archiv für slavische Philologie*. On the other hand, Czech scholars were interested in filling this lack while discovering research led by Russian scholars: Jakobson recounts Mathesius questioning him on the topic in their first meetings.

---

<sup>166</sup> Jakobson read *Russkie glasnye v kačestvennom i količestvennom otnošenii* [*Russian Vowels in Qualitative and Quantitative Terms*] (Šcerba [1912], 1983), which Ušakov considered to be irrelevant.

<sup>167</sup> In a letter addressed to Meillet on 22<sup>nd</sup> of August 1922, Trubeckoj mentioned de Courtenay as follows: "Tout en reconnaissant l'insuffisance de la formule proposée par Baudouin de Courtenay" while referring to Dva voprosa izučeniija o "smjagčeenii" ili palatalizacii v slavjanskix jazykax (de Courtenay 1893), in (Trubeckoj – Jakobson 1985, 449).

Jakobson's first appearance in the Czech press consists of two obituaries dedicated to leading scholars of Russian academy, Aleksej Šachmatov and Vjačeslav Ščepkin. The one dedicated to Šachmatov appeared on 31<sup>st</sup> of August of 1920 in the newspaper *Čas* and it is the first extant material published by Jakobson in a Czech periodical. *Čas* introduced Jakobson as "a graduate student at Moscow University and a member of the Soviet Red Cross Mission in Prague", a different description compared to that of the other periodicals, which discredited him as a "Soviet spy", as extensively shown in the first chapter.<sup>168</sup> Šachmatov was one of the last Russian "encyclopaedic" scholars and during his years in Saint Petersburg he dealt with philology, linguistics, folklore, dialectology, and ethnography. As one of Jakobson's mentors, he wrote a letter of recommendation for him when he came to Czechoslovakia:

Most esteemed colleague.

This letter may reach you through our gifted young scholar, Roman Osipovič Jakobson. I appeal to you strongly to encourage him abroad. He is a good linguist on whom we place great hopes. He will provide you with an account of ourselves.<sup>169</sup> (Toman 1994, 38)

The "esteemed colleague" Šachmatov addressed to may be identified as the Czech philologist Polívka, who also published a long obituary of Šachmatov published in *Nové Atheneum* (Polívka 1921). Polívka wrote a detailed description of Šachmatov's "extensive and intense" activity, emphasising the pivotal contribution he gave in the development of research in the linguistic and philological fields. Šachmatov's had many relationships with international scholars – for example, he published in Jagić's *Archiv für slavische Philologie* – which could be considered a legacy of his mentor, Fedor Korš. In his obituary dedicated to Korš, Šachmatov emphasised the scholar's "efforts to create strong brotherly inter-Slavic ties with the Czechs, Serbs, Ukrainians, and Belarusians" (Šachmatov 1915). Jakobson's ambition to create relationships between Russian and Western scholars can be conceived as a further generational step in a legacy that has profoundly distinguished the Russian academy since the nineteenth

---

<sup>168</sup> "R. Jakobson, magistrant Moskevské university a člen sovětské misse Červeného Kříže v Praze; napsal o zesnulém učenci ruském vřelou studii, kterou zde v překladu uveřejňujeme." ("R. Jakobson, a graduate student at Moscow University and a member of the Soviet Red Cross Mission in Prague, wrote a warm piece about the deceased Russian scholar, which we publish here in translation.")

<sup>169</sup> "Глубокоуважаемый коллега. Быть может, это письмо дойдет до Вас через нашего молодого даровитого ученого Романа Осиповича Якобсона. Очень Вас прошу морально поддержать его на чужбине. Он хороший лингвист, и мы возлагаем на него большие надежды. О нас он расскажет Вам на словах."

century: the desire to internationalise research in the humanities. In *Angažovaná čítanka Romana Jakobsona*, Toman edited Jakobson's obituary dedicated to Šachmatov and commented on Jakobson's knowledge of Czech, noticing the presence of an evident Russian influence (Toman 2017, 40). I suggest that this obituary must be understood as an allowed translation, especially because there is an error that Jakobson would never have made. He quoted Fortunatov, who referred to Šachmatov as "Aleksander Aleksandrovič", but Šachmatov's name was "Aleksej". This mistake in Šachmatov's name appears to be an error made by a translator rather than Jakobson. Jakobson's obituary combined information about Šachmatov's activity and his own memories such as their last meeting in May 1920, through the first-person singular, which is not a typical trait of Jakobson's writings. The most relevant passage is that in which Jakobson emphasised the importance of this "giant of spirit" in the development of contemporary linguistics.

This emphasis on the importance of Russian scholars in the modern linguistics is also notable in Jakobson's obituary for Vjačeslav Nikolaevič Ščepkin, published on 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1921 in the same newspaper, *Čas*. After referring to the importance of Fortunatov's legacy to Ščepkin, Jakobson stressed Ščepkin's importance to modern science:

Those who look long and intently into the past often become blind to the present, but Ščepkin was acutely aware of modernity; he even understood the guiding idea that has always characterised modern art as the first heroic attempt to reject religious sanction, the first attempt at godless art.<sup>170</sup>  
(Jakobson 2013, 68)

#### *Jan Witktor Porzezińskis and Aleksandr Peškovskij*

The obituaries Jakobson published in *Prager Presse* also emphasised the importance of the Russian pre-revolutionary linguists. The obituaries for Jan Witktor Porzezińskis and Aleksandr Peškovskij display this characteristic. "Dem Gedächtnis Jan Witktor Porzezińskis" ["To the memory of Jan Witktor Porzeziński"] appeared on 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1929 in the column "Kultur der Gegenwart," and, peculiarly, only mentions the name of Porzeziński. Jakobson focused the first part on another important linguist, Filip Fortunatov, who was Porzeziński's

---

<sup>170</sup> "Kdo se dlouho a upřeně dívá do minulosti, často se stává slepým k přítomnosti, ale Ščepkin ostře vnímal modernu, pochopil dokonce vůdčí myšlenku, charakterizující vždy moderní umění, jako první heroický pokus o odmítnutí náboženské sankce, první pokus o bezbožné umění."

mentor. In Jakobson's writings Fortunatov is often mentioned as one of the founders of new Russian linguistics, as in *Prager Presse*:

Fortunatov, one of the most important scholars in general linguistics and Indo-European studies, left a distinct individual mark on the entire development of linguistics in Russia, leaving only a limited number of printed works.<sup>171</sup> (Jakobson 2013, 199)

While discussing Fortunatov, Jakobson outlined the main characteristics of the Moskovskaja lingvističeskaja škola (Moscow Language School, MLS), also referred to as Fortunatovskaja škola (Fortunatov's School). Fortunatov's importance in Russia was far from secondary, as confirmed by the scholar Lev Ščerba, who acknowledged him as being among the most remarkable Russian scholars who left a profound mark in the history of general linguistics, together with Potebnja and de Courtenay (Ščerba 1963, 89).<sup>172</sup> Jakobson emphasised one of the distinctive traits of Fortunatov: his tendency not to publish his theories but to prefer to communicate orally. Many scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shared this preference: among them, de Courtney and de Saussure. Fortunatov's disciples never published something out of his lessons, while de Saussure's ones edited the *Cours de linguistique générale* after his death. Despite this obituary nominally being devoted to Porzeziński, he is mentioned only after discussion of Fortunatov and recognised as the scholar who welcomed the legacy of his mentor and continued his research. Like Fortunatov, Porzeziński did not publish many of his works and, according to Jakobson, few transcriptions of his lectures were preserved. After presenting Porzeziński's activity and main contributions to the development of modern linguistics, Jakobson included a personal anecdote dating back to his time in Moscow, also this time employing the first person singular:

---

<sup>171</sup> "Fortunatov, einer der bedeutendsten Gelehrten auf dem Felde der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaften und Indogermanistik, der der gesamten Entfaltung der Linguistik in Rußland einen deutlichen individuellen Stempel aufgedrückt hat, hinterließ nur eine beschränkte Anzahl gedruckter Werke."

<sup>172</sup> "В старой России было три замечательных лингвиста-теоретика: А. А. Потебня, Ф. Ф. Фортунатов и И. А. Бодэн де Куртенэ. [...] [Они] были действительно самостоятельными мыслителями в этой области и оставили глубокий след в истории общего языкознания в России." (There were three remarkable linguistic theorists in Russia: A. A. Potebnja, F. F. Fortunatov and I. A. Baudouin de Courtenay. [...] [They] were independent thinkers in this field and left a profound mark on the history of general linguistics in Russia.) (Ščerba 1963, 89).

I will never forget the words the dead said to me when we said goodbye to each other in Moscow in 1920. We were talking about the crisis of European linguistics.<sup>173</sup> (Jakobson 2013, 200)

In the final section of the obituary, Jakobson referred once again to Russian linguistics of the pre-Soviet era, this time to the Fortunatovskaja škola. His argumentation shifts to another fundamental aspect of Porzeziński's work, namely the importance of work of scholars of Polish origin to Russian linguistics. Alongside Porzeziński, he also names Mikołaj Kruszewski and Baudouin de Courtenay, the two great protagonists of the Kazanskaja škola.

The obituary dedicated to Aleksandr Peškovskij is shorter. It was published on 11<sup>th</sup> of April 1933 in the same column, "Kulturchronik". Jakobson presents Peškovskij as one of the most significant representatives of the MLS. This obituary is a schematic presentation of the scholars' activity, which Jakobson depicts as a methodological synthesis of Romantic-tradition work with that of Potebnja and Fortunatov. This obituary is similar to the shorter ones published in *Slavische Rundschau*, which aim simply to inform. Jakobson did not emphasise or problematise any questions but simply presented the life of the scholar.

#### *Baudoin de Courtenay*

In 1929 *Slavische Rundschau* published Jakobson's obituary of Baudoin de Courtenay. Introducing the scholar, Jakobson emphasised that contemporary Russian and Polish linguistics were the result of the synthesis between the theories of Fortunatov and de Courtenay, respectively the most important representants of the Fortunatovskaja škola and the Kazanskaja škola. Jakobson discussed de Courtenay's work, describing him as a "deep analyst" ("tiefer Analytiker"). He juxtaposed his work with that of de Saussure: both two linguists were among the foremost adversaries of Neogrammarian doctrine and, despite a lack of communication, they shared a lot of ideas.<sup>174</sup> They still differed in some respects. Jakobson noted that Saussure had overcome the psychological approach, while de Courtenay had considered it a relevant approach and emphasised the importance of individualism in linguistics. Unlike de Saussure, whose *Cours de linguistique générale* was posthumously published by his disciples, but similarly to Fortunatov, de Courtenay's theories remained unpublished after his death.

---

<sup>173</sup> "Ich werde nie die Worte des Verstorbenen vergessen, die er mir sagte, als wir in Moskau im Jahre 1920 Abschied voneinander nahmen. Man sprach über die Krise der europäischen Linguistik."

<sup>174</sup> Saussure and de Courtenay knew each other personally, as testified by their correspondence edited in Sljusareva (2010).

Nikolaj Marr's obituary differs from those discussed above. Published in *Prager Press* in 1935, this obituary is a disappointing one insofar as it does not provide any judgements of Marr's work: Jakobson did not problematise Marr's theories and their complex consequences for the development of Soviet linguistics. Jakobson only depicted the scholar's research, briefly explaining his approach and listing his most significant writings.

Before explaining why Jakobson's obituary is problematic and, as I said, disappointing – especially given Jakobson's habit to polemic and to be a *bojovnik*, a fighter, in his field – I will present the main characteristics of Marr's theories.<sup>175</sup> Marr was a linguist of Georgian origins, a talented orientalist and polyglot Caucasologist, who started publishing his first studies a little later than de Courtenay did, publishing significant results at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was in the 1920s and the 1930s that Marr achieved his greatest success, developing the so called “japhetic theory”, through which he argued that Kartvelian languages of the Caucasus area were related to the Semitic languages of the Middle East, using a Marxist terminology. His theories, which harshly criticised the linguistic comparative-historical approach, were acclaimed as the highest example of a “proletarian science”, in contrast with other linguistic theories which were accused of being bourgeois thinking. The problem of Marr's japhetic theory consisted in the absurdity of its basic assumptions. Commenting on it in 1924, the year in which Marr published his first articles related to japhetism, Trubeckoj wrote in a letter to Jakobson that “Marr's article exceeds everything he has written so far. But it is difficult to ‘nail’ it with a review. First, there is no place and, second, I am fully convinced that it should be reviewed by a psychiatrist, rather than a linguist” (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 74).<sup>176</sup> Marr's linguistic theory was canonised and became the only linguistic theory allowed in the Soviet Union. As Tomelleri noticed, Marr's linguistic thinking satisfied Stalin's ideological needs in the interwar years (Tomelleri 2020, 31).<sup>177</sup> This canonisation of Marr's theories de facto prevented the development of Soviet linguistics and interrupted the proliferation that had taken place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Quoting

---

<sup>175</sup> See Vasil'kov (2001), Lawrence (1957a; 1957b), Stachowski (2013) and Frejdenberg (1988). A wider bibliography of Marr's work is provided in Tomelleri (2020), which documents analysis of Marr and Lichačev in the context of the development of Soviet linguistics. Cf. also Sériot's attempts to find parallelisms between Jakobson and Marr in see Sériot (2018, 2020).

<sup>176</sup> “Статья Марра превосходит всё, до сих пор написанное им. Но ‘пригвоздить’ ее рецензией – трудно. Во-первых негде, а во вторых, по моему глубокому убеждению, рецензировать ее должен не столько лингвист, сколько психиатр.” Trubeckoj wrote that while to Jakobson's request to write a commentary against the noxious spread of Marr's extravagant linguistic theory.

<sup>177</sup> Concerning the relationships between Stalin and Marr, see Leušin (2001) and Ilizarov (2012).

Tomelleri again, “controversial is not so much the judgement on his multifaceted scholarly activity, with darker rather than lighter hues, but rather that on the causes of his canonisation as a coryphaeus of Soviet linguistics, fraught with more often than not nefarious consequences” (Tomelleri 2020, 27). The most tragic example is perhaps that of Evgenij Polivanov, who paid for questioning Marr’s theories with his life.<sup>178</sup> According to Polivanov, the originality of Marr’s writings relied in his most controversial writings, rather than in his solid theories (Polivanov 1991, 525). The development of Marr’s school and the imposition of his ideas made the growth of Soviet linguistics in a free milieu impossible. After the death of Marr, his legacy was continued by his followers, such as Ivan Meščaninov.

The years of the “Marrist terror” ended in 1950, when the Georgian linguist Arnol’d Čikobava openly deconstructed Marr’s theories in “O nekotorych voprosach sovetskogo jazykoznanija” [“On Certain Problems of Soviet Linguistics”], a long article published in *Pravda* on 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1950 (Čikobava 1950).<sup>179</sup> According to Čikobava, in early April 1950 he was invited to a private meeting with Stalin in Moscow, who proposed him to publish this article (Čikobava 1985). In his critique, Čikobava denounced the actual situation of Soviet linguistics, which was stagnating, and that Marr committed serious errors and omissions while elaborating his theories. Čikobava deconstructed Marr commenting his main errors and accusing him of lacking elementary logic.<sup>180</sup> Stalin, who according to Jakobson widely benefited from Čikobava’s research, likewise discredited the validity of Marr’s Marxist approach in the interview “Otnositel’no marksizma i jazykoznanii” [“Concerning Marxism and Linguistics”], published in *Pravda* on 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1950: “N. Ja. Marr and his martyrs accuse of ‘formalism’ all linguists who do not share the ‘new doctrine’ of N. Ja. Marr. This is, of course, neither serious nor wise”<sup>181</sup> (Stalin 1950a, 3).

---

<sup>178</sup> “Polivanov took absolute exception to Marr’s theories, particularly to his anti-Westernism and the way he rode roughshod over the facts in his zeal for establishing his theories. The bitter struggle between the two was essentially resolved in a series of debates and lectures held between December 1928 and February 1929 at the Communist Academy, but they were weighted against Polivanov, who was blackballed from all scholarly enterprises in the two capitals. From then until his arrest (1937) and execution (1938), he was essentially in exile in Central Asia, where he was able to accomplish fruitful work on the local languages” (Clark 1995, 209).

<sup>179</sup> Čikobava was the first one who could openly criticised Marr. In 1940 he already tried to publish in *Izvestija* an article in which he commented on Marr’s elemental palaeontology. It was not accepted and an article by Meščaninov was published instead.

<sup>180</sup> Čikobava and Stalin’s reactionism to Marr was commented in 1952 by the Ukrainian scholar Roman Smal-Stocki in *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communist Imperialism*, see Smal-Stocki (1952).

<sup>181</sup> “Н. Я. Марр и его ‘мученики’ обвиняют в ‘формализме’ всех языковедов, не разделяющих ‘новое учение’ Н. Я. Марра. Это, конечно, несерьезно и неумно.” See also Stalin (1950b).

In the wake of Marrism followed the need to denounce the state of Soviet linguistics during those years of obscurantism and to promote a theoretical revisionism of Marr's theories. Jakobson gave his first documented public speech against Marrism on 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1950 in London, where he tried to demonstrate the inconsistency of the japhetic theories.<sup>182</sup> He was harshly criticised by some representatives of the British Communist Party, being accused of "all sort of things". Čikobava published his article in *Pravda* four days later.<sup>183</sup> Jakobson was able to offer a reconsideration of Marr's theories on 16<sup>th</sup> of March 1951, when he gave a lecture at Harvard's Russian Research Center. During this lecture, Jakobson aimed to discuss the evolution of Soviet Linguistics after the Revolution, denouncing the absurdity of Marrism and its consequences for the Soviet linguistic milieu. Unlike the neutrality of his obituary published in *Prager Presse* in 1935, Jakobson did not limit himself to describing Marr's writings, but also critiqued them as a "fantastic theory" abounding of contradictions and written by a "paranoic", a "mystical" scholar. According to Jakobson, the most drastic consequence of this phenomenon which we could call "Mar(r/x)ism" was the abolition of the comparative method in linguistic research, which "was considered by him [Marr] and his students the worst thing possible. It was felt that all comparative study in the old sense should be abolished. To compare was worse than be a Trockyite, was the opinion".<sup>184</sup> These lectures given by Jakobson in 1950 and 1951 must be considered together with other pivotal steps related to the revisionism of the Marrist theories, such as Karcevskij's lecture given on 18<sup>th</sup> of March 1950 in Geneve, or the publication of Trubeckoj's "Mysli ob indoevropskoj probleme" ["Considerations about the Indo-European Question"] in 1958 in *Voprosy jazykoznanija* (Trubeckoj [1958] 1987, 44-59). This article was due to be published in 1939 in *Evrasijskaja Chronika*, but the journal was shut down as consequence of the Nazi invasion. The transcription of Jakobson's lecture on Marr openly clarifies his position, differently from the writing published in *Prager Presse*, which is devoid of judgements or negative remarks. I believe that Jakobson's role in the revisionism of Marrism still needs to be the object of a broader study, such as Patrick Sériot attempts of individuating points of contact between the linguistics developed by Jakobson and Trubeckoj after leaving Russia and Marr's "mystical" denial of comparative approach or, as it used to be negatively called during the 1930s, the "comparative cosmopolitanism".<sup>185</sup>

---

<sup>182</sup> Jakobson mentioned this speech at Harvard in 1951, see RJP, Box 34 Folder 23, p. 5. This speech is unpublished.

<sup>183</sup> Jakobson affirmed "I was surprised myself that it all came out so early." RJP, Box 34 Folder 23, p. 10.

<sup>184</sup> RJP, Box 34 Folder 23, p. 6.

<sup>185</sup> This analysis was proposed by Sériot during a lecture delivered in Prague on 15<sup>th</sup> of May 2023.

## *Gregorij Čelpanov*

In 1936 Jakobson published an obituary dedicated to Gregorij Čelpanov in *Psychologie – časopis pro teoretickou a užitou psychologii*, which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was his only writing published in this journal. The obituary “Památce G. I. Čelpanova” [“In Memory of G. I. Čelpanov”] has a typical structure, presenting the activity of the scholar and his most relevant studies. According to Jakobson, his theories were relevant to new tendencies in literary criticism because promoted the methods and developments of modern Western psychology. Jakobson recalled Čelpanov as one of his professors during his years in Moscow and recalled the debates at his seminars on Husserl’s writings. It was at Čelpanov’s seminars that Jakobson got to know his theories, as Holenstein stated:

Among the places from which the Husserl discussion spread out into the various disciplines were the seminars of Professor Georgij Čelpanov in the Psychological Institute at the University of Moscow. It was through Čelpanov, whose two seminars he attended in 1915-16, that Jakobson’s attention was first directed to Husserl. (Holenstein 2020, 27)

Jakobson gave Čelpanov’s scientific contribution a “bojovný význam”, militant significance (Jakobson 2014, 189). As I have already emphasised, he largely employed the term *bojovník* when a scholar’s research contributed something significant. According to Jakobson, Čelpanov was a *bojovník* because he militated against mechanistic materialism, a philosophical tendency Jakobson generally strongly condemned, and contributed to the affirmation of a new antipositivistic psychological theory, following the theories elaborated by Edmund Husserl and Wilhelm Wundt.

## *Ljubomir Miletić and Franz Spina*

Jakobson also wrote obituaries for scholars outside Russia, such those for as Ljubomir Miletić, a Bulgarian philologist contemporary of Jagić who was, as Jakobson noted in the obituary, influenced by Gebauer’s writings.<sup>186</sup>

Another obituary dedicated to a non-Russian scholar was for Franz Spina. It appeared in a special issue of *Slavische Rundschau* in 1938 which was initially intended to celebrate Spina’s seventieth birthday. Spina died before the publication, and it became an issue to honour his memory. In the conclusions of the obituary Jakobson wrote: “It is only a small part of the

---

<sup>186</sup> See Božilova (1996) and (2013) concerning the correspondence between Miletić and Jagić.

great debt that is being paid off with this tribute intended for his seventieth birthday and now paid to his death” (Jakobson 2014, 303).<sup>187</sup> Some hints confirm that Jakobson initially wrote this article to celebrate Spina’s birthday and only after had to adapt it into an obituary. For example, the death of the scholar is not announced in the article’s beginning. Jakobson emphasised Spina’s efforts to study the relationship between German and Czech culture and acknowledged his contribution in strengthening the ties between the two cultures: he recognised Spina in terms of a proper cultural transfer.

Jakobson’s devotion to Spina over the years prior to his death is evident: in 1929 he published an article in honour of Spina’s sixtieth birthday, titled “Zur vergleichenden Forschung über die slavischen Zehnsilbler” [“The Comparative Research on the Slavic Decasyllables] and had been involved in journals edited by Spina, such as *Slavische Rundschau*. In 1938 Jakobson published a further article dedicated to Spina in *Lidové noviny*, titled “Franz Spina jako vědec” [“Franz Spina as a Scholar”]. Jakobson described the circumstances in which *Slavische Rundschau*’s issue was published, explaining that it was initially intended to celebrate the scholar’s seventieth birthday and then, due to Spina’s unexpected death, it was then repurposed to honour his life.

The obituary published in *Lidové noviny* has several elements in common with *Slavische Rundschau*’s: Jakobson presented Spina’s activity and his main interests, emphasising his involvement in philology and medieval literature. As he pointed out in *Slavische Rundschau*, Spina’s pivotal position as a medium between German and Czech Culture is one of his most significant merits. Furthermore, Jakobson praised Spina’s importance in the academic context of the Deutsche Universität Prag and his involvement in the press since he was the editor of two important periodicals, *Slavische Rundschau* and *Germanoslavica*.

### *Nikolaj Trubeckoj*

Spina was not the only scholar to whom Jakobson dedicated more than one obituary. On 18<sup>th</sup> of June 1938, Nikolaj Trubeckoj<sup>188</sup> died in Vienna and, a day after, Jakobson published a lengthy obituary in *Lidové noviny* in his honour. Trubeckoj’s death was so significant for Jakobson that he wrote more than four obituaries between 1938 and 1944. Differently from

---

<sup>187</sup> “Es ist nur ein kleiner Teil der großen Schuld, die mit dieser, dem Lebenden aus Anlaß seines 70. Geburtstags zgedachten und nun dem Toten zuteil gewordenen Ehrung abgetragen wird.”

<sup>188</sup> Concerning Trubeckoj, see at least Trubeckoj (1987), Trubeckoj (2005), Tolstoj (1993) and Vedenina (2016). For a bibliography of Trubeckoj’s writings, see Poljakov in Trubeckoj (2005) and Sériot (2023).

Spina, in whose case the presence of two obituaries is due to circumstances, the publication of these four obituaries was intentional. I did not mention Trubeckoj among the Russian scholars presented before because I believe it must be considered as an isolated example. He emigrated and continued his activity as a mature scholar outside Russia, in Wien, where he developed his theories and established himself as pioneer in the field of linguistics. Russian scholars also came to Wien to study under his wing, such as Mark Aronson<sup>189</sup> who, after concluding his doctoral studies with Trubeckoj, came back to Moscow to continue his research with Ejchenbaum.

The title of the first obituary appeared in *Lidové noviny* in 1938 reveals the great respect Jakobson had for his friend and colleague: “Nikolaj Trubeckoj zemřel: geniální slavista” [“Nikolaj Trubeckoj Has Died: a Brilliant Slavist”]. The obituary opens with a reference to Meillet, who described Trubeckoj as “the strongest mind in modern linguistics” during the First International Congress of Linguists in The Hague held in 1928. Then, Jakobson described Trubeckoj’s early education, highlighting his years in Moscow as a disciple of Vsevolod Miller and his period in Leipzig with the German linguist August Leskien (mainly devoted to Baltic and Slavic languages). Jakobson listed Trubeckoj’s main interests, including phonology, historical linguistics and Eurasianism. Jakobson marked 1928 as a watershed year in his academic career, the year just before the First International Congress of Linguists, which established a new method in linguistic research and a more fruitful collaboration between scholars from different countries.

In 1939 Jakobson published an obituary in the first issue of *Acta Linguistica*, written while he was in Charlottenlund in Denmark. This obituary referred again to Meillet and the First International Congress of Linguists in The Hague: “Meillet said, referring to Trubeckoj: ‘He is the strongest mind in modern linguistics.’ – ‘A strong mind’, someone confirmed. – ‘The strongest’, repeated the sharp-eyed linguist with empathy.”<sup>190</sup> The obituary is longer than the one published in *Lidové noviny* and provides much more biographical information, which appears to be quoting Trubeckoj’s autobiographical annotations later edited by Jakobson.

---

<sup>189</sup> Mark Aronson intensively published for *Slavische Rundschau* and in the fond there are many letters and postcards he exchanged with Jakobson. The content of these documents is mainly related to his activity in the journal. I believe that Trubeckoj himself suggested his disciple to join the journal, since Jakobson asked him to advice recommend him some scholars who might be interested in collaborating.

<sup>190</sup> “Sagte Meillet auf Trubeckoj hinweisend: ‘Er ist der stärkste Kopf der modernen Linguistik.’ – ‘Ein starker Kopf’, bestätigte jemand. – ‘Der stärkste’, wiederholte nachdrücklich der scharfsichtige Sprachforscher.”

When Jakobson left Czechoslovakia in 1939, he took with him some materials related to Trubeckoj:

When, warned by the urgent call of a well-informed friend, I abandoned Brno on the eve of March 15, 1939, my archives were hastily reduced to sixteen pailfuls of ashes, but the bundle of Trubeckojana, together with a slender part of my own drafts and notes, were squeezed into a capacious Czech briefcase and wandered with me. (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, VI)

Jakobson also emphasised the most significant of Trubeckoj's interests, tracing his studies of Structuralism to recognise him as "one of its greatest and most courageous champions, [who] shunned only the soulless annihilation of spiritual values in his eventful life."<sup>191</sup>

In 1944 Jakobson published a third obituary in *Annuaire de l'Institute de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slave*, whose content is of less relevance here because provided only general information about Trubeckoj. In 1949 Jakobson wrote a postface to the French version of Trubeckoj's *Principles of Phonology* in which reproduces autobiographical annotations by Trubeckoj and fills in blanks concerning his biography.<sup>192</sup> Jakobson explained that Trubeckoj built his academic career in Europe and the way he became a member of the PLK. Jakobson stated that Trubeckoj "was aware with equal lucidity of the deadly sickness that was draining him of his energy, and of the catastrophe that was befalling Europe" (Trubeckoj 1971, 323) in the last years of his life. He also recalled that after doctors diagnosed Trubeckoj with angina and suggested he live quietly; he replied ironically that in a Europe such as that of the second half of the 1930s this was not possible:

Hitler's occupation of Austria was disastrous for Trubeckoj. He never attempted to conceal his antinational-socialist views. In an article on the racial question, he subjected the racist theory to devastating criticism. [...] The Gestapo looked for him and subjected him to an impudent house search and interrogation. (*Ibid.*)

When Gestapo entered in Trubeckoj's apartment they sequestered also letters sent by Jakobson, who wrote "[t]he bundle of my letters to NT was, along with other papers, stolen in the spring

---

<sup>191</sup> The complete reference: "Der Mensch, der das Zeitalter rühmte, in dem die gesamte Wissenschaft die atomisierende Weltauffassung durch den Strukturalismus zu ersetzen suchte, und der zu seinen größten und wackersten Vorkämpfern gehörte, scheute in seinem bewegten Leben einzig die seelenlose Vertilgung der Geisteswerte." ("The man who praised the age in which the whole of science sought to replace the atomising world view with structuralism, and who was one of its greatest and most courageous champions, shunned only the soulless annihilation of spiritual values in his eventful life.")

<sup>192</sup> As reference I use the second reprint of the English translation (Trubeckoj 1971).

of 1938 during the first of several Gestapo raids and searches in his Viennese flat” (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, IV).

The last writing Jakobson dedicated to Trubeckoj was “Nachruf auf N. S. Trubetzkoy” [“An Obituary for N. S. Trubeckoj”] published in the eleventh issue of *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* in 1964. This issue was dedicated to the twenty-fifth anniversary of Trubeckoj’s death. In the same issue, Bohuslav Havránek wrote “Trubetzkoy’s Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der Theorie der Schriftsprache” [“Trubeckoj’s Significance for the Development of the Theory of Written Language”), Dmytro Čyževs’kyj’s “Trubetzkoy und Dostoevskij” (“Trubeckoj and Dostoevskij”). Jakobson’s writing introduced the collection and described Trubeckoj as one of the pioneers of the post-Saussurian linguistics:

The latest quests in the science of the structure and internal dynamics of the word and verbal world linguistics, poetics and cultural anthropology are inextricably linked with Trubeckoj’s precepts [...] Trubeckoj clearly recognised the construction of a new science of language as an essential step towards the coming unity of general scientific structural problems.<sup>193</sup>  
(Jakobson 1964, 22)

### *Closing remarks*

In this section I have propose a selection of obituaries published by Jakobson in the Czech press. While concluding this analysis, some considerations can be traced. It is of note that the obituary was the first genre employed by Jakobson in the Czech press and, as emerges from the previous analysis, he tended to not respect the normal structure of the genres he dealt with, writing for example obituaries, which exceed the traditional shape of the genre. He tried to benefit from the limited space of the obituary granted by the periodicals to develop broader considerations than mere descriptions of the activity of the scholar to whom the obituary was dedicated. A significant example is that of Jan Witktor Porzezińskis, in which most of the writing is not about Porzezińskis, but about the Fortunatovskaja škola. In this regard, another example is that of Baudoin de Courtenay: Jakobson did not merely describe the life and the activity of the scholar but provided some considerations about the evolution of the Russian linguistics and its boundaries (both direct and indirect) with the West. The obituaries dedicated

---

<sup>193</sup> “С заветами Трубецкого неразрывно связаны новейшие искания в науке о строе и внутренней динамике слова и словесного мирова лингвистика, поэтика и культурная антропология. [...] Трубецкой четко осознавал строительство новой науку о языке как существенный шаг на пути к грядущему единству общенаучной структурной проблематики.”

to Trubeckoj represent an exception in the body of writings presented. In 1936 Jakobson had already gained a stable position in the Czech academy and built a tight relation with other Czech scholars. He also had established his voice in the press. The first obituary dedicated to Trubeckoj respects the traditional characteristics of the genre and it is a genuine celebration of the scholar. The obituaries published later aimed to recall the attention on Trubeckoj, a purpose Jakobson had together with the effort of editing some unpublished writing of his colleague.

Regarding the style, although Jakobson often dealt with scholars he knew personally and with whom he collaborated on several occasions, an emotional involvement is never present. The use of the first person or incursions into personal memories are also rare. In general, Jakobson's obituaries present a descriptive and a valuative nuance. In the descriptive one he had to consider an important issue, i.e., facing readers who were not acquainted with the Russian context: Jakobson had to provide a broader context while discussing the activity of a single scholar. Without these references the reader would have been able to understand the content of the obituary.

In conclusion, concerning the scholars celebrated in Jakobson's obituaries, the presence of Russians is dominant and the only significant examples of scholars from the West are those of Meillet of Spina. Considering the obituaries Jakobson published in the post-war period, we can perceive a substantial difference with those published in the interwar one. The obituaries appeared after the WWII, such as the ones dedicated to Brik or Tomaševskij, respect the characteristics of the genre and present a clear celebratory intent.

## **2.2 Ideological articles: Jakobson on Russian studies and Eurasianism**

In this section I aim to delve with some articles written by Jakobson which present a clear ideological nuance encompassing the evolution of Slavic studies in Russia with a focus on the relationships with the Western World and Eurasian theories applied to linguistics. Concerning the first question, I will analyse two articles: "Über die heutigen Voraussetzungen der russischen Slavistik" (1929) and "Gemeinsame Kultursprache" (1935). Regarding Jakobson's involvement in Eurasianism, I will discuss "K charakteristike evrazijskogo jazykovogo sojuza" (1931) and Jakobson's relationship with Savickij.

These two topics are discussed to define Jakobson's ideological position and his perception of Czechoslovakia as a geographic and cultural crossroads between Russia and the Western World.

*“Über die heutigen Voraussetzungen der russischen Slavistik” (1929)*

In 1929 Jakobson published in *Slavische Rundschau* “Über die heutigen Voraussetzungen der russischen Slavistik” [“Today's Preconditions for Russian Slavistics”], an edited transcription of the speech he gave during the First Congress of Slavic Philology, replacing Trubeckoj, who refused to (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 122). It appeared in a special issue of the journal with other two proceedings from speeches given during the congress, respectively the already quoted in the first chapter “Eins ist not” by Gesemann (1929) and one written by Mathesius (1929).<sup>194</sup> In the introduction, Jakobson noted that although Slavic studies had developed significantly and promisingly in the previous years, the field had not yet built relations with Western scholars. As I have shown in the previous section, Russian scholars knew philosophical theories and were acquainted with Saussure and his *Cours de linguistique générale*,<sup>195</sup> but Jakobson lamented the absence of active collaboration and strove for the development of a transnational community. The research of Russian scholars was predominantly focused on the Russian language and folklore, with the exemption of some like Trubeckoj, Ščerba or Vladimir Bulachovskij. Even if research in Russia achieved significant results, according to Jakobson the methodology of Russia linguists did not follow the methods developed in the Western academy.

Natalija Avotnomova and Michail Gasparov proposed an interpretation of this article, and in their – excellent regarding the historical approach – analysis they assumed that Jakobson decided to refer to Eurasianism as an homage to Trubeckoj, who was first asked to give this speech (Avtonomova – Gasparov [1997] 1999). I do not believe that Jakobson emphasised Eurasian theories with the intention of referring to Trubeckoj. Eurasianism was also associated with *Slavische Rundschau* where several Eurasian scholars such as Petr Savickij, Dmitrij Svjatopolk-Mirskij or Sergej Efron, used to publish under Jakobson's editorship. Czech scholars also were interested in Eurasian theories. As I will show while discussing Jakobson's

---

<sup>194</sup> Mathesius commented the evolution of Czech Slavic studies, as he did also later, in 1935.

<sup>195</sup> Many studies of Saussure's Russian legacy have been published. See at least Sljusareva (2010), Depretto (1982) Toddes – Čudakova (1981), Ivanova (2014) and Hirschkop (2019). In 1935 Jakobson commented in *Slovo a slovesnost* on the new Russian edition of Saussure's *Cours*, discussed by Rosalie Šor in the article “Obecná lingvistika v SSSR” [“General Linguistics in USSR”], see § 5.1.

involvement in reviews (§ 2.5.2), the Czech journalist Gustav Winter openly expressed his interest in a letter to Jakobson dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1931 and Antonín Stanislav Mágr, in his pamphlet dedicated to the role of Slavic studies in *Prager Presse*, identified Eurasianism as one of the dominant topics dealt with in the newspaper.

Jakobson emphasised the imperative to establish an international collaboration, an idea perfectly aligned with the aim of the congress, which intended to promote the dialogue among scholars from different countries (Slavic and non-Slavic), considering this exchange of ideas a pivotal principle for the develop of the scientific milieu. According to Jakobson, it would have been particularly fruitful in comparative Poetic studies, because he considered the comparative approach to be pivotal. Jakobson believed that Western countries had already started becoming more transcultural, while such an openness was still alien to the Russian context. This lack of interest in Western Slavic contexts led to cultural misunderstandings, for example about Karel Čapek: while his popularity in the Soviet Union was growing, he was identified as an English writer and not as a Czech one.<sup>196</sup>

In the last part of his speech, Jakobson analysed the relationships between scholars who remained in the USSR and the *émigrés*, questioning whether these two milieus should be considered a part of the same system or two independent ones. In other words, the fundamental question was whether a cohesive framework of the Russian academic sphere persisted after the October Revolution. Jakobson was also questioning which kind of relation existed between the literature produced in the Soviet context and that which emerged from the diaspora – he never mentioned the word “emigration” but referred to this phenomenon as “diaspora”. According to Jakobson, these two contexts constituted a unitary literary system and were developing similarly, sharing the same artistic and cultural heritage. He saw no difference between Sergej Prokov’ev and Igor’ Stravinskij, or between Marina Cvetaeva and Boris Pasternak. As the history of Russian literature in Soviet times later proved, Jakobson was utterly wrong.

Such a statement is relevant to comprehend how Jakobson perceived his own position. As already stated in the previous chapter, he did not consider himself an *émigré* and, as I will exemplify in the third chapter through Jurij Sokolov’s example (§ 3.2), he pursued to preserve

---

<sup>196</sup> I have tried to find a proof of Jakobson’s statement about Čapek, but without any results. Even in Oleg Malevič’s writings there are no mentions.

his solid contacts with Russian academy. He did not feel a distance, but on the contrary the need of an intensive collaboration.

“*Gemeinsame Kultursprache*” (1935)

On 6<sup>th</sup> of June 1935 Jakobson published “*Gemeinsame Kultursprache*” [“A Common Cultural Language”] in *Prager Presse*, an article included in the *Selected Writings* in its Czech version.<sup>197</sup> Its ideological character makes it different from other writings published in the newspaper. In the introduction Jakobson summarised the theories of Sergej Ol’denburg, a Russian orientalist and founder of Russian Indological studies. According to Ol’denburg, each country had the tendency to develop specific academic and scientific interests that depended on the national character.<sup>198</sup> This for two main reasons: a socio-historical and a geopolitical one. As in the previous article appeared in *Slavische Rundschau*, Jakobson noticed the lack of transnational relationship between the Russian and the Western European scientific contexts. According to Jakobson, the two sides would have benefited from a wider communication: while Russian scholars had already overcome the positivist approach and each discipline was not conceived as an isolated phenomenon but connected within a holistic perspective.

However, what is instructive about the new Soviet science is not so much the details as its general uninterrupted striving to overcome the fragmentation of knowledge and to replace the *membra disjecta* of the individual subjects with a unified bound system of coordinated sciences.<sup>199</sup>

This overcoming of an atomistic conception of the scientific disciplines was essential for Jakobson, especially when we consider the importance of rejecting Positivism. Despite this attainment, he recognised that the Russian scientific context needed more instruments to achieve further progress. Thus, dialogue with the Western context could be beneficial. Jakobson metaphorically explained the contraposition between Russia and the Western world before the Russian revolution in his already mentioned speech dedicated to Marr from 1951:

---

<sup>197</sup> In July, the article was published in Czech, titled “Společná řeč kultury: Poznámky k otázkám vzájemných styků sovětské a západní vědy”, in *Země Sovětů*. In the *Selected Writings* Toman edited the Czech version. Consequently, I will provide a transcription of the German one in the § **Appendix**.

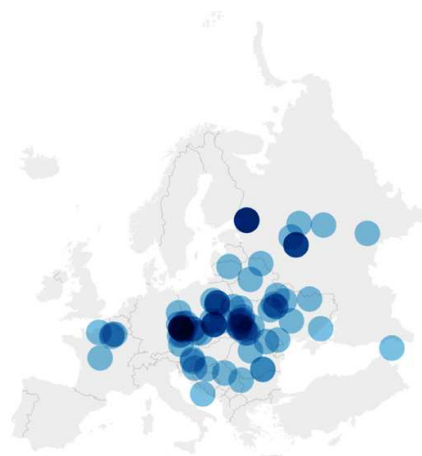
<sup>198</sup> This concept is discussed by Jakobson, see § 2.5.2.

<sup>199</sup> “Indessen sind an der neuen Sowjetwissenschaft nicht so sehr die Einzelheiten belehrend, als ihr allgemeines ununterbrochenes Streben, die Zerstückelung des Wissens zu überwinden und die *membra desjecta* der Einzelfächer durch ein einheitliches gebundenes System der koordinierten Wissenschaften zu ersetzen.”

If we compare, for instance, the pre-Revolutionary Russian linguistic science with the German science of language, we may make the comparison of the Moscow and Berlin architecture. We find that the Russian linguistic science had great achievements but that the general average was low, the German philology was more citified. So, it is like a comparison between the big and impressive buildings in Moscow in the neighbourhood of average primitive accommodations of Moscow and the much more comfortable average od housing in Berlin.<sup>200</sup> (Jakobson 1951)

International congresses represented the ideal chance to develop such a dialogue, the proper pathway to achieve scientific and technological results. As I have already emphasised, promoting the exchange of ideas among scholars from different countries was a pivotal task for Jakobson, like for example in the PLK, where the presence of international members was remarkably important. In relation to this aim, in the conclusions Jakobson advocated the creation of a *shared cultural language*.

The articles analysed in this chapter are then relevant because they depict the importance of considering interwar Europe as a transnational space in which scholars developed new interests and methodologies while exchanging their ideas. During the interwar years, in fact, the internationalisation of the academic research remarkably intensified, especially in Slavic studies. For example, considering the abovementioned First Congress of Slavic Philologists, we can visually observe how transcultural that meeting was, welcoming scholars from different countries.



**Image 1.** The origin of the scholars at the First Congress of Slavic Philologists in Prague (1929).

---

<sup>200</sup> RJP, Box 34 Folder 23, p. 1.

## *Eurasian theories*

Jakobson also wrote articles related to Eurasianism, an ideological movement which spread across Europe during the interwar period, finding supporters in the most important cities of that time, such as Prague, Berlin, and Paris. Besides these cities, we can also consider London, which, although not an important centre for the elaboration of Eurasian theories, was the place to which many supporters of the movement emigrated at the beginning of the 1920s, such as Dmitrij Svjatopolk-Mirskij. Before commenting on and problematising Jakobson's role in Eurasianism, I would like to briefly recount some fundamental passages about the origin of the movement. As there are numerous studies dedicated to this topic, I will only outline a few significant traits.<sup>201</sup> Eurasianism was a movement which emerged among Russians scholars who emigrated after the October revolution, during the turmoil of the Civil War. The nerve centre of the genesis of Eurasianism was Sofia, where the first meeting between those who are considered the "fathers" of the movement occurred, Petr Savickij, Nikolaj Trubeckoj, Petr Suvčinskij and Georgij Vernadskij. As Sergej Glebov stated, the first writing published by Eurasians were the result of intense discussions that occurred in those years and regarded the concept of Eurasia in an ideological, political, and geographical perspective (Bassin – Glebov – Laruelle 2015, 2-3). Most of the those who were involved in the movement were Russians, but there were also international scholars interested in the Eurasian movement, even if they were not active members.

The physiognomy of Eurasianism changed through time, advocating different ideological positions and concepts or (re-)interpreting them. Many members left the movement in the 1920s or in the early 1930s, such as the theologian Georgij Florovskij, who disagreed with Trubeckoj's theories, arising from the same questions but disagreeing with the answers Trubeckoj gave.

The two most relevant features promoted in this ideology were the aim of defining an intersectional geographical space and the intrinsically transnational nature of the movement. Both these characteristics were aligned with the main problems scholars faced after the WWI: the need to find new coordinates after political upheaval such as the collapse of those empires which outlined the European geography for centuries, and the tendency to create a transcultural debate. Eurasians dealt with different disciplines, but mainly with geography, history,

---

<sup>201</sup> See Glebov (2010), Bassin – Glebov – Laruelle (2015), Laruelle (2008) and Sériot (2014). Jakobson's involvement in the Eurasian movement is also commented by Toman (1995).

literature, and linguistics. Concerning literature, in which Suvčinskij played an important role, Eurasians were no strangers to the new achievements and methods developed by other groups of scholars, such as Formalism or, later, Structuralism. An interesting attempt to give some preliminary considerations about the influence of the Formalist method is that by Michal Racyn, who tried to investigate these possible connections in Savickij and Trubeckoj's writings (Racyn 2024).

It seems quite clear that such an intersection should be identified in Structuralism and, rather than in literature, should be questioned in the linguistic field. Jakobson's contributions to Eurasianism were most pronounced in linguistics. His involvement in Eurasianism is evident and has been recognised by many scholars.<sup>202</sup> No one has ever questioned how intense this involvement was and if we can speak of him in terms of a "true" Eurasian. In fact, there are some characteristics that differentiate him from other Eurasians. First, Jakobson cannot be considered an *émigré*. He did not belong to the *émigré* generation, as evidenced by both the conditions under which he arrived in Czechoslovakia and the intensity of his relations with scholars who remained in Russia. Second, Jakobson did not embrace Eurasianism politically. As mentioned by Steiner, Jakobson was not openly interested in political issues (Steiner 2019) and in a letter sent to Vinogradov in November 1920 he described his idea of politics as follows:

Two people are playing chess and you are interested in the game but not in its results. You watch with curiosity, sympathize with the loser, rejoice at the winner's clever check and calculate the "moves" of both: the whites and the blacks. For a minute you can even sit down at the table and play a little for one of them. (Steiner 2019, 75)

The ex-legionnaire Jaroslav Papoušek described Jakobson as someone who was meticulously avoiding not only politics but also all that could compromise him (Steiner 2019, 76). The refusal to embrace a clear political position is an oxymoronic attitude towards an active participation in the Eurasian movement. Having made these preliminary remarks, I would like to demonstrate that Jakobson was not a proper member of the movement but sympathised with the Eurasian theories.

To demonstrate my statement, I intend to address the texts directly, especially "K charakteristike evrazijskogo jazykovogo sojuza" ["The Eurasian Language Union"] (1931).<sup>203</sup>

---

<sup>202</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>203</sup> Recently translated into English by Patrick Flack with an introduction by Patrick Sériot (see Sériot 2023).

There is a temporal issue that cannot be separated from the considerations presented below, namely the fact that Jakobson published his writings related to Eurasian theories mainly in 1931. We can state that his theoretical elaboration developed over a period of three years, between 1929 and 1931. Of course, the long-standing relationship with Trubeckoj and their correspondence suggest Jakobson's familiarity with other Eurasians since the early 1920s, but there is a huge difference between becoming informed about a particular theory and being actively involved in it. Jakobson's relationship with Savickij (see also § 5.1) developed only later, at the end of the 1920s. Although they had certainly met before – probably already in Russia during one of Jakobson's trips to Saint Petersburg to attend Šachmatov's seminars – the letters found in *Slavische Rundschau* suggest that the two scholars began a close collaboration only in the occasion of Jakobson's "K charakteristike evrazijskogo jazykovogo sojuza". Savickij's first letter to Jakobson among those in *Slavische Rundschau*'s archive was sent on 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1928: Savickij having just returned from Berlin to find a letter that Jakobson had sent to him on 16<sup>th</sup>. In this letter, Savickij declares his intention to collaborate with *Slavische Rundschau*, probably invited by Jakobson himself. In the beginning, the tone of their correspondence is very formal, and mainly consist of editorial requests. From 1930 onwards, the tone becomes less formal and the correspondence exchanged after the WWII – kept at MIT – testifies that they developed a close friendship. At that time, Savickij was only occasionally in Prague, and he sent the letters from abroad, such as Oxford or Paris, where he continued developing his studies related to Eurasian theories. In a letter dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1930, he praises Jakobson's article as follows: "Your article, but it is all those who read it (including N. N. Alekseev and the Eurasians here) will be one of the most important centres of this collection".<sup>204</sup> He clearly referred to "K charakteristike evrazijskogo jazykovogo sojuza" Jakobson mainly based his research on Eurasians Trubeckoj and Savickij.

In "Über die heutigen Voraussetzungen der russischen Slavistik" (1929) Jakobson had already referred to Trubeckoj and Zelenin's writings and to Savickij's geographical theories:

The historical unity and inseparability, the uniqueness and originality of this world are becoming ever more clearly recognised; the thesis that "Russia is a special geographical world" (Savickij, Tanfil'ev and others) is becoming cleared and clearer. Physical and economic geography is constantly

---

<sup>204</sup> "Ваша статья, но именно всех ее читавших (в том числе - Н. Н. Алексеева и здешних евразийцев) будет одним из важнейших центров этого сборника".

producing new essential features that characterise the territory of Russia-Eurasia as a whole.<sup>205</sup> (Jakobson 1992, 53)

This reference to Savickij is widely emphasised in the “K charakteristike evrazijskogo jazykovogo sojuza”, whose genesis is interesting. The first draft was conceived for a speech which Jakobson gave in Prague on 20<sup>th</sup> of December 1930 and a shorter French version, “Les unions phonologiques de langues”, appeared in 1930 in *Le Monde Slave* with an introduction by Savickij. According to Savickij, this version was intended to provide a preview to the article in Russian, which was to be published shortly after. This French version aimed to popularize Eurasian theories to a larger, non-Russophone, public. This intention is also expressed in the German article “Über die phonologische Sprachbund” [“The Phonological Union of Language”], appeared in *Les travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*. Savickij introduced Jakobson’s essay stating that the new linguistic theories finally demonstrated the existence of a Eurasia that could be conceived as a linguistic independent world.

It becomes clear that Jakobson’s effort while writing the article was twofold. First, he echoed Trubeckoj’s phonological theories, expanding them through a comparative methodology which became more and more prominent with the development of Structuralism. Jakobson’s analysis is a clear development of one of the most important concepts elaborated by Trubeckoj: that of *Sprachbund*,<sup>206</sup> through the comparative method, which dominated Jakobson’s writings published during the interwar period. Second, Jakobson developed a symmetrical (and here I agree with Sériot’s statement about the importance of symmetry by Jakobson) analysis of the linguistic characteristic of Eurasian languages, which mirrors Savickij’s geographical studies. While reading the essay, it is possible to observe that Jakobson did not really meet Savickij’s expectations. Rather than describing the existence of a phonological *Sprachbund* which could demonstrate the existence of Eurasia, Jakobson proposed a method of analysis to achieve such a conclusion.

The speculative character of this essay is emphasised in the “conclusions”, in which he listed the possible developments of such an analysis, which is to say the “tasks facing Eurasian linguistics”. We can note the relevant absence of names of Russian philosophers who were

---

<sup>205</sup> “Immer deutlicher tritt in das Bewußtsein die historische Einheitlichkeit und Untrennbarkeit, die Eigenartigkeit und Originalität dieser Welt; immer klarer kommt die These auf: ‚Rußland ist eine besondere geographische Welt‘ (Savickij, Tanfil’ev und andere). Die physische und ökonomische Geographie bringt immer neue wesentliche Merkmale hervor, die das Territorium von Rußland-Eurasien als Einheit charakterisieren.”

<sup>206</sup> Concerning Jakobson and the concept of *Sprachbund*, see Schaller in Sériot (1997).

pivotal for the movement from Jakobson's references while elaborating his Eurasian linguistic theories, such as Fedor Sologub's idea of the Orient or Sergej Bulgakov's philosophical theories which had a significant influence on Savickij (Beisswenger 2015). Rather, Jakobson's predecessor in his Eurasian linguistic theory is the ethnographer Dmitrij Zelenin, who accurately demonstrated the intrinsic characteristics which distinguished the Eurasian languages as an independent whole.

The common references between Jakobson and the Eurasians are related to literature and demonstrate the possibility of tracing a converging line towards other representative members of the movement, such as Suvčinskij. During the interwar period Jakobson often quoted Aleksandr Hercen or Aleksandr Blok, both considered important sources for the emerging of the Eurasian ideology. Concerning Hercen, Jakobson published "Perpetuum mobile kyvadla: Pokus o montáž" ["The *Perpetuum Mobile* of a Pendulum: Attempt at a Montage"], in *Listy pro umění a kritiku* in 1934. This is a collage of quotations from Hercen's book *S togo berega* [*From Another Shore*], translated into Czech in 1905 by Josef Mikš. In this writing, Jakobson expressed his discouragement towards the implications of history and the European political and cultural tendencies. He was disheartened that the revolutionary spirit – such as that of Futurism – that had fuelled the first two decades of the twentieth century was disappearing, while conservative tendencies that were spreading. According to him, humanity was set back a generation, sinking into "Germanic barbarism": "I am sorry that humanity has once again taken a step backwards by a whole generation, that the movement is once again suppressed, stopped. [...] Humanity, to advance out of the narrow forms of Roman law, is sinking back into Germanic barbarism" (Jakobson 2014, 28).<sup>207</sup> This represented just one example of Jakobson's writings against the ascent of Nazi ideology published in the 1930s (see § 2.6.3). He was convinced that this critique of a "Quixotic contemporaneity" should be followed by a critical and disruptive action. Jakobson in the interwar years never published an article devoted to Blok, but commented, as I will show later (§ 2.5.1), on Melniková-Papoušková's monograph.

Returning to the Eurasian question, while analysing Jakobson's interwar writings it is possible to note a paucity of reference to the Eurasian ideology and his interest in this ideological movement is temporally restricted and methodologically limited. Jakobson did not

---

<sup>207</sup> "Mně je líto, že lidstvo opět učinilo krok zpátky o celé pokolení, že pohyb je opět potlačen, zastaven. [...] Lidstvo proto, aby pokročilo kupředu z úzkých forem římského práva, klesá nazpět v germánské barbarství."

provide a complete analysis of Eurasian languages and did not publish further results, but offered considerations based on assumptions already widely developed by others. I believe that the tendency of some scholars to consider Jakobson's involvement in Eurasianism as similar to Trubeckoj or Savickij's experiences should be revised questioning if Jakobson's contribution to the Eurasian movement was so relevant as commonly recognised. Even if Jakobson continued his exchange with Eurasians such as Savickij himself or Vernadskij after the WWII, and promoted the edition of Trubeckoj's unpublished writings, he later revised his involvement in the movement, as a note to his correspondence with Trubeckoj seems to suggest, in which he referred to "Savickij's Eurasian fanaticism" (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 296).

### **2.3 Reports: Jakobson and the International Academic Context**

In the previous section I have remarked that Jakobson emphasised the importance of an international cooperation between Russian and Western scholars. As I stated, international congresses represented the ideal chance to develop such a dialogue. It was during the interwar years that these congresses were organised, which saw scholars from all over Europe (and beyond) meet to discuss the new trends of the research in many fields, including linguistics or literary studies.

Jakobson, who at that time was not already an affirmed scholar, published in the press some reports relating to international congresses he participated in, on conferences and events held in Prague, mostly promoted by the PLK. Despite the scale of this corpus of these reports, they have not been given enough attention in the field of Jakobson studies. Analysing them, it is possible to deduce more important information about his activity and his relationships with the international academic community. These reports are also significant for identifying which scholars he encountered during the interwar period.

After discussing the writings published in the press, I will reflect on the importance of the international relationships between Jakobson and a selection of scholars from other countries, i.e., Louis Hjelmslev, Olaf Broch, and Émile Benveniste.

### *Reports: some remarks*

In the interwar years Czech periodicals would commonly publish reports about conferences or events held in Czechoslovakia and abroad.<sup>208</sup> Among the events reported a pivotal regard concerned those promoted by the PLK. This especially happened before the foundation of *Slovo a slovesnost* in 1935, when the Circle recorded its activity in other periodicals such as *Časopis pro moderní filologii*. Besides this, the activities of the PLK were documented and commented also in newspapers to which Jakobson contributed, such as the Czech *Lidové noviny* or the cultural column of the German *Prager Presse* (Bernátek 2014; Bernátek 2016), where the authors of the reports, such as Eisner or Silberstein, actively participated in the lectures.

Jakobson's reports on congresses share a recurrent structure. First, he introduces the congress with subsequent references to previous ones (when applicable) and he provides a list of the pivotal topics which had been discussed, offering insights about the scholarly atmosphere. Then, he discusses certain aspects of the congress participants, focussing particularly on those affiliated with the PLK and Slavic studies. Jakobson also discusses his own speeches, but never uses the first-person singular. For example, in a report dated the 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1938, he refers to himself in the third person: "R. Jakobson attempts to reduce consonant systems to several differentiation properties forming pairwise opposites"<sup>209</sup> (Jakobson 2014, 325).

### *Linguist congresses*

In *Prager Presse* Jakobson documented his participation in four international linguistic congresses and reported on the Congress of Phonetic Sciences held in Amsterdam in 1932.

The first of these linguistic congresses was held in The Hague (1928) and, notably, it was the first official international meeting during which linguists from different countries discussed common topics, such as the role of Indo-Germanic linguistics. It enabled participants from across Europe and beyond to meet and build contacts – except for the Russian delegation, which, as Jakobson underlined, could not come. Three years later, the second congress

---

<sup>208</sup> For example, *Prager Presse* documented the First International Congress of Slavists of 1929: the congress was announced, and some of the speeches were subsequently described. A more extensive report of that congress was then published in *Slavia*.

<sup>209</sup> "R. Jakobson se pokouší redukovat souhláskové soustavy na několik diferenčních vlastností tvořících párové protiklady."

Jakobson reports on was held in 1931 in Geneva, the hometown of Ferdinand de Saussure. The next report Jakobson wrote was from Rome in 1933 and Jakobson's description does not follow the same pattern as his previous reports: methodology and theories related to new tendencies in linguistics had already been discussed in the previous congresses, and groups of scholars had already defined. The atmosphere was different because the congress in Rome was no longer an occasion to recruit new *bojovníci* ("fighters") to establish a new path in linguistic studies, but it was rather an occasion for sharing results. The last congress Jakobson wrote about before the WWII was in Copenhagen in 1936, the city where the Lingvistkredsen<sup>210</sup> (Copenhagen School) was founded. According to Jakobson, the congress held in Copenhagen was more fruitful than the previous ones due to the remarkable experience both of participants and organisers, like the linguists Otto Jespersen and Viggo Brøndal. In the report Jakobson underlined that academia had started to experience the effects of Nazi propaganda already in 1936 and he noted two evident signs of how the congress was affected. First, a French linguist could not come to Copenhagen because he was forbidden to cross German territory. Moreover, some German linguists gave speeches in which the influence of Nazi ideology was evident. One academic Jakobson reported as countering this influence was Hjemlev's mentor Pedersen. During the Copenhagen congress, Pedersen stated that a new phase of comparative linguistics had begun and Jakobson, a devoted promoter of comparative linguistics, wrote:

Even the famous Holger Pedersen, always so sober and cautious, in his final word after the two lectures on Indo-European proto-language, spoke directly of a new chapter in the development of comparative linguistics and its new outbursts, worthy of joining the former outbursts of the leading representatives of the previous period: F. de Saussure and Baudouin de Courtenay.<sup>211</sup> (Jakobson 2014, 145)

Despite the Nazi ideological influence, the congress of 1936 had an essential role. At that time Structuralism was not just a theory anymore, but it had brought about its first results: "The

---

<sup>210</sup> During the interwar period the Lingvistkredsen developed an important and enduring collaboration with the PLK. The international congress in Copenhagen was so significant for the PLK that Jakobson, in addition to his report in *Prager Presse*, published a longer and more detailed one in *Slovo a slovesnost* in 1936, "Kodaňská přehlídka dnešního jazykozpytu" ["Copenhagen Review of Today's Linguistics"].

<sup>211</sup> "Ba slavný Holger Pedersen, vždy tak střízlivý a opatrný, ve svém závěrečném slově po obou uvedených přednáškách o prajazyce indoevropském mluvil přímo o nové kapitole ve vývoji srovnávacího jazykozpytu a o nových jeho výbojích, důstojně se přidružujících k někdejší výbojům čelných zástupců období předchozího - F. de Saussura in Baudouina de Courtenay."

debate was no longer about the validity and suitability of the method but about the concrete results of its application to different sections of linguistics”<sup>212</sup> (Jakobson 2014, 144).

*Louis Hjelmslev and Jakobson: a long cooperation*

When Jakobson came for the congress in Copenhagen in 1936, he gave lectures at the University of Copenhagen and at the University of Aarhus, where Louis Hjelmslev was a professor (Beke 2011). One year later Hjelmaslev visited the PLK and on 22<sup>nd</sup> of October Jakobson published “Prof. Hjelmslev in Prag” [“Prof. Hjelmslev in Prague”] in *Prager Presse*. Lorenzo Cigana’s recent research on Hjelmslev has been pivotal, such as the monograph *Hjelmslev e la teoria delle correlazioni linguistiche* [*Hjelmslev and the Theory of Linguistic Correlations*] (2022), and the “Glossematics” database,<sup>213</sup> which contain Hjelmslev’s correspondences with Jakobson and Trubeckoj. We can use these to reconstruct Jakobson’s relationship with Hjelmslev and the genesis of the writing published in *Prager Presse*. After Hjelmslev returned to Denmark, in a letter dated the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 1937 he expressed to Jakobson his enthusiastic thanks:

De retour à mon pays, et après avoir réglé diverses besognes urgentes qui m’attendaient (entre autres choses les épreuves des Actes du congrès linguistes que vous avez dû recevoir maintenant), je m’empresse de vous exprimer, à Madame Jakobson et à vous-même, les plus cordiaux remerciements de la part de ma femme et de moi des belles journées que nous avons pu passer avec vous à Prague et à Brno, grâce à vos bons soins et à votre aimable hospitalité. Il est regrettable seulement que nous n’ayons pas pu rester plus longtemps, malgré vos suggestions si aimables et si tentantes; mais vous savez que j’ai été forcé de rentrer très vite pour reprendre mes occupations ici. Mais je vous remercie non seulement de votre hospitalité, mais aussi des entretiens si intéressants et si féconds que j’ai pu avoir avec vous et avec les autres collègues de Prague et de Brno, et qui m’ont donné ample matière à réflexion.<sup>214</sup>

On 7<sup>th</sup> of December Jakobson replied, proposing that Hjelmslev publish an article in *Slovo a slovesnost* related to the lecture on Ramus Rask given at the PLK,<sup>215</sup> and sent Hjelmslev an

---

<sup>212</sup> “Již se nedebovalo o oprávněnosti a vhodnosti metody, nýbrž o konkrétních výsledcích její aplikace na rozličné úseky lingvistiky.”

<sup>213</sup> See <<https://glossematics.dk/app>>.

<sup>214</sup> <[https://glossematics.dk/app/reader/acc-1992\\_0005\\_025\\_Jakobson\\_0010-tei-final.xml](https://glossematics.dk/app/reader/acc-1992_0005_025_Jakobson_0010-tei-final.xml)>.

<sup>215</sup> The article was published in *Slovo a slovesnost* in 1938 with the title “Rasmus Rask, jeho život a dílo” [Ramus Rask, his Life and Work].

article published in *Lidové noviny*: “Je vous envoie en même temps les comptes-rendus de *Lidové noviny* sur vos conférence et j’ai prié la rédaction de la *Prager Presse* de vous envoyer un résumé sommaire de votre conférence faite au Cercle [...]”.<sup>216</sup> The *Lidové noviny* article Jakobson sent was published on 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1937 under the title “Dánsko-česká součinnost v jazykovědě” [“Danish and Czech Collaboration in Linguistics”]. The author (the article is unsigned) traces the relationship between the Czech and the Danish academic contexts from the Danish linguist Holger Pedersen studies in Prague in 1902. The author calls Hjelmslev “Pedersen’s successor”:

L. Hjelmslev’s double stay in the republic fits well into this tradition. In 1923, the young linguist, combining a penetrating interest in general linguistics with that in Balto-Slavic languages, characteristic of Danish comparatists, diligently attended Zubatý’s lectures on acquiring Czech and Slavic literature. This year, Pedersen’s successor in the famous Copenhagen chair for comparative linguistics begins this stage of his activities by travelling to Prague and Brno, where in specific meetings with his Czechoslovakian colleagues he discusses current issues of scientific cooperation, in particular the question of fraternity between the Prague and the Copenhagen Circle, which he now manages as chairman.<sup>217</sup>

The relationship between Jakobson and Hjelmslev stretched beyond the 1930s, enduring after the WWII. As Cigana notes, Hjelmslev employed Jakobson and Trubeckoj’s concept of the linguistic mark in 1933 (2022, 101).

When Jakobson and Pírková fled Czechoslovakia, they were hosted by Hjelmslev and his wife in Denmark before leaving for Scandinavia and then the United States. Their correspondence and collaboration were interrupted during the war but intensified again in the 1950s, when Jakobson visited Copenhagen and Hjelmslev came to the United States. Then the two scholars continued exchanging ideas and punctually updating each other on their research. Despite their close relationship (both in academic and personal terms) Jakobson never wrote

---

<sup>216</sup> <[https://glossematics.dk/app/reader/acc-1992\\_0005\\_025\\_Jakobson\\_0020-tei-final.xml](https://glossematics.dk/app/reader/acc-1992_0005_025_Jakobson_0020-tei-final.xml)>.

<sup>217</sup> “Do této tradice dobře zapadá dvojí pobyt v republice L. Hjelmsleva – v r. 1923 mladý linguista, spojující s pronikavým zájmem o obecnou jazykovědu také zájem o baltoslovanské jazyky, příznačný pro dánské komparatisty, pilně navštěvuje přednášky Zubatého o osvojuje si češtinu a slovanskou odbornou literaturu a v roce letošním nástupce Pedersenův na proslulé kodaňské stolici pro srovnávací jazykozpyt zahajuje tuto etapu své činnosti cestou do Prahy a Brna, kde v podrobných poradách s československými kolegy projednává aktuální otázky vědecké spolupráce, zejména otázka souručenství Pražského a Kodaňského kroužku, který nyní jako předseda řídí.”

an obituary to honour Hjeltslev, but his letter to Vibeke, Hjeltslev's wife, can be considered a personal attempt at one:

Louis could only live a whole, amazing life of a great thinker, scholar, and worker, which he was, or not live at all. [...] Thirty years of rare friendship united us, and I shall never forget all its stages – our visit to you in Aarhus in 1936 with our first fascinating discussion, your visit to Brno, the unusual case when Louis and I danced in the Dean's office and sang in the Brno streets; then his and your unforgettable help to us in tragic 1939 [...].<sup>218</sup>

### *Norwegian academy: Olaf Broch*

While investigating the Copenhagen conference, I noticed a lack of research on relationships between Czech and Danish or Scandinavian scholars. These relations were promoted by some German institutions settled in Prague through the Germanist Arnošt Kraus: the Tschechoslowakisch-dänische Gesellschaft [Czechoslovak-Danish Society], founded in 1924, and the Institut für Skandinavistik und Niederlandistik [Institute for Scandinavian and Dutch Studies], founded in 1930. The only research in this area is on relations between Hjeltslev and the PLK, which Cigana discussed.

Research on another significant international exchange is lacking: the relationship between the Czech and the Norwegian contexts. For example, in 1935 Christian Stang visited Brno at the same time as Benveniste's visit to the city. The most relevant figure here was Olaf Broch<sup>219</sup>, mainly known as a scholar involved in Russian studies, but also deeply interested in Czech language.<sup>220</sup> Broch embodied the model of a many-sided scholar, who besides his academic activity was *engagé* also as translator, translating Tolstoj and Dostoevskij's novels, and in other fields, such as politics. Research on Broch focuses on his relations with Russian and Ukrainian scholars but does not cover those with Czech or French academics. Broch's

---

<sup>218</sup> RJP, Box 25, Folder 23.

<sup>219</sup> See Bjørnflaten (1996, 1998 and 2012). In this article, the scholar emphasised the richness of Broch's archive, which collects letters he exchanged with other linguists, such as Aleksej Šachmatov and Pedersen. I want to sincerely thank prof. Jan Ivar Bjørnflaten for his advice concerning my research on Broch. See also Lönngrén (2019).

<sup>220</sup> Broch became close to Russian scholars in 1888, especially to Fortunatov and Šachmatov, while studying in Saint Petersburg and Moscow. His interests were primarily related to phonology and phonetic theories applied in dialectology, as his first study "Zum Kleinrussischen in Ungarn" ["Rusyns in Hungary"] testifies. This was published in 1895 in *Archiv für slavische Philologie* under Jagić's suggestion and expanded two years later in the book *Studien von den slovakisch-kleinrussischen Sprachgrenzen im Östlichen Ungarn* [*Studies of the Slovak-Rusyn Language Borders in Eastern Hungary*] (Broch [1895] 1897). His first relevant achievement in phonology was *Slavische Phonetik* [*Slavic Phonology*], published in 1911 (Broch [1911] 2021).

relationship with Czech scholars began when he visited the city in 1905. In his memoir, Mathesius remembered meeting Broch:

A great scientific experience for me was meeting the Norwegian Slavist Olaf Broch, approaching forty, towards the end of my university studies. He was already an accomplished scholar, known for his work on the shifting linguistic boundaries between Slovaks and Rusyns, and he came to Prague in the early summer of 1905 to study Czech pronunciation on the spot.<sup>221</sup> (Mathesius 2009, 216)

Broch's relations intensified during the interwar years and in the 1930s, Broch attended the linguistic international congresses Jakobson wrote on and visited Czechoslovakia again, where he worked with the PLK. Broch gave a lecture on 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1938 titled "Bedeutungsunterschied durch Intonationsunterschied" ["Distinguishing Meaning with the Help of Intonational Opposition"] and published an article on this in the eighth volume of the *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* (Broch 1939). The PLK's archive gives more insights into Broch's relationships with Czech scholars: during a meeting held on 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1937, members were informed that Broch was invited to Brno and on 25<sup>th</sup> Mathesius proposed to take advantage of his visit and to invite him to join the Circle. On 21<sup>st</sup> of December Broch was accepted as member of the PLK together with Hjelmslev and van Wijk.

Jakobson encountered Broch through both the PLK and Russian scholars. In an article published on 4<sup>th</sup> of August 1937 in *Prager Presse* to celebrate Broch's seventieth birthday, Jakobson recognised the significant contribution he gave to the development of Slavic studies, tracing the trajectory of his research lineage to Fortunatov and other ancestors of pre-formalist linguistics, such as de Courtenay. Curiously, Jakobson did not mention Šachmatov, although his relationship with Broch was very important, as evidenced by their extensive correspondence.<sup>222</sup> Another scholar related to Jakobson who had an important relationship with Broch was Savickij. Although the two scholars might seem extremely distant, especially in political terms, their communication began in 1916, when Savickij saw in Broch a master, and

---

<sup>221</sup> "Velkou vědeckou zkušenost pro mne bylo ke konci mých univerzitních studií setkání s norským slavistou Olafem Brochem, jenž se tehdy blížil čtyřicítce. Byl to už hotový vědec, známý svými pracemi o posouvání jazykových hranic mezi Slováky a Rusíny, a přišel do Prahy počátkem léta 1905, aby na místě studoval českou výslovnost."

<sup>222</sup> See Lönngren (2015) and Lönngren - Zakovorotnaja (2020). Broch's archive presents a significant quantity of materials, though as prof. Bjørnflaten told me, only the portion related to Šachmatov and Jagić has been organised, while the (possible) presence of correspondence with Czech scholars has never been considered. As noticed in Bjørnflaten (2012), there are many correspondences with important scholars, such as Pedersen.

continued even after the WWII, when the tones of their correspondence suggest an academic parity as well as a renewed mutual respect.<sup>223</sup> Jakobson was acquainted with Broch's work by the early 1920s: in *O češskom stiche*, Jakobson largely referred to Broch's volume *Očerki filologii slavjanskoj reči* [Philological Essays about the Slavic Speech] (Broch 1910). I have found no evidence of any correspondence with Broch in the interwar years, though in the RJPs there is an extensive collection of letters between the two scholars which testifies that they communicated until Broch's death, in 1961.<sup>224</sup> Although I cannot demonstrate the existence of a correspondence, it is otherwise evident from the writing published in *Prager Presse* and from *O češskom stiche* that Jakobson was familiar with Broch's studies, especially his phonological work and its application in the field of dialectology. Although Broch belonged to an earlier generation and had not yet overcome either the positivist legacy or the theorisations of the Neogrammarians, Jakobson saw in the Norwegian scholar a point of contact with new trends in research:

Although Broch's writings are strewn with many fascinating sound-historical observations and hypotheses (such as his thoughts on the origins of the transformation of southern Great Russian vocalism), the core of his research is synchronistic, synchronistic, but not static: he takes full account of the variability of the sound system. (Jakobson 2014, 259)<sup>225</sup>

Considering the importance of scholars such as Hjelmslev, Pederson or Broch not only for Jakobson, but for the Czech context in general, I believe a further comparative study could be fruitful in understanding of the international stance of Czechoslovakia. Such a study would investigate the European academic milieu as a centre of prolific intercultural exchange, which flourished through events such as those described in Jakobson's reports. This international and multicultural exchange was suspended between a regard for tradition and a methodological approach that was as avant-garde as it was, to quote Jakobson, combative.<sup>226</sup> Such research

---

<sup>223</sup> See Karelin – Repnevskij (2018).

<sup>224</sup> In the archive of the Oslo Nasjonalbiblioteket (Oslo National library) are conserved Jakobson's letters. Such a correspondence should be edited and properly commented, because it frames a significant chapter in the evolution of Slavic studies during the twentieth century.

<sup>225</sup> "Wenn in den Arbeiten Brochs zahlreiche interessante lautgeschichtliche Feststellungen und Hypothesen verstreut sind (etwa seine Gedanken über die Ursachen der Umbildung des südgroßrussischen Vokalismus), so ist der Kern seiner Untersuchungen synchronistisch angelegt, synchronistisch, aber nicht statisch: die Veränderlichkeit des Lautbestandes wird von ihm im vollen Umfang in Betracht gezogen."

<sup>226</sup> See Becklund-Ehler (1977) on Jakobson and Scandinavian scholars.

would be beneficial to gain a better picture of the evolution of human sciences in Europe during the last century and to gain a clearer awareness of contemporary Slavic studies' physiognomy.

### *The Bulgarian case*

There is a writing which among Jakobson's reports can be conceived as a peculiar document. On 5<sup>th</sup> of September 1937, he published "Neznámé Bulharsko" ["Unknown Bulgaria"] (Jakobson 2014, 261-265) in *Lidové noviny* alongside photographs and drawings. This piece is peculiar insofar as it can be considered a sort of travelogue, a travel report dedicated to one of his trips to Bulgaria, which took place in the summer of 1937. Jakobson described Bulgarian cities and places, emphasising the folkloric character of the country, describing it as an "ethnographic museum".

Jakobson's visit to Bulgaria also had an academic aim. As the article "Roman Jakobson přednáší v Bulharsku" ["Roman Jakobson Teaches in Bulgaria"], published on 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1937 in the journal *Národní osvobození*, describes, Jakobson delivered three lectures at the University of Sofia. The first one was dedicated to the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, the second was on the PLK, and the last one focused on the comparative study of Slavic literature. From the documents kept in Masaryk University's Archive (AMU), it is possible to deduce that it was not his first visit to this country. Among the documents is one dated the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 1935 which testifies that the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy invited Jakobson to spend time in Bulgaria in the summer of the same year to establish some academic contacts:

The dean's office of the Faculty of Philosophy of Masaryk University in Brno has entrusted Professor Roman O. Jakobson, on behalf of the Faculty of Philosophy and the Slavonic Seminary, to establish scientific contacts with the relevant authorities and institutions in Bulgaria through a trip to Bulgaria in the summer of 1935; he therefore asks the authorities here and there to be willing to accommodate him in the matter of travel to Bulgaria and the establishment of the necessary contacts, and the National Bank to allow him to export the necessary currency.<sup>227</sup>

---

<sup>227</sup> "Děkanství filosofické fakulty Masarykovy university v Brně pověřilo profesora Dra Romana O. Jakobsona, aby z zájmu filosofické fakulty s slovanského semináře navázal obdobním (sic!) zájezdem do Bulharsku v létě 1935 vědecké styky s příslušnými činiteli a institucemi v Bulharsku; žádá proto úřady zdejší i tamější (sic!), aby mu ve věcech cesty po Bulharsku a navázání potřebných styků vyšly ochotně vstříc (sic!), a Národní banku, aby mu povolila vývoz potřebných valut." in AMU, A2, Roman Jakobson.

Jakobson's relationship with Bulgarian scholars, as testified by the obituary in which dedicated to Ljubomir Miletic, represents an important topic which has not been studied enough to date. In the obituary Jakobson stated that Miletic as one of the most influent Bulgarian scholars in the international milieu, describing him as one of "most prominent and most flamboyant" representants of the Bulgarian academy (Jakobson 2014, 256). In 1933 Jakobson also published a comparative study between Bulgarian and Russian iamb in a collection of essays edited to honour Miletic's scholarly activity. His relation to Bulgaria continued also after the WWII, when he further developed his interest in Palaeographic studies and in Medieval studies, especially in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition.

### *Émile Benveniste at the PLK*

On 16<sup>th</sup> of March 1937 Jakobson published in *Lidové noviny* "Prof. Benveniste v Brně" ["Prof. Benveniste in Brno"] (Jakobson 2014, 246-247).<sup>228</sup> He discussed Benveniste's lecture at the Masaryk University in Brno, on the Proto-Indo-European structure, which he describes as *zhuštěná* and *přehledná* ("concise" and "transparent"). During his short period in Czechoslovakia, Benveniste also spent time in Prague, where he attended meetings organised by the PLK and lectured at the French Institute. *Prager Presse* reported on his lectures. On 11<sup>th</sup> of March, Silberstein reported on Benveniste's lecture *L'expression linguistique de la quantité* at the PLK and on the audience's reactions, especially Friedrich Sloty's (Silberstein 1937).<sup>229</sup> Contacts between Czech and French linguists (beyond Benveniste, Antoine Meillet and Lucien Tesnière are noteworthy) developed in the interwar years.<sup>230</sup> It is difficult to reconstruct precisely how Jakobson's relationship with Benveniste was structured in the interwar years, due to a paucity of archival sources. The two linguists exchanged some letters between 1947 and 1968 which testify their intense collaboration (Laplantine – Testenoire 2021). This relationship was a transatlantic one by the time the letters were written and took on the shape of a triangle with Claude Levi-Strauss.

---

<sup>228</sup> It is signed "alg". Toman argues that this may be an abbreviation of "Aljagrov", see Jakobson (2014, 247). Toman's suggestion is convincing due to the lexical convergences he reported.

<sup>229</sup> It had been planned for the 9<sup>th</sup> of March 1937, but then it was anticipated, and Benveniste lectured on 8<sup>th</sup>. On 5<sup>th</sup> of May, Jakobson and Havránek proposed the election of Benveniste as a member of the PLK which was accepted on 21<sup>st</sup> of December. On 7<sup>th</sup> of February 1938 Benveniste wrote a letter expressing his gratitude for the nominee, see Čermák – Poeta – Čermák (2012).

<sup>230</sup> See Krásová (2014, 2018, 2021) and Krásová – Koblížek (2019).

### *Jakobson's reports during the American period*

Concluding this section, I would like to reflect Jakobson's reports written during the American period. Jakobson's quit his activity of publishing reports in the press but used to meticulously trace his academic activity in other circumstance. These private reports which are so precise to permit an almost complete reconstruction of his scientific activity from 1950 to 1982. Among these materials there are two relevant documents. The first one is a letter Jakobson sent on 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1950 to Michail Karpovič, who was teaching at Harvard in the same period. It is a brief report Jakobson wrote after his first travel around Europe after the end of the WWII. He described the current situation of Slavic studies in the major countries in West Europe:

In Western Europe Slavic studies, as in the humanities in general, England begins to play the most important role [...]. French Slavic studies have a glorious past but are, as many other branches of humanities, rather in decadence. The militant spirit of the leading French Slavists against any modern trends and new ideas and the almost entire lack of a young generation in Slavic studies are particularly striking [...]. The Slavic departments are solid but limited in their range in Norway and Denmark and the Dutch Slavic studies are decimated by the premature death of their great representative van Wijk in 1941. [...] There is no high demand for Slavic languages in Switzerland and Belgium.<sup>231</sup>

In the closing remarks, Jakobson informed Karpovič about the interest of West European academies in collaborating with Harvard Slavic department. Jakobson's career completely changed after moving to the United States, where he gained a new professional and influent position in academia. The second document is a report about a trip to Soviet Union and Europe, which Jakobson made in 1958.<sup>232</sup> A large part of the report is devoted to the Soviet Union. Jakobson speaks of an academic environment that, despite difficult conditions in the Stalin era, was intensively and rapidly flourishing again. The reports written during the American period

---

<sup>231</sup> RJP's Box 1, Folder 18.

<sup>232</sup> Relevant is Jakobson's remarks about his nine-day sojourn in Moscow from 1956 in his correspondence with Vernadskij. In a letter dated the 21<sup>st</sup> of June he emphasises his enthusiasm after meeting his former colleagues and the new representatives of the Soviet academia. He describes the profound changes after the end of Stalinist era: "one could characterise the mood as the honeymoon of a security and relative freedom after the mood as the incredible terror of the post-war years" (RJP's, Box 46, Folder 53). Concerning Soviet scholars, Jakobson praises their great feeling of self-identity, the freedom of their discussions and their desire of having a dialogue with the émigré community.

have nothing to share with those published in interwar Czechoslovakia. Jakobson's role during international trips and the questions he emphasised reveal that his figure changed and assumed a diplomatic function, rather than just that of a scholar.

## 2.4 Jakobson and translation: practice and theory

This portion of chapter is dedicated to Jakobson's involvement in translation studies. Due to the complexity and the amplitude of this topic, my intent is not to be exhaustive, but to depict the main characteristics of Jakobson's involvement in translation during the Czech period.<sup>233</sup>

Jakobson's work in translation studies during his American period is widely known and studied; the same cannot be stated of his work on translation studies undertaken during his Russian and Czechoslovakian phases. His interest in translation manifested from the Muscovite years onwards: it is in these earlier years, especially in his time in Czechoslovakia, that Jakobson shortly approached translation in parallel with his early research in linguistics and philology. The interest in this field is shaped in three ways, which I identify as three different "functions": Jakobson as translator/editor, Jakobson as reviewer, and Jakobson as theoretician. In this portion of chapter each of these three functions is interpreted within Jakobson's primary one as a cultural transfer, mainly between the Russian and Czech contexts.

Concerning the first function, I will briefly recapitulate the few translations Jakobson did in Russia and in Czechoslovakia. Then, I will focus my analysis on Jakobson's involvement in translation as a supporter to other translators and as an editor. The second function will be presented through a commentary of two reviews published by Jakobson, one devoted to the Croatian translation of *Slovo o polku Igoreve* by Ivan Šajković and one related to Il'ja Bart's Czech translation of Puškinian poems. Concerning the last function, I will delve into it referring to Jakobson's most important writings about translation and briefly refer his influence in the Czech translational theory.<sup>234</sup>

---

<sup>233</sup> I am aware of the richness of materials about translation published in the interwar period by Czech scholars or writers, but I do not aim to depict an exhaustive description of this phenomenon.

<sup>234</sup> I am aware of the amplitude of such a topic, which should require a separated analysis. In my thesis I will just refer to some selected examples.

*First function: Jakobson as translator and editor*

Despite his near-boundless linguistic knowledge, to which I referred in the first chapter, and his constant desire to make avant-garde Russian poetry known outside Russia's borders, Jakobson rarely published translations. His first attested translation was from French into Russian, of Mallarmé's poem *Une dentelle s'abolit* (Jakobson 2012, 207). Besides translations for articles or lectures and those from Medieval Russian literature into modern Russian (such as his 1948 translation of *Slovo o polku Igoreve*), there are three extant translations attributable to Jakobson from Russian into other languages. The first is a translation into French of an excerpt of Majakovskij's poem *Oblako v štanach* [*A Cloud in Trousers*], which he made between late 1916 and early 1917. This translation was published by Jangfel'dt, who noted that the poem's opening was recited in person by Jakobson (2012, 283), while final last six verses were published by Winner in 1977 (Armstrong – Schooneveld 1977, 508). In the same years Jakobson translated into Old Slavonic verses from Majakovskij's *Ničego ne ponimajut* [*They Do Not Understand Nothing*] (1913), reproduced again by Jangfel'dt (Jakobson 2012, 209):

КЪ БРАДОБРИЮ ПРИДОУЪ И РЕКОУЪ.  
ХОШТЪ ОТЪУЕ ДА ПРИЧЕШЕШИ МИ ОУШИ.  
ГЛАДЪКЪ БЪ НЪ СТААЪ КЕСТЪ ИГЪЛИВЪ.  
ДАЪГОМЪ ЛИКОМЪ АКЪ КРОУШКА КЕСТЪ.  
НЕРАЗЪОУМЪНЪ РЪЖАЪ СКАКАШЪ СЛОВЕСА.  
МЕТААШЕ СЪ ЖЕ РЪГЪ ПАКЪ И ПАКЪ.  
И СЕ ДАЪГО СМЪТААШЕ СЪ ГЛАВА НЪКА.  
ВЪЗДЪИМАИЪШТИ СЪ АКЪ РЕДЪКЪ СТАРАЪ~

On 27<sup>th</sup> of December 1920, Jakobson published in *Den* the Czech translation of portions of Velimir Chlebnikov's poem *Sestry Molnii* [*The Daughter of the Storm*] under the title “Z poematu ‘Sestry blýskavice’” [“From the poem ‘The Daughter of the Storm’”] (Jakobson 1920). Jakobson translated the final paragraphs, where the voice of the people closes the poem.<sup>235</sup> The translation is signed R. A. (Roman Aljagrov).

In 1925, Jakobson published a Russian translation of Neumann's poem *Jarní rytmy* [*Vesenní ritmy*] in *Nové Rusko* to celebrate Neumann's fiftieth birthday (Jakobson 1925).<sup>236</sup> In the brief introduction, Jakobson described Neumann as “the greatest of contemporary Czech poets”, emphasising the poet's important role within the avant-garde.

<sup>235</sup> It was not published in the *Selected Writings*, but appeared in Jakobson (2012, 208).

<sup>236</sup> A transcription of the translation is provided in the § **Appendix**. For the original, see Neumann (1967).

Another aspect that is often overlooked by scholars must be considered: Jakobson's role as a supporter of other translators, both as reviser and editor. As discussed in his interview with Angelo Maria Ripellino quoted in the first chapter, it was Jakobson who brought poets such as Majakovskij and Chlebnikov to Czechoslovakia and it was he who translated Majakovskij's poems to Neumann with Weil's help (Ripellino 1967). Jakobson thus became a fundamental intermediary for the translation and consecutive reception of contemporary Russian poetry in Czechoslovakia. Jaroslav Seifert, for example, in 1921 translated *Dvenadcat'* [*The Twelve*] by Aleksandr Blok together with Jakobson. In addition, it is possible to assume that Jakobson supported Svatava Pírková in the translation of Pasternak's *Ochrannaja gramota* [*The Safe Conduct*], published in 1935 together with Jakobson's annotations and postface. In the same year Nezval and Jakobson had also planned to translate a selection of Pasternak's poems, but never did.<sup>237</sup>

The most significant editorial project in which Jakobson was officially involved is the Czech<sup>238</sup> publication of Aleksandr Puškin's selected writings on the centenary of his death in 1937.<sup>239</sup> Jakobson and Alfred Bem managed this project in collaboration with the prestigious Czech publishing house Melantrich. The anniversary celebration was a pivotal moment in the cultural and academic history of interwar Czechoslovakia: it was the occasion for new translations, lectures, exhibitions, and many journals devoted entire issues to, or published special sections on, Puškin (see §3.1). Jakobson really believed in the importance of the jubilee, as he wrote in 1946 in an article on Puškin's reception among Polish scholars:

Russian literary jubilees have always been events of the highest importance, dates significant not merely for students of literature, not alone for the historians of Russian culture, but for Russian culture itself. A sum total of the studies devoted to the feted writers is cast up, gaps are industriously filled in, wide circles of society are once again, and more persistently, associated with the classical heritage, but most important the author whose memory is celebrated is reappraised in the light of the present time and this latter is in its turn subjected to judgment in the light of the writer's legacy. (Jakobson 1946, 88)

Jakobson did not intend Puškin's anniversary as an opportunity to "reread" or "reinterpret" his figure through the values of contemporary society or daily life. Therefore, his project was not

---

<sup>237</sup> See § 3.2.

<sup>238</sup> See Sgallová (2018) on Czech translations of Puškin.

<sup>239</sup> See § 3.1 for an analysis of Jakobson's writings about Puškin.

a reinterpretation of Puškin since according to Jakobson there was no need to investigate what message Puškin’s *Onegin*, or even his writings in general, could give to contemporaries. On the contrary, Jakobson was aware of the importance reached by Puškin’s myth not only in Russian literature or among Russian scholars but also in the international milieu.<sup>240</sup> As I will show in the following chapter (§ 3.1), Jakobson’s research on Puškin has only been partially considered by scholars, with the exception of his most pivotal writing on the Russian poet, “Socha v symbolice Puškinově” [“The Statue in Puškin’s Poetic Mythology”] (Jakobson 1979, 237-280), published in *Slovo a slovesnost* in 1937.

Title	Translator(s)	Preface	Postface	Year of Publication
A. S. Puškin. <i>Lyrika</i>	Petr Kříčka	Alfred Bém, Puškin a jeho místo v literatuře.	Roman Jakobson, Na okraj lyrických básní Puškinových.	1936
A. S. Puškin. <i>Eugen Oněgin: román ve verších</i>	Josef Hora	-	Roman Jakobson, Na okraj Eugena Oněgina.	1937
A. S. Puškin. <i>Dramata</i>	Otokar Fischer	-	Alfred Bém. Puškin-dramatik.	1937
A. S. Puškin. <i>Povídky veršem a prózou. Ohlasy lidové poesie</i>	Paul Eisner, Josef Hora, Petr Kříčka, Bohumil Mathesius, František Nechvátal, Vítězslav Nezval	-	Alfred Bém, Puškinova cesta k próze. Roman Jakobson, K Puškinovým ohlasům lidové poesie.	1938

**Table 3.** The four volumes published by Melantrich within the project run by Jakobson and Bem.

There are no archival documents which attest or trace Jakobson’s work with Bem on this project, but it is possible to trace the translators’ work with Jakobson through extant correspondence. This project is first discussed in one letter that Jakobson sent to Bem on 21<sup>st</sup> of July 1936, in which he wrote: “[Julius] Fučík wrote me that Hora agreed to translate E[vgenij] O[negin]!”<sup>241</sup> In Jakobson’s correspondence with Fischer are several passages concerning Fischer’s involvement in the translation of some dramas. For example, on 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1936, Jakobson sent a brief letter signed by him, Pírková and Mukařovský:

I read your new translations, they are beautiful, I will go through them during the autumn. The drama volume will be published in January. I think your rare intuition has not failed you this time: it is very probable that the Scenes [of the Knights’ Times] are a translation; however, it has not been traced that it

<sup>240</sup> Although this phenomenon played a pivotal role, it has not yet been studied. Such work could deepen understandings of Puškin’s reception in Czechoslovakia, such as the use of the Russian poet as a symbol of anti-Nazi values at a time when Czech scholars already perceived the menace of Hitler’s invasion.

<sup>241</sup> “Фучик писал мне, что Гора согласился перевести E[вгения] O[негина]!” in (Havránková – Petkevič 2015, 57)

was from German? Puškin read so little German.<sup>242</sup> (Havránková – Petkevič 2015, 143)

On 23<sup>rd</sup> of December Jakobson asked Fischer if he had any doubts concerning the first proofs of his translation of *Boris Godunov* (Havránková – Petkevič 2015, 144) and sent the final ones in January. Jakobson wrote Fischer on 21<sup>st</sup> of January 1937, praising his incredible skills as translator: “Reading the proofs, I clapped my hands, as Puškin once did after he finished *Godunov*, and shouted: Ай – да Фишер молодец! [Oh, yes, well done Fischer!]”<sup>243</sup> (Havránková – Petkevič 2015, 145).

Besides the correspondence with Fischer, Jakobson’s correspondence with Hora contains references to the translation of the Puškin’s writings. In Hora’s collection at LA PNP is a massive quantity of documents related to this translation, such as drafts with annotations attributable to Jakobson. On 4<sup>th</sup> of October Hora sent Jakobson his translation of *Cygani* [*The Gypsies*] with a kind request: “Close your eyes to some of the licenses if they don’t disturb the sense and Puškin’s tone, correct kindly and let me know”<sup>244</sup> (Jakobson – Morávková 1997, 28). For Hora the translation of the *Onegin* represented an important challenge both in his career as a translator and as poet himself.<sup>245</sup> In 1937 Hora commented about his experience of translating Puškin:

Eugene Onegin is today a historical novel. [...] While working on *Eugene Onegin*, whose stanzas I was translating into Czech, I vividly felt the justification of the poet’s hopes. Removed from the social order from which it grew, Puškin’s poem lives further outside it. He lives by the fervour and clairvoyance of the poet’s understanding of the eternal aspects of life, he lives by the power of the poet’s words and sound. Social relations pass, but the wave of human thought runs on. What was

---

<sup>242</sup> “[Č]etl jsem Vaše nové překlady, jsou krásné, během podzim je projdu. Svazek dramát vyjde v lednu. Myslím, že Vaše vzácná intuice Vás ani tentokrát nezklamala: je velmi pravděpodobné, že jsou Scény [z dob rytířských] překladem; však není nalezen, a že to bylo z němčiny? Puškin tak málo četl německy.”

<sup>243</sup> “Pro přečtení korektur tleskal jsem, jako kdysi Puškin po ukončení *Godunova*, a křičel: Ай – да Фишер молодец!”

<sup>244</sup> “Zavři oči nad některými licencemi, pokud neruší smysl a puškinovský tón, oprav laskavě a sděl mi.”

<sup>245</sup> During the nineteenth century two Czech translations of the *Onegin* appeared: the first one by Václav Bendl was published thirty years after the Russian edition of 1860 and the second one by Václav Jung in 1893. During the twentieth century two more were published, Hora’s in 1937 and Olga Mašková’s in 1966. As Karel Hausenblas wrote, these four versions exemplify the development of Czech translation theories and the evolution of the Czech literary language through the century (1967). Bendl’s one was unfaithful in many ways, such as the choice of the meter: Bendl transposed Puškin’s traditional iambic tetrameter with iambic pentameter. Meanwhile, Jung’s translation was more respectful of the versification, preserving meter and rhyme and more respectful of Puškin’s themes. It was not a faithful transposition of Puškin’s style. According to Hausenblas, Hora published a proper Czech translation, reaching a balance between thematic content and the other traits of the poem, such as verbal expression and rhythm.

a transitory reality was transformed by the poet's intuition into a lasting symbol. [...] Such is the fate of this poet: it is as if the desire of the whole of Russia for freedom of spirit was embodied in him. [...] That is why Puškin can boldly speak even today, and from him to Majakovskij to Pasternak there is a continuous line of poets hungry to change the higher life<sup>246</sup> (Hála – Kubka 1937, 34-35).

### *Second function: Jakobson as reviewer*

The second function related to translation is that of Jakobson as a reviewer. In 1931 Jakobson published in *Slavische Rundschau* a review of the Croatian translation of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* by Ivan Šajković<sup>247</sup> (Jakobson 1913, 304-306). As I will explain in the subchapter dedicated to polemics (§ 2.6.2), this poem played a relevant role in Jakobson's activity, being a significant topic during his years in the United States, when in 1948 he published *La Geste du Prince Igor'. Texte établi, traduit et commenté* together with Henri Grégoire and Marc Szeftel. In the review Jakobson compared Šajković's translation with other two he considered successful, both of which were made by poets: the German Rainer Maria Rilke and the Polish Julius Tuwim. Of these, he praised the attention to the poem's artistic traits, which he saw as completely lacking in Šajković's translation. Moreover, what Fedor Korš called *rythmische Buntheit*, a rhythmical variegation, was also missing in the Croatian version.<sup>248</sup> While describing the translation as banal and disrespectful to the original, Jakobson harshly criticised the foreword, describing it as “partially nonsense, partially extravagant”.

Šajković's foreword to the poem criticised Vladimir Pereg, a Russian scholar active at the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences (UAN) since 1919. He was one of the most influential scholars of Old Russian epics. In 1926, he translated into Ukrainian and wrote a

---

<sup>246</sup> “Eugen Oněgin je dnes román historický. [...] Při práci nad Eugenem Oněginem, jehož strofy jsem překládal do češtiny, jsem pocítil živě oprávnění básnickových nadějí. Vyňata ze společenského řádu, z něhož vyrostla, žije Puškinova báseň dále mimo něj. Žije vroucností a jasnozřivostí básníkovy pochopení věčných stránek života, žije silou básníkovy slova a zvuku. Společenské vztahy míjejí, ale vlna lidské myšlenky běží dál. Co bylo pomíjivou skutečností, změnila básníkovy intuice v trvalý symbol. [...] Takový už je osud tohoto básníka: jako by se do něho byla vtělila touha celého Ruska po svobodě ducha. [...] Proto může Puškin směle mluvit i k dnešku, a od něho po Majakovského, po Pasternaka vede nepřetržitá linie básníků, lačných měnit život vyšší.”

<sup>247</sup> Ivan Šajković (1873-1946) was a philologist specialised in epic writings. Beside the *Slovo* he also translated *Kalevala*, the most important text of Finnish epos.

<sup>248</sup> In 1909 Fedor Korš published his translation of the *Slovo*. The poem is prefaced by a long introduction, in which he discusses some of the main traits, included the rhythm. Korš wrote frequently about the *Slovo*, such as his annotations to Platon Melioranskij's *Tureckie elementy v jazyke “Slova o polku Igoreve”*. See Korš (1902, 1909)

commentary on the *Slovo*.<sup>249</sup> Perec was also important to Jakobson. When he died, Jakobson wrote a short obituary for *Slavische Rundschau*, describing him as “[a] teacher of rare skills and great passion”, who “trained a series of proficient Russian and Ukrainian literary scholars”. He presented Perec’s contribution to Russian and Ukrainian Studies, listing some of his most remarkable writings, including those dedicated to *Slovo*. In the review of Šajković, Jakobson accused the Croatian scholar of having an unscientific attitude and lacking an effective methodology. He also critiqued the inaccuracy of Šajković’s criticism of Perec, emphasising the complete absurdity on which his assumptions were based.

In 1937 Jakobson published “Puškinovy básně v překladu Ilji Barta” [“Puškin’s Poetry in Il’ja Bart’s Translation”] (Jakobson 2014, 217-220) in *Slovo a slovesnost*,<sup>250</sup> a critique of Bart’s 1937 translation of Puškin’s poems<sup>251</sup> (Puškin 1937). First, he noted several errors and misinterpretations in the introduction. He stated that (metrical) anarchy reigned and Bart’s alexandrine respected neither punctuation nor accentuation. Jakobson referred again to Tuwim as an example of a good translator, as he did in the review of Šajković’s translation of the *Slovo*. Bart’s translation was not an adaptation of the Puškinian verse to the characteristics of Czech poetry, but remained true to the rules of Russian prosody, a typical trait of the Bart as Stanislav Cita observed commenting the translation of Majakovskij’s poems (Cita 1986). In the last section of the review, “Poměr k předchůdcům” [“A Comparison with the Predecessors”], Jakobson compared Bart’s translations with those of Jung and Kříčka: Bart’s version of *Ja vas ljubil* [*I Loved You*, 1829 but published in 1830] with Jung’s (Puškin 1920) and the first four verses of *Bakchičeskaja pesnja* [*The Bacchic Song*, 1829] with Kříčka’s (Puškin 1937, 101). Through these comparisons Jakobson concluded his review with a rather decisive statement:

It is possible to disagree with the individual translation strategies and malleable devices of Ot. Fischer, Hora, Jung, Kříčka, Nezval, Táborský, but it cannot be denied that their translations of Puškin’s poetic works are a

---

<sup>249</sup> Vladimir Perec was aware of the complex vocabulary of the *Slovo*. In the preface of his translation, he stated that the participation of orientologists was essential. He praised the studies conducted by Fedor Korš and Platon Melioranskij.

<sup>250</sup> In 1937 *Slovo a slovesnost* published articles on Puškin, including Jakobson’s “Socha v symbolice Puškinově”, Wollman’s “Puškinova cesta k baladické dramatice” [“Puškin’s Path to balladic Drama”] or Bogatyrev’s “Byly slovenské písně pramenem Puškinovým?” [“Were Slovak Songs Puškin’s Sources?”].

<sup>251</sup> Il’ja Bart was born Julius Bartoš. In 1934, he received funding to spend time in the USSR, where he lived from April 1934 and July 1935. He wrote for Czech periodicals with a clear political left-wing orientation such as *Rudé právo*, *Levá fronta*, *Čin*, or *Tvorba*.

proficient work and a meritorious cultural achievement. This distinguishes them significantly from the translation under review.<sup>252</sup> (Jakobson 1937, 220)

### *Third function: Jakobson as theoretician*

Among Jakobson's most influential writings is the article *On Linguistic Aspects of Translation*, written in 1958 and published one year later in the collection of essays *On Translation* (Jakobson 1971, 260-266). This article has been considered an important achievement in various fields, such as linguistics or semiotics. Taking Pierce's triadic theory of the linguistic sign as his starting point, Jakobson proposed a triadic classification of translation which distinguishes between *intralingual*, *interlingual*, and *intersemiotic* translation. *Intralingual* translation or rewording is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language; *interlingual* translation or translation between languages is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language; and *intersemiotic* translation or transmutation is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems. As Hongwei Jia observed (2017), Jakobson's classification has been considered as axiomatic and is referred to in a wide range of pivotal works, such as Thomas Sebeok's *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Semiotics* ([1994] 2010) or Roland Posner's *Semiotik. Ein Handbuch zu den zeichentheoretischen Grundlagen von Natur und Kultur* [*Semiotics: A Handbook on the Sign-Theoretic Foundations of Nature and Culture*] (Posner et al., 1997-2004). Even though this has been further discussed by other scholars, such as the Italian semiotician Umberto Eco in his book *Dire quasi la stessa cosa. Esperienze di traduzione* [*Experiences in Translation*, 2000] (Eco 2001),<sup>253</sup> this classification marks an authoritative achievement in the so-called translation studies.<sup>254</sup>

---

<sup>252</sup> "Lze nesouhlasit s jednotlivými překladatelskými zásadami a tvárnými prostředky Ot. Fischera, Hory, Junga, Kříčky, Nezvala, Táborského, ale nelze popřít, že jejich překlady Puškinových básnických děl jsou kvalifikovanou prací a záslužným kulturním činem. Tím se markantně liší od posuzovaného překladu."

<sup>253</sup> Eco largely referred to Jakobson especially in the chapter "Translation and Interpretation". Eco discussed the concept of "interpretation" in Jakobson's theories, referring to Charles Pierce and the important role he played for the development of the structuralist method. Eco had already discussed this question about Jakobson and translation in 1977: "Jakobson demonstrates that to interpret a semiotic item means 'to translate' it into another item (maybe an entire discourse) and that this translation is always creatively enriching the first item" (Eco 1977: 53).

<sup>254</sup> Jia (2017) provides a wider analysis of the reception of this essay, focusing on reviews and the most relevant problems in Jakobson's triadic classification.

In translation studies Jakobson has often been compared with Nabokov<sup>255</sup> as playing a role in an “intermediary position between a translation and an end user of translation” (Sager 1994, 324). Lawrence Venuti commented on Jakobson and Nabokov’s opinions, stating that they were shaped by disciplinary trends and are the result of a combination between philosophical scepticism and practical optimism (2000). Another example is that of Brian Baer, who analysed Jakobson’s relationship with Nabokov in an article focused on translation during the first phase of the Cold War, the 1950s, which is also the only article which considers Jakobson not only a theoretician of translation but also as a translator (Baer 2011). Referring to Jakobson’s translation of Majakovskij’s *Oblakov štanach* and *Ničego ne ponimajut*, Baer suggested the influence of Futurism on Jakobson’s activity as a translator, while Nabokov was influenced by his role as a professor of literature.<sup>256</sup>

If the importance of Jakobson’s contribution to theory of translation in the afterwar period is unquestionable, his engagement with such a topic in the interwar years must be discussed. In Jakobson’s writings published in the Czech period translation does not occupy a prominent position. The most significant text is the article “O překladu veršů” [“On the Translation of Verse”] (Jakobson 1979, 131-134), published in *Plán* in 1930. In this article Jakobson analysed questions relating to the translation of poetry, especially focusing on the rhythm. According to him, linguistic elements create rhythmical patterns and, consequently, rhythmical constants.<sup>257</sup> Rhythm is then defined from a structuralist perspective, as the result of the interaction between three different systems: the poetic, the linguistic and the external. Jakobson discussed some of the problems which arise while translating from Russian into Czech. He exemplified his assumptions describing the constants and the rhythmical tendencies of the iambic tetrameter, not by case the most important form in the tradition of Russian literature originated by Puškin. Then, he explained the differences with the Czech iamb, which became a relevant form during Romanticism. Jakobson’s analysis aims to demonstrate that the result of the translation of the iamb from Russian into Czech can be just approximative, i.e.,

---

<sup>255</sup> According to the documents kept at RJP, Nabokov and Jakobson corresponded between 1949 and 1953. Their relationship probably started before, but it is during this period that Nabokov used to visit Jakobson and, as the letters clearly testify, Nabokov was in Cambridge at least three times in 1951-1952.

<sup>256</sup> Baer makes significant errors which demonstrate that he is not acquainted with the interwar Czech period, such as misleading dates or names. He refers to Jan Mukařovský as “Vilém Mukařovský”, then he wrongly states that Jakobson defended his doctoral thesis in 1937, while he did in 1929, see Baer (2011, 173). Concerning their relationship, I strongly deny Baer’s statement about the fact that “Jakobson and Nabokov were never close friends” (Baer 2011, 172). See Note 225 and the § **Appendix**.

<sup>257</sup> Even if it is not related to translation, it is worthily of mention Jakobson’s essay “Strocha Machy o zove gorlicy” [“Mácha’s verse on the call of the turtledove”] (Jakobson 1979, 486-504), published in 1960, which influenced entire generations of translators.

the Czech translation is only “functionally”. The article contains a long digression which explains the characteristic of the Czech iamb in a comparative analysis with Russian one. The parallelism between Russian and Czech prosody is a recurrent and pivotal question in Jakobson’s writings. As I will discuss later (§ 2.6.1), Jakobson in 1923 wrote an extensive analysis of Czech prosody confronting it with the Russian one.

Beside this article there are just few references to translation, such as in the introduction to his review of Nadežda Melniková-Papoušková’s monograph on Aleksandr Blok (see § 2.5.1), where he stated that the lack of reception of Russian Symbolists in the Czech context was due to the fact that translating their works was a difficult task: “The value of this poetry is too intimately connected with the Russian language and there was a lack of congenial translators to transfer its allure into other languages”<sup>258</sup> (Jakobson 2013, 184).

Jakobson’s contribution to theory of translation in the interwar period is not extensive or relevant, as testified by the fact that he did not publish many writings. Even an article titled “O překlada veršů” did not focus on translation but, rather, on prosody. However, it is undeniable that Jakobson’s research in the linguistic field became an essential source for translational studies. In the Czech context such studies represented and still represent an important field. For the purposes of this analysis, I will just refer to Jiří Levý, especially to his *Umění překládu* [*The Art of Translation*] and *Česká teorie překládu* [*Czech Translation Theory*]. In the introduction of *Umění překládu* Levý explained the theoretical assumptions on which he bases his analysis and, while emphasising the importance of the linguistic perspective. As he also stated in *Česká teorie překládu*:

Linguistic and translation theory came together especially in the analysis of the relationship between linguistic expression and the so-called extra-linguistic reality, in the analysis of the construction of individual names and sentence units of two languages, and in the study of verse.<sup>259</sup> (Levý 2023, 215)

Discussing linguistics as a discipline which analyses boundaries and differences between two languages, Levý recognised the great contribution the PLK gave to translational studies.<sup>260</sup> He

---

<sup>258</sup> “Der Wert dieser Lyrik ist zu intim mit der russischen Sprache verbunden und es fehlten kongeniale Übersetzer, um ihren Reiz in die anderen Sprachen zu übertragen.”

<sup>259</sup> “Jazyková a překladatelská teorie se stýkaly zvláště v rozbořech vztahu mezi jazykovým výrazem a tzv. mimojazykovou skutečností, při rozboru výstavby jednotlivého pojmenování i větných celku dvou jazyků a ve studiích o verši.”

<sup>260</sup> On PLK and translation, see Zehnalová (2018).

openly referred to works by Mathesius, Mukařovský and Havránek. Concerning Jakobson, he quoted the example about the difference between the Russian *čerstvýj chleb* and the Czech *čerstvý chleb* employed in the aforementioned “O překladu veršů”. This article is also included in Levý’s collection of writings about translation *Česká teorie překladu*, in which Jakobson figures beside names of pivotal translators in interwar Czechoslovakia, such as Bohumil Mathesius, Paul Eisner or Otokar Fischer. It is relevant that in any of his writings Levý did not mention Jakobson’s theory about Czech prosody, emphasising the importance of Josef Král’s theories from a methodological perspective.<sup>261</sup>

## 2.5 Reviews

### 2.5.1 Naděžda Melniková-Papoušková: Majakovskij and Blok

Naděžda Melniková-Papoušková (1891-1978) occupied an unusual position in the community of Russian *émigrés*. She came to Czechoslovakia in 1918 as the wife of the legionnaire and historian Jaroslav Papoušek (Andrejs in Nykl 2021, 119). Differently from other Russians *émigrés*, she built a solid and long-lasting relationship with the Czech community.

Jakobson and Melniková-Papoušková were far apart in terms of methodology and in their attitude towards the relationship between literature and politics: Jakobson declared himself apolitical, while Melniková-Papoušková is known for her militant attitude and support for communist ideology, which was to intensify in the 1930s. Although this, they shared a common goal in striving to build a dialogue between Soviet and Czech culture. They published in the same periodicals, often finding themselves in close contact and polemising against each other, but while Jakobson was publishing more about literature and linguistics, Melniková-Papoušková’s interests were often related to a broader cultural sphere. Another difference lays in their social position, while Jakobson was interested in building an academic career, Melniková-Papoušková was apparently not. They somehow represented two sides of the same coin, both *cultural transfers* moving in the same context, but in different ways and animated by divergent motivations.

---

<sup>261</sup> As I will explain in § 2.6.1, Jakobson criticised Král’s theories.

Jakobson met Melniková-Papoušková in July 1920, although the evidence that she was Vjačeslav Šepkin's disciple does not preclude them having met before, in Russia. Jakobson had good relations with Papoušek, publishing for *Central'naja Evropa* and receiving support from him. The relationship between Jakobson and Melniková-Papoušková had not always been sunshine and roses.

In this subchapter I aim to emphasise three key moments in the development of this relationship through the analysis of writings they published in the interwar period about Russian literature.<sup>262</sup>

#### *Melniková-Papoušková: some remarks*

Melniková-Papoušková started publishing articles in the 1920s with the help of his husband Papoušek, who at the beginning translated her writings from Russian into Czech. Melniková-Papoušková contributed significantly to the reception of Russian literature and art in Czechoslovakia, publishing not only articles, but also monographs and anthologies. She published for different periodicals Jakobson was involved in, e.g., *Central'naja Evropa* and *Prager Presse*. Differently from Jakobson, she also published for the Russian *Volja Rossii*.

As René Andrejs emphasises (2021a), after publishing *Rusko z blízka i z dálky* [*Russia from Near and Far*] in 1929, Melniková-Papoušková's initial interest in Russian contemporary poetry changed and her research began to focus on the development of popular art and literature in the early Soviet Union. Her interest in contemporary Russian poetry is also testified by *Antologija ruskoj poezii XX stoletija I* [*Anthology of Twentieth-century Russian Poetry I*] published in 1921, in which she collected poems by Konstatnin Bal'mont, Valerij Brjusov – whom she considered the best – Fedor Sologub', Dmitrij Merežkovskij, Zinaida Gippius, and Aleksej Tolstoj. Considering these names, the title of the anthology may be misleading. Though Melniková-Papoušková referred to twentieth-century Russian poetry, the collection did not include any poets of the new avant-garde literary movements, but those who in her brief introduction she defined as “old modernists”, in contrast to the “younger poets”, who, according to her, had published little. This is a rather questionable assertion to make in 1921 if we consider, for example, the development of Futurism and writings published already in the 1910s by its leading poets, such as Chlebnikov or Majakovskij. These “old modernists” were

---

<sup>262</sup> I do not intend to give an interpretation of Melniková-Papoušková's activity, but to investigate it in relation to Jakobson. See Andrejs (2017), (2020), (2021a) and (2021b).

representatives of decadence, devoted to the cult of pure art, although Aleksej Tolstoj, as I stated, did not fully fit into this classification. In the title it is indicated that it was the first volume and it suggests the intention of publishing further volumes. Melniková-Papoušková's interest in Blok in the 1920s is notable, as testified by the introduction to two collections of essays, translated by Papoušek.<sup>263</sup> According to her, these collections, *Intelligencija i revolucija* [*Intelligencija and Revolution*] and *Poslednie dni imperatorskoj vlasti* [*The Last Days of the Imperial Power*] – the latter a sequel to the former – enabled the Czech reader to understand the true Russian spirit and its political expression in the revolutionary years.

*“Stav kultury v Rusku”*: An interview with Jakobson (1920)

On 21<sup>st</sup> of July 1920 Melniková-Papoušková published an interview with Jakobson about contemporary Russian culture in *Lidové noviny*. The interview, titled “Stav kultury v Rusku” [“The State of Culture in Russia”] (Jakobson 2013, 23-24), had a short introduction in which Melniková-Papoušková emphasised that interviewing a member of the Soviet Red Cross was a favourable occasion to discuss cultural development in the Soviet Union. She asked about the social role of literature or literary organisations, and about the interaction of culture with politics. Jakobson described contemporary Soviet culture and its institutions, highlighting, for example, the increase of libraries and the development of the publishing industry, providing information on quantities and prices of published books. Jakobson discussed Maksim Gor'kij, Valerij Brjusov, Vjačslav Ivanov and Aleksandr Blok as examples of collaborators with the Soviet cultural organisations. He discussed Puškin, Nikolaj Nekrasov and Kornej Čukovskij as examples of “old” authors published in the contemporary Soviet Union. The final question was about the celebration of the jubilee of Aleksandr Hercen's death. Considering the interview with Melniková-Papoušková, I want to propose three further considerations. First, that this interview is Jakobson's first testimony as a “cultural transfer”, represented in the guise of information about the Soviet socio-cultural context. Second, that Melniková-Papoušková's intention to interview Jakobson herself demonstrates that she was familiar with the young scholar's activity and the importance of his role in Russia. Finally, that the topic of the interview, oriented towards issues that included both the cultural and political dimensions of the Soviet Union, and his answers did little to dispel arising doubts that he was part of the

---

<sup>263</sup> In 1921 Blok's essay collection *Intelligencija i revolucija* [*Intelligencija and Revolution*], translated with the title *Rusko a inteligence: essaye* [*Russia and intelligencija: essays*], was published. Two years later *Poslednie dni imperatorskoj vlasti* [*The Last Days of the Imperial Power*] came out.

Soviet political system, doubts that would soon lead to the accusation of being a Soviet spy, a Bolshevik in disguise.

### *The case Majakovskij (1921)*

The second key moment in Jakobson and Melniková-Papoušková's relationship is set on 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1921, when Jakobson published in *Tribuna* "Ruský básník před soudem ruské literatury" ["A Russian Poet at the Court of Russian Literature"] (Jakobson 2013, 70-73). It was a polemical reaction to Melniková-Papoušková's article "Futurismus jako oficiální bolševická poezie" ["Futurism as the Official Poetry of Bolshevism"], which appeared on 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1921 in *Čas*. In her article, Melniková-Papoušková emphasised the importance of historical events in the evolution of Russian literature. Reflecting on the critical role played by the October Revolution, she identified the prevalence of Revolutionary themes as one of the characteristics of contemporary Russian poetry: poets had a revolutionary spirit and their writing was influenced by the ideological lexicon of the Revolution. Melniková-Papoušková identified the Futurists as the most relevant exemplar of this. Critiquing this tendency, she described Majakovskij as an enthusiastic militarist and identified this attitude in the poems *Revolucija (Poetochronika)* [*Revolution (Poetochronicle)*], *Vojna i mir* [*War and Peace*] and *Čelovek* [*The Man*].

As Toman noted, Jakobson's reply was published on the same day as he wrote a letter to Majakovskij, saying that "[In] left-wing [Czech] circles, your popularity is growing"<sup>264</sup> (Toman 1994, 44). As stated in the introductory paragraph to *Tribuna*, the members of the editorial board decided to publish Jakobson's reaction because they believed in the importance of Majakovskij in Czechoslovakia and supported translations of his writings:<sup>265</sup>

---

<sup>264</sup> "[В] левых кругах Твоя популярность растёт".

<sup>265</sup> For a partial analysis about Majakovskij's reception in Czechoslovakia, see Kitzlerová (2020). Majakovskij's reception in Czechoslovakia needs broader analysis, but I will briefly try to outline the most pivotal traits. Two characteristics demonstrate Majakovskij's importance in interwar Czechoslovakia: a significant number of translations and the poet's visit to Prague during his European tour. Jiří Weil played a pivotal role among the translators of Majakovskij's writings. In 1920 Weil's translation of *Levyj marš* [*Left March*] appeared in the journal *Kmen*, Majakovskij (1920). In 1922, he published "Moja reč na Genuevckoj konferencij" ["My Speech at the Genoa Conference"] in *Proletkult*, Majakovskij (1922a); "Moje reč na janovské konferenci", Majakovskij (1922b); and the play *Misterija-buff* [*Mystery-Bouffe*] in *Rudé parvo* Majakovskij (1922c) Another relevant translation was that of the poem *150 000 000* by Bohumil Mathesius published in 1925, Vladimír Majakovskij (1925). The dissemination of Majakovskij's works in Czechoslovakia began very early and was quite significant if compared to the echo of other Russian poets, such as Chlebnikov or Pasternak.

“The Russian Slavist, Dr. Roman Jakobson, who works as a scholar in Prague, sends us this reply to Mrs. Melniková-Papoušková’s critique of the Russian modernist Majakovskij. As we learn, some of the works of this interesting poet will soon be translated into Czech. Thus we give space we give space to Mr. Jakobson’s defence.”<sup>266</sup> (Jakobson 2013, 70)

His close relationship with Majakovskij was pivotal to Jakobson. Since the large amount of literature dedicated to this topic, I will limit myself to mention that when Majakovskij came to Czechoslovakia in 1927 he was welcomed by Jakobson. As Majakovskij remembers in his memories *Ezdil ja tak*<sup>267</sup> [*How I Travelled*]:

Roma Jakobson is at the Prague railway station. He is the same. A little fatter. Working in the press department of the Prague Mission has given him a certain solidity and diplomatic discretion in his speeches.<sup>268</sup> (Majakovskij 1958, 331)

In *Ezdil ja tak*, Majakovskij remembered that after he came back to Russia, Jakobson sent him a list of Czech periodicals that published articles about his visit: *Národní osvobození*, *Lidové noviny*, *Československá republika*, *Prager Presse*<sup>269</sup> and *Rudé právo*. In 1927, when Majakovskij visited Prague, Jakobson published in *Národní osvobození* the article “Vladimir Majakovskij” [Jakobson 2013, 194-195], but not with the intention of mention his visit. He praised Majakovskij and Chlebnikov as the most significant revolutionary poets in the history of Russian verse, considering Russian Futurism to be a revolution in poetry and emphasising its distance from Italian Futurism.<sup>270</sup>

---

<sup>266</sup> “Ruský slavista, dr. Roman Jakobson, jenž dlí za vědeckou prací v praze, posílá nám tuto odpověď na kritiku pí Melnikové-papouškové, týkající se ruského modernisty Majakovského. Jak se dovidáme, budou vbrzku přeložena některá díla tohoto zajímavého básníka do češtiny. Tím spíše dopřáváme místa obhajobě páně Jakobsonově.”

<sup>267</sup> It was published in the collection *Očerki* [Sketches] in 1927. In the same collection, another short text is dedicated to his travel to Czechoslovakia, namely *Češskij pioner* [*Czech Pioneer*]. *Ezdil ja tak* was translated into Czech by Weil and published in the second volume of *RED* (1928-1929) under the title *Cestoval jsem takhle*.

<sup>268</sup> “На Пражском вокзале — Рома Якобсон. Он такой же. Немного пополнел. Работа в отделе печати пражского полпредства прибавила ему некоторую солидность и дипломатическую осмотрительность в речах.”

<sup>269</sup> On 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1927 an interview with Majakovskij appeared in *Prager Presse*, later translated into Russian and published in the thirteenth volume of *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*, see Majakovskij (1961, 232-233)

<sup>270</sup> Jakobson had already emphasised his negative judgement of Marinetti in *Novejšaja russkaja poezija* in 1921: “Let me mention parenthetically that I am speaking here of Marinetti only as a theorist. Concerning his poetry, all this may turn out to be only a rationalisation, a particular application of a poetic fact. The history of poetry is full of such phenomena” (Jakobson in Brown 1973, 61). According to Jakobson, the concept of “parole in libertà” developed in the Italian Futurism was not related to poetry, but to reportage (Ibidem). Jakobson’s attitude towards Marinetti reflected the broader Czechoslovakian reception of the leader of the Italia futurist. Jakobson’s evaluation is not dissimilar to that of Karel Teige, who judged Marinetti and his militarist attitude.

The strong relationship they shared developed since their Muscovite years and Jakobson's perception of Majakovskij in the interwar years impelled Jakobson to defend the poet from the accuse of militarism. His reaction was polemical, describing Melniková-Papoušková's commentary as trivial, superficial, and lacking a complete knowledge of Majakovskij's oeuvre. Jakobson was aware of the influence of history on the evolution of literature and language.<sup>271</sup> He demonstrated that Majakovskij did not support militarism quoting from the poem *Vojna i mir*, in which the poet emphasised the right to life and condemned the death in trenches (Jakobson 2013, 71).

Although Jakobson never referred to the figure of Majakovskij in a political sense, the vision of him as a symbol a prophet of the Revolution was the dominant one in Czechoslovakia. On 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1930, *Tvorba* published the Czech translation of Majakovskij's obituary from the Soviet newspaper *Pravda*,<sup>272</sup> which emphasised the importance the poet as a symbol of the Revolution. Within the same issue, there are several articles dedicated to Majakovskij's death. These include Jiří Weil's. In his article "O Majakovském" ["About Majakovskij"], he emphasised the relationship between Majakovskij's writings with the Revolution and the war. Unlike Melniková-Papoušková, he praised this tendency as a positive trait: "Majakovskij was the poet of the revolution. [...] Already in his *War and Peace* he proclaims revolution, already in his ode to the February Revolution he says that 'this is only the first day of the workers' flood'. Majakovskij's poetic work grew up in the revolution"<sup>273</sup> (Weil 1930, 6).

#### *Melniková-Papoušková's "A. A. Blok" (1925)*

The third key étape corresponds to the publication of Jakobson's review of Melniková-Papoušková's monograph *A. A. Blok*, which appeared in *Prager Presse* on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1925. Blok was an important poet for Melniková-Papoušková. Already two years before, in the

---

Stressing the distance between these manifestations of Futurism, Jakobson emphasised the revolutionary role of Russia in the progress of poetry at the beginning of the twentieth century: Symbolists had already been innovators of rhythm and rhyme, but Majakovskij and the Futurists managed to go further, breaking with tradition and creating a new literary canon. On Marinetti's reception in Czechoslovakia, see at least Křesalová (1995) and Tria (2010), (2012).

<sup>271</sup> Jakobson largely discussed the influence of the Revolution on the evolution of the language. For example, as he demonstrated in 1934 in *Slavische Rundschau*'s article "Slavische Sprachfragen in der Sowjetunion" ["Slavic Linguistic Questions in the Soviet Union"], the Russian Revolution marked a key moment in the evolution of language.

<sup>272</sup> See *Tvorba*, 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1930, pp. 1-2. The obituary appeared in *Pravda* on 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1930.

<sup>273</sup> "Majakovskij byl básníkem revoluce. [...] Již ve své Vojně a míru hlásá revoluci, již ve své ódě únorové revoluci říká 'to je jenom první den dělnické potopy'. Básnická tvorba Majakovského vyrostla v revoluci."

introduction to *Poslednie dni imperatorskoj vlasti*, she identified Blok as a genius, a writer of a prophetic-religious nature (Melniková-Papoušková 1923, 10).

In the first part of the review of the monograph, Jakobson reflected on Russian Symbolism and its European reception. After synthesising the main characteristics of the movement, he noted that it had not been received well in the West, especially in Czechoslovakia.<sup>274</sup> For the young Jakobson, who during his Muscovite years had become well established in poetic circles, Melniková-Papoušková's monograph was in a certain way remarkable because it marked one of the first attempts of spreading Russian contemporary poetry in the Czech context. Jakobson often notices a lack in the reception of Russian poetry among Czech poets, a phenomenon which was part of the absence of a fruitful dialogue between Russian and Western contexts.<sup>275</sup>

The second part of the review is an evaluation of Melniková-Papoušková's monograph. Jakobson acknowledged her merits, stating that “[she] loves and knows the mentioned author and the literature related to him [Blok]”<sup>276</sup>, and agreed with the methodology, praising the rejection of a criticism traditionally focused on the biography of the authors:

[She] does not replace the investigation of Blok's literary legacy by tracing it in the biography field, as many are used to; it rightly emphasises that biography can seldom elucidate a poet's work properly.<sup>277</sup> (Jakobson 2013, 186)

In the monograph's first chapter Melniková-Papoušková contextualised Blok through descriptions written by other Russian poets, though not those included in the anthology of 1920. Although she managed to avoid the employ of biographical information, Jakobson noticed and critiqued the presence of psychological or ideological assumptions in the interpretation of

---

<sup>274</sup> Blok was consistently translated into Czech, especially when compared with other Symbolists, such as Andrej Belyj, barely known in Czechoslovakia in the 1920s. Belyj's most important novel, *Peterburg*, was translated into Czech by Bohumil Mathesius and published by Melantrich only in 1935 (Belyj 1935). At least three Czech translations of Blok's most popular poem *Dvenadcat'* [*The Twelve*] were published in the interwar years. The first was by Jaroslav Seifert, translated in 1921 with Jakobson's support and published in 1922 (Seifert 1922). The second was by Bohumil Mathesius and appeared three years later, in 1924 (Mathesius 1924). Finally, in 1932 František Taborský published his (Taborský 1932).

<sup>275</sup> Jakobson noted this problem in his programmatic article “Über die heutigen Voraussetzungen der russischen Slavistik” (1929) (see § 2.2)

<sup>276</sup> “[s]ie liebt und kennt den erwähnten Autor und die auf ihn bezügliche Literatur.”

<sup>277</sup> “[s]ie ersetzt nicht die Erforschung von Bloks literarischem Nachlasse durch die Nachspürungen auf die Gebiete der Biographie, wie es viele zu machen pflegen, sie unterstreicht mit Recht, daß die Biographie selten zur richtigen Aufklärung des dichterischen Werkes dienen kann”.

Blok's poems. Jakobson's antipsychological attitude derived from his acquaintance with Husserlian philosophy<sup>278</sup> and belonged to his rejection of any positivist approach to poetry.<sup>279</sup> Jakobson's anti-Psychologism should not be conceived as a total negation of psychology, but rather a rejection of the Positivist psychological approach or a new one in which the autonomy of subject is respected.

During the interwar years, Jakobson elaborated a convincing rejection of Psychologism in the study of poetry with the article "Co je poezie?" ["What is Poetry?"] (Jakobson – Červenka 1995, 23-33), juxtaposing the psychological approach to the concept of *literaturnost'*. Published in *Volné směry* in 1934, "Co je poezie?" is characterised by a style filled with many rhetorical figures, such as the litotes in the introduction: according to Jakobson, to define what poetry is, it was necessary to identify what poetry is not. It was impossible to define what poetry was by considering themes or poetic devices because they changed according to the historical period: the poet Nezval, for example, employed rhyme with an anti-lyric intent. With a hyperbole, Jakobson openly criticised the psychological approach, ironically stating that there were critics who knew a poet better than the poet himself. He also rejected other two traditional dichotomies: the Goethean contraposition between "Dichtung" (poetry) and "Wahrheit" (truth) and that between psychic reality and poetic intention. In the conclusion, Jakobson elaborated his theory: it was impossible to define poetry, but he suggested to rely on the dynamic concept of *literaturnost'* elaborated by the Formalists and largely employed in Structuralism. Jakobson denied the wrong interpretation of the formal method as based on the concept of *l'art pour l'art* and declared the autonomy of the aesthetic function:

Neither Tynjanov, Mukařovský, Šklovskij, nor I have ever proclaimed the self-sufficiency of art. What we have been trying to show is that art is an integral part of the social structure. This component interacts with all the others and is itself mutable since both the domain of art and its relationship to the other constituents of the social structure are in constant dialectical flux. We stand for not the separatism of art but the autonomy of the aesthetic function. (Jakobson 1987, 377-378)

---

<sup>278</sup> On Jakobson and Husserl see Holenstein (1975), (1976a), (1976b), Flack (2013, 2023). On Husserl in Russia see Dennes (2007).

<sup>279</sup> Husserl was an important reference for Formalism, see Černavin – Jampolskaja (2018). Even though Husserl's writing had been declared illegal in the Russia empire, in 1914 Gustav Špet – a member of the MLK and a former disciple of Husserl in Marburg – admitted that Husserl's ideas were spreading in Russian and scientific circles. Among the venues in which Husserl's discussion spread were Professor Georgij Čelpanov's seminars at the Psychological Institute of Moscow University, assiduously frequented by Jakobson.

In conclusion, returning to Jakobson's review, the evaluation of the monograph about Blok was positive. It represents a reunion between Jakobson and Melniková-Papoušková. They remain in a good relationship also after the WWII, as testified by two letters she sent him in 1946 and in 1947, kept in Jakobson's archive at MIT and reproduced in the § **Appendix**.

### 2.5.2 Il'ja Erenburg's dialogue between Russia, France, and Czechoslovakia

In this subchapter I am to analyse Jakobson's review of Il'ja Erenburg and Ovadij Savič's *My i oni: Francija [Us and Them: France]* (1931) in order to further discuss Jakobson's relationship with Erenburg and reflect on his idea of "nationality".

As stated in the first chapter (§ 1.1), Jakobson was acquainted with Il'ja Erenburg in the interwar period. During his frequent visits to the country, Erenburg built solid relationships with Czech scholars and members of the avant-garde.<sup>280</sup> In *Ljudi, gody, žizn'* he wrote that he encountered the Czech avant-garde thanks to Jakobson:

When Roman Jakobson took me to Národní kávarna there were the members of the "Devětsil": they called themselves the Czech partisans of the left-wing art. On the sofa, near the long table, there were sitting the poets Vítězslav Nezval, Jaroslav Seifert, the novelist Vladislav Vančura and the theoretician of the "Devětsil", Karel Teige.<sup>281</sup> (Erenburg 1990, 422)

Erenburg built a close relationship especially with Nezval and in the mentioned *Ljudi, gody, žizn'* he wrote of his encounters with the Czech poet. These autobiographical excerpts, reveal that Erenburg had relations with Czech authors and publications, but there are no studies on Erenburg's relations with Czechoslovak contexts. Erenburg and Jakobson's relationship was long-lasting: Erenburg and Jakobson met again in Paris before the WWII, in America in 1946 and, in the post-Stalin Soviet Union. When Erenburg died, Jakobson wrote a letter to his wife Ljubov' Michajlovna Kozincova expressing his sorrow for a man to whom he had been "incredibly close for decades" and whom he had met only months earlier in Moscow:

---

<sup>280</sup> A comprehensive study about Erenburg and his travels through Europe does not exist yet. It would be of note to contrastively analyse his activity in France and in Czechoslovakia.

<sup>281</sup> "Когда Роман Якобсон привел меня в кафе 'Народна каварня', облюбованное участниками 'Деветсила' — так окрестили себя чешские сторонники левого искусства. На диване у длинного стола сидели поэты Витезслав Незвал, Ярослав Сейферт, прозаик Владислав Ванчура и теоретик 'Деветсила' критик Карел Тейге."

It's so hard to talk about such things in the distance. And I kept wondering why all my meetings with Il'ja over the past few years had been so fragmentary and sketchy. Only in retrospect do I know how much we had to say to each other. How much we had once been able to say to each other...<sup>282</sup>

Erenburg collaborated with Czech periodicals. For example, in 1930 he published in *Slavische Rundschau* the article “Randbemerkungen zur heutigen russischen Literatur” [“Marginal Notes on Contemporary Russian Literature”] (Erenburg 1930), presumably under Jakobson's invitation who used to invite scholars he knew to publish in the journal.<sup>283</sup>

In 1931 Jakobson's review “Der Russischen Frankreich-mythus” [“The Russian Myth about France”] appeared in *Slavische Rundschau*. It discussed *My i oni: Francija [Us and Them: France]*, published by Il'ja Erenburg with Ovadij Savič.<sup>284</sup> The main aim of the book, which Jakobson considered fruitful, was defining national symbols through an external perspective: the authors analysed the French national myth within Russian literature and, specifically, in the works of Russian authors from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the 1930s of the nineteenth. According to Jakobson, Erenburg and Savič also investigated a specific trait of Russian national identity, interpreting the Russian myth of France as a mirror of the Russian mentality. Jakobson demonstrated that a mythological conception of France existed in Russian literature through two assumptions: Russian writers employed the same formulas when describing France and conceived of the French national spirit in a particular way. France was primarily identified with Paris and Russian writers never attempted to describe the French countryside. Jakobson was acquainted with the pivotal role of France as mythos in Russian poetry and probably had in mind Majakovskij's 1925 long poem *Pariž [Paris]*, whose last verses sound:

---

<sup>282</sup> “Так трудно о таких вещах говорить вдаль. И все думается, почему все встречи с Ильей последних лет были так отрывочны и обрывисты. Только задним числом я знал: сколько надо было сказать друг другу. Столько мы умели когда-то друг другу сказать...” This excerpt was included by the editor of Erenburg's memoirs. I am convinced that the Erenburg archives contain more material on his relationship with Jakobson. At the time of writing this thesis I was unable to access them. There is no such evidence in RJP's.

<sup>283</sup> In *Slavische Rundschau*'s collection there are no documents which attest a correspondence between Jakobson and Erenburg.

<sup>284</sup> Ovadij Savič (1896-1967) was a Russian writer and translator from Spanish and French. Between in 1932 and 1936 he lived in Paris where he worked as a correspondent of the *Komsomolskaja pravda*. Then, between 1937 and 1938 he worked in Spain as a correspondent for TASS. In 1922 he knew Erenburg, and they became close friends. Similarly to Erenburg he lived in Europe but without the status of emigrant but maintaining his Soviet citizenship.

Я хотел бы  
жить  
и умереть в Париже,  
Если б не было  
такой земли -  
Москва.<sup>285</sup> (Маяковский 1957, 227)

In his review, Jakobson considered this Majakovskian antithesis between Paris and Moscow, expanding it to encompass France and Russia. Considered as a symbol of Western decadence anchored in the past, France was one of the main figurations of Russian eschatology, which is to say, the fall of Western culture. In the final part of his review, Jakobson compared *My i oni* with Gustav Winter's<sup>286</sup> *Kniha o Francii* [*A Book about France*] (1930). During the interwar years, Winter published in *Slovo a slovesnost* and *Slavische Rundschau*.<sup>287</sup> In the correspondence between Jakobson and Winter kept in *Slavische Rundschau*'s archive, some letters attest to their closeness. In a letter sent from Paris on 31<sup>st</sup> of March 1931, Winter wrote to Jakobson about his book and that of Erenburg:

Thank you for your positive opinion about the book and the attention you want to give it in the *Slavische Rundschau*, not least for drawing attention to Erenburg's book *My i oni*. I have only glanced at it so far, but I shall certainly read it, if not now, then during the holidays.<sup>288</sup>

According to Jakobson, the difference between the two books emphasised the main difference between Czechoslovakia and Russia's attitudes towards France:

The most crucial difference between the Czech and Russian observers lies in their amiable, diplomatic rendering of the facts, in a different emotional colouring of their judgements, which in Winter's case is more compassionate, friendly, even amorous, but in the Russian's more harsh, often satirically sharp.<sup>289</sup> (Jakobson 2013, 315)

---

<sup>285</sup> "I would like/ to live/ and die in Paris/ If there wouldn't be/ such a land:/ Moscow."

<sup>286</sup> Gustav Winter (1889-1943) was a Czech social democratic journalist and writer of Jewish origins who moved to Paris in 1926, where he remained until 1938.

<sup>287</sup> In the second issue of *Slovo a slovesnost* from 1936 he published "Poznámky k novinářské češtině" ["Notes on Czech in Newspapers"]. For *Slavische Rundschau*, published an article titled "Umsichtigung der čechischer Gesellschaft" ["Prudence in Czech Society"] (Winter 1932) and some contributions to the section "Kulturkronik".

<sup>288</sup> "Děkuji Vám za dobré mínění o knize i za pozornost, kterou ji chcete věnovati ve *Slavische Rundschau* neméně pak za upozornění na Erenburgovou knihu *My i oni*. Zatím jsem do ní hen nahlédl, ale přečtu si ji jistě, ne-li nyní, tož o prázdninách."

<sup>289</sup> "Der wichtigste Unterschied zwischen dem čechischen und den russischen Beobachtern beruht in seiner liebenswürdig diplomatischen Wiedergabe der Tatsachen, in einer anderen emotionalen Färbung der Urteile, die

The relevant character of this review is that Jakobson dealt with the concept of nationalism, which relates to the political sphere. As I have emphasised many times, Jakobson used to declare himself apolitical and denied any possibility of expressing himself politically. Although this attitude, in the introduction before the analysis of the monograph he reflected on the concept of “egocentrism” that arises when a country attempts to define its own national character. According to Jakobson the question of the national character should be analysed through an external and, consequently, neutral perspective. In this assumption lied the positive contribution given by the monograph commented in the review, in which the authors analysed Russian national identity through its representation in French literature, i.e., through an external perspective.

### 2.5.3 Anton Florovskij

This subchapter is devoted to Jakobson’s reception of Anton Florovskij’s writings. Florovskij, who was a Russian historian, is of note because he represents one of the few Russian *émigrés* with whom Jakobson scholarly interacted in the interwar period.

On 26<sup>th</sup> of May 1936 Jakobson published his first writing in *Lidové noviny*, titled “Česko-ruské styky v minulosti” [“Czech-Russian Contacts in the Past”] (Jakobson 2014, 102-103), a review of Anton Florovskij’s book *Čechi i vostočnye slavjane. Očerki po istorii rusko-češskich otnošenij X-XVIII vv. Tom pervyj* [*Czechs and East Slavs. Essays on the History of Russian-Czech Relations X-XVIII cc. First Volume*]. This first volume appeared in Prague in 1935 and the second was ready in 1941 but its publication was forbidden by the Nazi occupiers, and it was eventually published in 1947. As I stated in the previous chapter, Florovskij represents one of the few *émigrés* with whom Jakobson built a relationship in the interwar years. After his studies in Odessa, Florovskij<sup>290</sup> came to Prague in 1923 and, as Nikola Dopitová suggested, there is an evident division between these two periods (Dopitová in Nykl 2021, 205). While during his years in Odessa his research was mainly focused on the nineteenth-century Russian history; after he came to Prague, he became interested in comparative history, analysing the relations between Czechs and Russians. The historical

---

bei Winter mehr mitfühlend, freundlich, sogar verliebt, bei den Russin aber mehr herb, vielfach satirisch scharf ist.”

<sup>290</sup> See Picková (1993), Šaur (2005), and Dopitová (2021). On Czech research about Tsarist Russia, see Vlček (2017).

relations between Czechs and Russian remain a constant through Florovskij's academic career and during the last years of his life he expanded his research beyond the Bohemian lands to investigate the connections between the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian Empires. He died shortly before completing his book *Russko-avstrijskie otnošenija v epochu Petra Velikogo* [*Russian-Austrian Relations in the Era of Peter the Great*].<sup>291</sup> Analysing the history of these two empires, he did not consider just political and economic questions, but also religious ones, as testified by his interest in the influence of Catholicism in Russia.

Florovskij was actively involved in the interwar Czech milieu and beside his activity at Charles University, where he became a professor of history in 1933, he was also a member of the Russkoe istoričeskoe občestvo [Russian Historical Society], founded in Prague in 1925 and active until 1945. In 1938 Florovskij started participating in the activities of the PLK, giving two lectures which exemplified his method: *České prvky v staroruské literatuře* [*Czech Features in Old Russian Literature*] on 14<sup>th</sup> of February 1938 and *Česká bible v dějinách východoslovanské kultury a písemnictví* [*The Czech Bible in the History of East Slavic Culture and Literature*] on 16<sup>th</sup> of December 1940. Florovskij's activity in the PLK speaks to his interdisciplinary approach involving history and literature, demonstrated in the article "Ruská mluvnice českého jesuity z r. 1690" ["Russian Grammar of a Czech Jesuit from 1690"] published in *Slovo a slovesnost* in 1938. He also contributed to the collection of essays *Co dal naše země Evropě* [*What gave our Country to Europe*] with the writing "Vliv staré české literatury v oblasti ruské" ["The Influence of Old Czech Literature in the Russian Context"]. He never became a PLK member. The first volume of *Čechi i vostočnye slavjane* received a largely positive reception from Czech scholars but reviewers noted the presence of inaccuracies regarding Czech terms and dates.<sup>292</sup> In his review, Jakobson described Florovskij's book as one of the best published by the Slovanský ústav to date. He noted that Florovskij was the first historian who analysed the relations between Russian and Czech history. Jakobson noted that Florovskij's analysis related only to the Czech lands, without considering Slovakia and advised him to expand his research considering the Austro-Hungarian Empire and relating politics to religion. These two topics were analysed by Florovskij later.

A confirmation of Jakobson's esteem for his colleague is his reference to Florovskij in the review "Ruský ohlas české lidové hry" ["A Russian Echo of a Czech Folk Play"], published

---

<sup>291</sup> This work was left unfinished, but an analysis can be read by Dopitová in Nykl (2021, 162-164).

<sup>292</sup> The most relevant are Zdeněk Hájek's review published in *Český časopis historický* Hájek (1936) and Jan Slavík's one published in *Slovanský přehled* Slavík (1935).

on 15<sup>th</sup> of October 1938 in *Lidové noviny*. Jakobson reviewed the annotated edition of the Russian play *Car' Maksimilian* published by the Polish scholar Józef Gołąbek. It was published under the title *Car Maksymilian. Widowisko ludowe na Rusi [Tsar Maximilian. A folk drama in Russia]* in Cracow in 1938 for the Akademia umiętności, the Polish Academy of Arts and Science. In his review, Jakobson attempted to prove that *Car' Maksimilian* was an example of how Czech popular theatre had influenced Russia's. He argued that *Car' Maksimilian* was influenced by "Svatá Dorota" ["Holy Dorothea"], a recurrent spiritual motif in Bohemian folk theatre.<sup>293</sup> Jakobson's interest in "Svatá Dorota" was not incidental. In 1938 Bogatyrev and Burian both wrote on the Czech spiritual play about *Svatá Dorota*: Bogatyrev analysed it in his article "Lidové divadlo" ["Folk Theater"], published in 1938 in Burian's journal *Program D*, while in the same year Burian staged a play inspired by the motif of "Svatá Dorothea", *Hra o svaté Dorotě [A Play about St. Dorothy]*, on 6<sup>th</sup> of October, only few days before Jakobson published this review.<sup>294</sup> In the review Jakobson simultaneously quoted both, identifying "Svatá Dorota" as a "a gem of human Gothic, only this year properly appreciated by science (Bogatyrev) and modern theatre (a beautiful performance at the E. F. Burian Theatre)."<sup>295</sup> Florovskij's theories from the first volume of *Čechi i vostočnye slavjane* appeared in Jakobson's writings about the interactions between Czech and Russian Medieval literature. This demonstrates, as I stated above, Jakobson's esteem for Florovskij's scholarship and, further, the importance of communication between different disciplines.

#### 2.5.4 Zdeněk Nejedlý's *Masaryk* in Jakobson and Wellek's perspective

As I have emphasised in the first chapter, Masaryk was an essential reference for Jakobson in the interwar period. In this section I aim to analyse Jakobson's review "Masaryk Nejedlého" ["Nejedlý's Masaryk"], published in *Slovo a slovesnost* in 1935, confronting it with Wellek's one, appeared in 1936 abroad in *The Slavonic and East European Review* one year

---

<sup>293</sup> Jakobson published again an article dedicated to the theme of Svatá Dorota in *Lidové noviny* on 5<sup>th</sup> of February 1939, "Cesta svaté Doroty z Čech na Rus" ["St. Dorothy's Journey from Bohemia to Russia"], which was his last writing appeared while he was still in Czechoslovakia.

<sup>294</sup> The collaboration of Structuralism with the Czech theatre is an important topic, analysed in Ambros (2012), Šlaisová (2016) and Veltruský (2016). Bogatyrev's scientific research results represent a mutual exchange between ethnographical and theatrical studies in which "the scholars of the Prague School were inspired by contemporary performance, folk and puppet theatre, film and drama while the directors Jindřich Honzl and Emil František Burian conceptualised their stage experience" Ambros (2012, 75). As mentioned, his collaboration with Burian was crucial. Although their aims were different, they were driven by the same desire to investigate popular forms of theatre, see Širovátka (1966) and Šlaisová (2016).

<sup>295</sup> "skvost zlidovělé gotiky, teprve letos náležitě oceněný vědou (Bogatyrev) a moderním divadlem (krásné provedení v divadle E. F. Buriana)."

later, in 1936 (Wellek 1936). These reviews referred to Zdeněk Nejedlý's third volume<sup>296</sup> of his biography dedicated to the Czechoslovak president. At that time, this biography was largely appreciated and commonly considered the most important and exhaustive among those dedicated to Masaryk published during the first decades of the twentieth century.

#### *Wellek's review*

Wellek published his review in *The Slavonic and East European Review*. This journal was established in 1922 by some professors affiliated with the University College London:<sup>297</sup> Bernard Pares, Robert Seton-Watson, and Harold Williams. It is not by chance that Wellek wrote for this journal because also Masaryk used to publish in it. In June 1922 appeared an English version of the political pamphlet *Slované po válce* [*The Slavs After the War*]. Masaryk's pivotal role in *The Slavonic and East European Review* is evident just by looking at the remarkable number of articles dedicated to him published during the last century.<sup>298</sup> The interest of this journal in publishing articles about Masaryk's activity in England continued from the second half of the twentieth century till nowadays. For example, it is possible to notice the trend to publish reviews concerning books related to Masaryk.<sup>299</sup>

---

<sup>296</sup> Nejedlý published a monograph in three volumes dedicated to Masaryk: the first one in 1930, *Masaryk 1850-1882*, the second *Masaryk docent 1877-1882* [*Masaryk professor 1877-1882*] (1932) and the third *Masaryk na pražské univerzitě 1882-1886* [*Masaryk at the Prague University 1882-1886*] (1935).

<sup>297</sup> Masaryk's period at King's College left an important influence on the institution. He also later visited King's College. For example, in 1925 he went there with Beneš and College principal Ernst Barker gave an important celebratory speech about Masaryk's time at the institution: "It was in the dark days of 1915, when you were in exile, proscribed as a traitor, alone with your thoughts, your problems, your aspirations" (Masaryk – Barker 1925, 447). Masaryk, in response, expressed his gratitude and the importance of King's College during the years of exile: "I had the feeling of coming home. Here I found shelter and asylum during the War" (Masaryk – Barker 1925, 449).

<sup>298</sup> I will provide some relevant examples. In 1923 appeared the obituary dedicated to Masaryk's wife, Charlotte, who died on 13<sup>th</sup> of May 1923. In 1925, Edvard Beneš published "The Problem of the Small Nations after the World War" (Beneš 1925), in which, since the title, he referred to Masaryk's "The Problem of Small Nations during European Crisis", i.e., the first lecture he delivered at King's College in 1915, where he spent part of his exile during World War I. Beneš's article was written with the purpose of celebrating the tenth anniversary of this lecture, as he wrote: "I feel highly honoured by the request of the School of Slavonic Studies in London to deliver this commemoration lecture in honour of its tenth birthday; and I shall certainly best fulfil my task if I pick up the thread of President Masaryk's discourse of that day, point out the further development of the question of the small nations in Europe after the war" (Beneš 1925, 257). In 1929, the *The Slavonic and East European Review* also published the translation of Masaryk's speech delivered the year before to celebrate ten years of Czechoslovakia's independence. In 1930, Wickham Steed published the first lesson of a course of four dedicated to Masaryk titled "Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. The Man and the Teacher".

<sup>299</sup> For example, in 1945 Brackett Lewis reviewed *Masaryk's democracy* by William Warren, see Lewis (1945). In 1991 Francis Carsten reviewed three volumes about Masaryk's career: *T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937). Volume 1: Thinker and Politician* by Stanley Winters; *T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937). Volume 2: Thinker and Critic* by Robert Pynsent; *T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937). Volume 3: Statesman and Cultural Force*. See Carsten (1991).

In the introduction, Wellek illustrated how extensive was the number of writings dedicated to Masaryk published before Nejedlý and emphasised how this monumental biographical work filled a void in this corpus of writings: there was a lack of a proper biography describing the president's life and work. According to Wellek "[this] biography will supply this need on a truly monumental scale" (Wellek 1936, 457). The first merit of the monograph he stressed was the importance given to the context in which Masaryk lived and worked, stating that it could have been titled *Masaryk and his Times*.

Despite such a positive comment, Wellek provided some critiques. He disagreed with considering Masaryk merely a politician because he could be attributed to other merits, such as in philosophy, and his texts adhered to many fields of knowledge (literature, history, philosophy). Another question Wellek disagreed with was Nejedlý's interpretation of Masaryk's historical position: he argued that he could not be considered a true revolutionary spirit but a symbol of the crisis of Western bourgeois society, i.e., a representative of the decay of humanitarianism and democracy. Wellek noticed that Nejedlý had assumed a dogmatic Marxist perspective, disagreeing with the Marxist interpretations of history that were depopulating among scholars during the 1930s: "The Marxist interpretation of the history of thought leads sometimes to positively wrong conclusions" (Wellek 1936, 458).

In the last part, Wellek focused on Masaryk's relationship with the Anglo-American context and highlighted another problematic knot in Nejedlý's monograph: the inaccuracy of his reconstruction of the relationship between Masaryk and David Hume's philosophical writings. Although Wellek owes part of his fame to his scathing and negative reviews, as in the controversy with Roman Ingarden (Grigorov 2019), and despite the critiques I emphasised, his review of Nejedlý's monograph was positive, even if he disagreed with "his apocalyptic vision of the fate of Western civilisation, which he pleased to call *bourgeois*" (Ibidem). He emphasised the attention to detail and the incredible precision of the information, since Nejedlý did not have complete access to Masaryk's documents.

#### *Jakobson's review*

Jakobson's review appeared in 1935 in the second issue of *Slovo a slovesnost* (Jakobson 2014, 69-72). It is shorter than Wellek's one, but it is possible to trace some parallels. As Wellek, Jakobson conceived Nejedlý's volumes as a significant and praised them as a successful sociological writing. In the third volume, he saw the first attempt to write a history

of the Deutsche Universität Prag, where he discusses his doctoral thesis in 1930. Jakobson then emphasised the author's interest in the history of Czech philosophy, especially for those scholars who inspired Masaryk.

Differently from Wellek, Jakobson did not emphasised Masaryk as philosopher or a politician, but focused his analysis on Masaryk's relations to linguistics, also referring to the volume *Masaryk a řeč*, published with Mukařovský in 1931. He stated:

The book also contains much instructive information on the history of linguistic questions in Bohemia. Numerous documents show how much attention was paid to these problems, especially to general linguistics questions, in Czech science in the 1980s.<sup>300</sup> (Jakobson 2014, 69)

Regarding the question of the false manuscripts, Jakobson noticed a judgment that was too radical. This attitude became too severe in how Nejedlý defined Josef Durdík as “a complete wreck, a ruin”. Concerning Masaryk's interest in linguistics, Jakobson wrote a relevant consideration: “Certainly it was the fight for language in a multilingual environment that cultivated Masaryk's keen interest in linguistic problems” (Jakobson 2014, 70).<sup>301</sup> In this statement, in which Jakobson's use of the term *boj* recurs once again, we observe one of the three linguistic aspects relating to Masaryk that were most relevant to Jakobson: multilingualism. According to Jakobson, Masaryk's interest in the concept of “mother language was due to his absence.” Quoting Nejedlý's work, Jakobson tried to interpretate the origin of Masaryk's interests in linguistics: the concept was thus rooted in Masaryk's close connection with his childhood experiences and the closer connection between sign and meaning. After multilingualism, Jakobson analysed the vital connection between language and politics. For Masaryk, the fight (*boj* !) for the language reflected his political purposes, i.e., the people's fight for the state. Jakobson traced Masaryk's merits in sociolinguistics, into which his accurate considerations about the impoverishment of the English language also converged.

The third element highlighted by Jakobson concerned the complexity of the language due to two aspects: the interaction between spoken and written language and the influence of other languages, such as German. Significantly, Jakobson quoted a passage from *Hovory s T. G.*

---

<sup>300</sup> “Mnoho poučného obsahuje kniha i pro dějiny jazykovědných otázek v Čechách. Jsou tu četné doklady ukazující, jak velké pozornosti se těšily tyto problémy a zejména otázky obecné lingvistiky v české vědě 80. let.”

<sup>301</sup> “Zajisté právě boj o jazyk v prostředí mnohojazyčném vypěstoval pronikavý zájem Masarykův o jazykové problémy.”

*Masarykem* [Talks with T. G. Masaryk], published shortly before by Karel Čapek (Čapek [1936] 2013). It can be assumed that Jakobson had grasped the complex interaction between written and spoken language, which made the book unique.<sup>302</sup> Emphasising Masaryk's interest in contamination between language, Jakobson remarked on the debate about the existence of a pure language, which provoked a controversy between structuralists and the editorial board of *Naše řeč* during the 1930s:

Suppose Masaryk's position on the "mixing of languages" question is close to the theses of modern linguistics, rejecting the "mythos of pure language". In that case, the views of Masaryk and today's linguistics also coincide with another essential problem of language culture - the relationship between written and spoken language.<sup>303</sup> (Jakobson 2014, 71)

Contrary to Wellek, Jakobson did not conclude his review by drawing a line under his assessment of Nejedlý's work. Instead, he again emphasised Masaryk's importance in linguistic studies, calling for future analysis of Masarykian linguistic theories in relation with other scholars, such as Brentano. This is not surprising but confirms that Jakobson used to write his reviews with a programmatic attitude and giving some suggestions, in this specific case to suggest a new path in the research related to the Masarykian studies.

### 2.5.5 Jakobson and versology: reviews

In this portion of chapter I will discuss Jakobson's interested in the development of Czech studies related to versology analysing the reviews he published in the press at the end of the 1920s and in the 1930s. This section also aims to be an introduction to the next subchapter, in which I will present Jakobson's polemic against Josef Král's theory of Czech prosody.

Jakobson reviews about versology have two common traits. First, as is the case in his polemical exchange with Josef Král, in the reviews Jakobson harshly critiqued traditional approaches to the theory of versology adopted by Czech scholars. Second, they differ from

---

<sup>302</sup> See (Daneš 1994) and my analysis of the structure of Čapek's *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem*, Mecco (2022).

<sup>303</sup> "Je-li Masarykovo stanovisko v otázce 'míšení řečí' blízké thesím moderní linguistiky, odmítající 'mythus čistého jazyka', kryjí se názory Masaryka i dnešní jazykovědy také v jiném podstatném problému jazykové kultury – v otázce vztahu mezi řečí psanou a mluvenou."

those analysed hitherto in that they do not concern a single isolated piece of writing, but several pieces of writing pertaining to the same topic. Through the various examples of this sub-genre of the review, we can observe Jakobson's tendency to draw considerations about scientific achievements by considering several writings. For example, the review "Aktuelle Aufgaben der Bylinenforschung" ["Current Tasks in the Research About Byliny"], published in *Prager Presse* on 24<sup>th</sup> of May 1936 (Jakobson 1985, 61-63), is a comprehensive review of the development of studies on the genre of the *bylina*.

In 1932 Jakobson published "Neue Arbeiten über die Südslavische dichterische Form" ["New Works on the South Slavic Poetic Form"] in *Slavische Rundschau* (Jakobson 2013, 358-364). This was a significant review since, during these years he dedicated much time to studying South Slavic poetry, writing his doctoral thesis on the versification of Southern Slavic folk epics. The topic was crucial for two reasons. First, it concerned the close connection between the poetic and folkloric dimensions. This was a question that interested the young scholar considerably: suffice it to mention the essay he wrote with Bogatyrev, *Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens*, which was published in 1929. Second, Jakobson emphasised the importance of a comparative perspective in the study of versology and the study of South Slavic one was illustrative: according to him, "the Serbo-Croatian verse form is of particular interest for the comparative study of the metrics of the Slavic and Indo-European languages and for the typology of verse systems" (Jakobson 2013, 358).<sup>304</sup> As I will explain in the following section, Jakobson's study of versology was mainly based on two assumptions: the necessity of comparative methodology and the fundamental relationship between the metre and phonology.

*"Neue čechoslovakische Arbeiten über die poetische Form (1929-1930)" (1931)*

As Jakobson emphasised in "Neue čechoslovakische Arbeiten über die poetische Form (1929-1930)" ["New Czechoslovakian Works on Poetic Form (1929-1930)"] (Jakobson 2013, 294-299) the study of versification had a long tradition in the Czech academy.<sup>305</sup> According to Jakobson, this tradition started in the nineteenth century with Zubatý, Hostinský and Durdík and presented a consistent legacy between the end of nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, as testified by the studies published by Král, Šalda and Novák. It was only

---

<sup>304</sup> "Die serbokroatische Versform ist sowohl für das vergleichende Studium der Metrik der slavischen und überhaupt indogermanischen Sprachen als auch für die Typologie der Verssysteme von ganz besonderem Interesse."

<sup>305</sup> See Baluch (2023).

from the second half of the 1920s onwards, with the publication of Jakobson's *O češskom stiche. Preimuščestvenno v sopostavlenii s ruskim* [*On Czech Verse. Especially in Contrast with the Russian*, 1923] and its Czech translation *Základy českého verse* [*Foundamentals of Czech Verse*, 1926], that this academic situation unblocked and scholarly interest in the field renewed. By the end of the decade, there was enough new material for Jakobson to evaluate in a review article. His review began by discussing Otokar Fischer, who published *Duše a slovo* [*The Soul and the Word*] in 1929. Jakobson compared Fischer's work in importance to the studies of the Russian poets, Andrej Belyj, Vjačeslav Ivanov, and Valerij Brjusov. These three names, especially those of Belyj and Brjusov, are not incidental, because the dialogue – or, rather, the polemics – with theories of versology developed by the younger generation of the Symbolist school was essential to the formalist debate on poetry that developed in the 1920s.

*Digression: Jakobson's critique of Brjusov*

In the introduction of “Brjusovskaja stichologija i nauka o stiche” [“Brjusovian Versology and the Science of Verse”] (Jakobson [1922] 2013, 121-143), Jakobson noted that an unprecedented era in the study of versology had begun in Russia and acknowledged the debt owed to the Symbolists for this popularisation. Unlike in the nineteenth century, this development of versology was accompanied by the belief that the poetic dimension should be studied not as an independent system, but rather in the light of other disciplines, including linguistics, logic, and psychology. Jakobson declared the symbolist methodology unsuitable, as it was unscientific:

Science is blind, science cannot comprehend the laws of the poetic word. The laws are a mystery. Poetry is a mystery, magic, the magic of words. [...] Such excursions are more dangerous in those cases in which they claim to be scientific, in which they are, so to speak, science-like.<sup>306</sup> (Jakobson 2013, 122)

In his work on Brjusovian versology, he polemicised against Brjusov's monograph *Nauka o stiche* [*Science of Verse*], published in 1919. Though Jakobson published “Brjusovskaja stichologija i nauka o stiche” in 1922,<sup>307</sup> the question had already been dealt with during a cycle of four meetings organised by the MLK in 1919. During one of them, held on 23<sup>rd</sup> of September, Jakobson gave a speech entitled “Obrazčik naučjogo šarlatanstva” [“A Model of

---

<sup>306</sup> “Наука близорука, науке не постичь законов поэтического слова. Законы – тайна. Поэзия – таинство, волшебство, магия слов. [...] Опасней подобные экскурсы в тех случаях, когда они претендуют на научность, когда они, так сказать, наукообразны.”

<sup>307</sup> Jakobson had written this article in 1919: it was torn to shreds by Ivanov.

Scientific Charlatanism”], which was followed by a discussion in which Osip Brik, Sergej Bobrov and Boris Tomaševskij participated. According to Vinogradov’s report, the most radical critique was made by Brik, who denied the presence of new elements in Brjusovian theories, stating that the “book is interesting as a clear and logical conveying to the absurdity of the doctrines of verse cultivated by the Symbolists”,<sup>308</sup> a statement with which Jakobson did not disagree. Tomaševskij critiqued Brjusov’s theories in 1921, when he published a review of *Nauka o stiche* and Belyj’s *O chudožestvennoj proze [Prose Fiction]* (1919) (Tomaševskij 1921). Both Jakobson and Tomaševskij demonstrated that Brjusov’s theories were just the result of an inadequate *naukoobrazie* (their inaccuracy and unscientific nature) criticising above all his method and the theoretical references.

According to Jakobson, Brjusov’s main mistake (and that of the Symbolists in general) was the canonisation of Potebnja and his vision of poetry not as a mode of expression, but as a special kind of thinking. This influence of Potebnja had been openly declared by Belyj in 1910 within the essay *Simvolizm [Symbolism]*, stating that the Symbolists intended to endorse the scholar’s theories.<sup>309</sup>

Concluding this parenthesis on formalist versology and Symbolism, on the one hand Jakobson acknowledged that Symbolism had rekindled the debate on versology, but on the other hand he emphasised the need to employ another method, i.e., the one he proposed in *O češskom slove*: a comparative approach based on linguistics. The Russian avant-garde (in particular Futurism) and Formalism, itself an avant-garde movement in the field of criticism, simultaneously owed a debt to Symbolism and understood the need for radical revisionism. When Jakobson compares Fischer’s “brilliant” essays to those of the Symbolists, he implies a veiled criticism of his friend’s<sup>310</sup> writing. While these essays appear mature in their use of the comparative method and in the accuracy of the juxtapositions, they still present a predilection for the psychological approach, instead of analysing the poetic structure as such. According to

---

<sup>308</sup> “Книга Брюсова представляет интерес, как откровенное и логическое доведение до абсурда тех учений о стихе, которые культивируют символисты.” These documents were edited and published in Gindin (2007)

<sup>309</sup> See Weststeijn (1979). Jakobson’s criticism of Potebnja has been analysed in Glanc (2016).

<sup>310</sup> Jakobson had a good relationship with Fischer: both published in the same periodicals, such as *Prager Presse* and were members of the PLK. Fischer also gave lectures on poetry, such as “Tempo básnické řeči” [“Tempo of poetic language”], on 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1933. Fischer translated Boris Godunov for Jakobson and Bem’s edition of Puškin’s writings. In the § **Appendix I** I provide unpublished letters Jakobson sent to Fischer kept at RJP.

Jakobson, Fischer renewed the debate on versology, but without creating sufficient distance from the previous tradition.

*“Arbeiten über die tschechische dichterische Form” (1931)*

Another scholar about whose research Jakobson wrote was Vojtěch Jiráť,<sup>311</sup> harshly critiqued in the 1931 review “Arbeiten über die tschechische dichterische Form” [“Works on the Czech Poetic Form”] (Jakobson 2013, 365-369), published in *Slavische Rundschau*. In this review, after describing himself as a pioneer of versology, Jakobson stated:

Jiráť’s work impairs the linguistic analysis’s insufficient rigour and the rhyme technique’s treatment in complete detachment from the other peculiarities of verse construction in the poets concerned.<sup>312</sup> (Jakobson 2013, 366)

Jakobson noted that Jiráť was not aware of the importance of phonology in the study of versology since he confused some basic concepts, such as the phoneme and the letter. On the contrary, he argued that Mukařovský’s structuralist analysis was an effective contribution to versification.<sup>313</sup> Although Structuralism was developing effective methodologies for the study of poetry, Jakobson found a serious lack not in its method, but rather in the object of the analysis. Unlike Formalism, which favoured the study of contemporary Russian poetry, Structuralism had not yet become interested in avant-garde poets: at the time Jakobson was writing, Mukařovský’s studies dedicated to Nezvalian Surrealistic poetry had not yet been published.<sup>314</sup>

*“Rub literární vědy” (1935)*

Entering the debate on versology, structuralists criticised other scholars. Such criticisms usually evolved into polemics. In the second issue of *Slovo a slovesnost*, published in 1935, Jakobson wrote with René Wellek a review titled “Rub literární vědy” [“The Other Side of Literary Science”] (Jakobson 2014, 73-76). They intended to critique studies on versology written by scholars belonging to the “other side”, that is, opposed to Structuralism: Jan

---

<sup>311</sup> Vojtěch Jiráť (1902-1945) was a Czech Germanist and professor at the Charles University, specialised in literary history. Together with Konrád Bittner founded the journal *Germanoslavistika*.

<sup>312</sup> “Die Arbeiten Jiráť’s beeinträchtigt die ungenügende Strenge der linguistischen Analyse und die Behandlung der Reimtechnik in voller Losgelöstheit von den übrigen Eigentümlichkeiten des Versbaues bei den betreffenden Dichtern.”

<sup>313</sup> See (Sládek 2015) on Mukařovský’s activity in the interwar years.

<sup>314</sup> See, for example “Sémantický rozbor básnického díla” [“A semantic analysis of a poetic work”], published on *Slovo a slovesnost* in 1938.

Sedlák,<sup>315</sup> Karel Erban,<sup>316</sup> and Josef Bečka.<sup>317</sup> The first part is by Wellek and consists of a commentary on Jan Sedlák's *O díle básnickém* [*On the Work of Poetry*], who argues that Structuralism and its holistic methodology were scientifically irrelevant. Wellek judged Sedlák's theories as unscientific, contradictory, and unable to overcome their positivistic heritage. Sedlák's attempt to condense notions of poetic aesthetics and literary theory into a single study was primitive and unsuccessful: "a vague method that does not bridge synthesis but erases the distinction between the psychological method based on the creative process and the artistic method based on the analysis of the work"<sup>318</sup> (Wellek 1935, 128).

In the review published in *Slavische Rundschau* in 1932, Jakobson also described Sedlák's theories as banal and, in 1929, he openly criticised Sedlák's book *K problému rytmu básnického* [*On the Question of the Poetic Rhythm*] in the review "Kus literární pavědy" published in *Plán* in 1929 (Jakobson 2013, 234-239). Miloš Zelenka analysed Sedlák's relationship with the members of the PLK and wrote that Jakobson's reaction to Sedlák's book was hugely adverse and radical and his "attack on Sedlák [...] was paradoxically an attack by a member of the Prague Linguistic Circle against a colleague who disagreed with an exact, structural-morphological approach to literary material"<sup>319</sup> (Zelenka 2017, 1). In his critique Jakobson meticulously enumerated the problems in Sedlák's book: he did not employ an adequate terminology and lacked theoretical background, demonstrating a lack of familiarity with formalist writings on poetic rhythm by Brik, Tynjanov and Tomaševskij. Sedlák's book provided no scientific value, and from the beginning to the end, he sinned with a disastrous confusion of terms.

Returning to the 1935 review published in *Slovo a slovesnost*, Jakobson analysed Karel Erban's article "O metaphorách" ["About Metaphors"], published in *Naše řeč* that year (Erban 1935b). The concept of metaphor had been one of Jakobson's primary interests, e.g., in his study of Chlebnikov in *Novejšaja ruskaja poezija* (1921) or in "Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak" (1935), in which he discussed the relations between metaphor and

---

<sup>315</sup> Jan Sedlák (1889-1941) was a Czech literary theoretician and historian whose research was based on Positivism.

<sup>316</sup> Karel Erban (1901-1982) was a Czech philologist and linguist. He was also a poet.

<sup>317</sup> Josef Bečka (1903-1992) was a Czech linguist specialised in stylistic. Jakobson critiqued Bečka's article about the language of Vančura's *Konce starých časů* [*The End of Old Times*] (Bečka 1935) published in *Naše řeč*.

<sup>318</sup> "Je to jenom první typický příklad pro směšování pojmů, pro nejasnou metodu, která nepřeklenuje syntésou, nýbrž prostým smazáním hranic stírá rozdíl mezi metodou psychologickou vycházející z tvůrčího procesu a metodou uměleckovědnou vycházející z rozboru díla."

<sup>319</sup> "Jakobsonův útok na Sedláka [...] byl paradoxně útokem člena Pražského lingvistického kroužku proti svému kolegovi, který nesouhlasil s exaktním, strukturálně-morfologickým přístupem k literárnímu materiálu."

metonymy (see § 3.1.2).<sup>320</sup> Erban reflected on the artistic and aesthetic value of metaphors in his *Naše řeč* article, but he took a psychological approach and interpreted metaphor through logic rather than linguistics, while according to Jakobson metaphors should be studied as primarily related to semantics. Jakobson's criticised Erban's statement about the lack of metaphors in medieval literature, recalling Jan Gebauer's article "O metaforických obrazech básnictví národního, zvláště slovanského" ["On Metaphorical Images of National Poetry, Especially Slavic"] (1874). Jakobson observed both conceptual and methodological problems in Erban's article: according to Jakobson, Erban did not consider new theories from the previous years.

Erban replied to Jakobson in the article "Z našich časopisů" ["From our Periodicals"] published in *Naše řeč* (Erban 1936). This article is divided into two parts. In the first one, he defended himself from what Jakobson stated in *Slovo a slovesnost* and in the second one, he answered two negative reviews by Šalda and Eisner.

Šalda published his review to Erban's "O metaphorách" titled "Kus filologické lživědy" ["A Piece of Philological Mendacity"] in the seventh volume of *Šaldův Způsobník* (Šalda 1994, 352-362). In the introduction Šalda critiqued the journal *Naše řeč*, accusing it of propagating an "old philology" based on a conservatory and pedantic attitude. The journal was promoting the establishment of a norm without any solid criteria. Echoing Jakobson, Šalda criticised Erban both for the content and the style<sup>321</sup> of his writing, defining him as a "impressionistic critic". Employing "impressionism" with a negative nuance, Šalda intended to emphasise Erban's lack of scientific approach and criticises his "clueless and blind" methodology.

Concerning Eisner, he reacted to another article published by Erban in *Naše řeč*, titled "O českém slohu kritickém" ["The Style of Czech Criticism"] (Erban 1935a). In this article Erban identified Šalda and Novák as *epigony*, epigons, and criticised their theories, especially those elaborated in Šalda's *Boj o zítřek* and Novák's *Kritika literární*. Eisner emphasised that rather than epigons, Šalda and Novák were pivotal references for the contemporary literary

---

<sup>320</sup> Jakobson later discussed the two concepts while analysing aphasias. According to Jakobson, this phenomenon implies a linguistic disfunction and lies between two poles: the metaphoric and the metonymic ones. The contrast between metaphor and metonymy is emphasised as follows: "Metaphor is alien to similarity disorder, and metonymy to the contiguity disorder" (Jakobson 1971, 254).

<sup>321</sup> "I learned to write from authors that Mr. Erban might not even be able to read and translate [...] If Mr. Erban was truly philologically educated, he would know that there are good theorists of style for whom periodicity is something of a *counterpoint* to verbal stylistics." ("Učil jsem se psát u autorů, které by p. Erban nedovedl možná ani přečíst a přeložit [...]. Kdyby byl p. Erban opravdu filologicky vzdělaný, věděl by, že jsou dobří teoretikové stylu, kterým je periodicitu cosi jako *kontrapunkt* slovesné stylistiky.") (Šalda 1994, 360).

criticism. The critique against Erban echoed Šalda's one and emphasised the lack of a scientific approach in Erban's analysis.

Erban declared himself open to negative reviews, but not to Jakobson's review in *Slovo a slovesnost* because it was unnecessarily offensive and mirrored the PLK member's resentment towards *Naše řeč*'s authors after the polemical debate with Jiří Haller one prior.<sup>322</sup> According to Erban, Jakobson's criticism was unclear and confused: "If Jakobson thinks he is right, let him give it to us a little more clearly and less confusedly than he did in *Základy českého verše*" (Erban 1936, 67).<sup>323</sup>

## 2.6 Polemics

### 2.6.1 Jakobson's theory of Czech prosody: deconstructing Josef Král

Jakobson's predilection for the study of prosody can be traced back to his years as a militant formalist, for whom the research on poetic material was one of the most important issues alongside folkloric and linguistic studies. An episode that exemplifies the importance of prosody for the Formalists is the controversy that erupted in 1919 with Brjusov, which I have described in the previous section (§ 2.5.5). As Jakobson's reviews about versology testify, during the years he spent in Czechoslovakia Jakobson was acquainted with the development of Czech prosody. His interest in the Czech prosodic system can be traced earlier, while he was coming to Prague, as he stated in the *Dialogues* with Krystina Pomorska:

On my way to Prague, on the boat between Tallinn and Stettin, I immersed myself in the verses of that marvellous Czech Romantic poet, Karel Hynek Mácha (1810-1836), and I asked a citizen of Prague who was aboard the same boat to read them aloud for me. I was struck by the profound differences in structure between iambic tetrameter in Russian and in Czech, and I was particularly astonished by the variety of rhythmical deviations from the metrical pattern that the Czech iamb permitted, but which in Russian were totally impossible. I decided to do some work on these questions of comparative metrics, and upon my arrival in Prague I spoke to the head of the department of Czech at the university, Emil Smetánka (1875-1949) about this

---

<sup>322</sup> See Vuković (2010).

<sup>323</sup> "Myslí-li Jakobson, že má pravdu, ať nám ji podá trochu jasněji a méně zmateně, než to učinil v *Základech českého verše*."

discrepancy. He explained to me good-naturedly: “Do not bother with this issue; I will explain the deviations for you. Our poets are simply such idlers [lit. *takovilajdaci*] that they are too lazy to write according to the rules.” (Jakobson – Pomorska 1983, 22)

It was thus reading the verses of Mácha, the poet on whom he wrote the structuralist essay “K popisu Máchova verše” [“For a Description of Mácha’s Verse”] in 1938 (Jakobson – Červenka 1996, 427-476) and the later “Stroka Machi o zove gorlicy” [“Mácha’s Verse on the Call of the Turtledove”] in 1960 (Jakobson 1979, 486-504), that alerted to Jakobson the need for a comparative study of Czech and Russian verse. When Jakobson came to Emil Smetánka<sup>324</sup> for a discussion in 1920, the Czech scholar was already playing a very important role within the Czech side of the Charles University. A reaction like Smetánka’s towards Jakobson is not surprising, but rather part of a wider series of episodes and hostilities that the scholar had to face since his arrival in Czechoslovakia, which I have already widely presented in the first chapter (§ 1.1). Regarding the academy facing with hostility scholars involved in the PLK, Jakobson commented the situation in the already mentioned interview with Dezső:

The Prague faculty was against us. Almost none of us was a member of the Prague faculty, except for the English section. There was Mathesius from the English section, then there was Ripka in the Spanish section and so on. All Slavists were all strongly against all these daring and so on.<sup>325</sup>

Jakobson’s interest in the development of Czech prosody is also testified by the fact that during his first years in Prague he attended František Trávníček’s course about Czech quantity at the Charles University during the winter semester 1920-1921 (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 27).

Jakobson displayed his early engagement with the study of the poetic material in the monograph dedicated to the work of Velimir Chlebnikov, *Novejšaja russkaja poezija*, written in Moscow in 1919 and published in Prague in 1922, in which he emphasised the importance of linguistics, especially phonology, in the study of verse (see § 3.1). Jakobson was also focused

---

<sup>324</sup> Emil Smetánka (1875-1949) was a disciple of the well-known philologist Jan Gebauer, directly influenced by the theories of the Neogrammatics and positivist aesthetics.

<sup>325</sup> “Пражский факультет был против нас. Единственный, почти никто из нас не был членом пражского факультета, кроме английской секции. Был Матезиус английской секции, потом вот Рипка был в этой секции испанских языков и так далее А так, слависты и все это было все решительно против всех этих дерзаний и так далее.” RJP, Vox 147, p. 22.

on Bulgarian versology and in 1923 he published “Zametka o drevne-bolgarskom stichosloženíi” [“A Note on Old Bulgarian Versification”] (Jakobson 2013, 7-14).

Jakobson’s first significant achievement in the comparative study of verse was *O češskom stiche*, published in Russian in 1923 and later in Czech in 1926 under the title *Základy českého verše*. In publishing this study, Jakobson did not intend to write an alternative history of Czech verse but to stimulate the debate on Czech prosody.

Commenting on the studies published up to that time, he intended to propose a new approach based on two fundamental assumptions, namely the importance of linguistics (i.e., of interdisciplinarity) and the need to adopt a comparative perspective. It is possible to grasp the radical nature of Jakobson’s critique in the introduction, in which his “hypotheses” aimed at replacing the unquestioned dogmas of the past and the gloomy confessions of ignorance (Jakobson 1979, 3).<sup>326</sup> The ideas elaborated in this writing are as much heir to Formalism as it is anticipatory of Structuralism. Although in 1923 the PLK did not exist yet, Jakobson already employed concepts that would later be at the core of the structuralist method, such as a holistic approach and the distancing from positivist aesthetics through the adoption of principles later elaborated in the 1930s by Jan Mukařovský. As far as Formalism is concerned, we can observe a direct reference to the studies of Osip Brik and Boris Tomaševskij, to whom Jakobson referred in the preface: “It was the debates of the Moscow Language Circle, especially the interventions of O. M. Brik and B. V. Tomaševskij on Russian verse, that enlightened me for the first time about the scientific problems of rhythm” (Jakobson 1979, 4).<sup>327</sup> In 1959, Jakobson named Tomaševskij as one of the most important masters of Russian versification (Jakobson [1959] 1979, 557-559) and, in 1964, he stated that Brik was among those who had enabled the advancement of scientific studies on verse (Jakobson [1964] 1979, 545-548). Recognition of his two formalist colleagues and friends is also evident in Jakobson’s extensive quotation of their work in *O češskom stiche*. He quotes Brik’s *Zvukovye povtory* [*Sound Repetitions*] (Brik 1919) and two Tomaševskian writings, *Očerki po poetike Puškina* [*Essays on Puškin’s Poetics*] and *Russkoe stichosloženie* [*Russian Versification*] (Tomaševskij 1923a, Tomaševskij 1923b).

---

<sup>326</sup> “[Я] не намереваюсь дать компендиума чешской ритмики. Для компендиума еще не настало время. Мое задача – поставить несколько вопросительных знаков, бросить несколько рабочих гипотез. Это взамен вчерашних – бесспорных догм, взамен унылого ignoramus.” [“I do not intend to provide a compendium of Czech rhythm. The time for a compendium has not come yet. My aim is to raise a few question marks, to throw out a few working hypotheses. This is in place of yesterday’s unquestionable dogmas, in place of the gloomy ignoramus”]

<sup>327</sup> “Дебаты Московского Лингвистического Кружка, особенно доклады О. М. Брика и Б. В. Томашевского о русском стихе, впервые отчетливо мне проблемы научной ритмики.”

### *Czech prosody: preliminary remarks*

As I stated above, the publication of *O češskom stiche* aimed to revive the Czech debate on prosody, which was going through a phase of stagnation. The interest of Czech scholars in questions of prosody had been established in the nineteenth century, when two schools of thought had emerged: that of the *přízvučníci*, who considered that Czech prosodic theory should be based on accentuation (in Czech *přízvuk* means “accent”), and that of the *časomírnici*, who argued that the principle of quantity (in Czech *časomíra* means “quantity”) should be considered the theoretical model.

The debate’s dominant voice was that of philologist Josef Král, who began elaborating his theories on the Czech prosodic system in the journal *Listy filologické* in 1893 and published them in an updated version in 1909 (Král 1909), which contained some relevant considerations on Medieval Czech verse.<sup>328</sup> Following Král’s death in 1917, the Czech Academy of Sciences decided to initiate a project to publish the scholar’s theories in a two-volume work entitled *O prosodii české* [*On Czech Prosody*]. The first volume appeared in 1923 edited by the philologist Jan Jakubec (Král – Jakubec 1923), who had proposed to publish the second as early as the following year. The undertaking proved impossible due to another important project, the publication of the two volumes of Jakubec’s history of Czech literature. After Jakubec’s death in 1937, the scholar Bohumil Rypka published the second volume of *O prosodii české* in 1938 (Král – Rypka 1938).<sup>329</sup>

### *Jakobson’s critique of Král’s prosody*

When the first volume of Král’s study appeared, Jakobson published a review in *Kritika* in which he reproached Jakubec for not having considered the 1909 volume, in which Král, as already noted, had made several changes. Jakobson’s criticism was rather directed at Král’s writings, which were deemed unsuitable from both a methodological and theoretical point of view. In Jakobson’s opinion, the scholar had reduced Czech prosody to the accentuative question, proceeding not so much to scientifically argue his hypothesis on the basis of the texts, but rather employing a prescriptive approach. On the contrary, Jakobson emphasised the need to elaborate a theory derived from direct dialogue with poets.

---

<sup>328</sup> On the evolution of Czech prosody, see Baluch (2003), Ibrahim (2007), and Poliova – Pil’ščíkov – Belousova (2022).

<sup>329</sup> Prosody became a pivotal issue among the members of the PLK during the interwar period. After WWII the structuralist discussion about Czech prosody was pursued by Miroslav Červenka and Květa Sgallová.

This was a pivotal feature of Jakobson's activity as a scholar, as he stated in the introduction to the second volume of *Selected Writings*: "We learned from poets" (Jakobson 1971, VI). Indeed, it is impossible to conceive of a piece of writing such as *Novejšaja ruskaja poezija* without considering the importance played by Chlebnikov or Majakovskij. Regarding the importance of Jakobson's relationship with Czech poets while studying prosody, Vítězslav Nezval recalled in *Z mého života* [*From My Life*]:

Once after midnight in the Technika café, which was one of those rather dilapidated and seldom-visited late-night holes, a strange human with a rubber body and eyes darting towards the two poles of the globe approached me and, in somewhat stunted Czech, told me that he was interested in my opinion concerning rhythm in my verse and in Czech poetry. This nocturnal investigator of Czech prosody was none other than the Russian professor Roman Jakobson.<sup>330</sup> (Nezval 1959, 136-137)

Since he sought to actively include poets in his analysis, in the 1926 version Jakobson decided to add to the postface of *Základy českého verše* testimony by contemporary poets and artists about poetic rhythm, including that of Nezval, Neumann or Burian. Furthermore, the leading theorist of the Czech avant-garde quoted *Základy českého verše* in 1927 in "Slova, slova, slova" ["Words, Words, Words"], stating that: "the cooperation of contemporary Czech poets with Jakobson's scientific research (i.e., his *Základy českého verše*) will hopefully bring an enrichment of Czech poetic language, a language terribly burdened in the poems of Jaroslav Vrchlický"<sup>331</sup> (Teige [1927] 1972, 345). In this statement, we can see how Jakobson's theories proved to be suited to the new developments in contemporary Czech poetry.

Another significant passage from the critique against Král corresponds in the use of a key term of Jakobsonian semantics, the concept of *boj* ("fight"), to describe the necessity of overcoming obsolete theories: "The fight of one poetic school against another regarding new rhythmic principles is always a fight for the replacement of a certain kind of violence with

---

<sup>330</sup> "Jednou po půlnoci v kavárně Technice, která patřila mezi dost zchátralé noční špelunky a kam se chodilo zřídka, přistoupila ke mně podivná bytost s tělem jakoby gumově vypjatým a očima rozběhnutýma do dvou protějších světových stran a dala mi najevo rozkolísanou češtinou, že byl ji zajímavý můj názor na časoměrnou stránku v mém a v českém verši. Tento noční zájemce o českou prosodii nebyl jiný než ruský profesor Roman Jakobson."

<sup>331</sup> "Patře spolupráce moderních českých básníků s vědeckým bádáním Romana Jakobsona (viz jeho knihu *Základy českého verše*) přinese veliké obohacení básnické češtině, tak strašně ztučnělé u Jaroslava Vrchlického". The English translation is by Toman, see Toman (1996)

violence of another kind” (Jakobson 2013, 168).<sup>332</sup> The concept of *boj* suggests both the nature of the Jakobsonian critical attitude and the complexity of realising a comprehensive theory of Czech prosody. Indeed, while in the case of Russian there is a mobile accentuation that favours an accentuative prosodic system, Czech is the only Indo-European language in which, although the accent is fixed on the first syllable, the length of vowels varies independently of the accent.<sup>333</sup>

### *Jakobson’s theory: reviews*

The first review of Jakobson’s *O češskom stiche* appeared in *Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii* in 1924 and was written under Jakobson’s request by Trubeckoj (Trubeckoj 1924), who defined himself as a *polnyj profan* (“complete profane”) of the discipline (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 41). In the summer of 1922, they discussed the language in which it should be written and on 1<sup>st</sup> of September, Trubeckoj congratulated Jakobson on the forthcoming publication and asked him which language he had decided to use. Later, Jakobson was eager to know if the quality of his writing was evaluable from an academic point of view because he wanted to get a doctoral title in order to gain a position in the academy. Trubeckoj answered that according to him *O češskom stiche* could not be considered as a dissertation. According to Trubeckoj, Jakobson’s stay in Czechoslovakia did not seem favourable for the development of his research.

André Mazon<sup>334</sup> reviewed Jakobson’s book twice in *Revue des études slaves*. The first review is from 1924, a year later the Russian publication. Mazon expressed a negative judgement:

Il n’y a rien qui soit plus loin d’un traité de prosodie tchèque que l’étude de M. Roman Jacobson [...]. L’auteur n’apporte ni un historique ni même une description précise des divers types de vers qu’offre la poésie tchèque à un époque donnée: il soulève seulement à propos du sujet considéré, quantité de questions générales, intéressantes d’ailleurs (comme celle du déplacement de l’accent), mais qu’on eut souhaité de trouver d’équilibre et n’aboutit pas à des conclusions nettes. (Mazon 1923, 144)

---

<sup>332</sup> “Boj jedné básnické školy s druhou o nové rytmičké zásady je vždy bojem za vystřídání násilí jednoho druhu násilími jiného druhu.”

<sup>333</sup> For an introduction to Czech phonetics and phonology, see Palková (1994).

<sup>334</sup> Concerning André Mazon, see § 2.6.2.

The second review appeared two years later when Jakobson published the Czech version. This time, Mazon did not negatively judge the book, but he did not mention the name of his author. Trubeckoj uttered his disappointment<sup>335</sup> because Mazon wrote about a Russian linguist who had already lived in Prague for several years:

D'autre part, les principes mêmes du vers tchèque sont remis en question pas un linguiste russe résidant à Prague depuis plusieurs années, et qui s'est consacré à l'étude de la poésie tchèque; la quantité serait l'élément prédominant, plutôt que l'accent tonique [...]. Cette thèse [...] va provoquer de vives réactions, comme on peut en juger dès à présent par un article de J. Chlumský das les *Národní listy*. (Mazon 1926, 129)

The reaction of Czech scholars intensified after the publication of *Základy českého verše* in 1926. In the last paragraph, after declaring his debt to the Formalists, Jakobson expressed his gratitude for the advice of Antonín Frinta,<sup>336</sup> who symbolically published his review in *Listy Filologické*, the same journal in which an early elaboration of Král's theories appeared (Frinta 1926). Besides commenting Jakobson's theories and pointing out problems therein, Frinta emphasised the fact that Jakobson should not be perceived as a Russian *émigré*, but as a qualified scholar.

On 16<sup>th</sup> of June of the same year, Karel Čapek published a review in *Lidové noviny* (Čapek 1926), in which he declared Král's theories unsuitable for describing the new Czech poetry and identified Jakobson as the one who had revived the issue among scholars.

The following day, Eisner published a review "Zur tschechischen Verslehre" ["On Czech Prosody"] in *Prager Presse*, commenting on Jakobson's writing in terms of "eine große Überraschung" ("a great surprise") (Eisner 1926, 1).

Mukařovský published his review in *Naše řeč* (Mukařovský 1926) in which, after pointing out errors and inaccuracies, he acknowledged, like Čapek, that Jakobson had once again stimulated the debate around Czech prosody.

---

<sup>335</sup> Trubeckoj wrote Jakobson: "Почему Мазон, говоря о Вашей книжке в библиографии последнего № *Revue* (стр. 129) не счел нужным назвать Ваше имя?" (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 101) ("Why did Mazon, while speaking of your book in the bibliography of the last issue of *Revue* [p. 129], did not find it necessary to mention your name?")

<sup>336</sup> Antonín Frinta (1884-1975) was a Czech linguist and Slavist. In 1981 he became professor at the Charles University.

### *Jakobson's polemic with Josef Chlumský*

Josef Chlumský's<sup>337</sup> review published in *Národní listy* on 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1926 represents an emblematic case of a negative judgement against Jakobsonian theories (Chlumský 1926). Chlumský was considered among the heirs of Král's theories together with Frinta. Agreeing with Jindřich Vondrák's<sup>338</sup> statement in another negative comment published in *České slovo* on 30<sup>th</sup> of May (Vondrák 1926), Chlumský defended Král and stated that Jakobson's elaborations were incomplete and corresponded to mere conjecture influenced by the fact that he was a Russian scholar and, therefore, with an ear that was incapable of grasping the characteristics of Czech verse except in a distorted way.

Jakobson defended himself against the accusations made by Chlumský in the article "K diskusi o české prozodii" ["Around the Discussion on Czech Prosody"] which appeared in *Národní osvobození* on 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1926. He described the dialogue with Chlumský as fruitless, as his accusations were not based in any scientific explanation. First, the defence of previous theories was invalidated through the words of Král, who, according to Jakobson, described himself as a corpse of criticism, buried by the new generation of poets. Second, Jakobson defended himself from the accusation of having produced an incomplete study by stating that it was an initial work in which the foundations were laid for a new theorisation of Czech prosody. Countering the accusation of being a foreign scholar, Jakobson knew he was Russian and, as stated in 1925 in *Pásmo. Revue internationale moderne*, he did not intend to interfere with matters concerning the Czech context, especially those of a poetic nature. He conceived his perspective as a foreigner as an advantage that allowed him to apply a comparative approach to poetic material.

In conclusion, Jakobson's elaboration of a new approach to Czech prosody exemplifies the dynamics that occur when a methodological and theoretical revolution takes place in the field of criticism: revision of tradition, the elaboration of an innovative theory and a clash with more conservative scholars. Jakobson's interest in comparative versology continued in the following years: in 1929 he published "Zur vergleichenden Forschung über die slavischen Zehnsilbler" ["Comparative Research on the Slavic Decasyllables"] (Jakobson 1966, 19-37), where he compared the Decasyllable in different Slavic languages. Jakobson was attracted to

---

<sup>337</sup> Josef Chlumský (1871-1939) was a Czech linguist and established phonetic studies in the country. He was professor at the Charles University.

<sup>338</sup> Jindřich Vondrák (1859-1935) was a Czech linguist and slavist. After the WWI he became professor at the Masaryk University.

prosody for the entirety of his scholarly life and the comparativist approach, developed in the interwar years, has been a prominent trait of his analyses, pursuing “a gradual comparison of different verse systems as an indispensable prerequisite for laying down the foundations of a universally operative and verily general metrics” (Jakobson 1979, 571).

## 2.6.2 André Mazon: Jakobson against anachronism and obscurantism

In this portion of chapter I am to analyse the evolution of the polemical relationship between Jakobson and the French slavist André Mazon.<sup>339</sup> It developed through three phases. The first one is related to Jakobson’s review of Mazon’s monograph *Lexique de la guerre e de la revolution en Russie*. Then, the second phase concerned Mazon’s veiled critiques of Jakobson in *Revue des études slaves*, which I have partially mentioned in the previous section (see § 2.6.1). Finally, the last third and last phase developed around the authenticity of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, which involved Jakobson and Mazon from the 1930s until the end of the 1950s. After describing each phase, I will summarise the main traits of this long-lasting polemic between two scholars, who represented two faces of the Slavic studies during the past century.

### *Preliminary remarks*

André Mazon<sup>340</sup> was a scholar devoted to Russian studies active in France from the last decades of the nineteenth century until his death in 1967. In his obituary, the linguist Boris Unbegaun described him as the “patriarch of Slavonic studies in France” because his research provided a solid framework for the discipline (Unbegaun 1968, 442). He was the dominant figure in the Institut d’études slaves since its creation in 1921 and contributed a great deal to the *Revue des études slaves*. Mazon’s research was mainly devoted to modern Russian language and Russian literature from the nineteenth century with some excursions in other periods, which according to Jakobson did not produce satisfying results. Alongside Russian,

---

<sup>339</sup> I was not able to go to Paris and have access to Mazon’s archive. There is no evidence of a correspondence with Jakobson, but just two letters sent to Mazon. One of these was published in (Mazon – Jakobson 2017, 173-174). Concerning Mazon and the Prague scholar, at LA PNP there is the huge part of the correspondence between Mazon and Murko, which still wait to be analysed.

<sup>340</sup> For an overview of André Mazon (1881-1967), see the eighty-second volume of the *Revue des études slaves*, directed by Pierre Gonneau (2001). Concerning Mazon and Murko, see Zelenka (2020).

he was also interested in the Czech context and in *Revue des études slaves* wrote about Czech academics and the studies they published.

Mazon belonged to an older generation than did Jakobson, which is to say that of his mentors. The relationship between the two scholars had never been bright and they often disagreed on many questions. During his academic career, Jakobson had to face the adverse opinions of many scholars, but his disputation with Mazon appears to be the longest-running and the most diverse.

*The first phase: “Lexique de la guerre et de la révolution en Russie” (1920-1921)*

In 1920 Mazon published the monograph *Lexique de la guerre et de la révolution en Russie*.<sup>341</sup> He wrote it after spending a significant period in Russia in very particular conditions. Between 1918 and 1919 he was sent to Russia for a bibliothecarial mission, but he was arrested by the Bolsheviki and put in the Butyrka, the most known prison in Moscow.<sup>342</sup>

In the first part of the book, Mazon explains the methodology employed in his analysis. He associates the linguistic change with a crisis which affected the Russian people at the time. This crisis was caused by two historical events, the WWI and the Revolution, which according to Mazon were connected: “La guerre et la révolution, au reste, dans le domaine de la linguistique comme dans celui de l’histoire, sont étroitement liées l’une à l’autre. La seconde ne fait en grande partie que continuer l’œuvre de la première” (Mazon – Jakobson 2017, 49). Such a statement is of note, since it reflects Mazon’s idea that the social facts were strictly bounded with the linguistic ones, sharing a “rapport intime l’une avec l’autre” (Mazon – Jakobson 2017, 50). Concerning the materials he analysed, Mazon mentioned the data collected during his sojourn in Russia (especially in prison) and in Russian periodicals published in that period, i.e., the bolshevik and the national ones, such as *Pravda* and *Izvestija*. Mazon’s study focuses on three linguistic fields: semantics, morphology, and stylistics. In this triparted structure a prominent role is played by the analysis of the new Russian lexicon. Although the quantity of examples is considerably extensive, Mazon focused on specific uses of the language, i.e., the political and the military ones.

---

<sup>341</sup> An important reference is the edition of the two writings published in France in 2017 by Sylvie Archaimbault and Catherine Depretto, see Mazon – Jakobson (2017). While quoting Mazon’s writing I will refer to this edition. Concerning Jakobson, I will refer to the IX volume of the *Selected Writings* edited by Toman (Jakobson 2013, 28-60).

<sup>342</sup> See Mazon (1919a) and (1919b).

Before delving with Jakobson's polemics, I would like to refer to reviews written by other scholars and to emphasise the importance that this topic gained in the 1920s. Mazon's *Lexique* was only the first printed study of many about a topic which was becoming pivotal in the 1920s. For example, the MLK had collected a significant number of materials related to the evolution of Russian language after the WWI and the Revolution, which had been discussed but never published (Jakobson 2013, 28). As Depretto mentioned, the MLK organised numerous meetings discussing this question. The most relevant was the one held on 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 1919, focused on the abbreviations employed in the industrial field. Then, on 20<sup>th</sup> of October 1920 abbreviations were discussed again, this time as basis for the constitution of new words (Depretto in Mazon – Jakobson 2017, 17).

Mazon's book appeared in a time when Russian scholars were deeply interested in this topic. The international reception was mainly positive, except for Viktor Vinogradov's review, in which the scholar noticed the superficial character of Mazon's analysis and emphasised that he did not consider the accentuation. Sergej Karcevskij published two reviews in journals edited within the Russian emigration in France, i.e., in *Obščee delo* (1921) and *Sovremennye zapiski* (1922). As Depretto underlined, his comment was positive and identified the results of Mazon's book as relevant. Karcevskij and Mazon knew each other since they worked at the University of Strasbourg: in 1919 Mazon was nominated professor and Karcevskij lecturer. As Mazon stated at the end of the preface, Karcevskij supported him while writing his *Lexique* (Mazon – Jakobson 2017, 52).

In 1923 Karcevskij published *Jazyk, vojna, revoljucija* [*Language, War, Revolution*], in which he delved with the same topic.<sup>343</sup> Karcevskij's analysis is of larger breadth than that of Mazon and presents some differences. First, Karcevskij considered a broader period, which comprehended WWI, the Revolution, and the Civil war. Second, the source of the new lexicon analysed was not limited to a certain field, but referred to culture, considering literature and cinematography. As Mazon did, also Karcevskij analysed the phenomenon of abbreviations. The core of Karcevskij's analysis relied in a statement given in the last part of the book. He considered the evolution of the Russian language as the result of two interconnected phenomena: the language of the revolution (*jazyk revoljucija*) and the revolution of language (*revoljucija jazyka*) or the revolution in the language (*revoljucija v jazyke*).

---

<sup>343</sup> In the 1920s were published many writings devoted to the development of Russian language after the war and the revolution, see (Depretto in Mazon – Jakobson 2017, 5) and (Karcevskij 1923, 3,4).

Karcevskij's critique to Mazon's *Lexique* emerged in his own book, rather than in the reviews appeared in periodicals. It is possible to observe two main divergences. The first one is emphasised by Karcevskij himself while noticing that many new words identified by Mazon were already obsolete. Second, Karcevskij did not identify the WWI as the event from which originated the evolution of Russian language. He set the beginning of this phenomenon earlier, in correspondence of the Russo-Japanese War (1905): "The first wave of linguistic innovations dates to 1905, if this is the way we shall designate the whole first period of serious socio-political upheavals that opened with the Stolypin reaction" (Karcevskij 1923, 19).<sup>344</sup> Concluding this short digression, in his book Karcevskij rarely referred to Mazon, while he largely mentioned Jakobson's "Vliv revoluce na ruský jazyk", especially discussing the question of abbreviations, and defined it as a *prekrasnaja stat'ja*, a "great article".

When Jakobson came to Czechoslovakia he was just a young Russian scholar without a doctoral title, while Mazon was already an affirmed figure in the international milieu and occupied a stable position as professor at the University of Strasbourg. Despite his juniority, the young Jakobson did not hesitate to publish a "review" of Mazon's *Lexique de la guerre et de la révolution en Russie* which appeared in the journal *Nové Atheneum* between 1920 and 1921. The term *review* is in quotes because the writing does not really fit into this category as the ones analysed in § 2.5: Jakobson provided considerations of Mazon's work in the first part, while the second part is a rewriting of Mazon's book with some occasional references. To define this writing, it could be more appropriate to employ another terminology, such as "polemical rewriting" or a "polemical reaction".

Jakobson's interest in the influence of the Revolution on Russian language derived from a wider discussion which, as I have already noticed, had developed in Moscow prior to his having left the country. In the introduction he mentioned the meeting of the MLK and thanked scholars such as Dmitrij Ušakov and Pavel Rastorgujev for their support.

The main problems Jakobson identified in Mazon's book stemmed from the materials the scholar dealt with: he analysed information collected mainly in 1918, without being acquainted with the war years and what happened later, in 1919-20, the years of the linguistic

---

<sup>344</sup> "Первая волна языковых новшеств относится к 1905 году, если так условимся мы обозначать весь первый период серьезных социально-политических потрясений, открывающийся столыпинской реакцией." It is necessary to notice that the WWI and the Revolution had a greater impact on Russian language. Karcevskij was aware of this difference and noticed that the legacy of the Russo-Japanese war was less remarkable.

consolidation of this new phase of Russian language. Hence, according to Jakobson, Mazon misunderstood the origins of these linguistic changes. For example, Mazon considered new words which in the meantime had already been assimilated in the Russian lexicon, such as *leninka*, and he misread the reasons behind the proliferation of abbreviations. In his analysis, Jakobson considered changes which occurred at different linguistic levels: the introduction of a foreign lexicon, the fruitful employment of suffixes, the importance of abbreviations, the wordplay and features related to stylistics. Considering these new linguistic changes, Jakobson extensively reflected on the mechanism behind their origin and spread.

Jakobson's polemical reaction to Mazon's book can then be interpreted as his first effort to demonstrate Mazon's anachronistic reading of the changes in the Russian language, both in terms of the materials analysed and the methodology he employed. Jakobson's reaction is not a mere polemic, but also constructive: he aimed to also propose a new analysis of the influences the Russian Revolution had on the development of language.

To conclude this part, it is necessary to mention František Trávníček's review published in *Listy filologické* in 1922. Trávníček reviewed both writings, but the way he commented them is significantly different. Concerning Mazon, he limited his analysis to a presentation of the contents. On the contrary, referring to Jakobson, Trávníček praised the importance of this polemical reaction and noticed that Jakobson enriched Mazon's research with more linguistic material, which he defined *cenný*, valuable. Trávníček remarked two problems in Jakobson's "Vliv revoluce na ruský jazyk". First, some passages were not completely comprehensible for a non-Russian reader because Jakobson was not exhaustively clear and his explanations were partially elliptic.<sup>345</sup> Second, there were some issues with the style in which it was written: he noticed the presence of grammatical errors, which should not be attributed to the author but, rather, to the editors.

#### *Digression: Jakobson and the influence of the Revolution on the language*

Jakobson interested in the development of Russian language in connection with the Revolution significantly grew in the 1930s, as testified by two articles appeared in *Slavische Rundschau*. In 1934, he published "Slavische Sprachfragen in der Sowjetunion" ["Slavic

---

<sup>345</sup> As I will show in the next chapter (§ 3.1), the same happened in the case of another writing published in 1919, *Novejšaja russkaja poezija*.

Language Questions in the Soviet Union”] (Jakobson 2014, 8-25), in which he conceived the Revolution as a “watershed” in linguistic evolution:

The revolutionary epoch, which initially disrupted the norm of the standard of the Russian high language, ultimately established the demand for a uniform and universally valid linguistic canon and did so with an unbending determination and persistence that was utterly alien to the preceding stages of development, which were characterised by liberal elasticity and fluidity of the linguistic norm. (Jakobson 2014, 25)<sup>346</sup>

After the Revolution, the Russian language was massively influenced by the Bolshevik ideology. Authorities and the new Russian intelligentsia conceived this change as necessary, as can be perceived in Maksim Gor’kij’s articles published in Soviet journals such as *Literaturnaja učeba* or *Literaturnaja gazeta*. According to Gor’kij, during tsarism the Russian language had been vulgarised, and the scholars had to support the return to the “true” language from the literary classics.

Two years later, in 1936, Jakobson’s article “Um den russischen Wortschatz” [“The Russian Lexicon”] (Jakobson 2014, 167-176) built upon the 1934 article discussed above. Jakobson described the developments of Russian linguistics in lexicology, emphasising how the linguistic progress was related to other scientific fields. Language was conceived as part of the cultural and social dimension and, once again, he emphasised that Revolution marked a crucial moment in the development of Russian language. Despite Jakobson never using the word “political”, the reasons for what he defined as a “watershed” were basically political and it is not a coincidence that he directly quoted Lenin while concerning the idea of Russian as a common language.<sup>347</sup>

*The second phase: Mazon in Revue des études slaves*

The second phase of this controversy consists in three negative comments against Jakobson published by Mazon in *Revue des études slaves*. First, Mazon negatively reacted to Jakobson’s *O češskom stiche* in 1923 and, in 1926, to the Czech version. I have already referred to these reactions in the previous subchapter (see § 2.6.1). The third comment appeared in 1930

---

<sup>346</sup> “Die Revolutionsepoche, die ursprünglich die Norm der russischen Hochsprache zerrüttete, hat letzten Endes die Forderung nach einem einheitlichen und allgemein gültigen Sprachkanon aufgestellt, und zwar mit einer unbeugsamen Entschlossenheit und Beharrlichkeit, die den vorhergehenden Entwicklungsetappen, die sich durch liberale Dehnbarkeit und Flüssigkeit der Sprachnorm auszeichneten, vollkommen fremd war.”

<sup>347</sup> Jakobson probably had in mind Lenin’s short writing *Nužen li objazatel’nyj gosudarstvennyj jazyk?* [*Is there a need for an obligatory state language?*], written in 1914.

and referred to Jakobson's "Remarques sur l'évolution phonologiques du russe compare à celle des autres langues slaves" (Jakobson 1929):

On trouve dans ce travail l'écho multiplié de quelques idées de Ferdinand de Saussure [...]. M. Jakobson les reprends sous la forme à peine intelligible d'une terminologie inutilement novatrice et il en exagère la portée. La doctrine est confuse et la démonstration décevante [...]. (Mazon 1930, 104)

Such a critique is symptomatic because clearly shows Mazon attitude against Jakobson and the developments in the linguistic field. The dispute between Jakobson and Mazon represents a clash between two different generations of linguists.

### *The third phase: Slovo o polku Igoreve (1930s-1950s)*

Then, a third moment corresponds to the dispute about the authenticity of the *Slovo*.<sup>348</sup> Since its discovery, the authenticity of the *Slovo* was questioned. When it was discovered in 1795, it presented some obscure characteristics, for example, the presumed presence of linguistic anachronisms. During the interwar period the *Slovo* was one of the most significant philological topics in Russian studies, as demonstrated by the Ukrainian Vladimir Perec in his monograph published 1926 and in Evgenij Ljackij's edition published in Prague in 1934. In 1937 Aleksander Brückner<sup>349</sup> published in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* the article "Die Echtheit des Igorliedes" ["The Authenticity of Igor's Campaign"]. Brückner criticised scholars

---

<sup>348</sup> The *Slovo* played a pivotal role in Jakobson's research, but some aspects of this question are still too little studied. For example, in the 1950s Jakobson planned the publication of an English translation of the *Slovo* together with Vladimir Nabokov and Mark Szeftel. This volume was planned to appear through the support of the Bollingen Foundation, which was active publishing literary classics between 1945 and 1968, when he was shut down being involved in Mellon's foundation. Jakobson drafted an agreement already in June 1953. Nabokov officially finished a first draft of the translation between the end of April and the beginning of May 1950, but he was not satisfied. He got back to the translation of the *Slovo* in August 1952. In October of the same year, Jakobson commented the translation with some remarks, which Nabokov accepted integrating the text with some notes. Despite the enthusiasm expressed by both parts, Nabokov's translation of the *Slovo* never appeared within Jakobson and Szeftel's project. In 1957 Nabokov decided to leave it and publish the text autonomously in 1960 because he could not stand Jakobson's involvement with the Soviet academia and his frequent travels beyond the Iron curtain. Nabokov also asked to get back his drafted translation of the *Slovo* and forbid Jakobson to use it during his lectures at Harvard. According to Galya Diment (1997), Nabokov refused to pursue this collaboration with Jakobson because he did not help him finding a position at Harvard. Jakobson respected Nabokov as a writer but was suspicious of him as a scholar, considering his preparation not enough solid for such a position. Jakobson and Szeftel's project of publishing a commented English version of the *Slovo* was constantly delayed. This project emerged again some years later in a letter sent by Szeftel on 29<sup>th</sup> of December 1981. William Mc Guire, who was involved in the Bollingen foundation, wrote about the editorial affair of the *Slovo* in *Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the Past*, see Guire (1989)

<sup>349</sup> Aleksander Brückner (1856-1939) was a Polish philologist and linguist, mainly interested in Slavic languages.

who judged the poem as inauthentic, singling out the Polish scholar Julian Krzyżanowski,<sup>350</sup> the leading proponent of this theory at that time.

On 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1937 Jakobson published in *Lidové noviny* “Pravost Slova” [“The Authenticity of the *Slovo*”] (Jakobson 2014, 283-284) in which he dealt with the discussion around the *Slovo*, reporting Brückner and Krzyżanowski’s thesis. Jakobson supported the authenticity of the *Slovo* and underlined the absurdity of the opposite position, critiquing Mazon’s intention to deliver a series of lessons devoted to demonstrating that it was not authentic.<sup>351</sup> According to Jakobson, Mazon’s course was an anachronism within the scientific context of these years. The lessons of this course were then reported in a volume by Mazon in 1940, which did not leave Jakobson indifferent.

In a letter sent to Vernadskij on 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1948, Jakobson defined another study published by Mazon in 1944 as follows: “Unfortunately, I overlooked Mazon’s paper in the *Compte-rendus de l’Academie des Inscriptions*, 1944 about Bantyš-Kamenskij as the presumable author of the *Slovo*. I think it is the most illiterate and scandalous academic article I have ever read in my life.”<sup>352</sup> Jakobson laid trust in Vernadskij and felt at ease while criticising other scholars, defining Mazon “illiterate” or Gleb Struve<sup>353</sup> “stupid”.

In 1948, Jakobson published together with Henri Grégoire and Marc Szeftel *La Geste du Prince Igor*, a collection of some writings dedicated to the *Slovo*, written after he came to New York, more precisely between 1944 and 1947.<sup>354</sup> Then, on 23<sup>rd</sup> of June, Jakobson lamented to Vernadskij: “Some friends reproached me for paying too much time and attention to Mazon”.<sup>355</sup> In the last section of *La Geste*, titled *L’authenticité du Slovo*, Jakobson remarked the inconsistency of Mazon’s argument, attributing it to his lack of linguistic knowledge and describing him as a scholar more concerned with modern Russian literature. Jakobson’s initial critique of Mazon’s monograph is reiterated and expanded in the conclusion:

---

<sup>350</sup> Julian Krzyżanowski (1892-1976) was a Polish scholar interested in literature and folklore.

<sup>351</sup> Gleb Struve, while introducing his rich review of Mazon’s research about the *Slovo*, gave some basic hints related to the controversy, which can be useful for a preliminary overlook, see Struve (1946). Struve did not criticise Mazon, but neither fully agreed with him. He recognised to Mazon the merit to have been the scholar who reopened “the fascinating and mysterious problem of the *Slovo*.” (Struve 1946, 2017).

<sup>352</sup> RJP, Box 46, Folder 54.

<sup>353</sup> Russian poet and literary historian who lived in the United States at that time.

<sup>354</sup> *La Geste du Prince Igor* was edited in the fourth volume of the *Selected Writings*. I refer to this edition (Jakobson 1966, 106-300). Jakobson’s annotations to the *Slovo* were included in the Italian edition of the poem by Renato Poggioli *Cantare della Gesta di Igor*, published in 1954.

<sup>355</sup> RJP, Box 46, Folder 54.

“L’ignorance du moyen âge russe” que Mazon relève comme un trait caractéristique des années trente du siècle dernier est depuis longtemps surmontée, et son livre portant la triste date de 1940 détone singulièrement parmi les études des médiévistes contemporains. Cette offensive anachronique nous apparaît ainsi dans une solitude impressionnante. (Jakobson 1966, 295)

Mazon answered in a long article published in 1949 in the British journal *Slavonic Review* (Mazon 1949). Jakobson never published a further response and asked for Vernadskij’s suggestion: “As far as stupidity is concerned, did you see Mazon’s answer to our *Geste* in the latest British *Slavonic Review*? Too illiterate even for Mazon. Please advise me, have I to answer, or it is superfluous?”<sup>356</sup> The correspondence between Sergej Karcevskij<sup>357</sup> and Jakobson, kept in the RJP, is also relevant here. Jakobson wrote to Karcevskij on 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1948 stating that he received a lot of letters from Russian scholars who agreed with him about the fact the *Slovo* was not a dubious literary monument. He also outlined his concerns: “Everyone declares that we triumphed 100%. But how many will admit it publicly?”. To achieve more credibility, Jakobson openly asked Karcevskij to write a paper sustaining his theories against Mazon and “rending Russian culture a real service”. Jakobson’s tone was insistent:

What I would like to have from you is a calm, unpolitical article, written by you as the specialist in Russian language and culture and saying that not only are there no more doubts of the *Slovo*’s authenticity, but also that there are no more doubts of a complete illiteracy and scholarly *mrakobesie* [obscurantism] on the part of André Mazon.<sup>358</sup>

Jakobson’s attitude through Mazon developed during the years into a complete refusal of his research, considering the scholar “stupid” and his writings “illiterate”, *negramotnye*.

As a matter of fact, Jakobson’s influence on his students was significantly relevant and he used to teach transmitting them his strong perspectives and convictions.<sup>359</sup> Significantly, he

---

<sup>356</sup> RJP, Box 46, Folder 54.

<sup>357</sup> I will discuss the relationship between Jakobson and Karcevskij in the next chapter, see § 5.1.

<sup>358</sup> RJP, Box 42 Folder 43.

<sup>359</sup> “If Jakobson influenced his students? Jakobson influenced an entire generation of scholars, here in the US. He was a charming man, able to keep the attention of his listeners. He had very strong ideas and he never even tried to hide them. I remember when I used to attend his lectures once I was at UCLA, Jakobson used to travel to California a lot during at that time. Jakobson did not follow any drafts, he was just talking and moving his arms. Most of the time, although he began talking about a certain topic, his speech ended up somewhere else.”

influenced his students with this negative vision of the French scholar, as Edward Keenan noted in the introduction of his obituary dedicated to Mazon:

I find myself at a disadvantage writing about André Mazon in retrospect. [...] Perhaps the reason for my forgetfulness lies in the fact that I was a student of Roman Osipovič Jakobson (1896-1982), and for decades was Mazon largely through Jakobson's eyes. They did not get on, and it would appear that Jakobson, something of an intriguer, saw to it that Mazon – and his ideas – were not welcomed in the United States. (Keenan in Gonneau 2011, 115)<sup>360</sup>

### *Closing remarks*

Jakobson never hid his adversity against French academy, especially against Mazon and his entourage of scholars. He accused them of “anachronism” because of their reluctance to welcome innovations or new methodologies. It is of note that Jakobson never published in *Revue des études slaves*. The Jakobsonian methodological approach would never have found a proper place in such a conservative editorial context. Such a commentary testifies the big generational gap between Jakobson and Mazon's entourage. This does not mean that Jakobson had no relations with the French academy. Jakobson developed excellent relations with French linguists (Meillet, Benveniste, Tesnière) and, later, with other scholars such as Lévi-Strauss. The only Slavist he was in contact with during the interwar period was Lucien Tesnière.<sup>361</sup>

Concluding this overview, it is possible to detach a strong parallelism in the way Jakobson deconstructed Mazon's study of the *Slovo* with the “review” published in 1921. As I have already stated, by the second half of the 1940s, Jakobson held a completely different academic status: he was no longer the “young Russian Jew” accused of Bolshevism who had arrived as a diplomat in Masaryk's Czechoslovakia but a professor at Columbia University who was dealing with the most influential scholars of those years.

---

From my conversation with Prof. Michal Flier at Harvard University in May 2024. A proper investigation of Jakobson's activity as professor is still lacking, this would be a key topic in understanding his contemporary legacy.

<sup>360</sup> Keenan had a profound esteem for Mazon, especially his writing on the *Slovo*, the same that Jakobson considered “stupid” and “unscientific”. In 2003 Keenan published a controversial monograph titled *Joseph Dobrovský and the Origins of the Igor' Tale*. His purpose was to prove the inauthenticity of the *Slovo*, demonstrating his theory that it was written by Josef Dobrovský, see Keenan (2003). In the same year, Norman Ingham delivered the lecture *The Igor' Tale and the Origins of Conspiracy Theory*, rejecting Keenan's theory and judging it as not convincing. This lecture was later edited by Valentina Pučugin, see Ingham – Pučugin (2017). Czech scholar Ivo Pospíšil reviewed Keenan's monograph, stating that while he appreciated his analysis of Dobrovský, the thesis about the *Slovo* was lacking evidence, see Pospíšil (2012).

<sup>361</sup> In *Slavische Rundschau's* collection there is a letter sent by Tesnière in which he invited Jakobson to Strasbourg, referring to him as “mon cher amis”.

The structure of the two writings is the same: Jakobson analysed the original text emphasising Mazon's mistakes and the scarcity of this research. Then, he rewrote the study. Although Jakobson's attitude towards Mazon was, as we have observed, sharply polemical and critical, it would be misconceived in terms of a mere deconstruction of Mazonian theories. In fact, Jakobson's aim is not only to make a criticism, but also to propose a different method of analysis and interpretation. Observing the structure of Jakobson's two writings analysed, the part dedicated to developing one's own analysis is symptomatically more preponderant than the deconstructive part. This is why it is necessary to conceive of Jakobson's polemic as not only aimed at a deconstruction of Mazon, but also characterised by a constructive effort.

### **2.6.3 Konrad Bittner's *Deutsche und Tschechen*: the raise of Nazi ideology in Czech academy**

In this section I aim to analyse the polemic that arose between Jakobson and Konrad Bittner after the publication of *Deutsche und Tschechen* [*Germans and Czechs*] in 1936. This polemic is a pivotal phase in the development of Jakobson's interest for the Medieval Czech literature. As stated by Jan Lehár, it exemplifies Jakobson's need to defend the foundations of Czech culture against the rise of Nazism (Lehár 2005). First, I will describe Bittner's activity and in interwar Czechoslovakia. Then, I will analyse the reviews of Bittner's monograph appeared in Czech periodicals, especially focusing on Jakobson's one published in *Slovo a slovesnost*. Jakobson's review is characterised by a strong polemical stance and represents an important phase in the conflict between Bittner and some members of the PLK, specifically Frank Wollman and František Trávníček.

#### *Preliminary remarks*

In the first chapter I have discussed the pivotal role played by the Prague German community in the Czech cultural and academic milieu (§ 1.1). German scholars gave a significant contribution in the field of human sciences both in Prague and Brno. Concerning Prague, German scholars were affiliated with two institutions, i.e., the Charles University and the Deutsche Universität in Prag. The relationship between the two institutions was not so peaceful. The writing that best depicts the evolution (from the second half of the nineteenth century till the first decade after the WWII) of both institutions is *Universitäten in nationaler Konkurrenz. Zur Geschichte der Prager Universitäten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*

[*Universities in National Concurrence. About the History of Prague Universities in the Nineteenth and in Twentieth Century*], edited by Hans Lemberg (2003).<sup>362</sup> Concerning German studies, the structure of each institution was likewise stratified, and scholars came from different communities, i.e., they were Czechs, Germans (who also emigrated to Czechoslovakia after 1933, such as Leopold Silberstein) and Jews. In the interwar period this situation was much more complicated because in the field of German studies there were two generations of scholars who shared the same academic milieu. Both generations were characterised by a rooted common trait, i.e., the interest for the cultural and literary relations between German and Czech community in the Czech lands. This tradition of studies was inaugurated by Arnošt Vilém Kraus and Václav Emanuel Mourek and continued by their disciples. In Prague Kraus' students Josef Jarko and Vojtěch Jirát built the “tschechische Germanistik” (Czech German studies) at the Deutsche Universität Prag, while Jan Krejčí and Antonín Beer, Mourek's ones, developed the same field at the Masaryk University in Brno.<sup>363</sup> In the first chapter I have also emphasised through Fischer (who was Kraus' disciple)<sup>364</sup> and Gesemann the importance of the “tschechische Germanistik” in the Czech context (see § 1.1).

In 1930, Konrad Bittner (1890-1967)<sup>365</sup> was habilitated at the Deutsche Universität Prag in Slavic philology and from 1931 he started lecturing there. Between 1931 and 1937, he was executive editor of the journal *Germanoslavica* with Vojtěch Jirát, while between 1937 and 1940, he edited the journal *Slavische Rundschau*. Bittner was among the most important scholars in German and Slavic studies at Deutsche Universität Prag, together with Spina or Gesemann. He researched German Romanticism and the development of the German-Slavic relations during that period. Herder's philosophy exerted a significant influence on Bittner and in 1929 published the monograph *Herders Geschichtsphilosophie und die Slawen* [*Herder's Philosophy of History and the Slavs*]. Bittner's writings were remarkable and provided important stimuli for further investigations related to German-Slavic relations during Romanticism. From the 1930s onwards, Bittner's Nazi tendencies grew stronger and his scholarly activity expressed these tendencies. His political behaviour does not represent an isolated case in the context of the Deutsche Universität Prag. As Hans Lemberg emphasised

---

<sup>362</sup> See also Kavka (1974), (1995), Moraw (1986) and Seibt (1984). See also Glettler – Mišková (2001).

<sup>363</sup> See Pokorná in Lemberg (2003).

<sup>364</sup> See Vodrážková in Petrbock – Stašková – Zbytovský (2020).

<sup>365</sup> See the entry “Konrad Bittner” by Radomír Vlček in the *Biografický slovník českých zemí* <[https://biography.hiu.cas.cz/wiki/BITTNER\\_Konrad\\_1890-1967](https://biography.hiu.cas.cz/wiki/BITTNER_Konrad_1890-1967)>.

that “the German university, especially its right-wing students, showed its antisemitic face at an early stage”<sup>366</sup> (Lemberg 2003, 30).

“*Deutsche und Tschechen*”

Concerning his monograph *Deutsche und Tschechen*, Bittner gave a lecture on it at the Literárně historická společnost československá [Literary and Historical Society of Czechoslovakia].<sup>367</sup> During this lecture, he presented the main thesis of the monograph, including his way of conceiving the relations between Czech and Germans through a sinusoidal graph. In short, the strengthening of the Czech community implied a weakening of the German one and, conversely, the strengthening of the German community was a benefit to the Czech community. Reporting on this lecture in *Prager Presse* on 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 1936, the journalist Maxim Hekter<sup>368</sup> stated that the theories presented by Bittner provoked an adverse reaction from some listeners. He believed that such simplified deductions, which revealed Bittner’s Nazi ideologies and claimed German supremacy over the Czechs in Bohemia, were inadmissible (Hekter 1936).

On 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1936 the same year the PLK organised a meeting to discuss the publication *Deutsche und Tschechen*, to which also Bittner was officially invited. Jakobson and Wollman gave the introductory speech, later published in *Slovo a slovesnost*, which was followed by a debate. Besides Bittner, Eisner, Havránek, Mukařovský, Slavík, and Silberstein took part in the debate. Silberstein reported the highlights of this meeting in *Prager Presse* on 10<sup>th</sup> of December (Silberstein 1936). Wollman noted Bittner’s terminological confusion of “comparative literature” with “general literature” and his misunderstanding of “Eastern Europe”. Jakobson, in a speech Silberstein described as “brilliant”, deconstructed Bittner’s sinusoidal graphic and criticised the incongruity of his representation of the Bohemian

---

<sup>366</sup> “Die deutsche Universität, insbesondere ihre rechtsgerichteten Studenten, zeigten schon früh ihr antisemitisches Gesicht: Der mit großer Mehrheit gewählte Rektor Samuel Steinherz wurde von ihnen 1922 durch Demonstrationen dazu veranlaßt, seinen Rücktritt anzubieten. Gemeinsam mit tschechischen Studenten veranstalteten sie 1929 Demonstrationen mit dem Ziel, für die jüdischen Studenten – ähnlich wie in Ungarn und anderswo – einen Numerus Clausus zu erreichen.” “The German university, especially its right-wing students, showed its anti-Semitic face at an early stage: in 1922, the rector Samuel Steinherz, who had been elected by a large majority, was persuaded by them to offer his resignation through demonstrations. Together with Czech students, they organised demonstrations in 1929 with the aim of achieving a numerus clausus for Jewish students - similar to that in Hungary and elsewhere.” For an overview of the situation of the Jews at the University of Prague between 1348 and 1848, see Kisch (1969). Antisemitism was a big question for Masaryk, see Patočka (2006).

<sup>367</sup> It was founded in 1934 by Albert Pražák, Jiří Horák and Karel Krejčí, see Karasová (1985).

<sup>368</sup> Maxim Hekter was a journalist active in *Prager Presse*. Besides writing articles he also translated from Russian.

Middle Age. *Prager Presse* reported on the evolution of this controversy between the PLK and Bittner in the following months. To support the PLK, *Lidové noviny* also published the article “Češi a Němci v zrcadle politiky a vědy” [“Czechs and Germans in the Mirror of Politics and Science”], signed “R,” on 10<sup>th</sup> of December.

### Reviews

Many scholars reacted (both positively and negatively) to the publication of *Deutsche und Tschechen*, publishing their reviews in different periodicals. In 1936 Eugen Rippl reviewed Bittner’s journal, *Germanoslavica* (Rippl 1936). As Ehlers noted, Rippl distanced himself from statements made by Bittner which appeared too influenced by his political ideology (Ehlers 2001, 202). Rippl praised the way Bittner formulated and demonstrated his theses, evaluating the first volume of *Deutsche und Tschechen* as a promising beginning. According to Rippl, Bittner “approached a major task with great fluency and talent and has thus created a solid foundation for further research in this field”<sup>369</sup> (Rippl 1936, 352). Besides Rippl’s one there were few positive reviews of Bittner’s book: another significant one was published by Jiráť in *Slavia* (Jiráť 1937).

Paul Eisner published a succinct but clear review in *Prager Presse* on 12<sup>th</sup> of December (Eisner 1936), emphasising that any theory that assumed an antithetical evolution between Czech and German culture relied on a significant error. Bittner’s theory was disproved by the century Eisner identified as “the most important,” the nineteenth century: “a decisive century for the Czechs and the century of spiritual blossoming among our Germans”<sup>370</sup> (Eisner 1936, 8). According to Eisner, in the nineteenth century Czechs and Germans’ paths were converging, which he demonstrated by arguing for Masaryk and Goethe’s parallel development.

Antonín Grund<sup>371</sup> also criticised Bittner’s monograph in *Časopis pro moderní filologii* negatively (Grund 1937), even if it was a milder critique than Jakobson’s. Grund emphasised Bittner’s political perspective and, after recounting several of his errors, stated that his achievements were incorrect and could not be considered a basis for political issues concerning Czech-German relations in Czechoslovakia.

---

<sup>369</sup> “Ist mit viel Fließ und Begabung an eine große Aufgabe herangetreten und hat so eine feste Grundlage für weitere Forschungen auf diesem Gebiet geschaffen.”

<sup>370</sup> “ein entscheidendes Jahrhundert der Tschechen und das Jahrhundert einer geistigen Blüte bei unseren Deutschen”.

<sup>371</sup> Antonín Grund (1904-1952) was a Czech literary historian and editor. His interests focused on Czech literature of the *Národní obrození* and Renaissance. He edited Erben’s writings.

Two years later, in 1938, Arne Novák published a review in *Český časopis historický* (Novák 1938). He analysed Bittner's monograph's content, showing his methodological problems and errors, largely quoting Jakobson and Wollman. Novák accused Bittner of consciously propagating political ideas derived from Hitler's ideology:

But this was by no means the reason why Bittner's new writing caused such a stir in our country, manifested not only by extensive analyses but also by lectures that were polemical, yes, even invective. Bittner's scholarly style, theory of nationality, fundamental law of shifting scales, and political excursions unwittingly made critics see in him a conscious and deliberate spokesman for national political tendencies, not only Sudeten German but also foreign Hitlerian ones.<sup>372</sup> (Novák 1938, 99)

Bittner's aim was to analyse the evolution of Czech literature to better understand the changes in contemporary politics. Thus, scientific research was intended to serve politics. Frank Wollman highlighted this feature at the beginning of his 1936 polemic published in *Slovo a slovesnost*. As Wollman noted, Bittner did not explain what kind of politics or ideological ideas he meant, but he just referred to "new political paths". Wollman emphasised methodological errors, which had already appeared in another article published by Bittner in *Germanoslavica* one year before, "Methodologisches zur vergleichenden germanisch-slavischen Literaturwissenschaft" ["Methodological Aspects of Comparative Germanic-Slavic Literary Studies"] (1935). Wollman was profoundly critical of Bittner's biological definition of a nation as a population characterised by the same genetic features. Wollman emphasised that there was no biological definition of the concept of nation other than that given by the Third Reich. Wollman asked: "Has he unwittingly succumbed to unscientific thinking himself or is he a conscious promoter of racism?" (Wollman 1936, 203).<sup>373</sup> Then, Wollman accused Bittner of bias because his analysis aimed to illustrate the German influence on the Czech culture without considering the Czech influence on German culture or the influence of other cultures, such as Italian and French. Besides lacking an adequate methodology, the "Geschichte der

---

<sup>372</sup> Ale to nebylo nikterak příčinou, proč nový Bittnerův spis vzbudil u nás takový rozruch, projevený nejen obširnými rozbory, ale i přednáškami, zahrocenými polemicky, ano i invektivně. Bittnerův vědecký sloh, jeho teorie národnosti, jeho základní zákon pohybujících se vah, jeho politické exkursy svádějí bezděky k tomu, že v něm kritikové spatřují uvědomělého a záměrného mluvčího národně politických tendencí nejen sudetoněmeckých, nýbrž i zahraničních hitlerovských.

<sup>373</sup> "Propadl nevědeckému myšlení sám nevědomky nebo je vědomým propagátorem rasismu?"

Philosophie” developed by Bittner also had fundamental deficiencies. According to Wollman, Bittner lacked complete perception of the phenomenon under study.

*Jakobson’s “Usměrněné názory na staročeskou kulturu” (1936)*

In the fourth issue of *Slovo a slovesnost* (1936) Jakobson published his review titled “Usměrněné názory na staročeskou kulturu” [“Curtailed Views of Old Czech Culture”] (Jakobson 2014, 148-166). Jakobson’s review is a deconstruction of the methodology and content of Bittner’s book and aims to defend the individuality of Czech culture. I will list the most significant considerations raised by Jakobson hereinafter. As did Wollman, Jakobson considered *Deutsche und Tschechen* as an incoherent, flawed, and superficial monograph, whose argumentation lacked objectivity and was historically distorted. Bittner did not consider the Germans as inhabitants of the Czech lands but of the *Gesamtdeutschum*, the German lands as a whole, largely referring to his Nazi-influenced conceptualisation of “nationality”. He employed Nazi ideological ideas of “Blut-und-boden” to distinguish Czechs and Germans through an anthropological approach. For Jakobson this was inapplicable: he referred to Spina’s rejection of the possibility of defining two national groups on such a principle.

In evaluating German culture’s influence in the Czech lands, Bittner underestimated the importance of the Slavic identity, which had been extensively demonstrated prior. He altered the historical data regarding the German colonisation of Czech lands, speculating the existence of an ancient ethnic dualism. To disprove Bittner, Jakobson quoted historians Kamil Krofta and Wilhelm Wostry, who instead showed that the German presence in Czech lands dated from the end of the thirteenth century. Another element of influence that Bittner did not consider was the pivotal contact with Byzantine culture, a topic investigated by historians and philologists of the time. Like Wollman, Jakobson observed that *Deutsche un Tschechen* made no reference to the influence of other Western cultures. Jakobson remarked upon errors in the analysis of religious history of the area: Bittner identified a spiritual Germanisation overlooking the presence of the Latin tradition, denying that German religious songs only arrived in Bohemia in the thirteenth century. Jakobson emphasised the importance of the Czech language in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries through an example from the Jewish

community, which considered the Czech language its own and translated some passages of the *Talmud*.<sup>374</sup>

Bittner sought to prove that Czech culture had reached maturity through the influence of German culture. He argued that the German language had profoundly influenced the Czech one in the aesthetic and poetic domains. On the contrary, Jakobson demonstrated the independence of Czech culture throughout Hussite, the Gothic, and the Romantic ages – all periods which he was studying during the 1930s.

According to Jakobson, Bittner's wrongly interpreted the Hussite period and denied its relevance as a link between the Middle Ages and modernity. Bittner also underestimated the importance of the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage in the Czech culture. Jakobson stated that Bittner did not consider the Czech cultural context as independent, but, instead, strictly dependent on the German one. Jakobson indirectly agreed with Eisner's view of the development of Czech and German literatures in Bohemia, stating that the coexistence of these two cultures yielded surprising results and was still productive in the 1930s. In his conclusion, Jakobson asserted that *Deutsche und Tschechen* contained untenable theses, and a misleading and ahistorical reconstruction of the evolution of Czech-German relations.

Konrad Bittner replied to Jakobson in *Deutsche und Tschechen. Eine Erwiderung* [*Germans and Czechs. A reply*], followed by "Není pravda že..." ["It Is Not True That..."], an article by Jakobson and Trávníček published in *Slovo a slovesnost* in 1938 (Jakobson 2014, 286-296).

As stated before, *Prager Presse* reported on the controversy. On 21<sup>st</sup> of February 1937, the newspaper summarised Jakobson, Wollman and Trávníček's reviews of Bittner's book. The article was not signed because it expressed the point of view of the entire editorial staff. The conclusion expressed a particular concern about the theories in *Deutsche und Tschechen*, and indirectly emphasised Bittner's Nazi tendencies:

Whether the occasion is a triviality or not, we cannot remain indifferent to the paths that German science takes in our country, whether it follows the path of absurd propaganda philosophising in the service of foreign ideologies, which flies in the face of all the most demonstrable facts. Consciously or not, the

---

<sup>374</sup> Jakobson's interest in the study of Jewish culture in medieval Bohemia (especially in the field of philology) has rarely been investigated. The only significant study is Dittman (2014).

most alarming aspect of Bittner's theories is the unspoken but inevitably logical, tragic perspective that the Germans will have to fare poorly in our country in the future so that the Czechs will fare well and vice versa. This is wrong as a conclusion from past developments; it is incredibly wrong because we want it differently. We are strong enough to enforce this will.<sup>375</sup>

### *Conclusions*

Jakobson's aversion to Nazism emerged during the Czechoslovakian years. In the 1930s he openly criticised the emergent Nazi ideology in his writing. For example, "Perpetuum mobile kyvadla: Pokus o montáž", discussed in the above section on Melniková-Papoušková, sees Jakobson use Hercen's *Od togo brega* to comment on the dark path that Europe was taking. This article dated 1934 was not just a mere critique, but also a call to action. Another example is the review of the Spanish academic journal *Emerita*, published in *Lidové noviny* on 30<sup>th</sup> of March 1938, right before leaving Czechoslovakia. *Emerita* was a journal mainly dedicated to linguistics and classic philology.<sup>376</sup> After presenting some contents published in the issue of that year, such as an analysis of vernacular elements in Horace's language, he praised the journal for its reasoned rejection of the Nazi tendencies emerging in German linguistics. Jakobson's last words are at the same time enigmatic and quite explicative: "science defies the conflagration of war with an admirable lesson in tenacity" (Jakobson 1938, 7).<sup>377</sup> Jakobson showed his perception of Europe on the eve of the WWII, appearing confident in science as not ideologically corrupt yet. *Emerita* represented an example of resilience.

---

<sup>375</sup> "Mag der Anlass eine Bagatelle sein oder nicht es kann uns nicht gleichgültig lassen, welche Wege die deutsche Wissenschaft bei uns nimmt, ob sie in fremden ideologischen Diensten die Bahnen einer absurden Propaganda-Philosophiererei einschlägt, die allen erweislichsten Tatsachen ins Gesicht schlägt. Bewusst oder nicht das vollends Erschreckende an Bittners Thesengebäude ist die die unausgesprochene, aber als zwingender logischer Schluss sich ergebende tragische Perspektive, dass es auch in aller Zukunft den Deutschen bei uns schlecht ergehen muß, damit es den Tschechen gut ergehe und umgekehrt. Das ist falsch als Folgerung aus den Entwicklungen der Vergangenheit; und es ist besonders noch darum falsch, weil wir es anders wollen. Wir sind stark genug diesen Wollen durchzusetzen." This article is unsigned.

<sup>376</sup> This was not published in the *Selected Writings*, so I provide a transcript in the § **Appendix**.

<sup>377</sup> "Věda s obdivnou hodinou houževnatosti vzdoruje válečnému požáru."



## Chapter 3. Poetry and folklore Jakobson's activity in interwar press

In this third chapter I aim to analyse two topics, which emerge in Jakobson's writings published in periodicals, i.e., poetry and folklore. One of the most fascinating features of Jakobson's activity is its polyhedric perspective, related to the breadth of its interests. There is a significant question concerning the analysis proposed which must be emphasised.

In the first part of the chapter I will briefly depict the evolution of Jakobson's interest in Russian and Czech poetry during the interwar years, encompassing this topic from the Middle age to the avant-garde. Then, I will focus on two case studies: Puškin and Pasternak. The decision of considering these two poets as case studies is due to the fact that they are less analysed in Jakobsonian studies than others, such as Majakovskij and Chlebnikov. Puškin and Pasternak occupied a prominent position in Jakobson's activity during the 1930s (which I have defined in the first chapter as the "second phase of Jakobson's journalism") when the diffusion of their writings was consistently spreading in the Czech context.

In the second part I will discuss Jakobson's involvement in folklore. After briefly depicting the relationship between Jakobson and Bogatyrev, I will analyse one of the essays they wrote together "Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens" ["Folklore as a Special Form of Creativity"] in light of the correspondence with Jurij Sokolov, one of the most important Russian folklorists in the interwar period. This correspondence is a testimony of the pivotal role still played by Jakobson's relationships with Russian academy some years after his departure. I believe that this correspondence with Jurij Sokolov, as the other correspondences found in *Slavische Rundschau's* collection (see § 5.1), clearly demonstrates that Jakobson never broke his boundaries with his homeland and the Russian scholarly tradition. On the contrary, he promoted a further and fruitful collaboration.

### 3.1 Jakobson and poetry: some remarks

Jakobson's pivotal inclination towards poetry developed during his time in Czechoslovakia through different perspectives, considering both modern poetry (from Romanticism to the avant-gardes) and medieval one. As I illustrated in the previous chapter (§ 2.6.1), Jakobson devoted many efforts also to studying Russian and Czech prosody, both as circumscribed fields and through a comparative approach. Jakobson also researched the production of individual poets, such as Velimir Chlebnikov or Karel Hynek Mácha.

There is an explicit difference in Jakobson's research on poetry between the Czechoslovakian and the American phase. While in the first phase Jakobson was more inclined to investigate Slavic literatures, especially Czech and Russian, after his arrival in the United States he grew acquainted with a broader panorama, publishing articles dedicated to Italian, French and even Japanese poetry.<sup>378</sup> Some examples of this wider interest are the well-known study on Charles Baudelaire, written with Lévi-Strauss and published in 1962 (Jakobson 1981, 447-464), and on William Blake, "On the Verbal Art of William Blake and Other Poet-Painters", published in 1970 (Jakobson 1981, 322-344). Before analysing some of the texts he published in Czechoslovakia, I intend to describe a broader framework of Jakobson's body of work related to poetry from the interwar period to provide some preliminary considerations.

Jakobson's interest in poetry was strictly connected and influenced by his direct relationships with poets. As described by Toman in *The Magic of a Common Language* (1994), Jakobson was close to the leading poets of the time. As I shown in the first chapter of this thesis (§ 1.1), when he first came to Prague, he became acquainted with the members of the avant-garde like Jaroslav Seifert, Vítězslav Nezval or the theoretician Karel Teige. Such a collaboration with poets was a habit that Jakobson developed already in Russia, where he was friend with Futurists, e.g., Chlebnikov or Majakovskij, and he found fertile soil to continue in the Czech context, where the gap between the figure of the writer and that of the literary critic was significantly reduced. I will give some examples. There was František X. Šalda, who embodied both figures, being not only a literary critic, but also a writer. Also Stanislav Kostka Neumann, being an authoritative voice in Czech literary criticism, was also a writer. Then Nezval, whose activity as poet was combined with his habit of writing reviews and essays. To conclude this short list, one might also mention Marie Majerová, who beside being an influent figure in the Czech editorial context, also published a significant number of novels. Regarding this phenomenon, even more relevant is Arne Novák's discussion about the relation between literary criticism and aesthetics, developed in *Kritika literární: zásady a praxe* [*Literary Criticism: Principles and Practices*] (1916).<sup>379</sup>

---

<sup>378</sup> Jakobson's relationship with Asian academic contexts, especially with Japanese poetry and Chinese linguistics, seems to be a remarkably rich topic that would need to be further investigated, as evidenced by Dan (2018).

<sup>379</sup> This topic is analysed in Cosentino (2011, 24-28), who describes the common practices of Czech scholars to publish also in periodicals and then pursuing an active journalistic activity. Besides Šalda and Novák, she also mentions František Chudoba and Vilém Mathesius.

Jakobson perfectly fit in this multifaced cultural system, where the traditional distinction between the writer and the critic was dismantled. There are two differences which must be considered. First, unlike from the figures mentioned so far, Jakobson aimed to build a solid academic career, and developed his research while searching for a position as professor. Second, he was close to poets and used to follow the evolution of art and poetry but was not inclined to be a poet himself. Beside some poems published during the Futurist years under the pseudonym Aljagrov, there is no other evidence of Jakobson's public efforts as a poet or a writer of creative prose. Jakobson was that not inclined to write *chudožestvennaja literatura*. This is a characteristic that also distinguish him from the Formalists, such as Jurij Tynjanov, who besides literary criticism also wrote novels, tales, and screenwriting.

### *Novejšaja russkaja poezija*

I have already emphasised Jakobson's interest in Russian poetry while investigating his relationship with Melniková-Papoušková, concentrating my analysis on Blok and Majakovskij (§ 2.5.1). Jakobson's first significant writing dedicated to poetry was the book *Novejšaja russkaja poezija. Nabrosok pervyj: Chlebnikov*.

My introduction to Chlebnikov's works was titled "Approaches to Chlebnikov"; it was later published in Prague under the title *The Newest Russian Poetry*. I read it at the Briks' in May of 1919, at the first meeting of the Moscow Linguistic Circle since the October Revolution. (Jakobson 1992, 58)

At the beginning this monograph was conceived as an introduction to a collection of Chlebnikov's poems but this project was never concluded. After giving a lecture at the MLK in May 1919,<sup>380</sup> Jakobson first drafted the book in Moscow, but published it only in 1921 in Prague. Despite it was published later, the influence of the Formalist method was evident and it was perceived as a Formalist writing also among the contemporaries. Indeed, Aleksandr Voznesenskij<sup>381</sup> in his article "Die Methodologie der russischen Literaturforschung in den Jahren 1910-1925" ["The Methodology of Russian Literary Studies in the Years 1910-1925"],

---

<sup>380</sup> The protocol of this meeting at the MLK was published by Šapir ([1991] 2000). Jakobson read it on 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1919. Among those who took part there were Bogatyrev, Brik and Vinokur. Vladimir Nejštadt, who also attended the meeting, reported in his memories that Majakovskij was also there, even if he does not appear is not registered (Šapir [1991] 2000, 43).

<sup>381</sup> Aleksandr Voznesenskij (1888-1996) was a Russian critic active in the Belarusian academy during the 1920s, see Ačkasova (2009).

published in 1927 in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, listed Jakobson's *Novejšaja russkaja poezija* among those writings which exemplified the application of the formal method in the study of literature, together with Boris Ejchenbaum's "K sporam o formal'nom metode" ["Towards a Debate on Formal Method"] (1924), Viktor Šklovskij's *Teorija prozy* [*Theory of Prose*] (1925) and Viktor Žirmunskij's "Zadači poetiki" ["Tasks of Poetics"]<sup>382</sup> ([1921] 1923) (Vonezenskij 1927, 175). Despite this selection of writings is not appropriate (for example, Tynjanov's essential writing "Literaturnyj fakt" ["The Literary Fact"] published in 1924 is missing), it proves the echo Jakobson's writing had. Voznesenskij also proposed a parallelism, individuating a clear correspondence between Jakobson's idea of *liteaturnost'* and Ejchenbaum's concept of "form" as the fundamental element in the field of literary studies:

In *Novejšaja russkaja poezija. Nabrosok pervyj: Chlebnikov Prague 1921 R.* Jakobson emphasises the same principles in a clear manner. "The subject of literary scholarship is not literature but literariness (*literaturnost'*), that is that which makes of a given work a work of literature"; "If literary history wishes to become a science, it must recognise 'device' as its sole concern." [...] He [Ejchenbaum] explains that the "basic problem" of research in the field of literary studies must be the "form" "as a specific element without which there is no art"; the form "as an organising principle constitutes the basis of art."<sup>383</sup> (Voznesenskij 1927, 155)

*Novejšaja russkaja poezija* is not as captivating as, for example, *O češskom stiche*, published two years later in 1923 in Russian and then, in 1926, in Czech. The audience to which it aspired was also different. Unlike the writings published later, this essay was meant to be read by an audience that was well acquainted with Futurism, namely a Russian audience. There is no evidence that might suggest Jakobson's desire to publish it in Czech or in another language and the only part which appeared in Czech was an extract from the introduction published with Šalda's support in the journal *Kmen* (1921). Some aspects of Jakobson's essay remain obscure also for a specialised reader. For example, the title Jakobson chose did not properly reflect the

---

<sup>382</sup> Published for the first time in 1921 in the first issue of the journal *Načala* and then appeared revised and expanded in *Zadači i metody izučeniya iskusstva* [*Tasks and Methods of the Study of Art*] in 1923.

<sup>383</sup> "In klarer Weise hebt die gleichen Prinzipien R. Jakobson *Новейшая русская поэзия. набросок первый: Хлебников Праг 1921* hervor. 'Gegenstand der Literaturwissenschaft ist nicht die Literatur, sondern das Literarische, d. h. dasjenige, was ein Werk literarisch macht'; 'wenn die Literaturwissenschaft Wissenschaft werden will, ist sie gezwungen, das Stilmittel zu ihrem einzigen Helden zu wählen.' [...] Er [Ejchenbaum] erklärt, daß das 'Grundproblem' der Forschung auf literaturwissenschaftlichem Gebiet die 'Form' sein müsse 'als ein spezifisches Etwas, ohne das es keine Kunst gibt'; die Form bildet „als organisierendes Prinzip die Grundlage für Kunster. "' The translation from *Novejšaja russkaja poezija* is by James Brown in (Brown 1973, 62-63).

content or his real purposes, as it often happens in his writings. Even if Chlebnikov's importance is unquestionable, Jakobson's analysis does not depict Chlebnikovian poetics, but rather sketches laconic general considerations about Futurism. There are also some evident structural problems: for example, the long digressions about Puškin seem to be more relevant. Trubeckoj negatively commented on this work in a letter to Jakobson dated the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1921:

You do not mention all these features of the Futurists in your book, but you do so in passing, and in any case, it does not leave a strong enough impression on the reader. It seems to me that you are on the one hand too afraid of shying away from evaluation, and on the other hand too absorbed in your considerations on general poetics, which you are in a hurry to illustrate with examples. Therefore, instead of characterising a certain individual work, you get rather a collection of examples for known general generations.<sup>384</sup>  
(Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 18)

Trubeckoj thus underlined some problems in Jakobsonian argumentation, considering it laconic and without a clearly defined purpose. As I stated earlier, the real purpose of Jakobson's analysis is unclear and it is not possible to establish whether Jakobson aimed to describe a collective poetic movement (the Futurist one) or to single out Chlebnikovian poetics. In both cases, the development of the argument is somewhat lacking in cohesion. The argument is stylistically unclear also due to its numerous digressions, spread across the text. Sometimes the analysis is abruptly interrupted and considerations are inserted without further elaboration. Concerning this, Trubeckoj explained with a fitting example what he meant by the laconicism of the essay: in the passages in which Jakobson intended to show the distance between Chlebnikov and Puškin, he did not really elaborate a proper distinction between the two poets. We should question whether Jakobson really believed in a marked distinction between the Puškinian poetics and that of the Futurists as did the Futurists themselves, or whether, as in his attempt to trace parallels between Puškin and Majakovskij, he saw the latter as revising the former. *Novejšaja russkaja poezija* is not an easy read: to borrow Rudy's words, Jakobson's style is "terse and elliptical" (1978, 25). In later years Jakobson came to terms with this

---

<sup>384</sup> "Не все эти черты футуристов Вы в своей книге указываете, но слишком мимоходом, во всяком случае это не оставляет достаточно сильного впечатления в читателе. Мне кажется, что Вы с одной стороны слишком боитесь уклониться в оценку, а с другой стороны слишком поглощены Вашими соображениями по общей поэтике, которые спешите иллюстрировать примерами. Поэтому, вместо характеристики определенного индивидуального творчества получается скорее сборник примеров для известных общих поколений."

laconism and the version published in the fifth volume of the *Selected Writings* (from which translations into other foreign languages, such as Italian, would later be published), has numerous omissions and the text is more homogeneous.

Closing these brief remarks, the “elliptical” monograph on Chlebnikov proves to be fundamental in Jakobson’s writings for the methodology on which the analysis is based, i.e., the application of a linguistic approach in literary studies. Rather than a monograph about Chlebnikov, *Novejšaja ruskaja poezija* is an analysis of poetic devices (such as the tropes, the verbal metamorphosis, units of speech) through examples from Chlebnikov’s poetry. In fact, what arouses interest is the method applied, which reveals the maturity of Jakobson’s formalist methodology and a conscious synthesis of this with new discoveries in the linguistic field, specifically in the branch of phonology and syntax.

*Karel Jaromír Erben: Jakobson and Mukařovský about Antonín Grund*

Jakobson was deeply interested also in Czech poetry, as shown by his writings dedicated on Romanticism and Old Czech poetry. Jakobson mainly focused on the work of Czech Romantic poets Karel Hynek Mácha and Karel Jaromír Erben, who represented the two faces of this literary phase. Jakobson’s writings on Erben,<sup>385</sup> published in 1935 in *Slovo a slovesnost*, originated from a controversy Jakobson pursued with Jan Mukařovský against another Czech scholar, Antonín Grund, who in 1935 published the monograph *Karel Jaromír Erben*. It is the result of preparatory materials previously appeared in Czech periodicals between 1932 and 1934.<sup>386</sup> As it usually happened in the case of other writings published in *Slovo a slovesnost*, also this article was an elaboration of a speech given at the PLK. Indeed, on 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 1935 Jakobson and Mukařovský gave a speech at the PLK where they critiqued Grund. Antonín Stanislav Mágr reported about this meeting in *Prager Presse* in the article “Diskussion über eine Monographie” [“Discussion about a Monograph”]:

In detail, Mukařovský pointed out the poet’s imprisonment in the social atmosphere of his time and the connection between his work and Romanticism [...]. Jakobson’s speech similarly qualified Erben as a Romantic and proved this primarily through a penetrating dissection of Erben’s

---

<sup>385</sup> I am not discussing Jakobson’s writings on purpose. Despite their importance in the literary debate, I believe them to be “scientific” rather than “journalistic”. My reference to Erben is due to the polemic that arose with Antonín Grund and Jakobson’s concept of myth, later applied in Puškin.

<sup>386</sup> See also Šalda’s critique of Erben in “Grundova monografie o K. J. Erbenovi” [“Grund’s Monograph on K. J. Erben”] (1935).

mythological thinking, for whom this mental attitude of horror is characteristic, which then finds its balance in the attitude to life of *quietismus*.<sup>387</sup> (Mágr 1935, 8)

Jakobson criticised Grund's approach, which according to Mukařovský referred to Czech Jungmann's tradition,<sup>388</sup> and therefore was essentially positivistic. The main problems of Grund's work were his interpretation of Erben as a Classicists and the analysis of Erben's prosodic system he proposed. According to Jakobson, analysing Erben meant considering his relationship with Mácha because, as I said, they represented two different poles of Czech Romanticism. Jakobson underlined two important differences between the poets. First, while Mácha represented the poet of the revolt, Erben was the poet of the resignation. Second, Jakobson individuated the contrast between what he mentioned as the "ontogenetic sense of horror" in Mácha and the "phylogenetic" one in Erben. Referring to Jakobson, in 1936 Mukařovský interpreted this two antonymies as related to two fields situated beyond literature: cultural history and psychology.<sup>389</sup> To these, Mukařovský added a third antonymy, i.e., he revealed an ontological contrast between the two poets: while Mácha tended to a transcendental dimension, emphasised in his oneiric images, Erben used to depict more metaphysical images.

Jakobson described Erben's prosodic system while criticising Grund's analysis in "Poznámky k dílu Erbenovu. II O verši" ["Notes on Erben's Work. II On verse"] (Jakobson 1979, 525-537). According to Jakobson, Grund's most significant mistake corresponded to his refusal to recognise Erben as a romantic poet, but rather as a representative of Classicism. This erroneous categorisation implied another problem, namely that Grund did not emphasise the importance of the concept of myth in Erben's opus. Jakobson claimed the pivotality of this

---

<sup>387</sup> "Im einzelnen wies Mukařovský das Verhaftetsein des Dichters in der sozialen Atmosphäre seiner Zeit und den Zusammenhang seines Schaffens mit der Romantik auf [...]. Auf parallelen Wegen bewegten sich die Erörterungen Jakobsons, der gleichfalls Erben als Romantiker qualifiziert und dies vornehmlich durch eine eindringliche Zergliederung des mythologischen Denkens bei Erben bewies, für den dies seelische Haltung des Grauens bezeichnend ist, die dann ihren Ausgleich in der Lebensattitüde des Quietismus findet."

<sup>388</sup> "Grund created a thesis about Erben as the continuator and perfecter of Czech Jungmann classicism, and therefore he must weaken as much as possible the developmental ties that bind Erben to Mácha." ["Grund si totiž vytvořil thesi o Erbenovi jako pokračovateli a dovršiteli českého klasicismu jungmannovského, a musí proto co možná oslabovat vývojové svazky, poutající Erbena k Máchovi."] (Mukařovský 1936, 33)

<sup>389</sup> "Both of these antinomies, although also important for understanding the works of both poets, go beyond literature: the former extends into general cultural history, the latter into psychology. We add a third, also standing at the interface, this time between the theory of poetry and the characterology of cultural types. It is the contrast between the other-worldly type, prevalent in Mácha's poetry, and the masculine type, manifested in Erben's poetry." ["Obě tyto antinomie, třebaže důležité i pro pochopení děl obou básníků, jdou za hranice literatury: první z nich přesahuje do obecných dějin kultury, druhá do psychologie. Připojujeme třetí, stojící rovněž na rozhraní, tentokrát mezi teorií básnictví a charakterologií kulturních typů. Je to protiklad typu jinošského, převládajícího v poesii Máchově, a typu mužného, projevujícího se v poesii Erbenově."] (Mukařovský 1936, 34)

concept, emphasising how it was a distinctive feature of his poetics, in other words the “dominant”. As I will show later, the concept of myth and mythology is central to Jakobson’s interpretation of Puškin’s work (§ 3.1.1), but it is in the essay “Poznámky k dílu Erbenovu: I. O mythu” [“Notes on K. Erben’s Work. II On Myth”] (Jakobson 1979, 510-524) that Jakobson explicitly elaborates his definition of myth related to Romanticism by referring to the German philosophers Alfer Bäumler and Ernst Cassirer:

The Romantic period (I refer, for example, to A. Bäumler and E. Cassirer’s works) conceives of the myth as a special, self-contained world. It is original, because it cannot be derived from or reduced to anything else, being a revelation it cannot be rationalised and interpreted allegorically, it is objective and binding, it is governed only by internal, immanent laws, it has its own criterion of authenticity, its depth, it precedes history and is immortal; only the myth gives reality fully without fragmenting it, only the myth is a hint of the ineffable.<sup>390</sup> (Jakobson 1935, 154)

Jakobson conceived the myth as an autonomous dimension with its own internal structure and rules. Thus, one could study it as an independent semiotic system. Jakobson tended to identify the mythological dimension of a poet or an artist, as in Puškin’s case, because he believed in the relevance of this mythology from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective: while the myth shaped the poetics of a poet, it also determined his legacy.

### *Medieval Czech poetry*

Jakobson was also devoted to the field of Old Czech poetry<sup>391</sup> and during his period in Brno he gave some courses devoted to this topic. In RJP there are handwritten notebooks which contain Jakobson’s notes for lectures and seminars he gave between the summer semester of the

---

<sup>390</sup> “Romantická doba (odkazují třeba k rozpravám A. Baeumlera a E. Cassirera) pojímá mythus jako zvláštní, soběstačný svět. Je původní, totiž nemůže býti z ničeho jiného odvozen nebo na něco jiného redukován, je zjevením a nesmí tedy býti racionalisován a vykládán alegoricky, je objektivní a závazný, řídí se jedině vnitřními, immanentními zákony, má vlastní kritérium pravosti - hloubku, předchází dějinám a je nesmrtelný; jedině mythus podává plně skutečnost, aniž ji tříští, jedině mythus je náznakem nevyslovitelného.”

<sup>391</sup> This section does not provide an extensive analysis of Jakobson’s writings related to Czech Medieval studies, which should require a thesis itself. My aim is to emphasise some problems Jakobson arose while analysing this specific literary period, especially referring to his Brno notebooks, fully conserved at RJP. While reading the literature related to Jakobson and Medieval studies I have noticed a big lack which is only partially filled by Lehár and Dittman, who analysed Jakobson’s interest in Czech-Jewish relationships in the Middle Age.

academic year 1933-1934 and the 1938-1939. The following table summarises Jakobson's teaching activity at Masaryk University:

	1933-1934	1934-1935	1935-1936	1936-1937	1937-1938	1938-1939
<b>Winter semester</b>		Hláskoslovný vývoj ruštiny (ve srovnání s jinými slovanskými jazyky)	Úvod do studia ruštiny	Ruská deklinace a její vývoji	Základy ruské a obecné fonologie	Hláskový vývoj ruštiny (ve srovnání s jinými slovanskými jazyky)
			Dějiny česko-ruských kulturních styků	Ruský verš (ve srovnání s českým)	Ruské tvarosloví (vývoj velkoruské běloruské a ukrajinské deklinace)	Slovo o pluku Igorevě
			Srovnávací rozbor ohlasů písní ruských a jejich předloh	Epika Puškinova (jazykový a formální rozbor ve srovnání s českými překlady)	Staročeské básnictví	Česká literatura posledních Lucemburků
					Ruská próza (jazykový a formální rozbor Puškinových a Gogolových povídek a jejich českých překladů)	Čtení a výklad starých památek dialektických textů východoslovanských
						Rozbor staročeské lyriky
<b>Summer semester</b>	Srovnávací rozbor ruského a českého verše	Hláskoslovný vývoj ruštiny (ve srovnání s jinými slovanskými jazyky)	Úvod do studia ruštiny	Ruská deklinace a její vývoji	Základy ruské a obecné fonologie	Ruský verš v srovnání českým
		Rozbor českých hlásů a překladů z básnictví ruského ruských českého	Dějiny rusko-českých kulturních styků (od XII. stol.)	Epika Puškinova (jazykový a formální rozbor ve srovnání s českými překlady)	Základy ruské a obecné fonologie	Hláskový vývoj ruštiny i ukrajinštiny
		Formalistická škola a dnešní literární věda ruská	Rozbor lidových písní ruských a jejich českých ohlasů		Staročeské básnictví	České básnictví IX.-XI. Století
					Ruská próza (jazykový a formální rozbor Puškinových a Gogolových povídek a jejich českých překladů)	Čtení a výklad starých památek dialektických textů východoslovanských
						Rozbor staročeské lyriky

**Table 4.** Jakobson's courses in Brno 1933-1939.

In 1934 Jakobson prepared a course titled “Česká středověká poezie” [“Czech Medieval Poetry”], which aimed to make his students aware of the richness and the complexity of such poetic phase. Jakobson's preparatory materials to this course are fully preserved in a notebook, which contains both an introduction about the state of art of Czech Medieval studies and an overview of the evolution of Gothic Czech poetry. In this notebook Jakobson expressed his main concerns about the absence of a proper development of Medieval studies in the Czech literary field: he emphasised the necessity of rediscovering this phase of Czech literature and the problems related to this process of rediscovery. According to Jakobson, Czech “intellectuals” (he consciously employed the Czech pejorative attribute *intelektuálové*) were not familiar with the legacy they received from the Middle Age, or even not interested in it:

Years ago, when I told Karel Čapek about the richness and splendour of Old Czech poetry, he was surprised, he thought about it, and after a while he said: “maybe, but I was thoroughly disgusted of it from high school.” I have heard this judgment more often from Czech intellectuals. What is the point? We know that an interest in a work, a love for a work, an understanding of a work, is impossible without empathy for that work, without a sincere willingness to surrender to that work, to let go for a moment of our egocentric artistic standards. Without this focus on that work, without our submissiveness to that work, we are left with a mere skeleton of an artwork instead of a suggestive,

living, effective work, an awkward, useless, and incomprehensible bare skeleton.<sup>392</sup>

According to Jakobson, such a reaction was the norm among Czech scholars and, unlike other countries in which Medieval studies had significantly developed (such as in France or in Russia) there was a lack of interest in Czech academy.<sup>393</sup> This does not mean that Jakobson came to a context in which there was not a scholarly tradition related to this topic. As František Svejkský emphasised (Armstrong – Schooneveld 1977), the study of Old Czech literature had some precursors among Czech scholars, such as Jan Gebauer. In his writing *Historická mluvnice jazyka českého* [*Historical Czech Grammar*] (1894), he first described the preconditions and applications of the philological method as an alternative of the sociological one, which dominated during the nineteenth century. In fact, the value of Old Czech literature's monuments was mainly due to their "social function", i.e., they were a testimony of the richness of Czech culture and Czech national existence. Despite Gebauer's theories and the importance of his heritage, such as the works of his disciple Stanislav Souček,<sup>394</sup> in the interwar period Czech Medieval studies were going through a significant stagnation. This crisis was largely emphasised by scholars such as Novák (1910, 1929) or Jakubec (1929), addressing the necessity of a renovate scientific interest in Old Czech literature and of a revolution in the critical approach. Such a stagnation recalls the one related to Czech prosody, which I have depicted previously (§ 3.6.1). This reveals Jakobson's aim to recall the debate on forgotten questions he believed to be pivotal. Beside this, Czech Old poetry and Czech prosody are strictly connected in Jakobson's studies. As Svejkský (1977) emphasised, Jakobson's interest in Czech Old poetry developed in two main directions during the interwar period, i.e., textology and prosody. This twofold research led to significant contributions, e.g., the article "Verš staročeský" ["Old Czech Verse"] (Jakobson 1985, 417-465) or the edition of *Spor duše s tělem* (Jakobson 1927). As emphasised by Lehár in "Co dal Roman Jakobson české medievistice" ["What Jakobson Gave to Czech Medieval Studies"] (2005), when in 1927 Jakobson published his edition of *Spor duše s tělem* he encountered the favour of many

---

<sup>392</sup> RJP, Box 31, Folder 72. "Když jsem před lety povídal Karlu Čapku o bohatství a nádheře staročeského básnictví byl překvapen, zamyslel se a za chvíli řekl 'možná, ale mně se ze střední školy dokonale zprotivilo.' Tento úsudek jsem od českých intelektuálů častěji slyšel. Oč vlastně jde? Víme, že zájem o dílo, láska k dílu, pochopení díla není možné bez vžívání do tohoto díla, bez upřímné vůle se vzdátí dílu, zbavit se na chvíli svých egocentrických uměleckých měřítek: bez tohoto zaměření na dílo, bez naší poddajnosti vůči němu zbývá místo sugestivního, živého, účinného díla pouhá kostra uměleckého díla, trapná, zbytečná a nepochopitelná jeho haždá holá kostra."

<sup>393</sup> This is a broadly discussed question, see at least Lehár (1990) and Svejkský (1969).

<sup>394</sup> Stanislav Souček (1870-1935) was a Czech philologist and literary historian who was nominated professor at the Masaryk University.

scholars, such as Arne Novák or Josef Vašica.<sup>395</sup> The reasons behind these positive reactions were, according to Lehár, two: first, the crisis of Czech cultural conscience after the end of the WWI and, second, the absence of a proper scientific interest for Old Czech literature. Jakobson felt this situation a big issue and aimed to rectify it, especially because according to him Old Czech poetry was less distant from contemporary times than people believed and he stated that it was necessary to “research its traces in the new Czech poetry”.<sup>396</sup> In other words, Jakobson was convinced that the study of the Old Czech poetry could lead to new interpretations of contemporary poetry. Lehár’s statement is illustrative:

Jakobson as a literary scholar was spurred to be interested in the Middle Ages by the modern art of the 1930s, by the growing need to defend the foundations of Czech culture; Jakobson as a friend of Czech poets was intrigued by the idea that the rhythmic richness of the fourteenth century could have had a beneficial effect on modern poetry.<sup>397</sup> (Lehár 2005)

In “O cestách k české poesii gotické” [“On the Paths to Czech Gothic Poetry”] (1936) Jakobson described Czech Gothic poetry as a “plurality of artistic currents”, of different paths which were in contrast and coexisted at once. Then, he emphasised its legacy, stating that this heterogeneity “dramatically broke out in Czech philosophy, but also in contemporary poetry”. In this article, initially delivered as a lecture in Brno in 1936, there are many passages which reflect the notes prepared by Jakobson for his course, but the article is notably shorter. He emphasised the urgent necessity of studying Old Czech poetry, the difference between Czech and the Russian of the French contexts and, the critique of the Naturalist approach, which condemned Gothic Czech poetry as “primitive”. We can then conceive the lecture notes an earlier elaboration of notions and theories of Czech Old poetry, only later edited for a scientific publication.

Besides the insistence on the pivotal boundary between the Medieval past and the present, Jakobson attempted to explain the reasons behind this *smutný osud*, “sad destiny”, of Old Czech literature, mainly reflecting on the fact that Czech scholars lost interest in Medieval

---

<sup>395</sup> Josef Vašica (1884-1968) was a Czech philologist which is mainly remembered for his research on Czech Baroque literature. In 1940 he also joined the PLK.

<sup>396</sup> Regarding this assumption, I believe that the reason which explains why Jakobson’s stressed on these topics is quite simple. Rather than just depicting Jakobson as an “innovator”, we should consider the pivotal role these topics played in the Russian context since the beginning of the twentieth century.

<sup>397</sup> “Jakobson-literární vědec byl podněcován k zájmu o středověk moderním uměním od třicátých let silící potřebou obrany základů české kultury; Jakobson-přítel českých básníků byl zaujat myšlenkou, že rytmičké bohatství 14. století byl mohlo blahodárně zapůsobit na moderní poezii.”

studies after the scandal of the “false manuscripts”. According to Jakobson, this break entailed difficulties for the rebirth of such research: “The second half of the nineteenth century obstructed the path to the poetry of the Czech Middle Ages, and it is not so easy to find this path again”.<sup>398</sup> As I have emphasised while referring to Lehár’s considerations about the reaction to *Spor duše s tělem*, the question about the false manuscript was not the only reason. Jakobson similarly reproached the Czech readership’s lack of interest in Old Czech poetry in the introduction to *Nejstarší české písně duchovní* [*The Oldest Czech Spiritual Songs*], a volume he had edited some years before, in 1929. Jakobson emphasised the richness and the importance of such a repertoire, even if the documents which survived were less than those which were produced in the Middle Age:

But what do we know from this period? There remain scanty fragments, in a few hundred verses altogether, of a magnificent cycle of legends and apocrypha, which, judging from its Latin source and from these remnants, consisted of at least six to eight thousand verses, and we know of about four thousand verses of the *Alexandreides*, which is only something like a fifth of the monument. That is all. [...] All considerations lead us to believe that the Czech poetic repertoire was incomparably wider and richer than what remains of it.<sup>399</sup> (Jakobson 1929, 7-8)

Scholars were then urged to find again a path back to Medieval literature and to establish a new direction from which to approach this field of studies.

In RJP there is another notebook related to Medieval studies, which contains the preparatory materials for the course “Česká literatura raného středověku” [“Czech Literature from Early Middle Ages”], but, compared to “Česká středověká poezie” those notes are laconic and do not constitute neither a comprehensive analysis nor a cohesive text.

---

<sup>398</sup> “Druhá polovice XIX stol. zatarasila cestu k poesii českého středověku a není tak lehké znovu najiti tuto cestu”. RJP, Box 31, Folder 72.

<sup>399</sup> “Co však je nám známo z tohoto období? Zbyly skrovné úryvky, dohromady v několika stech verších, z velkolepého cyklu legend a apokryfu, který soudě podle jeho latinského pramene a podle těchto zbytku tvořil njméně šest až osm tisíc veršů, a dale známe asi čtyři tisíce veršů *Alexandreidy*, což je jenom něco kolem kvou pětin památky. To je vše. [...] Všechny úvahy nás nutí k domněnce, že český básnický repertoár byl nesrovnatelně širší a bohatší, než je to, co z něhozbylo.”

### 3.1.1 Jakobson and Puškin studies

As shown in the **Table 1** above, at Masaryk University in 1936-1937 Jakobson gave a seminar dedicated to Puškin's epic writings and then, in 1937-1938, on Puškin and Gogol's prose. The attention for Puškin recurs also in Jakobson's activity in the press and in the second half of the 1930s he spent much effort in studying and propagating Puškin's oeuvre outside the Russian context. Unlike those on Chlebnikov or Majakovskij, Jakobson's writings on Puškin are not considered by scholars as an important stage in the development of the study of Jakobson's works.<sup>400</sup> In the previous chapter (§ 2.4), I described Jakobson's involvement in publishing Puškin's writings in Czech with Alfred Bem. In this section I aim to analyse Jakobson's writings on Puškin and contextualise them in the Czech journalistic milieu.

#### *Puškin studies in Russia: Formalism*

Jakobson's interest in Puškin appears as the result of two different stimuli: the Russian academic context and the increasing attention paid to the Russian poet by scholars active in the Czech context. In Russia, the development of the so-called *puškinistika* or *puškinovedenie*, Puškin studies, is a multifaced and complex phenomenon because implies several different problems concerning both literary theory and cultural identity. The development of this issue in different contexts is dependent upon historical-political dynamics, and it would be necessary to contextualise each period in order to offer some extensive explanations. For this reason, I will limit myself to observing certain étapes that took place at the beginning of the twentieth century, at a time when two issues converge: the evolution of *puškinistika* through Formalism and the approach developed in writings published in 1937, the year in which the centenary of the poet's death was celebrated. The symbolical pioneer of this tradition is the literary critic Pavel Annekov, who in 1855 published the first significant Russian edition of Puškin's writings. Russian *puškinistika* exploded in the first thirty years of the twentieth century and involved both scholars from different literary schools and poets, such as Valerij Brjusov or Anna Achmatova. Concerning scholars, a significant contribution to the development of *puškinistika* was given by the formalists. Since such an analysis would require more space than is available here, I will limit my introduction to those writings which I believe significantly influenced Jakobson's writings published by Russian scholars, i.e., those by Viktor Vinogradov, Jurij Tynjanov and Boris Tomaševskij. Vinogradov's research led to two

---

<sup>400</sup> Except Pil'ščikov (2024), a comparison between Jakobson and Jurij Lotman as Puškin scholars.

significant writings, i.e., the article *O stile Puškina* [*On Puškin's Style*] (1934), republished in 1941 in *Stil' Puškina* [*Puškin's Style*], and the collection *Jazyk Puškina* [*Puškin's Language*] (1935). Vinogradov delved into different characteristics of Puškin's style, dealing with the history of Russian language and the new achievements in modern linguistics, especially in the fields of syntax and semantics. For example, he investigated the results of contamination in Russian language from different perspectives, such as French or Church-Slavonic influences. Jurij Tynjanov was the Russian formalist who during the interwar period had the greatest influence on Jakobson. Among his writings about Puškin, the most relevant is *Archaisty i Puškin* [*The Archaists and Puškin*] later republished in *Puškin i ego sovremenniki* [*Puškin and his Contemporaries*] in 1968.<sup>401</sup> He did not only publish scientific writings but also the biographical novel *Puškin*, which he started in 1935 but he never finished. Tomaševskij was deeply interested in Puškin's writings during 1930s and published some relevant studies, such as the collection *Puškin. Sovremennye problemy istoriko-literaturnogo izučeniya* [*Puškin. Contemporary Problems in the Historical-literary Research*], which appeared in 1925.<sup>402</sup> At that time, in Tomaševskij Jakobson found a pioneer of textology: "Theoretical and practical textology has indeed been the top achievement of modern Russian literary scholarship, and in this field Tomaševskij was one of the prominent experts" (Jakobson 1979, 546). Jakobson's interest in Tomaševskij's writings about Puškin emerges also in the correspondence they exchanged after the WWII. In a letter dated the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1956, Tomaševskij asked Jakobson's opinion about his writings on Puškinian language and informs him about some new editorial publications. Later, in a letter sent on 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1957 Jakobson referred to Tomaševskij as a "znatok i master", a "connoisseur and master", in the field of *puškinistika*.<sup>403</sup>

---

<sup>401</sup> Vinogradov wrote the introduction and commented: "The central theme is naturally Puškin, his work, his literary relations and attitudes. His largest work, *The Archaists and Puškin*, had a great influence on the study of Puškin's work and the literary trends of the 1920s-1930s. [...] In his opinion, 'approaching with the fixed criteria of classicism and romanticism to the phenomena of Russian literature at that time, we apply to the diverse and complex phenomena of an uncertain key and as a result there is confusion, a thirst to reduce the diverse phenomena at least to some, even to seeming simplicity and unity'." (Vinogradov 1968, 6) "Центральной темой, естественно, является Пушкин, его творчество, его литературные связи и отношения. Самая крупная по объему работа (*Архаисты и Пушкин*) оказала большое влияние на изучение творчества Пушкина и литературных направлений 20-30-х годов XIX столетия. [...] По его мнению, 'подходя с готовыми критериями классицизма и романтизма к явлениям тогдашней русской литературы, мы прилагаем к многообразным и сложным явлениям неопределенный ключ и в результате возникает растерянность, жажда свести многообразное явление хоть к каким-нибудь, хоть к кажущимся простоте и единству'."

<sup>402</sup> It was republished in 1990. In 1925 Tomaševskij published in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* a short version of *Puškin. Sovremennye problemy istoriko-literaturnogo izučeniya*, in which he commented on the development of puškinistika from 1914 to the mid-1920s (Tomaševskij 1925). In 1939 Dmytro Čyževs'kyj published in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* the article "Die neuere Puškin-Forschung" ["The New Research on Puškin"], in which discussed the development of *puškinistika* in the 1930s, excluding the 1937 because, according to Čyževs'kyj, the anniversary shed any new light on the poet (Čyževs'kyj 1939, 363).

<sup>403</sup> RJP's Box 46, Folder 38.

In *Puškin. Sovremennye problemy istoriko-literaturnogo izučeniya*, before diving into specific fields (text criticism, archival research, poetics, and biography), Tomaševskij noticed a crisis in *puškinistika* at the beginning of the twentieth century: the writings published in the 1910s were mainly written by “amateurs”, rather than by scholars. Then, the research found a new impulse in Semen Vengerov,<sup>404</sup> who directed the edition of the Puškinian writings and organised seminars for students who, later, became relevant scholars. Tomaševskij discussed Puškin as a “literary question”, lamenting an overabundance of studies devoted to Puškin’s relations with foreign literature, while the poet’s roots in Russian tradition received little interest. He also noticed a crucial problem while analysing the historical and literary function of the poet, i.e., the necessity of studying his poetics and language in order to comprehend his role in literary history:

The problem of Puškin in his historical and literary function is extremely complex [...] mainly because the resurrection of the cult of Puškin in the 1880s occurred against the background of complete disconnection with the Puškin’s era. Puškin’s works became a tool of a completely different culture. [...] The diffusion of Puškin into the school as a means of education, neutralised Puškin and made him insensible, invisible. Therefore, it is extremely difficult in the present time to overcome the inertia of habit in relation to Puškin and perceive him in a living dynamic form, to consider the revolutionising principles of his work. In this regard, it is necessary to dive into the poetics and language of Puškin. Only studies of this kind can create a solid basis for a historical reckoning of his work. Strange as it may seem, almost nothing has been done in this direction.<sup>405</sup> (Tomaševskij 1990, 59-60)

### *Puškin’s Czech reception*

The Czech reception of Puškin’s writings grew significantly in 1937, when the hundredth anniversary of Puškin’s death was celebrated in the Soviet Union and abroad. In the same year,

---

<sup>404</sup> Semen Vengerov (1855-1920).

<sup>405</sup> “Проблема Пушкина в историко-литературной его функции чрезвычайно трудна [...] главным образом потому, что воскрешение культа Пушкина в 80-х годах произошло уже на фоне полной разобщенности с пушкинской эпохой. [...] Проникновение Пушкина в школу, как средство воспитания, нейтрализовало Пушкина и сделало его неощутимым, незаметным. Поэтому чрезвычайно трудно в настоящее время преодолеть инерцию привычки по отношению к Пушкину и воспринять его в живой динамической форме, учесть революционирующие принципы его творчества. В этом отношении необходимо проникновение в поэтику и язык Пушкина. Изучения этого порядка только и могут создать прочную базу для исторической расценки его творчества.”

the Russian émigré Aleksandr Umancev<sup>406</sup> wrote his essay “Puškinskie vejanija v češskoj literatúre” [“Puškinian Trends in Czech Literature”]. He wrote:

Puškin’s influences in Czech literature are deep and varied. It is unlikely that such a wide opportunity is provided to draw from any other Slavic literature as many valuable materials about Puškin’s internal penetrations as they, as one can rightly say, are found in rich abundance in Czech literature. The powerful influences of Puškin are manifested mainly in Czech satire, in Byronic poems, ballads, and in the Onegin motifs of Puškin’s poetry, which is inherent in Czech poetic novels, short stories, *povesti*.<sup>407</sup> (Umancev 1937, 8)

In his analysis, Umancev considered Puškin’s influence on Czech writers such as Jan Neruda or Karel Hynek Mácha. This influence could never have been possible without the intermediation of the translations, as that of the *Onegin*, an epic poem which, as I have discussed (§ 2.4), echoed in the Czech context since the nineteenth century.

Czech celebrations for Puškin’s jubilee took place in different ways. All the periodicals of the time devoted some space to this event between January and February. On 10<sup>th</sup> of February (the anniversary of Puškin’s death) many newspapers printed articles dedicated to Puškin. Almost every periodical published a special issue devoted to Puškin’s memory. Before delving into periodicals associated with Jakobson, it is relevant to consider some other writings. Fifty years after the 1937 jubilee, in 1987, the periodical *Praha-Moskva* commented on the celebration in Czechoslovakia:

A significant opportunity for the manifestation of Czechoslovak-Soviet cultural reciprocity and for the promotion of Russian and Soviet culture in Czechoslovakia was provided by the hundredth anniversary of Puškin’s death in the spring months of 1937. In the tense atmosphere of the sharpened struggle of the forces of reaction and progress, fascism, and democracy. [...] The Puškin celebrations, during which the importance of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations was accentuated not only in the cultural but also in the

---

<sup>406</sup> Aleksandr Umancev (1893-1982) was a Russian Slavist and literary historian who emigrated to Prague.

<sup>407</sup> “Пушкинские влияния в чешской литературе глубоки и многообразны. Вряд ли предоставляется такая широкая возможность почерпнуть из какой-либо иной славянской литературы столько ценных материалов о пушкинских внутренних проникновениях, сколько их, как это можно с полным правом утверждать, в богатом изобилии обнаруживается в чешской литературе. Могучие веяния Пушкина проявляются, главным образом, в чешской сатире, в байронических поэмах, балладах и в онегинских мотивах пушкинской поэзии, присущей чешским стихотворным романам, новеллам, повестям.”

political sphere, created a dignified entry into the year in which the progressive Czechoslovak public was going to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.<sup>408</sup> (Nováčková 1987, 59-60)

This ideological (re)interpretation of Puškin can be noted not only in this retrospective, but also in writings appeared in 1937. First, this reception was politically charged, since 1937 was not just the hundredth anniversary of Puškin's death, but also the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution. Second, periodicals highlighted the anti-fascist character of Puškin's writings to contrast the arise of Nazism in Europe and especially in Czechoslovakia.

At once, Jakobson also emphasised the concept of "freedom" commenting on the difficulties Puškin encountered while publishing in a period in which censorship was exceedingly tight. As he wrote in the article "Nespoutaný Puškin" ["Puškin unrestrained"] (Jakobson 2014, 210-216), published in *Lidové noviny* in 1937: "throughout his life, the poet fought a draining battle against him, he exposed the will of 'the gloomy guardian of the Muses, his eternal persecutor, fool and coward' the censor"<sup>409</sup> (Jakobson 2014, 210). The need to rediscover this aspect of Puškin's writings was noticed even by the Czechoslovak president Eduard Beneš, who stated: "We all must learn something from such a strong, free, socially useful, and human person" (Hála – Kubka 1937, 15).<sup>410</sup> As I have already noticed, Puškin was perceived as a symbol of freedom in a period characterised by the rise of Nazi ideology in Germany and in neighbouring countries. This ideal of freedom was emphasised in *Puškin, pěvec svobody* [*Puškin, Singer of Freedom*], a recollection of eighteen poems translated into Czech in 1937 by František Táborský,<sup>411</sup> who devoted a significant portion of his career to Puškin, both translating and writing essays.<sup>412</sup>

---

<sup>408</sup> "Významnou příležitostí k manifestaci československo-sovětské kulturní vzájemnosti a k propagaci ruské a sovětské kultury v Československu poskytly v jarních měsících roku 1937 – v zjitřené atmosféře zostřeného boje sil reakce a pokroku, fašismu a demokracie – oslaví 100. výročí úmrtí Puškina. [...] Puškinské oslavy, při nichž byl akcentován význam československo-sovětských vztahů nejen v kulturní, ale i v politické oblasti, vytvořily důstojný vstup do roku, v němž se pokroková československá veřejnost chystala oslavit 20. výročí Velké říjnové socialistické revoluce."

<sup>409</sup> "Celý život s ní vedl básník vysilující boj – tu ostrými útoky odhaloval zvěři 'pochmurného strážce Múz, svého odvěkého pronásledovatele, hlupce a zbabělce' – cenzora".

<sup>410</sup> "Všichni se musíme u něco učit, silného, svobodného, sociálně užitečného a lidsky citícího člověka."

<sup>411</sup> František Táborský (1858-1940) was a Czech poet, literary critic and translator. Beside Puškin, he also translated Lermantov and Makovskij.

<sup>412</sup> About Puškin and Táborský, see Kšicová (1968).

In addition to press initiatives, there were many celebratory exhibitions, lectures, and performances at the theatre, such as Emil František Burian's adaptation of the *Onegin*. *Boris Godunov* or Modest Mugorskij's opera composed between 1868-1873, which was often performed in Prague. There were also initiatives meant for children, such as the performance of *Pohádka o caru Saltánovi* [*The Tale of Tsar Saltan*, in Russian *Skazka o care Saltane*] at Prague's National Theatre. The periodicals in which Jakobson was involved published articles or dedicated entire issues to Puškin. For instance, *Slavische Rundschau* published articles on the poet, but the most remarkable editorial project was led by *Slavia*, which published some celebratory writings. In a letter to Jakobson dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1937 Trubeckoj critiqued *Slavia*'s issue very harshly: “*Slavia*'s number about Puškin is awful!”<sup>413</sup> (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 401). *Slovo a slovesnost* also published articles related to Puškin in the first issue of 1937.

Remarkable was the publication of the collection *Věčný Puškin* [*Eternal Puškin*, 1937], which I mentioned in the previous chapter while discussing Hora's translation of the *Onegin* (§ 2.4). Edited by Rudolf Hála<sup>414</sup> and František Kubka,<sup>415</sup> this was a collection of short writings dedicated to Puškin by scholars, artists and journalists who had a notable influence in the Czech cultural milieu. Beside Hora, Josef and Karel Čapek, Marie Majerová, Karel Toman, Ivan Olbracht, Petr Kříčka (who in turn translated Puškin's poems) and Taborský contributed to the collection. In his contribution, Jiří Horák<sup>416</sup> considered Puškin as the “first” Russian writer who received a significant reception abroad and that his popularity sharply grew in the Czech context through translations. He then offered a brief overview of the Czech translations published until that time, from the nineteenth century until Kříčka's collection published as part of Jakobson and Bem's editorial project (§ 2.4). While discussing the diffusion of Puškin's opus into Czech, he emphasised that the Czech language succeeded in conveying the clarity and simplicity of Puškinian verses (Hála – Kubka 1937, 17-21). The writings published in *Věčný Puškin* draw a particular picture of Puškin as a modern poet, a genius, a representative of *svoboda* (freedom) and *pravda* (truth). Puškin was perceived from two perspectives. The first was that of the nineteenth-century poet, who enshrines the Russian spirit in his verses. This poet was not considered a realist, but instead was compared to the great poets of European Romanticism, such as Hölderlin or Mácha, and Josef Čapek even associates him with

---

<sup>413</sup> “Пушкинский номер *Славии* – одна жуть!”

<sup>414</sup> Rudolf Hála (1892-1968) was a Czech typographer and redactor.

<sup>415</sup> František Kubka (1894-1969) was a Czech journalist and writer.

<sup>416</sup> Jiří Horák (1884-1975) was a Czech Slavist, specialised in ethnology and folklore.

Baudelaire (Hála – Kubka 1937, 24). Alongside this traditional portrayal of Puškin, there was a second portrayal, which sees the poet reinterpreted in contemporary terms. Some of the writings in the collection highlight the relevance and modernity of the poet, showing an awareness of Puškin's new ideological function in the Soviet Union, and that he had become, in Nejedlý's words, a representative of the Soviet culture *avant la letter* (Hála – Kubka 1937, 56).

### *Jakobson and Puškin*

As I have already emphasised, Jakobson's corpus of 1930s writings on Puškin is significant. While analysing Puškin's works and poetic, Jakobson became interested in specific questions, which I will analyse in the following pages. As I have already noticed (§ 3.1) Jakobson referred to Puškin in his first monograph *Novejšaja russkaja poezija*, but Jakobson's most important and extensive essay about the poet is "Socha v symbolice Puškinově" ["The Statue in Puškin's Poetic Mythology"], published in *Slovo a slovesnost* in 1937. This article was based on a lecture Jakobson delivered on 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1937 within the PLK titled "K Puškinově symbolice" ["On Puškin's symbolics"] (Čermák – Poeta – Čermák 2012, 227-228). As I have noticed in my earlier discussion of Erben (§ 3.1), the concept of myth was crucial to Jakobson during these years and he conceived mythology as a semiotic system. This essay presents a scientific nuance and contains many references to prior studies of Puškin, such as formalist readings by Tynjanov and Tomaševskij, which I have quoted before. He also made repeated references to Bem's study *O Puškině* [*About Puškin*] (Bem in Puškin 1936) and to other contemporary studies such as those of Dmitrij Svjatopolk-Mirskij and Georgij Vernadskij. Jakobson referred then to Russian poets as Anna Achmatova and recognised, despite his aversion to the Symbolist theory of rhythm emerged in his critique to Brjusov (see § 2.6.1), to Andrej Belyj, crediting him with having comprehended Puškin's rhythmical tissue. The first part of the essay is a declaration of intent, in which Jakobson described the task that each scholar involved in studying the activity of a poet should undertake. According to him, the aim of such research consists of individuating the "kernel" of a poetic opus, the recurrent and dominant<sup>417</sup> elements that distinguish the whole work. Once the reader has individuated these fixed elements and considered them as dynamic parts interacting in a whole that also includes the unfixed ones (in a holistic perspective), then it becomes possible to reconstruct the mythology of the poet: "A fixed mythology, binding for a poetic cycle and often for a poet's

---

<sup>417</sup> See "The Dominant" in Jakobson (1981, 751-756).

entire oeuvre, operates in addition to the varying elements specific to individual poems” (Jakobson 1979, 238). As emphasised by Igor’ Pil’ščikov:

Jakobson’s writing aims to identify “permanent components or constants” of Puškin’s symbolism, i.e., semantic “invariants” characteristic of the poetics of one author or a certain selection of his works to the same extent as certain verse constants characterise “the verse of a given poem or of a given poet in general”.<sup>418</sup> (Pil’ščikov 2024, 85-86)

Jakobson further specified what he intended with the expression “mythology of a poet”: the pure representation of their personal poetic, which is not exclusively their own property, but rather provides a legacy. “Socha v symbolice Puškinově” represents an exception among Jakobson’s writings about Puškin and, despite his cruciality, it cannot be conceived as a journalistic article, but rather as a scientific one.

In 1937 Jakobson wrote an article for *Program D*, the journal run by Emil František Burian, titled “Puškin v realistickém světle” [“Puškin in a Realistic Light”] (Jakobson 2014, 207-209), which the same topic (mythology) is emphasised in a different structure: it regards mythology mainly associated with the legacy of the poet. Jakobson was clearly conscious that this “legacy” could lead to exploitation. While explaining the dynamics of this phenomenon he drew a comparison between Puškin and Majakovskij, who had already died by that time. Jakobson writes that it is “not even seven years since Majakovskij committed suicide, and already the poet’s living face is more and more demandingly and obtrusively transformed into a canonical icon”<sup>419</sup> (Jakobson 2014, 207). Jakobson lamented and condemned the over-interpretation of Puškin’s work and the manipulation of his figure. This was a fate that Puškin shared with Majakovskij, both of whom were among the “silent dead”. Such a manipulation of Majakovskij was emphasised also by Pasternak in *Ljudi i položenija* [*People and Circumstances*],<sup>420</sup> who denounced the second death of the poet due to the popularisation of his figure in the Stalinist period: “Majakovskij began to be introduced forcibly, like potatoes

---

<sup>418</sup> “В работе Якобсона поставлена цель – выявить ‘постоянные компоненты, или константы’ пушкинской символики, т.е. семантические ‘инварианты’, характерные для поэтики одного автора или определенной группы его произведений в той же степени, в какой определенные стиховые константы характеризуют ‘в целом стих данного стихотворного произведения или вообще данного поэта.’”

<sup>419</sup> “Není sedm let, co Majakovskij spáchal sebevraždu, a již živá tvář básníkov je stále náročněji a dotěrněji proměňovánav kanonickou ikonu”.

<sup>420</sup> Pasternak wrote the “avtobiografičeskij očerk” (autobiographical essay) in the spring of 1956, intending it as a preface to a collection of poems planned for publishing in Goslitizdat. Then, he re-edited the essay. I refer to the re-edited version published in *Novy mir* in 1967, seven years after Pasternak’s death.

under Catherine the Great. That was his second death. He is not guilty of it.”<sup>421</sup> (Pasternak 1967, 231)

Returning to the article published in *Slovo a slovesnost*, while proceeding to analyse poetic work, Jakobson stated that the researcher must renounce vulgar (auto)biographism. As we have already seen for example in my discussion of Melniková-Papoušková’s monograph about Blok (§ 2.5.1), Jakobson emphasised many times the pivotality of such a rejection. Instead, the most productive perspective of analysis for Jakobson was the linguistic one, the importance of which he had theorised already in *Novejšaja ruskaja poezija*. After discussing methodology, Jakobson delved into a proper analysis of Puškin’s writings. The dominant element he described was that of the statue, which he analysed as a semiotic symbol through the concepts of *sign* and *signatum* (*signifier* and *signified*). Jakobson traced this theoretical proposition through the various stages of analysis described above, in order to demonstrate the importance of this methodology, and of its inheritance in other poets: the statue moved from being a dominant element of Puškinian poetry to become a *topos* of Russian literature.

As part of the editorial project he had led with Bem (see § 2.4), Jakobson published three writings dedicated to Puškin. These writings were not published in the press, but they cannot be classified as scientific ones. They are rather aimed at raising awareness of Puškin’s oeuvre among a public that was not aware of the poet’s work. Although Puškin was in the focus, as we have seen, of literary criticism in both the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, Jakobson’s texts do not present explicit references to other critics or scholars. Even when he does offer critique, he did so without directly mentioning the object of this criticism. There are a few exceptions, such as Vissarion Belinskij, Nikolaj Bogoslovskij and Dmitrij Svjatopolk-Mirskij. This is the first difference from the article published in *Slovo a slovesnost* that I analysed above. Jakobson intended to amplify the discourse on Puškin through analysis of questions that were marginal in the evolution of the Puškinian studies at the time, such as lyrical poetry and the presence of folklore.

“Na okraj lyrickýx básní Puškinových” (1936) was published as an afterword to the first volume of the collections of writings edited by Jakobson and Bem. This volume was a selection of Puškin’s lyrical poems, which were less known than his other writings, due in part

---

<sup>421</sup> “Маяковского стали вводить принудительно, как картофель при Екатерине. Это было его второй смертью. В ней он неповинен.” The similitude with the potatoes during the empire of Catherine the Great refers to an historical anecdote. In the 1760s Catherine started massively promoting the cultivation of potatoes in the empire.

to lack of interest from the critics. The purpose of this postface is twofold. In the preface “Puškin a jeho místo v literatuře” [“Puškin and His Place in Literature”], Bem described Puškin’s biography and work chronologically, introducing the Russian poet to the Czech readership. Jakobson’s postface was in the first place an introduction to Puškin’s lyrical poetry and, in the second place, a critique of the tendency to consider it less valuable than the rest of the poet’s writings. The reasons behind this tendency were, according to Jakobson, twofold: Puškin’s lyrical work was less innovative than his other poetry and had a minor impact of the evolution of Russian poetry. Jakobson emphasised its remarkable importance. Puškin’s lyric poetry was important to an understanding of the origins of Puškinian poetics and early models. Being the first genre employed by the poet, he used the lyric form to experiment with tradition and new poetic paths. Jakobson’s dynamic dialectic between tradition and innovation clearly emerged in this brief essay, in which Puškin’s lyrical production was read as a poetic space shared by the poet’s Classicist heritage and the overcoming of the Classical norms through a provocative tendency towards Romanticism:

A confrontation of the two poetic words, such as that to which we are inviting the reader, was in fact the creative premise of Puškin’s lyric poetry: it is Classicism enlightened with Romanticism. The Classicism of a poet who remains faithful to its tradition but at the same time knows, understands, appreciates, and experiences the conquests of Romanticism. (Jakobson 1979, 283)

Puškin also developed this formal ambiguity thematically. Concerning this question, Jakobson critiqued Mirskij’s 1934 article “Problema Puškina” [“Problem Puškin”], in which Mirskij criticised the ambiguity of Puškin’s lyrical production as confusing, a critique echoed also by other critics who identified an ideological inconsistency in Puškin’s writings. According to Jakobson this “vagueness” had to be considered not as a flaw but, rather, as a pivotal trait which corresponded to the complex polysemy of his writings, then not a mere ideological weakness but a multiplicity of meanings. Jakobson’s critique was thus an attempt to re-evaluate Puškin’s lyrical writing through transferring it to another cultural context. The occasion for such a reflection thus turned out not to be scholarly work, but an editorial project. In the conclusions to his essay, Jakobson addressed to the question concerning Puškinian myth within the context of the immortality of the poet, a topic which he also discussed one year later in “Socha v symbolice Puškinově”.

The second text by Jakobson published within the context of the editorial project is “Na okraj *Eugena Onegina*” (1937). Jakobson analysed the best known of Puškin’s poems, written “under the sign of impetuous rebellion” (Jakobson 1979, 291). As was the case before, there are remarkably few references here. Jakobson referred to other studies but without naming the scholars he quoted: for example, we have references to a “contemporaneous reviewer”. Jakobson referred to other writers. First, he mentioned Dostoevskij, who is not a recurring figure in Jakobson’s writings. He barely ever discussed with prose during the interwar period, with the sole exception of Pasternak, but, as I will show in the following section (§ 3.1.2), Jakobson’s analysis was dedicated specifically to poetic prose. Second, he referred to Hercen who, unlike Dostoevskij, recurs throughout Jakobson’s writing and is here identified as “wise”. There are two elements in “Na okraj Eugena Onegina” that connects this writing with “Na okraj lyrických básní Puškinových”. In first place, Jakobson emphasises the ambiguous character of *Onegin*, a poem in which the fixed order of values is cancelled and different genres are profoundly mixed. This ambiguity, which Jakobson recognises as the main trait of Puškin’s production, was identified also in the polysemantic elasticity of his style. As Jakobson stated in “Na okraj lyrických básní Puškinových”, the poet was “well aware of the advantages of this linguistic multistratification” of the Russian language (1979, 284). This ambiguity was also linguistic: “Puškin’s linguistic devices produced the impression of words that were accidental, natural, casual.” (1979, 289) The other element which binds these two writing is Jakobson’s legitimation of Puškin’s poem as being among the most representative writings of Romanticism while depicting his conflictual structure and the dominance of irony. This shows clearly that Jakobson constructed a comprehensive discourse. References to the influence of the lyric on the epic form were also frequent in Jakobson’s previous writings, but here they find an explicit justification. It is of notice that this writing was not addressed to specialists, but to ordinary readers. Jakobson also discussed the genesis of the epic poem. He briefly portrayed the moments when Puškin started writing the poem, quoting some letters he sent his friend Petr Vjazemskij, edited by Bogoslovskij in 1934.

The third and last writing, “K Puškinovým ohlasům lidové poesie” (1938), was published as the postface to the fourth volume of the Puškinian *Spisy*. As Bogatyrev stated in his article “Byly slovenské písně pramenem Puškinovým?” [“Was Puškin Inspired by Slovak Popular Songs?”] (1937), the question of Puškin’s sources was a challenging one, especially insofar as folklore was concerned (1937, 53). Jakobson stated that there was “abundant evidence of [Puškin’s] intimate familiarity with all the diverse forms of folk poetry” (1979, 295). In his

writing, he tried to synthesise the importance of folklore in the poet's oeuvre. He began his argument by stating that Puškin largely shared in the Romantic opposition between the monotony of official literature and the freshness of folklore. After briefly describing the importance of Russian verbal art and its evolution, Jakobson showed that the impact folklore had had on Puškin, as it manifested in explicit imitation of folkloric material through the technique of the collage. This analysis of the relation between folklore and literature echoed Jakobson and Bogatyrev's article "Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens" (which I will analyse in § 3.2). As in the other two writings analysed thus far, beside the dichotomic reference to Romanticism and Classicism, there is a lack of direct references to any other scholars.

### *Closing remarks*

Concluding this section about Puškin, Jakobson intensively dealt with the poet, analysing his body of work from different perspectives and with a twofold aim. First, he intended to spread Puškin's writings in another cultural context by publishing non-academic essays. Second, he intended to participate in the international debate about the poet. Concerning the methodology, the interest for the poetic devices is prominent, but we can perceive a major interest for the thematic structure at the expense of the linguistic one, in contrast with his early study on Chlebnikov.

### **3.1.2 The contours of "Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak"**

In this section I aim to analyse Jakobson's "Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak". I do not intend to reflect on the concepts of metaphor or metonymy, a question already extensively analysed.<sup>422</sup> First, I will present the original Russian version I found in the *Slavische Rundschau*'s collection, discussing the contents and the Formalist influence. Then, I will contextualise the writing within the Czech context providing an overview of the reception of the poet's writings in interwar Czechoslovakia.

Besides Chlebnikov and Puškin, Jakobson wrote numerous writings about Majakovskij. As far as Majakovskij is concerned, I believe that my considerations elaborated while analysing

---

<sup>422</sup> See Le Guern (1973), Bredin (1984), Hugh (1984), Helle (2008), Sériot (2018). For a long list of bibliography Bohn (1984).

Jakobson's relationship with Melniková-Papoušková (§ 2.5.1) are enough within the purposes of this dissertation. On the other hand, some words should be spent about the writing on Pasternak, published in *Slavische Rundschau* "Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak" ["Marginal Notes to the Prose of the Poet Pasternak"] (Jakobson 1979, 416-432).<sup>423</sup> Pasternak and Majakovskij represents somehow a dichotomy in the literary Russian context. In his autobiographical sketch *Ochrannaja gramota* [*The Safe Conduct*] (1931) Pasternak devoted many pages to Majakovskij and while discussing their poetic relationship he stated that "there is no love without scars and sacrifices".<sup>424</sup>

### *Jakobson and Pasternak*

Jakobson did not write much about Pasternak, "Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak" is his only essay devoted entirely to this poet. Although he was much closer (both professionally and personally) to futurists such as Chlebnikov and Majakovskij, he also recognised the value of the work of other poets such as Pasternak, Sergej Esenin or Osip Mandel'stam, the other two great absentees from Jakobson's writings. In his essay "Notes préliminaires sur les voies de la poésie russe" (written in 1964, published in 1965) Jakobson, also referring to Pasternak, wrote that: "[dans] cette époque il y a presque pas d'année sans que naisse au moins un grand poète original. Dans la poésie russe du premier tiers de notre siècle, malgré son étonnante nouveauté, renaissent pas mal de particularités caractéristiques de l'époque puškinienne" (Jakobson 1979, 232). Pasternak plays a minor part in some of Jakobson's essays, but he is mostly quoted or taken as an example, as in "Ob odnosložnych slovach v russkom stiche" ["About Monosyllables in the Russian Verse"] (1970; Jakobson 1979, 201-2014) in which Jakobson commented on the use of anapaests in Pasternakian poetry, or in "K lingvističeskomu analizu russkoj rifmi" ["For a Linguistic Analysis of the Russian Rhythm"] (1962; Jakobson 1979, 170-177), where he compared Pasternak's and Lermantov's tendency to rhyme "ch" and "k". The folder "Pasternak and Esenin. Notes for a study", kept in RJP, <sup>425</sup> reveals Jakobson's desire to write a monograph on Pasternak and Esenin. The folder contains Jakobson's transcription of Esenin's *Ja sprosil segodnja u menjaly* [*Asked the Money Changer Today*, from the collection *Persidskie motivy, Persian Motifs*] with Pasternak's *Ne trogat'* [*Do Not Touch!*] and an extract from *Vse naklonen'ja i zalogi* [*All Adjectives and*

---

<sup>423</sup> I will refer to it as "Randbemerkungen". In the § **Appendix** I have included the transcription.

<sup>424</sup> "Но любви без рубцов и жертв не бывает." (Pasternak 1970, 81)

<sup>425</sup> RJP, Box 35, Folder 10.

*Pledges*, vv. 1-4 and vv. 31-35]. There is no evidence of further developments of this project, which remained just a mere draft.<sup>426</sup>

*“Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak”*: philological remarks

To date, scholars have identified the German version published in *Slavische Rundschau* as the original. The discovery of the Russian typescript in *Slavische Rundschau*'s collection kept at LA PNP proves that this document is, instead, the original. It bears the German title (Jakobson did not provide Russian versions) and presents Jakobson's corrections or additions in pencil and suggestions in black pen about how to translate certain scientific terms into German, such as *bezpriznakovyj* as *merkmallos* (“unmarked”). Two versions derive from this original, the German and the Czech. In the German version published in 1935 in *Slavische Rundschau* the translator respected the typescript's paragraph divisions and the terminological suggestions provided by Jakobson. Furthermore, there are no significant alterations, and it is a faithful translation from the original, even if, being a translation, Jakobson's style is evidently altered. The only relevant difference which can be detached is in the last sentence. The Russian typescript sounds: “the fact that this ‘grammatical reform’ significantly alters the actual function of poetry in the circle of other social values, is a question for another time”,<sup>427</sup> while the German does not provide the last part: “The fact that this ‘grammatical reform’ significantly alters the actual function of poetry in the circle of other social values”.<sup>428</sup> In the Russian version, Jakobson indirectly conveys the need to further discuss how the Pasternakian “grammatical reform” affects the “poetic function”, whereas in the German version this consideration becomes an assumption. In the Czech version Jakobson instead confirms this assumption by concluding with a rhetorical question: “is it necessary to add that this grammatical reform fundamentally changes the actual function of poetry in the circle of other social values?”<sup>429</sup> It would therefore seem that he no longer had any doubt about the influence the “grammatical reform” exerts on the poetic function.

The Czech version, titled *Kontury Glejt* [*The Contours of the Safe Conduct*] needs some further considerations. It appeared in 1935 as an afterward to *Glejt*, the Czech edition of Boris

---

<sup>426</sup> RJP, Box 35, Folder 10.

<sup>427</sup> “Что эта ‘грамматическая реформа’ существенно меняет самую функцию поэзии в кругу прочих социальных ценностей, об этом в другой раз.”

<sup>428</sup> “Diese ‘grammatische Reform’ ändert grundsätzlich selbst die Funktion der Dichtung im Kreise der übrigen sozialen Werte.”

<sup>429</sup> “Je zapotřebí dodávat, že tato gramatická reforma podstatně mění samotnou funkci poezie v okruhu jiných sociálních hodnot?”

Pasternak's *Ochrannaja gramota*, translated by Svatava Pírková, Jakobson's second wife, and edited by the publishing house S.V.U. Mánes. The translator is unknown, although one can assume an intervention by Jakobson himself or by Pírková. Compared to the Russian original and the German version, it is shorter presenting different omissions, because Jakobson adapted the essay to a different editorial context. In fact, the target no longer corresponded to a specialised audience familiar with Pasternak or the context of contemporary Russian poetry, but rather the ordinary Czech reader. Jakobson therefore made editorial choices, eliminating parts that were not immediately comprehensible and would have required further explanation. For example, references to Chlebnikov or Majakovskij are reduced, other protagonists of the Russian literary scene contemporary or related to Pasternak (such as Andrej Belyj) are not mentioned, unless necessary. Furthermore, it is symptomatic that the passage in which Jakobson refers to Brentano's distinction between psychic and physical phenomena is omitted: a philosophical explanation to the title of the collection *Sestra moja žizn'* [*My Sister, Life*] was not useful to a non-specialist reader. Jakobson also eliminated all long quotations, leaving only short passages that refer to *Ochrannaja gramota*. Examples from Pasternak's other works and any references to them are omitted, such as comparisons between *Ochrannaja gramota* and *Detstvo Ljuversa*. The Czech text was then reduced to its essentials, losing its argumentative character, and assuming, rather, an illustrative function that favoured the interpretation of the writing even by an audience unacquainted with Pasternak.

Concerning the content of the essay, in the beginning Jakobson denied the classical formal distinction between poetry and prose, instead distinguishing between the "prose of a poet" and the "prose of a prose writer". Among the protagonists of the new Russian prose, Jakobson named the poets Majakovskij and Pasternak, associating them with Puškin and Lermantov. Emphasising Pasternak's impossibility to comprehend Chlebnikov's poetry, Jakobson identified fundamental points of intersection in his relationship with Majakovskij. Then, he deployed a linguistic metaphor, describing the lyrical worlds of Pasternak and Majakovskij as two languages which share a common origin, Symbolism. According to Jakobson, in both poets the clash with the poetic tradition took place in a dialectic of rejection and conservation. Majakovskij rejected this legacy and maintains an attitude of dominance over Symbolist poetics by means of one of Jakobson's key concepts: the metaphor, taking its use to the extreme. On the other hand, although Pasternak declared his allegiance to Symbolism by identifying its originary role in his inclination towards music, an inclination which occurs since childhood, he breaks from Symbolism and developed his own form of the verse, characterised

by the predilection for metonymy. Jakobson described Pasternak's lyrical world in terms of metonymy with an autonomous life. Although there is no shortage of sophisticated metaphors in Pasternak's work, the autonomy of metonymy is a structural element of his poetry and, consequently, of his prose: the poetic self is determined metonymically, sensations are filtered through the surrounding environment and an anthropomorphisation of the inanimate world takes place. In other words, the poetic self disappears and emerges only as a metonymic emanation of the space in which it acts: the action predominates over the agent. Having established Pasternak's dominant, the second part of the essay is an analysis of the structural function of metonymy in the poet's prose, evidenced through excerpts from *Ochrannaja gramota* and *Detstvo Ljuversa*. Metonymy in Pasternak is a "creative metonymy", in that it does not merely represent objects, but also disrupts the links that usually exist between them. The use of metonymy combined with synecdoche produces a poetry structure that Jakobson identified as *kubističeskij*, "Cubist", in which proportions and distances between objects change:

Both these distinguish features, the interpenetration of objects (realisation of the metonymy in the proper sense of the term) and their decomposition (realisation of the synecdoche), relate Pasternak's work to the aspirations of Cubist painting.<sup>430</sup>

In associating Pasternakian prose with Cubist painting, Jakobson took a further step in bringing the poet closer to Majakovskij, whose poetic world is originally derived from the pictorial one. But, on the other hand, he also put a significant distance between Pasternak and Futurism. In his early essay "Futurizm" ["Futurism"] published in 1919 (Jakobson 1981, 717-722), Jakobson reflected on the relationships between Futurism and Cubism: "Cubism and Futurism widely use the device of impeded perception, which corresponds in poetry to the step-ladder construction discovered by contemporary theoreticians" (Jakobson 1987, 32). He also emphasised how Futurism evolved from Cubism, the first artistic movement which break with the pictorial tradition of Realism, concentrating on volumes and on the primitive shape of an object. Futurism embraced this legacy and went further, including the kinetic force as an essential principle to perceive and reproduce reality in art. In brief, while recognising Pasternak as an heir of Cubism, Jakobson also elected him as poet related to Futurism. It becomes clear

---

<sup>430</sup> "Обе эти характерных черты – взаимопроникание предметов (реализация метонимии в собственном смысле термина) и их разложение (реализация синекдохи) роднят творчество Пастернака с устремлениями кубистической живописи."

that Jakobson was determined to reconcile Pasternak with Majakovskij and, more generally, with the Futurists, with whom Pasternak shared the same pathos towards the future, gathering it in the fleeting perceptibility of the present. In the conclusions of the “Randbemerkungen”, Jakobson criticised two approaches to the interpretation of poetry: mechanicism and psychologism. He denied again the identification of reality with its poetic projection because they are both interpenetrating and distinct systems, and the possibility of interpreting a poet’s work according to his biography.

### *The reception of Jakobson’s “Randbemerkungen”*

Jakobson’s “Randbemerkungen” had a considerable echo in the further research dedicated to Pasternak. As the scholar Justin Weir argued, “one is hardly surprised to find that other scholars have taken up the analysis of metaphoric and metonymic poles in Pasternak’s prose. Most notable in this regard is Henrik Birnbaum” (Weir 2002, 42).<sup>431</sup> Other scholars influenced by Jakobson’s consideration of Pasternak’s metonymy include Krystyna Pomorska, and her *Themes and Variations in Pasternak’s Poetics* is of particular relevance here.<sup>432</sup> Besides Birnbaum and Pomorska, the French scholar Michel Aucouturier should be also considered. Described by Depretto as the “éminent spécialiste de l’œuvre de Boris Pasternak” (Depretto 2018, 143), in 1970 he published the article “The Metonymous Hero or the Beginnings of Pasternak the Novelist” (Aucouturier 1970) in which he analysed the structural characteristics of Pasternak’s early short prose. Aucouturier referred to Jakobsonian terminology established in the essay of 1935: the prominence of metonymy over metaphor and the distinction of metaphor into two types, i.e., “metaphor by contiguity” and “metaphor by analogy”. Depretto notes that Aucouturier met Jakobson in Prague (Depretto 2018, 143), and a letter kept in RJP’s shows that Jakobson had to decline Aucouturier’s invitation to take part in a Pasternak Symposium organised in Cerisy-la-Salle in 1975, at which Aucouturier proposed a political interpretation of *Ochrannaja gramota*.<sup>433</sup>

### *Pasternak in Czechoslovakia: Josef Hora and Vítězslav Nezval*

Pasternak appeared for the first time in the Czech language when some of his poems were published in 1932 in the collection *Nová ruská poesie* [*New Russian Poetry*], translated

---

<sup>431</sup> Weir quotes Birnbaum (1980) and (1989).

<sup>432</sup> See Pomorska (1975)

<sup>433</sup> This article “Ob odnom ključe k *Ochrannoju gramote*” (“A key for *Ochrannaja gramota*”) was published in the conference’s proceedings Aucouturier (1979).

by Bohumil Mathesius with Maria Marčanová's collaboration.<sup>434</sup> Pasternak gained his first proper audience in Czechoslovakia through *Lyrika*, a selection of Pasternak's poems translated by Josef Hora and published by Melantrich in 1935 with an afterword by the Ukrainian scholar Alfred Bem. This selection is divided into four sections. In the first one, Hora collected some of the poems that Pasternak published in the years 1912-1916, such as *Noč'* [*The Night*] and *Fevral'* [*February*]. Then, Hora translated *Sestra – moja žizn', Temy i varianty* [*Themes and Variations*] and *Drugoe roždenie* [*Second Birth*]. In 1935, Hora published some of the translations collected in *Lyrika* in periodicals, such as the poems *Vesna* [*Spring*] and *Zerkalo* [*Mirror*] in *Listy pro umění a kritiku*, *Pamjati Demona* [*Memories of a Demon*] in *Rozhledy*, or *Ne trogat'!* [*Do Not Touch!*] in *České slovo*. In Hora's archive at LA PNP, there is an undated transcription of a lecture in which he reflected on Pasternak's lack of audience in Czechoslovakia:

Without Boris Pasternak, our picture of the post-revolutionary Russian poetry is incomplete. If we know the revolutionary lyricism of the tragic symbolist Aleksandr Blok and his epic *The Twelve*, enclosed by the vision of Christ walking at the head of the revolutionary hosts, if we know the imaginalist Sergej Esenin with his lusty longing for the past paradises of the rural myth if we know Vladimir Majakovskij and the thundering steps of his *150 000 000*, intoxicated with the idea of their own revolutionary courage, it is high time, indeed, to get acquainted with Boris Pasternak. One question arises: why Pasternak has remained unknown not only to us but also to Europe? We could understand the difficulty, not the fact that he has remained almost unknown at home for so long.<sup>435</sup>

Hora, who was well acquainted with Russian literature of which he was an active translator, attempted to explain the peculiarities of Pasternak's poetry, his stance towards the Revolution and, thus, his role in the post-revolutionary Russian poetic context. Hora noted that Pasternak mischaracterised the Revolution in his poems: “revoluce se v něm obráží jen v záblesku

---

<sup>434</sup> At the end of the introduction Bohumil Mathesius thanks Jakobson for his advice.

<sup>435</sup> LA PNP; Hora Josef (556), Box 27: “Bez Borise Pasternaka je náš obraz porevoluční ruské poezie neúplný. Známe-li z revoluční lyriky tragického symbolista Alexandra Bloka a jeho epejeji *Dvanáct*, uzavřenou vidinou Krista, kráječícího v čele revolučních zástupů, známe-li imážinistu Sergeje Jesenina s jeho churavým steskem po minulých rájích venkovského mythu, známe-li Vladimíra Majakovského a dunivé kroky jeho *Stopadesáti milionů*, opojených představu vlastní revoluční odvahy, máme věru nejvyšší čas, seznámiti se s Borisem Pasternakem. Neskýtá se otázka, proč zůstal Pasternak dosud neznám nejen nám, nýbrž i Evropě. To pochopíme těžce, ne fakt, že tak dlouho zůstal téměř neznám doma.”

němého nebe”<sup>436</sup> and contrasted him with Majakovskij, emphasising two characteristics that made these poets profoundly different. There is a psychological dimension in Pasternak’s poetry that is realised in the individualism that Majakovskij strongly criticises. Hora believed that Pasternak’s distance from Majakovskij was furthered due to Pasternak’s aristocratic origins: he grew up nourished by Skrjabin’s music, Rilke’s poetry, and late nineteenth-century German philosophy. In his speech, Hora identified Pasternak as one of the heirs of Valerij Brjusov and Andrej Belyj’s Symbolist legacy and attempted to associate Pasternakian and Puškinian poetry. While translating Pasternak, in the same years Hora was busy translating *Onegin*. This translation was published in 1936 within the context of the editorial project led by Jakobson and Bem.

Majakovskij and Pasternak’s writings assumed significant roles in interwar Prague when cultural relations between Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union became stronger. Besides Russians who emigrated to Prague, many others such as Il’ja Erenburg or Vsevolod Mejerchol’d used to visit the capital. Jakobson assumed a pivotal role in disseminating contemporary Russian poetry in Czechoslovakia. Angelo Maria Ripellino, in his writing *Storia della poesia ceca contemporanea [A History of Contemporary Czech Poetry]*, quoted a letter received by Jakobson on 6<sup>th</sup> of January 1948: “I brought to Czechoslovakia the first information about Chlebnikov and Majakovskij. Even their names were completely unknown in Prague before I came.” (Ripellino 2022, 53-54) Some passages of Jaroslav Seifert’s *Všecky krásy světa [All the Beauties of the World]* are illustrative here. For example, in the chapter “Ruské blyny” [“Russian blyny”], Seifert discussed Majakovskij, Chlebnikov and Pasternak, relating Pasternak to Puškin:

And so there sat with us the infamously noisy Majakovskij and the mysterious and strange Chlebnikov, whom Jakobson was particularly keen on and wrote a book about. [...] Jakobson quoted their poems. And so, the drumbeats echoed over the marble table as he recited the revolutionary verses of Majakovskij. And even before the books of the Soviet poets were brought from Moscow, we got to know Esenin there, the poems that are for a while as bitter as the black bread of the revolution, and the poems of Pasternak, many

---

<sup>436</sup> Ibidem: “the revolution is only a glimpse of the silent sky”.

of which are even more beautiful than the poems of Puškin.<sup>437</sup> (Seifert 1993, 358-165)

Another poet of the avant-garde who testified to an acquaintance with Pasternak was Vítězslav Nezval. As the scholar Igor' Inov noted, Nezval knew Pasternak and his work (Inov 2003). In 1936, he published a review of *Glejt*, in which he assessed it as the only way for the Czech reader to experience Pasternak's poetry while describing Hora's translations collected in *Lyrika* as "unreadable" and "inauthentic":

Pasternak's poetry is undirected. It approaches us precisely in *Glejt*, where it is no longer influenced by formal aspects, which play a rather large role in Pasternak's verses (in Hora's poor translation, Pasternak's verses are unreadable and inauthentic). *Glejt* is great in that it is an immediate record of Pasternak's sensibility, that it is free of all issues, that it directly expresses the poet's subjectivity, regardless of moral and aesthetic aspects.<sup>438</sup> (Nezval 1974, 527)

In *Neviditelná Moskva* [*Invisible Moscow*] (1935), Nezval recalled his travel to Moscow and his encounters with Pasternak, who confided in Nezval his desire to write prose to elaborate his painful personal experiences: "Pasternak hint at a smile and said to me: '[...] I want to write a book in prose, it would be bad for me, quite simple, realistic'"<sup>439</sup> (Nezval 1958, 69). Nezval praised the quality of Pasternak's early prose in terms of its expression of subjectivity. In the afterword of *Lyrika* Bem had a completely different opinion, denying the presence of a lyrical nuance in Pasternak's autobiographical writing, arguing that "the lyrical element of his work reaches its full expression only in pure poetry"<sup>440</sup> (Bem 1935, 104). The reason for Nezval's negative assessment of Hora's excellent translation, probably stemmed from personal reasons. In a letter dated the 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1934, Pasternak answered Hora's request to publish some

---

<sup>437</sup> "A tak tam s námi seděl neslavnostně hlučný Majakovský a tajemný a podivuhodný Chlebnikov, kterého měl Jakobson obzvláště rád a napsal o něm knihu. [...] Jakobson nám citoval z básníku. A tak se nad mramorovým stolkem ozývaly rány na buben, když recitoval revoluční verše Majakovského. A ještě dříve, než byly přivezeny z Moskvy knihy sovětských básníků, poznali jsme tam i Jesenina, básně, které jsou chvíli hořké jako okoralý černý chléb revoluce, i básně Pasternakovy, z nichž mnohé jsou ještě krásnější než verše Puškinovy."

<sup>438</sup> "Pasternakova poezie je nedirigovaná. Je nám nejbližší právě v Glejtu, kde není ovlivňována už ani formálními zřeteli, hrajícími v Pasternakových verších (v Horově toporném překladu jsou Pasternakovy verše nečitelné a neautentické) ještě dosti velkou rolí. Glejt je veliký tím, že je bezprostředním záznamem Pasternakovy senzibility, že je prost vší problematiky, že vyjadřuje bezprostředně básníkovou subjektivitu bez ohledu na morální a estetické zřetele."

<sup>439</sup> "Pasternak se poněkud usmál a říkal mně: '[...] chci psát knihu v próze, jak to bylo pro mne zlé, docela jednoduchou, realistickou.'"

<sup>440</sup> "Lirický živel jeho tvorby dochází svého plného výrazu jen v čisté lyrice."

translations of his verses into Czech (for the publishing house Melantrich). After apologising for the delay due to illness, Pasternak wrote:

I thank you very much for the translation of my poems and would authorise your work with great pleasure, if it did not coincide with a similar suggestion of the poet Nezval, which may have already been implemented. In autumn, the publishing house “Mánes” telegraphed me and asked me for the right to exclusively publish my works in Czechoslovakia. [...] They intended to publish my book of prose titled *Ochrannaja gramota* and a collection of poems translated by Nezval.<sup>441</sup>

Pasternak then stated that he had not given any formal authorisation, but that he felt a moral duty towards Nezval, Jakobson, and the publishing house Mánes. Evidence of this project led by Nezval and Jakobson can be found in a paragraph in *Rudé právo* published unsigned on 14<sup>th</sup> of November 1934:

As we have already announced, the publishing house “Mánes” intends to publish some of Pasternak’s works in Czech. We now learn that Pasternak’s *Ochrannaja gramota*, to be titled *Glejt* in Czech, and a collection of his poetry, arranged and translated by Vítězslav Nezval and Roman Jakobson, are to be published.<sup>442</sup>

When *Ochrannaja gramota* appeared, described by *Rudé právo* in another article published unsigned on 20<sup>th</sup> of December, as an example of “the undisputed glory [*glejt!*] of Soviet poetry in the world poetry”,<sup>443</sup> the collection that Nezval intended to publish was not ready yet<sup>444</sup> and Hora published his translation first. Pasternak wrote another letter on 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1935 to thank Hora for the translation and stating that, even if he could not understand the language,<sup>445</sup> he could perceive that the original characteristics of the Russian had been

---

<sup>441</sup> LA PNP, Josef Hora, Vox 10: “Очень благодарю Вас за перевод моих стихотворений и с большой охотой авторизовал бы Вашу работу, если бы разовъём отарном она не совпадала с подобным же предположеньем поэта Незвала, быть может уже приведенным в исполнение. Прошло осенью издательство «Mánes» телеграфию и спросило у меня право исключительного издания моих произведений в Чехословакии. [...] Они предполагали выпустить мою книгу прозы под наев *Охранная грамота* и сборник стихов в переводе Незвала.”

<sup>442</sup> “Jak jsme již oznámili, hodlá nakladatelství ‘Mánes’ vydat v češtině některá díla Pasternakova. Nyní se dovídáme, že má vyjít Pasternakova Ochrannaja gramota, která se česky bude jmenovat Glejt, a výbor y jeho poesie, který uspořádají a přeloží Vítězslav Nezval a Roman Jakobson.”

<sup>443</sup> “Nesporný glejt sovětského básnictví do světové poesie”.

<sup>444</sup> There is no evidence of such a project in the archives.

<sup>445</sup> LA PNP, Josef Hora, Vox 10: “Дорогой мой друг, как мне Вам благодарить? Хотя я не знаю по чешский, но даже если бы языки и не были так близки друг другу, все равно волшебная сила этих оттисков

preserved in Czech, a language which reminded him of Rainer Maria Rilke. Pasternak wrote that Hora's Czech translation of his poems was nothing short of a miracle for him: "After many, many years you have made me experience for the first time as twenty years ago the exhilarating wonder of poetic realisation."<sup>446</sup> In the same letter, Pasternak apologised for the incomprehensibility of his writing and, in the event of misunderstandings, advised Hora to turn to Jakobson, recalling that he met him in Moscow when the scholar was still in Russia. The same year, Pasternak also wrote to Jakobson in response to the *Randbemerkungen* when it was published in *Slavische Rundschau*<sup>447</sup> and in the *Dialogues* with Pomorska, Jakobson recalled this letter: "he answered a long autobiographical letter in which he used that meaningful and extremely metonymic term 'displaced'" (Jakobson – Pomorska 1983, 143).

When Jakobson wrote his essay, Hora had not yet published his translation of *Sestra – moja žizn'*. Referring to Brentano's phenomenology of abstract concepts, Jakobson described the complexity of translating the poem's title: "*My Sister. The Life*, this untranslatable title and leitmotif of Pasternak's most striking book of poetry ('life' is feminine in Russian), vividly exposes the linguistic roots of this mythology."<sup>448</sup> Jakobson underlined this problem as he was aware of the difference in Czech ("life" is the masculine *Život*) or in German (it is the neuter, *das Leben*). In the essay published in *Slavische Rundschau*, the title is translated *Meine Schwester – Das Leben*. This dilemma related to the genre of "life" concerned different Czech translators, who opted for different solutions. Hora decided not to consider the morphological continuity between *sestra* (sister) and *žizn'* (life), while in 1994, Zdenka Bergrová<sup>449</sup> retranslated the poem, adapting the corresponding terms to Czech morphology. In Bergrová's translation, *sestra* becomes *bratr* (brother). Subsequently, Hora's translations "Sestra má – život" (Pasternak 1935, 23) in Bergrová's version corresponds to "Život, můj bratr" (Pasternak 1994, 23). Pasternak's fortune in Czechoslovakia continued after the WWII. In 1947 Hora republished the poems of *Lyrika* (or the publishing house Fr. Borový) in the volume *Jesenin a*

---

должна была бы дойти до меня какими-то другими путями, минуть мне непониманье." ["My dear friend, how can I thank you? Even though I do not know Czech language, even if the languages were not so close to each other, the magic power of these prints would have to reach me in some other way, to pass my incomprehension."]

<sup>446</sup> "После многих, многих лет Вы впервые как двадцать лет тому назад заставили меня пережить волнующее чудо поэтического воплощения." (Ibidem)

<sup>447</sup> I have looked everywhere to find this letter, but it does not seem to be extant (either in archives kept at LA PNP in Prague nor in RJP). Jakobson's letter to Pasternak could be maybe found in Pasternak's archive but due to the current political situation they were inaccessible.

<sup>448</sup> "Сестра моя — жизнь, собственно непереводимое заглавие и лейтмотив самой ударной из стихотворных книг Пастернака / 'жизнь' в русском языке женского рода), наглядно изобличает языковые корни этой мифологии."

<sup>449</sup> Zdenka Bergrová (1923-2008) was a Czech poet and translator. The number of translations from Russian she realised is relevant, among the authors there are Esenin, Gorkij, and Puškin.

*Pasternak [Esenin and Pasternak]*, a collection of selected poems by the two poets. In the same year, Bohumil Mathesius translated *Devjatisot pjatyj god [The Year 1905]*, while in 1959 Jiří Kovtun translated the poems published by Pasternak in the postface of *Doktor Živago*, and in 1969 Taťjana Hašková translated *Destvo Ljuversa [Ljuvers's Childhood]*. Another essential volume in this reception is the correspondence between Pasternak, Marina Cvetaeva and Rilke, published in 1986 with the collaboration of the Czech poet Vladimír Holan. Jan Zábřana's Czech translation of *Doktor Živago* appeared only in 1990.<sup>450</sup> In 1965, Jiří Taufer<sup>451</sup> retranslated and published *Ochrannaja gramota* for the state publishing house KLU (Státním nakladatelství krásné literatury a umění). In his unflinching afterword, Taufer did not mention Pírková's translation or Jakobson's essay and the annotations that Taufer decided to include also differ from Jakobson's ones.<sup>452</sup>

### *Conclusions: "Randbemerkungen" and Formalism*

Concluding this analysis, I intend to reflect on the relation between Jakobson's article and Formalism. Differently from Jakobson's writings about Puškin, in the case of Pasternak it is possible to notice the persistence of the formalist method. For example, Tynjanov's influence is strong. When Jakobson's essay appeared, Pasternak was already a matter of study by the Russian formalists, who, during the 1920s, were interested in him as a writer of contemporary poetry. In the article "Boris Pasternak et la philologie russe des années 1910-1920", Catherine Depretto traced some of Pasternak's relations with the MLK and the OPOJAZ emphasising that if Majakovskij's participation in the avant-garde and the circles is evident,<sup>453</sup> in Pasternak's case, some problems arise due to Pasternak's ambivalence towards Formalists (Depretto 2005). Jakobson confirmed the importance of Pasternak for Formalists in the preface of *Théorie de la littérature: textes des formalistes russes*, edited by Tvezan Todorov in 1966:

C'est précisément la rencontre des analystes de l'art poétique et de ses maîtres qui met à l'épreuve la recherche et l'enrichit, et ce n'est pas par hasard que le

---

<sup>450</sup> See Glanc (2020) for an overview of Zábřana's translation of *Doktor Živago* and its complex editorial history.

<sup>451</sup> Jiří Taufer (1911-1986) was a Czech poet, journalist, and translator. He was politically engaged. Among the poets he translated from Russian there are Majakovskij and Chlebnikov.

<sup>452</sup> It would be necessary to compare the two translations more in-depth, reflecting more broadly on Pasternak's reception in Czechoslovakia during the twentieth century. Unfortunately, this is not the occasion for such an analysis.

<sup>453</sup> See Pomorska (1992).

Cercle linguistique de Moscou comptait parmi les membres des poètes comme Majakovskij, Pasternak, Mandel'stam et Aseev. (Jakobson 1979, 543)

Depretto clearly identifies the importance of Tynjanov's essay "Promežutok" ["The Interval"] ([1924], 1929) and its influence on Jakobson.<sup>454</sup> In essay, which opens with the formula "writing about verses is difficult as write verses" (Tynjanov 1985, 541),<sup>455</sup> Tynjanov stated that the mission of Pasternak's poetry coincided with his desire to reconcile words and things, in other words the desire for the realisation of a new literary object. In the introduction, commenting on the evolution of contemporary Russian prose, Jakobson acknowledged the presence of epigones, but notes that it is the prose of poets that awakens new aesthetic paths. Jakobson's principle of "literary evolution" clearly reflects Jurij Tynjanov's essay "O literaturnoj evoljucii" ["On Literary Evolution"] (1927). There are some passages in the last part of the essay which echo in Jakobson's "Randbemerkungen", such as the prominence of childhood in Pasternak's writings, the symbiosis between the subject and the poetic dimension, a relationship in which the subject is delineated as a consequence of the poem and not as its cause: the subjectivity emerges from the lyrical structure. Jakobson's awareness of Tynjanov's essay is unquestionable. Both reveal a crisis of the prose in the Russian literature of the twentieth century: Tynjanov stated that "prose lives now by the tremendous force of inertia" (Tynjanov 1985, 542),<sup>456</sup> while Jakobson that "the professional artistic poetry of this period corresponds the typical epigonal production".<sup>457</sup> Tynjanov wrote his essay in 1924 but further edited and published it in 1929 with a dedication to Pasternak in the exergue, right after his visit to Prague in 1928, where he co-wrote "Problemy izučeniya literatury i jazyka" with Jakobson. Together with Tynjanov's essay, Jakobson's represents the revaluation of Pasternak's poetry among Formalists: rather than considering Pasternak's relation to Formalism an ambiguous one, we can reframe it as a "later" reception of the poet's importance in the development of modern Russian poetry.

---

<sup>454</sup> "Aussi est-ce plutôt l'Opojaz de Petrograd qui s'est imposé comme initiateur d'une tradition d'interprétation de l'œuvre de Pasternak, grâce en particulier à l'article de Tynjanov, l'*Intervalle*, conçu en 1924, mais publié intégralement en 1929. Les quelques pages que le critique lui consacre constituent une remarquable analyse de son travail poétique et sont à l'origine de nombreux travaux ultérieurs, en particulier de l'étude de Jakobson de 1935." (Depretto 2005, 436).

<sup>455</sup> "Писать о стихах теперь почти так же трудно, как писать стихи."

<sup>456</sup> "Проза живет сейчас огромной силой инерции."

<sup>457</sup> "Профессиональная художественная проза этой эпохи – типичное эпигонское производство."

### 3.2 Folklore as a common dialogue: Petr Bogatyrev and Jurij Sokolov

Among the interests Jakobson developed first in Moscow and consequently in Czechoslovakia a prominent position is played by folklore. In this subsection I will analyse Jakobson's dedication to this topic in the press referring to his relationship with other two scholars, Petr Bogatyrev and Jurij Sokolov.

#### *Jakobson and Bogatyrev*

Discussing Jakobson's interest in folklore studies allows to introduce another relevant question, namely his relationship with Bogatyrev. Jakobson and Bogatyrev were among the most prominent Russian scholars who lived in interwar Czechoslovakia. Concerning their activity in the country, the scholar Anastasie Kopřivová noticed that while comparing the two scholars many similarities and differences occur. Even if they developed interests in similar topics, it is possible to detect an opposite behaviour in the Czech context, Jakobson was much more sociable and easily established contacts with other scholars and artists, while Bogatyrev tended to be more focused on his own work (Kopřivová 2004). Despite this, they can both be considered as cultural transfers between the Russian and the Czech context and prominent scholars in the development of the modern linguistics being active members of the PLK.<sup>458</sup> Bogatyrev never wrote any testimonies or reflections about the Circle's activities, except for an interview he gave with Jakobson in 1968, which was published in the Czech journal *Listy*. When asked about his activities in the PLK, Bogatyrev recalled the Russian scholars who were part of it, defining them in terms of *lingvistická smetánka*, i.e., the upper crust of linguistics, an expression which significantly testifies the relevance of the Czech milieu. Jakobson met Bogatyrev in Russia in 1914 and in his obituary, he stated: "our roles of ethnographer and linguist were already fixed, yet the critical feature was that the idea of a significant whole as the immediate aim of research stood before and at once united us." (Jakobson 1976, 37) This shared "aim of research", which connected Bogatyrev and Jakobson led to a long-standing and fruitful collaboration, which intensified in Czechoslovakia.

Jakobson and Bogatyrev supported other Russian scholars who emigrated to Czechoslovakia and tried to build their new academic path in the Czech context, such as Nikolaj

---

<sup>458</sup> Analysing the list of lectures, Jakobson gave fifteen lectures, while Bogatyrev just three: "K voprosu ob etnologičeskoj geografii" ["Towards the question of ethnological geography"] (11/05/1928), "K problémům strukturálního národopisu" ["Problems of structural ethnography"] (25/06/1934) and "Lidové divadlo u Čechů a Slováků" ["The popular theatre of Czechs and Slovaks"] (19/06/1939).

Durnovo.<sup>459</sup> On 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1926 Jakobson published an article in *Prager Presse* to celebrate Durnovo's fiftieth birthday. In 1927, Bogatyrev published in the journal *Národopisný věstník československý* a similar one entitled “Vzpomínky jubilejní. Prof. Dr. N. N. Durnovo” [“Memories for the jubilee. Prof. Dr. N. N. Durnovo”]. Jakobson and Bogatyrev found a mentor in Durnovo, who was also close to Trubeckoj:

I can define my relationship with R. Jakobson and Trubeckoj as friendly. The rapprochement with Jakobson began based on common scientific interests: he is the most talented of my students. Since 1921, when I, as known, returned to Moscow from Saratov, he was more involved with me. He was already abroad at the time.<sup>460</sup> (Robinson 1992, 79)

Concerning these writings, they are only apparently just “celebratory”, but they represent a joint effort to get the Czech academy familiar with Durnovo's activity and promote his stay in the country.<sup>461</sup> Both identified Durnovo as a member of the *Moskovskaja dialektologičeskaja komissija* (MDK)<sup>462</sup> together with two other pivotal Russian scholars, i.e., Nikolaj Sokolov and Dmitrij Ušakov. By placing Durnovo in the Russian academic context, Jakobson highlighted the importance of Fortunatov's theories and methodology within the *Fortunatovskaja škola* (in the article, it is mentioned as “*Moskauer linguistische Schule*”). Jakobson mainly illustrated Durnovo's research in linguistics, emphasising the importance of his studies on Slavic languages, mainly Russian and Belarusian dialects. He showed how Durnovo dealt with methodological problems and linguistic geography, praising the substantial contribution he gave to this field. It was not the first time he commented on Durnovo's work in a periodical. In 1916, when the young Jakobson was a disciple of Durnovo, he wrote in *Etnografičeskoe obozrenie* a critical review (Jakobson 2013, 1-5) of *Opyt dialektologičeskoj karty russkogo jazyka v Evrope* [*An Attempt of a Dialect Map of Russian Language in Europe*] (1915), a volume co-written by three members of the MDK: Durnovo, Sokolov and Ušakov. Despite the

---

<sup>459</sup> I will analyse the relationship between Jakobson and Durnovo in the next chapter while presenting Jakobson's correspondence in *Slavische Rundschau*.

<sup>460</sup> “Мои отношения с Р. Якобсоном и Трубецким я могу определить как дружеские. Сближение с Якобсоном началось на почве общих научных интересов: он самый талантливый из моих учеников. Начиная с 1921 г., когда я, совсем большой, вернулся в Москву из Саратова, он принимал во мне больше участие. Он тогда уже был за границей.”

<sup>461</sup> Although Durnovo never actively participated in the activities of the PLK, he was influenced by the achievements of the structuralists (Toman 2011, 135).

<sup>462</sup> The MDK was founded in 1904 at the Russian Language and Literature Section of the Academy of Sciences. It was one of the most important institutions in Moscow at the beginning of the twentieth century, together with the *Imperatorskoe občestvo ljubitelej estestvoznanija, antropologii i etnografii* (Imperial Society of the Lovers of Natural Sciences, Anthropology and Ethnography) established in 1863. These institutions were pivotal for the young Jakobson and Bogatyrev and formed the kernel of Russian folklore.

significant corrections he proposed, Jakobson defined the volume as the first great achievement in dialectology, which finally gave the methodology through which evolve the research in this specific field: “there was almost nothing in the field of research in dialectology apart from the *A Sketch of Russian Dialectology* by [Aleksej] Sobolevskij. [...] [It] provides the first time a detailed summary and rigorous scientific classification of the raw material that has recently been enriched.”<sup>463</sup> Concerning Bogatyrev, in his article he emphasised other traits of Durnovo’s research, devoting his attention to folklore and ethnography, considered as pivotal disciplines in the MKD:

In conclusion, we should notice that while working in the Moscow Dialectological Commission, Prof. Durnovo also dealt with ethnography since the Moscow Dialectological Commission dealt with questions of language and ethnographic questions in so far as these sciences are interrelated.<sup>464</sup> (Bogatyrev 1927, 77)

This closing remark by Bogatyrev can be interpreted as an attempt to refer to Jakobson’s article, who only marginally mentions Durnovo’s ethnographical research in Subcarpathian Russia. Bogatyrev regretted that most of Durnovo’s research had not been elaborated in volume and published. For this reason, he decided to illustrate these materials briefly. It is clear how the two scholars decided to write about fields they were more familiar with. Another difference between the two is the tone they employed: if Bogatyrev was descriptive, Jakobson was evaluative, judging his mentor’s studies positively.

Significant differences between Bogatyrev and Jakobson can be traced while analysing their activity in periodicals. They both published articles in German periodicals, namely for *Prager Presse*, *Slavische Rundschau*, and *Prager Rundschau*. The collaboration with *Prager Presse*, a newspaper founded by Arne Laurin in 1921, was very fruitful for both. Bogatyrev’s collaboration started in 1924 with the contribution of “A. N. Ostrovskij, Bibliographische Materialien” [“A. N. Ostrovskij, Bibliographic Materials”], while Jakobson’s first attested contribution appeared one year later in 1925. This collaboration lasted for both until 1938, the last year of publication of *Prager Presse*, which interrupted its activity due to the previous

---

<sup>463</sup> “Еще недавно в области научной диалектологии не было почти ничего кроме *Очерка русской диалектологии* [Алексея] Соболевского. [...] [Он] впервые дает детальную сводку и строго научную классификацию весьма обогатившегося за последнее время сырого материала.”

<sup>464</sup> “Na konec je nutno poznamenati, že pracuje v Moskevské dialektologické komisi, prof. Durnovo zabýval se i etnografií, poněvadž Moskevská dialektologická komise zabývala se nejenom otázkami jazyka, ale i otázkami etnografickými, pokud se tyto vědy vzájemně stýkají.”

departure of Laurin and the Nazi invasion. In 1935 they published in the newspaper three contributions written together about Tolstoj: “Aufzeichnungen über Tolstoj. Aus unveröffentlichten Papieren von Albert Škarvan” [“Notes about Tolstoj: from Unpublished Papers by Albert Škarvan”] (Jakobson 2014, 108-114), “Unbekanntes über und von Tolstoj. Ein Brief Masaryks an N. N. Strachov” [“Unknown Material on and by Tolstoj. One Letter from Masaryk to N. N. Strachov”] (Jakobson 2014, 115-119) and “Tolstojs Wildheit und Sanftmut” [“Tolstoj’s Fury and Mildness”] (Jakobson 2014, 120-122). The case of *Slavische Rundschau* is different. Jakobson put more effort into *Slavische Rundschau* than Bogatyrev. As shown in the first chapter (§ 1.2), Jakobson was a contributor and the head of the Ostslavisches Referat and his scientific contribution to the journal occurred at many levels: he wrote articles, reviews, bibliographies, and obituaries. Bogatyrev was, on the other hand, just a simple contributor who, almost surely, started this collaboration following Jakobson’s advice and under his support.<sup>465</sup> In the case of Bogatyrev, in 1930 he published for *Sudetendeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* and in 1932 for *Germanoslavica*, while Jakobson never did.

Concerning periodicals published in Russian, neither Jakobson nor Bogatyrev ever published for *Volja Rossii*, the most important journalistic platform of the Russian *émigrés* in Czechoslovakia. They preferred other periodicals. In the *Slavia*’s first issue, they wrote a pivotal article together, which appeared separated into three parts: “Slavjanskaja filologija v Rossii za gody 1914-1921”. It was an informative article about the progress achieved by the Russian academy in which Jakobson and Bogatyrev illustrated the studies carried out in various fields, from linguistics to ethnography. Besides *Slavia*, another periodical published in Russian in which both scholars were very active is *Central’naja Evropa*. Bogatyrev published some articles in the periodical every year between 1927 and 1938, and very frequently. It was, in fact, the journal with which he collaborated the most during his stay in the country. Jakobson also wrote a few articles for *Central’naja Evropa*, but this was not a constant collaboration. In 1939 Bogatyrev also wrote for *Praha-Moskva*, a magazine that reported political, social, and cultural news from the USSR, emphasising the bounds between the two countries.

Regarding periodicals published in Czech, it is possible to individuate an evident difference between the two scholars, which depends on their scientific interests. Before showing this divergence, it is necessary to recall that Bogatyrev and Jakobson were both very

---

<sup>465</sup> In Beneš’ bibliography, there are six contributions mentioned, but two reviews are missing, resp.: one of Evgenij Baranov’s *Mosovskie legendy* [*Moscow Legends*] (1929) and another of Pavel Preobraženskij’s *Kurs etnologii* [*Course of Ethnology*] (1930).

active in *Slovo a slovesnost*. The Czech newspaper in which Jakobson published the most was *Lidové noviny* while Bogatyrev wrote just four articles for the newspaper. On the other hand, he was active in the periodical *Národopisný věstník československý*, an ethnographic bulletin founded in 1906 and nationally oriented. Other scholars interested in folklore also collaborated with this bulletin, such as Jiří Polívka (the founder), Václav Tille, Jiří Horák and Frank Wollman.<sup>466</sup> The main goal of the editors was to develop a new effort in ethnographic studies. This was not the only ethnographic periodical with which Bogatyrev collaborated during his Czechoslovak years. He also published for the journal *Český lid* in 1924, 1925 and 1931, one of the oldest and most relevant ethnographic milieus, founded in 1891 and active until nowadays. From 1935 he also became active in Slovak journals: *Slovenské pohľady*, *Podkarpatoruská revue*, *Slovenské smery umelecké* and *Národopisný sborník*. In 1936 they both published for *Život*, the review bounded with the *Umělecká beseda*, a forum of Czech intellectuals founded in 1863. The relationship with the Czech avant-garde was essential for Jakobson and Bogatyrev. Concerning Jakobson, in 1925 he published the already mentioned article “The End of the UMPRUM-Desinership and Small Undertakings in Poetry” in *Pásmo*. Since 1937 they also collaborated with Emil František Burian’s review *Program D*, but also in this case Bogatyrev’s activity in the journal was more intense.

“Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens” (1929)

As the folklorist Viktor Gusev stated, “Bogatyrev was formed as a scholar in the atmosphere and traditions of Czechoslovak scientific context and belonged equally to its history as to the history of Russian folklore studies”<sup>467</sup> (1995, 49-50). Russian folklore was the field in which the research of Jakobson and Bogatyrev reached the most relevant point of contact, and the most important fruit of their collaboration was the article “Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens” [“Folklore as a Special Form of Creation”], published in 1929. Even if this article is well known, summarising the most important theses will be helpful to comprehend the discussion that developed in the correspondence with Jurij Sokolov. The article’s main aim was to demonstrate the difference between literature and folklore to emphasise the autonomy of folklore and, consecutively, of folklore studies. Jakobson and Bogatyrev based their thesis on the Saussurian dichotomy between *langue* and *parole*, applying

---

<sup>466</sup> For an analysis of *Národopisný věstník československý*, see Válka (2013). About Frank Wollman and folklore in Czechoslovakia, see Zelenková (2017).

<sup>467</sup> “Богатырев оформился как ученый в атмосфере и в традициях чехословацкой науки и равной мере принадлежит ее истории, как и истории русской фольклористики.”

these linguistic concepts to the study of folklore: while the individual language appeared associated with the concept of *parole*, the collective one relied on that of *langue*. While literature was the product of an individual, folklore was strictly connected with the idea of community: the creation and the conservation of a folkloric theme were determined by a community, which also operated a preventive censorship on the folkloric material. Asserting that folklore was the product of a community, Jakobson and Bogatyrev agreed with Vsevolod Miller's theories and profoundly disagreed with other Russian scholars, such as Jurij and Boris Sokolov, who believed that folklore could be the expression of an individuality, expressed through the *skazitel'*, the narrator.

Jakobson and Bogatyrev did not deny the possibility of crosscurrents between the two systems and were aware of the profound influence folklore exerted on literature. One of the most relevant examples is that of Puškin, who, as I showed in the previous subchapter (§ 3.1.1), worked with folkloric material. Despite the interface between these two forms of creation, the distinction between the two persisted. The ideas emphasised in the article "Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens" were elaborated two years later by Jakobson and Bogatyrev, in 1931, with a slightly different structure in the article "K probleme razmeževanija fol'kloristiki i literaturovedenija" ["On the Boundary between Studies of Folklore and Literature"] (Jakobson 1966, 16-18), published in the Polish journal *Lud Słowiański*.

#### *Jurij Sokolov: an entangled correspondence*

Analysing Jakobson and Bogatyrev's role in folklore studies implies considering a much wider phenomenon, which unfolded over a period that began before the two Russian scholars moved to Prague. In fact, as Jakobson mentioned in his obituary for Bogatyrev, their interest in folklore had begun to develop during their years in Moscow and had brought the two young scholars into contact with the so called "Russian Brothers Grimm", Jurij and Boris Sokolov.

In "Slavjanskaja filologija v Rossii" Jakobson and Bogatyrev reported on the promising developments in Soviet folklore studies: "beginning with the review of folklore and ethnography, we should first mention the ceased collection of materials. Moscow ethnographers and folklorists undertook several missions mainly to the northern Russian

provinces.”<sup>468</sup> Among the protagonists of this flourishing research they mentioned the Sokolov brothers, praised for the importance of their expeditions and the materials they collected. During their Muscovite years, Jakobson and Bogatyrev also participated in an expedition to the Vereja region themselves and Bogatyrev pursued this activity after moving to Czechoslovakia, especially in Slovakia and in the sub-Carpathian region.

In 1929, Jakobson evaluated again the status of folklore studies in Russia in the aforementioned “Über die heutigen Voraussetzungen der russischen Slavistik”, stating that there had been no attempt to conceive folklore as a phenomenon which was contiguous to the urban centres, such as Moscow. Instead, scholars persisted in creating a dichotomy between urban and rural dimension. Jakobson accentuated this reproach also some decades later in the *Dialogues* with Krystyna Pomorska:

Russian folklore was as fully alive in our immediate environment as in those far-off corners, and that the milieu in which it existed opposed to its own folklore-based aesthetics and wisdom to pour requirements and views (Jakobson – Pomorska 1983, 14)

Research on folklore had intensified in pre-Revolutionary Russia, progressively distancing itself from the so-called “mythological school” which dominated in the nineteenth century. Three figures emerged in the Russian academic system of the first half of the twentieth century: the linguist, the philologist, and the folklorist.

Folklore was in close contact with Formalism and the most recent article that comprehensively dealt with this topic is “Russkie formalisty i izučeniya fol’klora” [“The Russian Formalists and the Study of Folklore”] (2014) by Andrej Toporkov. Toporkov notes that the study of the relationship between folkloristics and Formalism still suffers from inadequate and patchy archival research. This is one of the problems I had to consider in my work on Jakobson, as “Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens” presents an earlier Russian version sent to Jurij Sokolov and kept in his archive at Gosudarstvennyj literaturnyj muzej,<sup>469</sup> which was later revised but never published. The only mention of this version can be found in Valentina Bachtina’s habilitation thesis *Fol’klorističeskaja škola brat’ev B. M. i J. M.*

---

<sup>468</sup> “Приступая к обзору по народной словесности и этнографии, отметим прежде всего прекращавшееся интенсивное собирание материалов. Московскими этнографами и фольклористами был предпринят ряд поездок преимущественно в сев. великорусские губернии.”

<sup>469</sup> I will refer to Jurij Sokolov also giving his name in order to do not create misunderstandings with his brother Boris.

*Sokolovykh* [*The Folkloristic School of the Sokolov Brothers*] (Bachtina 2000). According to Bachtina, this first version (kept among Jurij Sokolov's archival materials)<sup>470</sup> was sent by Jakobson and Bogatyrev in 1929. Jurij Sokolov intended to publish it in the journal he edited, *Chudožestvennyj fol'klor*, along with a discussion with other Russian folklorists. The journal, which published five volumes between 1926 and 1929, was shut down before this could happen because during the 1930s Russian folkloristics suffered a violent setback. This came after a crisis that had already emerged in the 1920s, when folklore studies were blooming in Soviet academia: the organisations Proletkul't and the RAPP agreed declaring that folklore was against Soviet people and a mere reflection of the ruling class ideology, that of the *kulaks*. Jurij Sokolov was among those who defended the value of folklore considering it a monument of the far past and a vigorous voice of the present" (1934, 133-134). In 1934 Maksim Gor'kij gave a speech at the First Congress of Soviet Writers which rehabilitated folklore as connected with the working class and a remarkable artistic expression of human aspirations. Four years later, in 1938, Stalin identified "genuine folklore" as the science which could help understanding the Soviet values in the past to educate the generations of the future. This rehabilitation came at a high price and implied the end of freedom in folkloristics: the study of folklore started serving both academia and politics, a period of turmoil which recurred through the WWII and the remainder of the Soviet era.

Even if Jakobson and Bogatyrev's essay never appeared in *Chudožestvennyj fol'klor*, Bachtina remarked that the marginal notes left by Jurij Sokolov on the manuscript could provide a key to interpreting where he disagreed with Jakobson and Bogatyrev. First, Jurij Sokolov conceived folkloric tradition as a strongly conservative system and believed in the preservation of certain primitive forms of folklore, whereas Jakobson and Bogatyrev believed in a more dynamic and radical evolution of this form of creation. Second, Jurij Sokolov noted that the essay placed excessive importance on the collective dimension, which according to Jakobson and Bogatyrev was a fundamental principle in distinguishing folkloric from literary production. In Jurij Sokolov's opinion, it was necessary to consider the significance of the act of improvisation, which he identified as the moment when the folkloric element stepped into the sphere of individuality. Finally, the third criticism was directly linked to the second, Jurij

---

<sup>470</sup> Bachtina mainly referred to two fonds, one at RGALI (Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj archiv literatury i iskusstva) and one in the folklore's section of the GLM (Gosudarstvennyj literaturnyj muzej). While preparing this article, I tried to get scans of this material, but I only succeeded with RGALI's materials. Some of them are reproduced in the appendix.

Sokolov reproached the two young scholars for over-emphasising the importance of the performer, the “narrator” of the work. These remarks on Jakobson and Bogatyrev’s essay should be interpreted in relation to Jurij Sokolov’s criticism of the formal method in 1926:

Unfortunately, the concrete application of the formal method has as many gaps and shortcomings as the sociological research. A. N. Veselovskij and A. A. Potebnja’s theoretical works were based mainly on the materials of Russian folklore. Nevertheless, many genres of the latter remain systematically unexplored to date. Just *byliny* were lucky to be developed from the point of view of the historical method, the same genre turned out to be the most developed from the formal-poetic side.<sup>471</sup> (Sokolov 1926, 18)

The Sokolov brothers were also in constant contact with scholars from other countries, such as the French André Mazon, the Czech Jiří Polívka and, again, with Gerhard Gesemann, the leading representative of folklore studies at Deutsche Universität Prag. The correspondence that the Sokolov brothers maintained in the interwar years and their international trips is testimony to these relationships. In a letter to Jakobson dated the 19<sup>th</sup> of September 1928, Trubeckoj expressed his regret at missing Jurij Sokolov’s visit to Prague during his trip in Western Europe: “I was terribly disappointed that I never got to see Jurij Matveič! But I couldn’t have gone to Prague anyway for lack of money: the ‘summer holidays’ were incredibly expensive”<sup>472</sup> (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 117).

The correspondence Jurij Sokolov had with Jakobson and Bogatyrev occupies a leading place among the many correspondences he had during this time. A few remarks are necessary on the conservation of these letters. Firstly, eight letters sent by Jurij Sokolov to Jakobson and indirectly to Bogatyrev are preserved in the *Slavische Rundschau*’s collection, while the replies are kept in Russian state archives. According to the materials kept at RGALI, Jakobson sent a first letter to Jurij Sokolov on 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1928, inviting him to collaborate with *Slavische Rundschau*. On 20<sup>th</sup> of September Jakobson thanked Jurij Sokolov for his positive answer and expressed his enthusiasm for Jurij Sokolov’s travel to Prague, being eager to talk folklore with

---

<sup>471</sup> “К сожалению, приходится констатировать в конкретном применении формального метода такое же количество пробелов и недочетов, как и в социологическом изучении. А. Н. Веселовского и теоретической работы А.А. Потебни базировались преимущественно на материале русского фольклора, — тем не менее многие жанры последнего остаются и до сих пор необследованными систематически. Подобно тому, как повезло былинам в разработке с точки зрения исторического метода, этот же жанр оказался наиболее разработанным и со стороны формально-поэтической.”

<sup>472</sup> “Ужасно досадно, что так и не пришлось повидать Юрия Матвейча! Впрочем а бы все равно не мог поехать в Прагу по недостатку денег: ‘летний отдых’ обошелся невероятно дорого.”

him and Bogatyrev. On 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1930, Jakobson wrote to Jurij Sokolov about the interest of western folklorists in epic songs and the study of the living tradition in those places where these traditions were still traceable, such as Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania, Russia, and Ukraine. He named new publications that he considered to be important, such as Gesemann's writings. As was the case with Trubeckoj, in this letter Jakobson asked Jurij Sokolov to pass on names of scholars who could be interested in collaborating with *Slavische Rundschau*.

The correspondence between Jakobson and Jurij Sokolov can be dated earlier. In 1923, Jakobson and Bogatyrev proposed the creation of an institute in Moscow for the study of Slavic cultures, in order to build an interdisciplinary and international research group.<sup>473</sup> Bachtina documented it in detail in an article dated 1993. Jakobson and Bogatyrev renewed this proposal in 1926. In support of the proposal, the two young scholars also drafted a programme, edited by Bachtina in the same article (Bachtina 1993). This document, entitled "Projekt učreženija Instituta slavjanovedenija v SSSR" ["Project for the Establishment of an Institution of Slavic Studies in the USSR"], is dated July 1926. The proposal listed the countries involved in the project and the disciplines considered: linguistics, geography, sociology, history, cultural history, and ethnography. The aim was to encourage the publication of research relating to the Slavic countries in these disciplines. Jakobson and Bogatyrev used to publish such programmatic writing to propose new paths for research, e.g., "Programma po sobiraniju svedenij o narodnom teatre" ["Guidelines for Collecting Data about Folk Theatre"] (Jakobson 2013, 153-166), from 1923. What prompted Jakobson and Bogatyrev to devise such a programme was the need to build relations between the Russian and Western context for the future development of research in fields such as philology or linguistics. Jakobson emphasised the common interests of scholars active in Czechoslovakia to begin a joint research project dedicated to the epic songs of the tradition. This joint project would lead to the publication of a volume under Jurij Sokolov's editorship. This study was never published.

The letters sent by Jurij Sokolov in *Slavische Rundschau*'s fond confirm some of the aspects analysed above and raise further questions. In the archive are letters received from the 15<sup>th</sup> of January to the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 1929, covering a more limited period than what is preserved in the Russian archives. These letters discuss three topics. Firstly, a possible further journey by Jurij Sokolov to Europe to meet with western folklorists and, especially in Prague,

---

<sup>473</sup> I do not have any documents referring to this initiative because the archival materials are at GML, which during the ongoing political situation was not accessible during my research.

to undertake research on folk epics. Jurij Sokolov's plan was to travel to Prague accompanied by G<...>. Jakušov, a storyteller.<sup>474</sup> Trubeckoj expressed his enthusiasm for Jurij Sokolov's arrival in Czechoslovakia in a letter to Jakobson dated the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1929: "I am keenly interested in Jurij Sokolov's arrival. Try only to assure that he arrives after the Orthodox Easter, otherwise I shall not be able to see Jurij Sokolov and listen to the narrator once again. I think that even the narrator is probably a man of God and would prefer to have a meal at home"<sup>475</sup> (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985, 122-123). When Jurij Sokolov managed to obtain the documents and some money to travel, G. Jakušov suddenly died.

The second matter of discussion was the First Congress of Slavic Philologists held in Prague in 1929: Jurij Sokolov was enthusiastic to participate in it, but travelling there proved impossible and there were no members of the Soviet delegation affiliated to folklore Studies. In a letter sent on 12<sup>th</sup> of October 1929, he wrote:

I cannot even think that I was not able to come to the philological congress. I shall look forward to the return of Pavel Nikitič and his report on the most interesting speeches on folklore and literary studies that interest me. It is terribly disappointing that our Soviet delegation did not include any folklore specialist. I hope that you will make sure that I can get the bulletins and minutes of the meetings. And I ask you both to write for *Chud. fol'klor* articles-reviews on the proceedings of the congress devoted to folklore studies.<sup>476</sup>

The third topic of the correspondence concerns the article "Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens". On 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1929, Jurij Sokolov confirmed that he had received the "German article", a *nemeckaja stat'ja* is mentioned. Jurij Sokolov intend to publish a polemical reply reproducing some consistent parts of Jakobson and Bogatyrev's article: "I received your German article on folklore. I am very grateful to you for it. I will certainly print

---

<sup>474</sup> In the letters Jurij Sokolov did not provide the full name.

<sup>475</sup> "Приезд Соколова меня живо интересует. Постарайтесь только, чтобы он приехал уже после православной Паски, а то мне опять не придется повидать Соколова и послушать сказителя. Думаю, что ведь и сказитель-то, вероятно, человек богомольный и предпочтет разговеться у себя дома."

<sup>476</sup> "Никак не могу спокойно думать о том, что мне не удалось приехать на филологический съезд. С нетерпением буду ожидать возвращения Павла Никитича и его рассказа о наиболее интересном докладе по занимающим меня вопросам фольклористики и литературоведения. Ужасно досадно, что в нашу советскую делегацию не был включен ни один специалист по фольклору. Надеюсь, что Вы позаботитесь, чтобы мне можно было бы получить бюллетени и протоколы заседаний. А Вас обоих прошу дать для *Худ. Фольклора* статьи-обзоры о работах съезда по фольклористике."

a reply to it in my journal.”<sup>477</sup> A draft of this comment was elaborated in the letter dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of October, which I have already mentioned in the previous paragraph. In a letter Jakobson sent to Jurij Sokolov on 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1929, he asked to publish the final German version and not the Russian one they sent earlier, which was intended to be a mere draft:

I am very grateful to you for your clear comments on our article on folklore. Well, if there is to be a discussion, let there be a discussion. We will be very happy to take part in it. We already have several supporters and some opponents here. We only ask you to print the whole article in *Chudožestvennyj fol'klor*, but not on the copy of the Russian text that we sent to Valentina Aleksandrovna [Jurij's Sokolov's wife], but on another one, which we will send you in the following days. The point is that the text you have was just a draft for translation into German. It is stylistically very imperfect.<sup>478</sup>

Before analysing “Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens”, Jurij Sokolov commented the article Jakobson published in *Slavische Rundschau* on the development of Russian Slavistics, titled “Über die heutigen Voraussetzungen der russischen Slavistik”. Jurij Sokolov wrote: “Roman Osipovič, I have read with great interest your article on contemporary Slavic studies. With many of your thoughts one cannot but agree completely.”<sup>479</sup> He disagreed with Jakobson's statement that Russian Slavistics had had no prior schools and, on the contrary, he cited the Lomanskij's school.<sup>480</sup> Jurij Sokolov did not interpret this divergence of ideas in terms of a scientific disagreement, but rather as the result of Jakobson's excessive “temperament”. Then, while commenting on Eurasian theories, the Russian folklorist agreed with Jakobson about the absence of solid dialogue between the Russian academy and the West, and the need to build new relations between the two. Jurij Sokolov hoped for an internationalisation of folklore studies which would lead to surprising results. Ironically

---

<sup>477</sup> “Получил Вашу немецкую статью о фольклоре. Очень Вам за нее благодарен. Непременно напечатать на нее ответ в своем журнале.”

<sup>478</sup> RGALI, Fond 483, Op. 1: “Очень Вам признателен за Ваши четкие замечания по поводу нашей статьи о Фольклоре. Что ж, дискуссия, так дискуссия. Будем очень рады принять в ней участие. Здесь у нас уже ряд сторонников, и ряд противников. Только об одном Вас очень просим напечатать в ‘Художественном фольклоре’ статью целиком, но не по тому экземпляру русского текста, который мы послали Валентине Александровне, а по-другому, который мы Вам на днях пошлем. Делом в том, что текст, который у Вас, был просто канвой для перевода на немецкий язык. Он стилистически весьма несовершенно.”

<sup>479</sup> “Прочитал я, Роман Осипович, с большим интересом и Вашу статью о современной славистике. С многими мыслями Вашими нельзя не согласиться полностью.”

<sup>480</sup> Sokolov refers to Vladimir Lomanskij (1833-1914), Russian Slavist and historian active in Saint Petersburg during the second half of the nineteenth century.

appealing to his correspondents as “Slavophiles” and remarking upon the importance of individuality in folklore, he stated:

And our “Russian folkloristic school” with its doctrine of “individual creativity” elements in folklore, according to my deepest opinion, will give very large results in its application to Western European material. Will you deny it, dear Slavophiles?<sup>481</sup>

The second part of the letter is a commentary about the essay on folklore written by Jakobson and Bogatyrev. Jurij Sokolov informed his colleagues that a meeting with other folklorists was held in Moscow on 7<sup>th</sup> of October. Among the participants were two important representatives of Russian folklore studies, Boris Sokolov and Boris Jarcho, who had voiced deep criticism of the thesis on the relationship between literature and folklore, even harsher than that of Jurij Sokolov, who in his letter states that he disagreed with almost all of Jakobson and Bogatyrev’s arguments: “I have to tell you, although you already know it, I disagree with you on almost everything.”<sup>482</sup> The matter he mainly disagreed with was the overly “forced” attempt to reduce the discourse concerning folklore to the Saussurian categories of *langue* and *parole*. According to Jurij Sokolov, it was not possible to apply Saussurian categories to the study of folklore, nor understand its difference from literature in qualitative terms, as there were only quantitative differences to be investigated. He also disagreed with considering folklore as a collective product, because this idea (based on Miller’s theories) did not consider the great value of the *skazitel’*. As Felix Oinas observed, Russian folklorists were convinced about the importance of the narrator, and describing the activity of Mark Azadovskij and Boris Sokolov, he stated that the keen interest in the individual narrators led to a new type of folklore collection confined to the repertoire of a certain master narrator (Oinas 1985)<sup>483</sup>. According to Jurij Sokolov, the difference between literature and folklore was not a matter of “essence” but of “technique” and it was not necessary to develop a specific methodology researching folklore. According to his letter, Jurij Sokolov was supposed to edit these comments in an article that was to appear in *Chudožestvennyj fol’klor* but, as I stated earlier, the journal’s activity ended before it could be published.

---

<sup>481</sup> “А наша ‘русская фольклористическая школа’ с ее учением Вами ревизуемым об элементах ‘индивидуального творчества’ в фольклоре по моему глубокому даст очень крупные результаты в совсем применений к западноевропейскому материалу. Неужели Вы это будете отрицал, дорогие славянофилы?”

<sup>482</sup> “Должен Вам сообщить хотя Вы это итак знаете – я с Вами почти ни в чем не согласен.”

<sup>483</sup> See also Oinas – Soudakoff, 1995.

Although there are no further letters between the three scholars, some important conclusions can be drawn. First, the relationship between Jakobson and Jurij Sokolov shows how close Jakobson was to the Russian academy even after he moved to Prague, so much so that he planned an institute in Moscow for the evolution of Slavic studies. This project failed: Jurij Sokolov stated in a letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1929 that there he had any new about it. Second is that a structuralist approach is absent from the Jakobson's study of folklore, even though the PLK had already been established in 1926, while the Formalist method is rather prominent. Second, this correspondence allows us to deduce the fundamental transnationality of Slavic studies in Central and Western Europe, as evidenced by the links between Jurij Sokolov and Gesemann. These relations often flowed through the journal *Slavische Rundschau*, in which Jurij Sokolov brothers also published. To understand the development of this "new" and "modern" perspective in Czech Slavic studies, it is necessary to review the research carried out to date, sacrificing a "Czech-centric" view in favour of a transnational conception of the phenomena not only related to literature but also to criticism. This is a context in which Jakobson is a leading example of the new scholar, corresponding to the figure of the cultural transfer. He is only one relevant example of a constellation of scholars who assumed this role as "bridges" between heterogeneous schools of thought, academic institutions, and research fields.

## Chapter 4. Avant-garde: Jakobson as a theoretician in film studies?

### *Preliminary remarks*

In the previous chapter I have discussed Jakobson's interest in poetry and folklore, emphasising in both cases the intensity of his dedication to these two topics. While poetry and folklore represent two pivotal topics in Jakobson's activity, film studies played a secondary role: Jakobson did not write a lot about this topic, even if it was widely discussed both in Czechoslovakia and Russia. I will analyse the few writings Jakobson dedicated to this topic and, contextualising them in the period they appeared, explain why film studies represent a secondary topic in his research not only during the interwar years, but all his career.

Despite Jakobson's interest in visual arts and semiotics, he only contributed four articles in the field of film studies. These are the review "Die entschwindende Welt. Ein Film der sterbenden Folklore – Prof. Dr. Úlehla als Filmregisseur" ["A Vanishing World. A Film about Dying Folklore – Prof. Dr. Úlehla as Filmmaker"] (Jakobson 2013, 379-383), the article "Úpadek filmu?" ["Is the Film in Decline?"] published in 1933 in *Listy pro umění a kritiku*, and the Italian interview "Conversazione sul cinema" ["A Conversation on Cinema"] was published in *Cinema e film* in 1967. In addition to these writings, the thirteenth chapter of the *Dialogues* with Pomorska, is titled "Similarity and Contiguity in Language and Literature, in the Cinema, and Aphasia" (Jakobson – Pomorska 1983, 125-135). The paucity of publications does not signal Jakobson's disinterest in film studies or in their development in the interwar years. Rather, its secondary role in Jakobson's research represents an evident difference between Jakobson and the cultural contexts he was involved in, the Czech and the Russian ones.

### *Film Studies: Czech avant-garde and Formalism*

In interwar Czechoslovakia film studies became a widely discussed topic. The theoretician Karel Teige published a considerable number of articles about the evolution of cinema and his features. Already at the beginning of the 1920s, he repeatedly declared that film was a revolutionary discovery for contemporary art, especially the avant-garde, and as the discovery of cinematography should be considered that of the America of arts (Teige [1922] in Anděl – Szczepanik 2008). Teige aimed to create a debate which was not just academic and, as Petr Král correctly noted, his reflections on cinema did not take place through scientific essays but through writings designed for a wider audience (1966, 6). Teige's extensive body

of work on film presents two main characteristic traits: interest in Soviet, American, and French cinematography and the conception of cinema as a visual art related to poetry or other visual arts, such as photography. For example, in 1922 he published the essay-manifesto “Foto kino film” [“Photo Cinema Film”] in *Život*. Retracing the development of cinematography from the discovers of the nineteenth century, Teige states that film and photography became the most important avant-garde visual arts, and were popular art forms which could defeat traditional and “bourgeois” forms of art. From the end of the 1920s Teige published several studies of Soviet cinematography, such as “Kino a film v SSSR” [“Cinema and Film in the USSR”] (1926), and articles, for example those in the *Tvorba* in 1930.

Besides Teige, a lot of Czech artists and writers were involved in cinema. I will give two examples. In 1933, after the success he gained the year before with *Před maturitou* [*Before Graduation*], Vladislav Vančura directed the film *Na sluneční straně* [*On the Sunny Side*], whose script was co-written by Jakobson together with Svatava Pírková and the support of Vítězslav Nezval and Miloslav Dismán. Concerning her involvement in the production, in a letter dated the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1979, Pírková wrote to Jakobson about the film:

[František] Galán also asked me about the film *Na sluneční straně*... Do you remember? I was not very good at it, I was not ready for such a job, but I did not tell him, so tell me what was in it from Vančura and Nezval and you... I only vaguely remember the result and it does not seem to me that it was a great work, but I could be wrong...<sup>484</sup>

In 1925 Nezval published the essay “Film” in *Český filmový svět* [*Czech World of Cinema*] (Nezval in Anděl – Szcepanik 2008), in which he defined film as an avant-garde art form without aesthetics, a kind of “new Sanskrit”: “Film, which fortunately does not have it [an aesthetics] yet, has one less unnecessary fight for the future. [...] A beautiful film does not reproduce shapes. It produces them directly”<sup>485</sup> (Ibidem, 171). Mukařovský disagreed with Nezval’s idea and in the early 1930s emphasised the aesthetic dimension of film in publications such as such as “Pokus o strukturní rozbor hereckého zjevu” [“An Attempt at a Structural

---

<sup>484</sup> RJP, Box 1, Folder 36. “Rovněž se mě ptal Galán na film *Na sluneční straně* – pamatuješ? Já jsem v tom nebyla velmi vedle, vůbec jsem nebyla připravená na takovou práci, ale jemu jsem to neřekla, tak mi také řekni co v tom bylo z Vančury a Nezvala a Tebe – vzpomínám si jen na výsledek matně a nezdá se mi, že to bylo nějaké veledílko, ale mohu se mýlit...”

<sup>485</sup> “Film, jenž jí [estetiku] dosud našťestí nemá, má pro budoucnost o jeden zbytečný boj méně. [...] Krásný film nereprodukuje tvarů. Vyrábí je přímo.”

Analysis of an Actor's Figure"] (1931), "K estetice filmu" ["A Note on the Aesthetics of Film"] (1933) and "Čas ve filmu" ["Time in Film"] (1933).

Film studies was not a relevant field for Structuralism in the interwar years as it was for Formalism, but there are few exceptions. Miloš Weingart only published his 1935 study "Zvukový film a řeč" ["Audio Film and Speech"] a year after he left the Circle. In 1936 Jindřich Honzl published in *Slovo a slovesnost* the article "Reakční názory o mluvicím filmu" ["Retrograde Considerations about the Sound Film"], in which he commented *Abeceda filmového herce a scenaristy* [*ABC of Film Actor and Scenarist*], a collection of essays about cinema published in 1935 which aimed to provide some preliminary considerations for new of theory of the film aesthetics. According to Honzl, the authors shew a fundamental misunderstanding of the art of film. His critique was particularly harsh against Weingart's "Zvukový film a řeč", judging it as without value and full of mistakes. The main problem in Weingart's article was that he emphasised the equivalence between cinema and theatre<sup>486</sup> and the fact that he did not comprehend the social function of film "Weingart's absolutely retrograde views on the social value of film and on social issues in general are characteristically linked to his non-scientific consideration on film and on the artistic structure."<sup>487</sup> (Honzl 1936, 61) While discussing Weingart's wrong statements about the role of sound in film, Honzl referred to an article he published with Vančura in *Slovo a slovesnost* in 1935. In this article, Honzl echoed Teige (1922) and emphasised the difference between cinema and theatre stating that sound film had an aesthetic advantage on theatre: working with the sound through photographic images.

Bogatyrev, whose main interest relied in theatre, wrote about cinema. In 1938 he published in Emil František Burian's journal *Program D* "Disneynova Sněhurka" ["Disney Cinderella", 1938], in which he applied structuralist method to film studies. Bogatyrev's interest in the field emerged earlier and through his involvement in Formalism: his article "Čaplin i 'Kid'; Čaplin – mnimyj grafik" ["Chaplin and 'The Kid' – An Imaginary

---

<sup>486</sup> The difference, or even the opposition, between cinema and theatre is one of the main points in Teige's article from 1922, in which he emphasised that while theatre was "bourgeois", cinema was the expression of the proletarian spirit. In the conclusions he stated that cinema was "the new proletarian art". He declared the death of theatre in contraposition to the arise of cinema: "Whereas cinema is expanding at a dizzying pace, theatre is falling into ever farther, ever deeper decline. Whereas the movie houses are filled every evening with the international masses of all part of the world, the theatre auditoriums yawn in emptiness. The declaration 'Do not build theatres' is complemented by the request 'Build popular cinemas!'" (Teige in Anděl – Szczepanik 2008, 136)

<sup>487</sup> "S tímto nevěcným stanoviskem k filmové a umělecké struktuře pojí příznačně M. Weingarta zcela retrogradní názory na sociální význam filmu a na společenské otázky vůbec."

Timeline”]<sup>488</sup> appeared in Viktor Šklovskij’s collection *Čaplin. Sbornik statej* [*Chaplin. Collection of writings*] (1923).<sup>489</sup> During the 1920s Formalists were particularly involved in film studies, as testified by Ejchenbaum’s collection *Poetika filmu* [*Poetics of Film*] from 1927, to which Šklovskij, Tynjanov,<sup>490</sup> and Tomaševskij contributed. A fundamental writing is Šklovskij’s article “Literatura i kinematograf” [“Literature and Cinematograph”], published in 1923. According to Šklovskij, cinema was more similar to poetry than prose, exemplifying his conception of “poetic cinema” through the film *Šestaja část’ mira* [*A Sixth Part of the World*] released by the Russian director Dziga Vertov in 1926.<sup>491</sup> Vertov had already established himself as a “poet of the non-fictional cinema” in the 1922 manifesto “My” [“We”], in which he underlined the importance of rhythm: “Cinematography is the art of organising the necessary movements of things in space and trying on a rhythmic artistic whole, consistent with the properties of the material and the internal rhythm of each thing”<sup>492</sup> (Vertov 1966, 47). The discourse about the development of film studies in Formalism should require a separate analysis, because the amount of materials is relatively huge. I have just proposed some examples which already exemplify an evident discrepancy in the focus on film studies constitutes a crucial distinguishing factor between Formalism and Structuralism.

### “Úpadek filmu”

Returning to Jakobson, in 1934 he published “Úpadek filmu”, which is his only brief attempt to write a theoretical analysis of cinema. The title refers to the great debate which interested the Czech avant-garde, i.e., the discussion about the consequent future of cinema

---

<sup>488</sup> “Čaplin i ‘Kid’; Čaplin – mnimyj grafik” was translated into Czech and published in the collection *Souvislostí tvorby: cesty ke struktuře lidové kultury a divadla* in 1971, see Bogatyrev (1971).

<sup>489</sup> In “Sjužet v kinematografe” [“The Plot in the Cinema”] Šklovskij explains his interest in Chaplin: “I am interested in Chaplin’s future path. It seems to me that Chaplin’s film shows a certain weariness of the trick. In the history of the development of forms, the exposure of reception, as well as the parodying of phenomena, is most likely the end of the development of a certain cycle. It seems to me that Chaplin is likely to go in the direction of the heroic-comic film, that is, to use the comic-scary film.” “Мне интересуют дальнейший путь Чаплина. Кажется мне, что фильм *Чаплин в кино* показывает некоторую усталость трюка. В истории развития форм, обнажения приема, так же как и пародирование явлений, скорей всего, конец развития определенного цикла. Мне кажется, что, скорей всего, Чаплин пойдет в стороны героическо-комического фильма, то есть будет пользоваться комично-страшным.” (Šklovskij 1965, 34-35)

<sup>490</sup> “Cinema held a special place among Tynianov’s many day jobs, and it immediately became part of his theoretical interests. [...] Tynianov’s love affair with cinema unfolded at breakneck speed. In the fall of 1925, he began working on his first script; early in the following year he was appointed as a consultant at the script division of Sevzapkino (later to be renamed Lenfilm), and in the summer he became head of the newly established film department at the Institute of Art History (he left both jobs in the fall of 1927)” (Chitrova 2019, 15).

<sup>491</sup> Concerning Vertov, see Ščerbenok (2013), Ušakin (2016).

<sup>492</sup> “Киночество есть искусство организации необходимых движений вещей в пространстве и, примерив ритмическое художественное целое, согласное со свойствами материала и внутренним ритмом каждой вещи.”

after the introduction of the sound. Quoting Ejchenbaum's theory of cinema developed in *Problemy kinostilistiki* [*Problems in the Stylistic of Cinema*] (1927) and Kulešov's idea of the shot as a sign (Kulešov [1922] 1979), Jakobson identified cinema as a specific kind of language and noted that the material of cinematic art consisted of things transformed into signs. Describing the relationship between sign and thing, he quoted St. Augustine's concept of "signum" that of and "res", elaborated in *De Magistro* and the first book of *De Doctrina christiana*.<sup>493</sup>

Although in the 1930s Jakobson already began to distance himself from the formalist method, it is evident how informed he was about the developments of formalism in film. Alongside the reference to Ejchenbaum's theories, he also cited Tynjanov and his *Ob osnovach kino* [*The Foundations of Film*] (Tynjanov 1927). He was acquainted with Soviet criticism, referring not only to Kulešov's *Repeticionnyj metod v kino* [*The Method of Repetition in Cinema*] (Kulešov 1979), but also to Semen Timošenko's *Iskusstvo kino i montáž fil'ma* [*The Art of Cinema and the Film Montage*] (Timošenko 1926). This article also represented Jakobson's attempt to polemicise contemporary Czech criticism, reproaching it for not considering cinema as equal to the visual arts,<sup>494</sup> despite its unquestionable importance. Indeed, in recent years, cinema had undergone a real revolution, such as the introduction of sound, which had added a further dimension to the film and, consequently, a new aesthetic perception: whereas previously it only manifested itself in what Jakobson defines as the "pictorial" dimension, sound also brought an "audio" one. Furthermore, Jakobson described the development of film in the Czech landscape as promising and innovative. While emphasising the need of recognising film as an independent art Jakobson echoed the aforementioned writings by Teige and Honzl.

*"Mizející svět": Jakobson's review*

In the previous subchapter (§ 3.2) I have already discussed the importance of folklore in Jakobson's writings. This topic converged with film studies in 1932, when he published in *Prager Presse* "Die entschwindende Welt. Ein Film der sterbenden Folklore – Prof. Dr. Úlehla als Filmregisseur" ["A Vanishing World. A Film about Dying Folklore – Prof. Dr. Úlehla as Filmmaker"]. This was a review of the documentary *Mizející svět* [*A Vanishing World*] by

---

<sup>493</sup> See Gramigna (2016).

<sup>494</sup> This reproachment was already emphasised in Teige ([1922] 2008).

Vladimir Úlehla<sup>495</sup> and Svatava Pírková. Even though it was intended as a review, this piece discusses folklore and cinema more broadly.<sup>496</sup> The film intended to document the folkloric traditions among the Moravian Slovaks residing in the village of Velká nad Veličkou. This was a topic which aligned with Úlehla and Pírková's scholarly orientation: they held special regard for ethnographic research. The film was not a masterpiece and did not have a lot of commercial success. In the review, instead of discussing the film, Jakobson made a more general and broader discourse. He described the cinematic adaptation of folklore, the distinctive attributes characterising the documentary genre in terms of its function and structure, and the intricate interplay between the urban and the rural context.

As I have repeatedly emphasised (§ 3.2), during those years, there was much broader interest in this folklore as Jakobson observed, “[t]he demand for exotic material is characteristic of today’s art once again [...]”<sup>497</sup> and exoticism was one of the most relevant themes in those years’ artistic and literary productions, especially among the avant-garde.<sup>498</sup> In this film, exotic material was faithfully reproduced without alterations, even if transformation was necessary as the director drew directly from the folkloric heritage. Jakobson stressed that the documentary genre was enriched through an effort to address a wider public. In “Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens” Jakobson and Bogatyrev noticed that folklore was an indefinite form of art which had an existence was always potential and depended on the aesthetic dimension of reception. Unlike folklore, literary and cinematographic products had a concrete and definite form. The director’s task was then to shape the folkloric material into cinema or, referring to Jakobson’s article published in 1934, to transform the things into signs. In Saussurian terms, the dimension of the *parole* had to replace that of the *langue*.

In the last part of the article, titled “Kampf zweier Kulturen” [“Battle of Two Cultures”], Jakobson wrote that the collision between the realm of folklore and contemporary urban culture had to be considered as a clash of worlds: a dichotomy which should be solved by the director

---

<sup>495</sup> At that time Úlehla (1888-1947) was working at Masaryk University, where Jakobson had recently been appointed professor.

<sup>496</sup> See Mareš (1998).

<sup>497</sup> “[f]ür die heutige Kunst ist von neuem die Nachfrage nach exotischem Material charakteristisch [...]”

<sup>498</sup> An example are Konstantin Biebl’s poems. He based part of his poetics on the concept of exoticism linked to his experience on the island of Java. Cf. Vojvodík-Wiendl (2011) on exoticism and the avant-garde.

in a context in which the rural dimension was disappearing due to modern society's increasingly invasive presence.<sup>499</sup>

### *Closing remarks*

I will give some further considerations, referring to the interview published in 1967 in the Italian journal *Cinema e film*. First, it is necessary to emphasise the discrepancy between Formalism and Structuralism. Film studies represented a pivotal phase in the development of the formalist method in the second half of the 1920s and it is not by case that the journals such as *Sovetskoe kino* or *Kino-fot* (together with *LEF*, later *Novyj LEF*, and *Sovremennaja arhitektura*) became the main centres of attraction for the authors involved in the formal method (Ušakin 2016, 23). In the interview from 1967 Jakobson is asked about his opinion of the writings related to film studies published by the formalists. He answers confirming his participation in a meeting in 1919, in which he discussed with his colleagues whether cinema was art or not. 1919 was still too early, the most important formalist writings about film studies appeared only in the 1920s, when Jakobson already left Russia and, consequently, the MLK. He was not publishing anymore with the members of the MLK or the OPOJAZ, but he knew their writings. In the interview he admits: "I remember being impressed by the articles written by Ejchenbaum and Tynjanov [...]. On the contrary, I found Šklovskij articles on film very superficial." Second, in the case of Structuralism there are just few attempts of writing about cinema and in *Slovo a slovesnost* published some articles related to the field mainly people who were not proper "Structuralists" as Jakobson or Mukařovský, but who rather gravitated around the activities of the PLK, such as Honzl and Vančura did. In a certain extend we can state that the PLK did not offer the occasion of discussing about the evolution and the characteristics of cinema, such a discourse was mainly developed in the avant-garde. In the documents of the PLK this topic does not emerge, the lectures were mainly focused on literature or linguistics. In the interview Jakobson is asked why he wrote "Úpadek filmu". Jakobson's answer reveals that the publication of that article happened mainly because of Vančura. First, at that time Jakobson got involved in the production of the film *Na sluneční straně* and, later, Vančura

---

<sup>499</sup> The problem of the contrast between the rural and urban dimensions was essential in the research of many Czech scholars of the time, such as Frank Wollman's *K metodologii srovnávací slovesnosti* [*On the Methodology of Comparative Vernacular*] (1936) or Arne Novák's *Duch a národ* [*Spirit and Nation*] (1936).

asked him to write a contribution for a collection of essays about film theory he was planning. This collection never came out and Jakobson decided to give his article to the journal.<sup>500</sup>

In conclusion, we can state that Jakobson's writings about cinema were never conceived in advance as part of a bigger plan, as the ones related to literature or linguistics. His encounters with film studies were primarily, to paraphrase Jakobson's article about Pasternak's prose, occasional incursions of a linguist in the field of cinema. Jakobson's attraction to cinematography was in first place personal, in the interview published in 1967 he stated that he used to go to the cinema when he did not even know what semiotic was.

---

<sup>500</sup> The only information about this collection appeared in *České slovo* on 10<sup>th</sup> of March 1933. The collection was meant to be published by Melantrich under the title *Předpoklady českého filmu* [*Preconditions of Czech Film*].

## Chapter 5. Correspondence

In this fifth chapter I will analyse some selected materials from *Slavische Rundschau*'s collection kept at LA PNP. This chapter is conceived as a framing one. While concluding the argumentation led in the previous ones, I will introduce the § **Appendix**, in which I transcribed some of Jakobson's correspondences. My intention is then to present them in detail, describing the relationships Jakobson built with each correspondent and the traits of their epistolary exchange. Despite their value and the rarity of archival material concerning Jakobson's period in Czechoslovakia, these materials have never appeared in scientific publications related to Jakobson. Before delving into the analysis, some preliminary remarks are required.

The most significant correspondence published in volume is that which Nikolaj Trubeckoj, edited by Jakobson in *Nikolaj Trubeckoj Letters and Notes* (Jakobson – Trubeckoj 1985). This collection represents a unique source of information about the activity of the two scholars after their departure from Russia and the evolution of linguistics or Slavic studies in the interwar period. As I have shown in the previous chapters, Trubeckoj used to comment on Jakobson's writings being profoundly judgemental, such as with *O češskom stiche* (§ 2.6.1) and *Novejšaja ruskaja poezija* (§ 3).

In the third chapter (§ 3.2), I have already proposed to the reader an extensive example from *Slavische Rundschau*'s collection, Jakobson's correspondence with another prominent Russian scholar, the folklorist Jurij Sokolov. Likewise Trubeckoj, he commented on two articles published by Jakobson at the end of the 1920s, "Über die heutigen Voraussetzungen der russischen Slavistik" and "Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens". The correspondence with Jurij Sokolov is of note, representing an exception in the corpus of materials I have recollecting in the past three years. In Jakobson's correspondence with other scholars there is rarely such a detailed commentary (which in this specific case is a methodological critique) related to his writings. Rather, Jakobson's correspondents usually inform him that they will read his writings or simply congratulate him on publishing one of them. On other occasions, as in the case of the formalist Jurij Tynjanov, correspondents ask Jakobson to give them feedback about their own writings.

The materials I have included in my analysis do not belong to the genre of the private correspondence, but to the scholarly one.<sup>501</sup> Thus, it is a selection of materials aimed at showing the evolution of Jakobson's relations in the academic and journalistic sphere.

From such an analysis, some recurrent traits emerge. For example, Jakobson's interest of building a solid net of relationships with other scholars is of relevance. Even if this is a typical behaviour in the academic milieu, Jakobson's aim was twofold. First, both in the Czech and the American period, he wanted to remain informed about the academic and cultural context he left behind. In this regard relevant is his correspondence with Nikolaj Durnovo, who after leaving Czechoslovakia used to write to Jakobson about the evolution of Belarusian academy in the late 1920s. Similarly, the correspondence with Antonín Mágr contains information about the reconstruction of the Czech cultural context after years of repression during the Protectorate. Second, with his network of correspondences Jakobson aimed to be supported by other scholars while polemising against others. In this regard, as I will show while analysing the correspondence with Georgij Vernadskij, pivotal was Jakobson's search of support in his critique of André Mazon's study of the *Slovo*. The letters of the two periods are different. As I will emphasise while presenting *Slavische Rundschau's* collection, in this corpus of materials there are not letters written by Jakobson. In *RJPs* there are, instead, a lot of carbon copies of letters sent by Jakobson, which allow to reconstruct his correspondence more proficiently. Of note is, for example, his correspondence with Vernadskij, which echoes Jakobson's correspondence with Trubeckoj.

Regarding archival research related to Jakobson in Czechoslovakia, a significant problem immediately makes itself apparent. Due to the Nazi invasion and the outbreak of the WWII, many materials were lost or, according to a more optimistic view, have not been found yet. Despite this, the archival research already led to the publication of some collections: *Letters and other Materials from the Moscow and Prague Linguistic Circles 1912-1945* (Toman 1994); *Z korespondence* (Jakobson – Morávková 1997); *Quadrilog: Bohuslav Havránek, Zdeňka Havránková, Roman Jakobson, Svatava Pírková. Vzájemná korespondence 1930-1978* [*Quadrilogue: Bohuslav Havránek, Zdeňka Havránková, Roman Jakobson, Svatava Pírková. Mutual Correspondence 1930-1978*] (Havránková – Toman 2001); *Pražský lingvistický kroužek v korespondenci. Korespondence z let 1923-1974* [*The Prague Linguistic Circle in*

---

<sup>501</sup> For example, it could be of relevance to analyse Jakobson's correspondence with Svatava Pírková kept at *RJPs*. The contents of their letters mainly concern issues related to the American period, but there are also some isolated cases in which they correspond about their previous period in Czechoslovakia and their mutual friends.

*Correspondence. Correspondence from the years 1923-1974*] (Havránková 2008); *Pražský škola v korespondenci. Dopisy z let 1924-1989* [*The Prague School in Correspondence. Letters from the Years 1924-1989*] (Havránková – Petkevič 2014). Some materials were also found in Moscow, such as the correspondence between Jakobson and Viktor Šklovskij (Galuškin 1999). Concerning his activity as a professor at Masaryk University in Brno, materials from his course *Formalistická škola a dnešní literární věda ruská* have been edited and published by Tomáš Glanc within documents about the discussion around his nominee (Jakobson – Glanc 2005). Finally, concerning the activity of the PLK, fundamental is the volume *Pražský lingvistický kroužek v dokumentech* (Čermák – Poeta – Čermák 2012).

The Czech archives in which materials related to Jakobson are mainly kept are LA PNP, Archiv AVČR (Archive of Czech Academy of Sciences) and MU Archiv (Archive of Masaryk University). In the first one, there is Jakobson's personal fund, in which there are primarily correspondences and handwritings of other intellectuals, such as Viktor Šklovskij, Nikolaj Durnovo, or Evgenij Polianov. In the one of AVČR, there are materials related to the PLK, while in MU Archive, there are those related to his period in Brno.

There are also international archives that need to be considered. For instance, the Roman Jakobson Papers at MIT are fundamental. Roman Jakobson's papers (RJPs) kept at MIT is significantly important, defined not by chance by Giuseppe D'Ottavi as "l'un des plus importants et riches du panorama des archives de linguistes du XXe siècle et, plus généralement, des archives de sciences humaines" (D'Ottavi 2018, 1). The question about Jakobsonian archival materials is quite complex. In fact, more extensive research would be needed in other archives, within the personal funds of scholars that have not yet been sufficiently analysed. For example, symptomatic are the cases of Jurij Sokolov or Olaf Broch.<sup>502</sup> The materials kept in *Slavische Rundschau's* collection also represent a first clue for such research.

---

<sup>502</sup> The materials from Jurij Sokolov's personal fond, kept at RGALI have been described in the previous chapter (§ 3.2) and transcribed in the § **Appendix**. Concerning Olaf Broch, a further analysis of Jakobson's relationship with the Norwegian academy is suggested. Broch's personal fond kept at the Nasjonalbiblioteket of Oslo permits, together with the correspondence found at RJPs, to entirely reconstruct Jakobson's correspondence with the scholar after the WWII. As I have already emphasised in the previous chapter (§ 2.3), the relationship with this scholar is of relevance both for the influence his writings exerted on Jakobson's early research and for the fact that he represents a link between Jakobson and his master, Aleksej Šachmatov.

## 5.1 Correspondences 1920-1939: *Slavische Rundschau*

In the first chapter I have already discussed Jakobson's activity in *Slavische Rundschau* (§ 1.2). Jakobson's received correspondences related to *Slavische Rundschau* kept at LA PNP cover a period between 1928 and 1933, which does not correspond to the entire period of his collaboration with the journal. His correspondents were scholars or institutions, such as publishing houses or libraries, who mainly sent review copies of books. Unfortunately, only the letters he received have been preserved. There is only one letter written by Jakobson, a carbon copy of a typed one he sent to Šklovskij on 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1928. Galuškin published it in 1999, and as he stated, Jakobson wrote it on *Slavische Rundschau*'s letterhead (Galuškin 1999, 109). The archive contains long and short letters, postcards, and telegraphs. There are both handwritten and typewritten letters. Such communication with scholars who still operated in Jakobson's homeland was fundamental since one of his most important aims was, as already stated, to bridge the gap between the studies carried out in the West and those developed in Russia.

Jakobson corresponded with over seventy people from various locations, such as Russia (Leningrad, Moscow, and Siberia), Ukraine (especially Charkiv and L'viv) and Belarus (Minsk). Some were also settled in Germany, the United Kingdom, and France. The content and the frequency with which these exchanges occur varies depending on the sender. In most cases, Jakobson wrote to possible contributors, proposing that they collaborate with *Slavische Rundschau*. There are many letters in which the scholars express their gratitude for the proposal and their interest in the editorial project. Sometimes this interest is associated with concrete ideas for articles or reviews. For example, in 1928, Jakobson asks Vasilij Gippius to collaborate. At that time, Gippius was a professor at the University of Perm, where he worked from 1924 to 1930 before moving to Saint Petersburg, where he stayed until 1942. In the first letter from 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1928, he thanks Jakobson for proposing this collaboration and lists his significant interests in the field of history of Russian literature. He also suggests some topics for his future articles and tells Jakobson he is willing to write reviews and help with the bibliographies. The opening formulae of Jakobson's correspondence show another relevant detail, that his correspondents are not only scholars whom Jakobson knew intimately but also some with whom he was not acquainted. Various types of formulae, such as the informal and friendly "Dorogoj Roma" ("Dear Roma") or the official "Mnogouvažamyj Jakobson" ("Esteemed Jakobson") occur. Most of the letters, as mentioned, discuss contributions, revisions, and

publications. Others do not fall into these patterns. One example is the one sent by René Martel on 24<sup>th</sup> of November 1931, in which he complains of errors in an obituary dedicated to his brother Antoine, including being mistake for him.<sup>503</sup>

These correspondences are of great significance to those studying the activity of *Slavische Rundschau*. In this chapter I do not intend to provide a complete description of these materials, but to present a selection of these correspondences, which exemplify the richness and the importance of this archive. The following table provides a list of scholars identified in the archive, and when they corresponded with Jakobson. Concerning scholars settled abroad, in my analysis I will mostly focus on Russian one, since I have dedicated my dissertation to the relations between the Czech and the Russian academy.

Michail Alekseev 1928-1932	Milovan Gavazzi 1929-1921	Bohumil Mathesius 1931	Leopold Silberstein 1930-1932
Edgar Arnol'di 1929-1930	Aleksandr Georgievskij 1938	Dmitrij Svjatopolk-Mirskij 1928-1932	Aleksandr Slonimskij 1928-1929
Mark Aronson 1928-1930	Gerhart Gesemann	Aleksander Nekrasov 1928-1933	Jurij Sokolov 1929
Nikolaj Auerbach 1929	Semon Ginsburg 1928	Iwan Nimczuk 1928	Rozalija Šor 1928-1929
Mark Azadovskij 1927-1931	Vasilij Gippius 1928-1931	Nikolaj Osipov 1930	Pavel Strelkov
Alfed Bem 1928-1932	Wolfgango Giusti 1931	Vladimir Pičeta 1928-1930	Ilarion Svencick'jy 1928
Georgij Brylov 1930	Michail Gorlin 1929-1932	Aleksandr Poceluevskij 1929	Lucien Tesnière 1929
Valentin Černobaev 1930	Michajlo Gruščevs'kyj 1929	Sergej Postnikov 1929	Boris Tomaševskij 1929-1932
Dmytro Čyževs'kyj 1928-1931	Il'ja Guzdev 1930	Hans Prager 1931	Vladmir Tukalevskij 1932
Nikolaj Deržavin 1931	Sergej Hessen 1929-1930	Pavel Rastorguev 1928-1929	Jurij Tynjanov 1929
Valentina Dynnik-Sokolova 1929	Sergej Jakobson	Jevgen Rychlik 1928-1929	Lev Uspenskij 1929
Witold Doroszewski 1930-1931	Boris Jarcho 1928	Petro Rulin 1929	Vjačeslav Vinogradov
Andrej Durnovo 1930-1933	Sergej Karcevskij 1928-1931	Nikolaj Rusov 1929	Aleksandr Voznesenskij 1928-1930
Nikolaj Durnovo 1928-1932	Evfimij Karskij 1928-1929	Petr Savickij 1929-1931	Franz Weiskopf 1928

<sup>503</sup> Antoine Martel was a French Slavist involved in *Revue des études slaves*.

S<...>. Efremenko 1929	Klyment Kvitka 1928-1932	Afanasij Seliščev 1933	Gustav Winter 1928-1932
Michael Feofanoff 1930	Volodymyr Leontovyč	Mikalaj Ščakacichin 1928-1929	Miloš Weingart 1930-1931
Benno Filser 1932	Michajlo Lil'ov 1930-1931	Lev Ščerba 1929	Dmitrij Zelenin 1928-1933
Boris Ejchenbaum 1928	Pavel Markov 1928	Aleksandr Skaftymov 1929	Zmicer Žylunovič 1929
Pavel Ettinger 1928-1933	René Martel 1931	Vasyl' Simovyč 1929	

**Table 5.** Jakobson's correspondents in *Slavische Rundschau's* collection.

### *Sergej Karcevskij*

The correspondence with Sergej Karcevskij is of note. As discussed by Henryk Baran and Elena Dušečkinaja in “Perepiska S. I. Karcevskogo i R. O. Jakobsona” [“Correspondence between S. I. Karcevskij and R. O. Jakobson”] (1999), they met in 1917 when Karcevskij came to Moscow from Geneve and, unfortunately, there are no materials testifying this phase. Karcevskij was a former disciple of Ferdinand de Saussure and a member of the PLK. Jakobson and Karcevskij significantly influenced each other since the interwar years, but they never corresponded intensively.<sup>504</sup> In *Slavische Rundschau's* archive, there are letters sent by Karcevskij between 1928 and 1931 from Geneve, where he worked and lived. Regarding his collaboration with *Slavische Rundschau*, in 1929 he published twice in the section “Kulturchronik”, resp. “Die Slavistik in der Schweiz” [“Slavic Studies in Switzerland”] (Karcevskij 1929a) and “Foyer d'études slaves in Genf” (Karcevskij 1929b). In this correspondence, Karcevskij asks Jakobson for news about him, Prague, and about Russian scholars they both knew, such as Bogatyrev or Trubeckoj. Concerning research, Karcevskij sometimes complains about his precarious position, in a letter sent on 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1930 he states that does not work so much and has no money. They discuss future congresses and conferences. Karcevskij expresses his comments Jakobson's publication. For example, in the letter dated the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1932, Karcevskij comments on Jakobson's article about Russian verb, i.e., “Zur Struktur des russischen Verbums” [“Structure of the Russian Verb”] (Jakobson 1971, 3-15):

<sup>504</sup> In a letter sent to Karcevskij on 7<sup>th</sup> May of 1948 Jakobson stated: “Although we almost never correspond, I know full well that we are together.” (Baran – Dušečkinaja 1999, 180)

Your article on verb is very interesting and useful. So, you should go through the whole morphology. Investigate some more of its parts: conjugation, for example. And I will profit from it for the construction of the grammar.<sup>505</sup> I am very glad to see that you have paid attention to my notion of the “asymmetrical” structure of the linguistic sign.<sup>506</sup> Symmetry, concurrence in all interpretations = death. Movement is only possible in an unstable equilibrium. For the interlocutor, too, the words must not be quite alike. This freedom of interpretation is limited only about the forms of meanings, but still exists.<sup>507</sup>

The most significant passages are the ones in which Karcevskij discusses questions related to linguistics. For example, in the letter dated the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1930 he explains that according to him the definition of sentence should be related to that of intonation: “I do not see an independent element in the rhythm [...] phrase for me = intonation, the phrase is a psychological unity.”<sup>508</sup> In the letter sent on 3<sup>rd</sup> of February 1931, he mentions his participation in the International Congress of Linguists which was held on the same here in Geneva and presents to Jakobson his “scheme of the linguistic plans”, with which Karcevskij intended to explain the role of phonology in general linguistics:

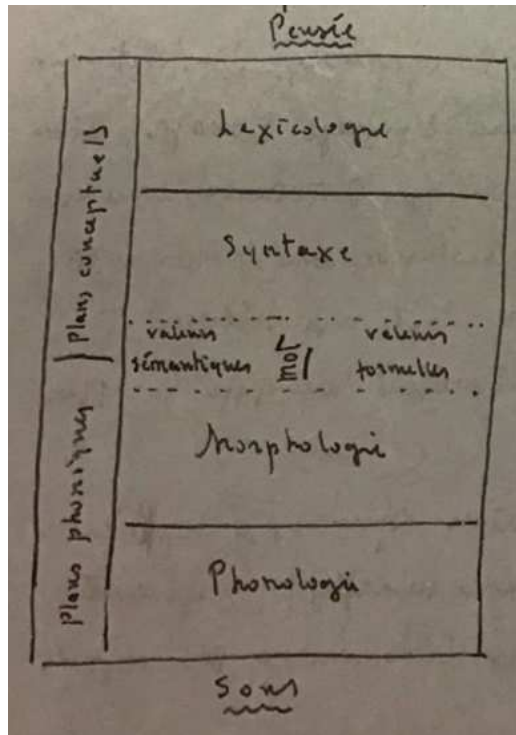
---

<sup>505</sup> In the same letter he mentions a grammar he is writings. He mentions the same project also earlier, in a letter dated the 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1931.

<sup>506</sup> “Du dualisme asymétrique du signe linguistique”, published in *Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague* in 1929, see Karcevskij ([1929], 1982).

<sup>507</sup> “Статья Твоя о глаголе очень интересная и полезная. Вот итак именно надо просмотреть всю морфологию. Займись еще какими ниб. ее частями: склонением напр. И я из этого извлеку выгоду для построения грамматики. Очень рад дал увидеть, что Ты обратил внимание на мою мысль об «асимметрическом» строении языков знаков. Симметрия, совладение во всех толках = смерть. Движение возможно только при неустойчивом равновесии. Для собеседника тоже должны не вполне одинаково понимать слова. Только насчет форм значений эта свобода интерпретации ограничения, но все же существует.”

<sup>508</sup> “В ритме а не вижу самостоятельность элемента [...] фраза для меня = интонация, фраза есть психологическое единство.”



**Image 2.** Karcevskij’s scheme, presented with a short note: “Il peut avoir une phonologie de la phrase, une phonologie syntaxique, une phonologie du mot, une phonologie morphologique et enfin la phonologie tout cours. Leur importance et caractère varieront d’une langue à l’autre.”

*Petr Savickij*

Besides the letters from Karcevskij, the ones from Petr Savickij comprise an essential corpus of materials. Savickij was a leading member of the Eurasian movement and significantly collaborated with *Slavische Rundschau* (Beisswenger 2008). The letter sent by Savickij to Jakobson on 9<sup>th</sup> of August 1930 has been published (Toman 1994, 125-138; Havránková – Pektevič 2014, 290-306). The discovery of the materials kept in the *Slavische Rundschau*’s archive provides the opportunity to deepen our understanding of the relationship between the two scholars, especially to better comprehend Jakobson’s involvement in the Eurasian movement, which I have already discussed in the second chapter (§ 2.2). Savickij sent his first letter to Jakobson on 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1928, having just returned from Berlin to find a letter that Jakobson had sent to him on 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1928. Even if Savickij’s letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1928 was not the first letter of their correspondence, it is the one in which Savickij declares his intention to collaborate with the journal. The content changes over time. In the beginning, the tone of their correspondence is very formal, and there are editorial requests such as the one in this letter from the 13<sup>th</sup> of February 1929: “regarding yesterday’s (very interesting for me)

discussion with Gesemann on terminology, I thought: should I look at the German version of my article to avoid mistakes in the transcription and the technical terminology.”<sup>509</sup> From 1930 onwards, the tone becomes less formal. Savickij was only occasionally in Prague, and he sent the letters from abroad, such as Oxford or Paris. In a letter dated the 29<sup>th</sup> of September 1930, he praises an article by Jakobson as follows: “Your article, but specifically for all those who read it (including N.N. Alekseev and the local Eurasianists), will be one of the most relevant focal points of this collection”.<sup>510</sup> He refers to “K charakteristike evrazijskogo jazykovogo sojuza”<sup>511</sup> [“The Eurasian Language Union”], published in 1931 in *Izdanie Evrazijcev* (see § 2.2). Savickij eagers to receive news about other scholars, he often mentions Trubeckoj (reported N. S.) or asks for news about Bogatyrev (P. G.) and his research.

### *Dmitrij Svjatopolk-Mirskij*

Another Eurasian scholar, Dmitrij Svjatopolk-Mirskij, counts among the correspondents. Having left Russia, he lived in London between 1921 and 1932, when he decided to return. In 1922 he embraced Eurasian theories, but due to his later interest in Marxism and his approach to Maksim Gor’kij, in 1929 he left the Eurasian movement. Despite this, Jakobson maintained a fruitful collaboration with him and in 1931 they co-published the collection *Smert’ Vladimira Majakovskogo* [*Vladimir Majakovskij’s Death*] (Jakobson – Mirskij 1931). The Mirskij correspondence dates from 1928 to 1932 and consists of twenty-nine letters, the contents of which concern Mirskij’s activity in *Slavische Rundschau*. He sent his letters mainly from London and occasionally from Paris. Mirskij’s collaboration with *Slavische Rundschau* regards different topics, such as Dostoevskij or Russian literature produced in the emigration.<sup>512</sup> His relationship with the Russian community in Prague was significant insofar as it led to other collaborations, such as the one with the periodical *Volja Rossii*, where Mark Slonim and Marina Cvetaeva contributed many articles. The content of the correspondence mainly regards Mirskij’s involvement in the journal.

---

<sup>509</sup> “В связи со вчерашним (очень интересным для меня) терминологическим разговором моим с Геземанном, мне приходил в голову мысль: – не следовало ли бы мне еще раз, уже в корректуре, проглядеть немецкий текст моей статьи во избежание ошибок в транскрипции и в технической терминологии.”

<sup>510</sup> “Ваша статья, но именно всех ее читавших (в том числе - Н. Н. Алексеева и здешних евразийцев) будет одним из важнейших центров этого сборника.”

<sup>511</sup> Recently translated into English by Patrick Flack with an introduction by Patrick Sériot, see Sériot (2023).

<sup>512</sup> For a biography of Mirskij, see Smith (2000).

As stated before, most of the scholars whose correspondence appears in the collection still lived in the Soviet Union. Among them are scholars with whom Jakobson was close during his Moscow years, such as those associated with the Russian Formalism: Boris Tomaševskij, Jurij Tynjanov, and Boris Ejchenbaum. To them, we can also add Boris Jarcho,<sup>513</sup> with whom Jakobson discussed questions related to folklore. Unlike the other scholars in this article, they did not collaborate with *Slavische Rundschau*. These materials are, considering the importance Formalism has still nowadays in Slavic studies, the most relevant ones among those kept in the archive. In the years when these letters were sent Formalism was going through a profound crisis that involved a rupture between its members.

### *Rosalija Šor*

In a letter sent on 20<sup>th</sup> of July 1928 Boris Jarcho suggests to Jakobson to consider Rosalija Šor<sup>514</sup> among *Slavische Rundschau*'s possible collaborators. Šor then contacted Jakobson on 16<sup>th</sup> of October of the same year. In her first letter she does not refer to Jarcho, but to Boris and Jurij Sokolov. Accordingly to Šor, they suggested her to write to Jakobson about her possible involvement in *Slavische Rundschau*. Jurij Sokolov had just returned from a trip to Prague where he had met Jakobson. Šor proposes Jakobson to write reviews related to new works related to linguistics. In the following letter (dated the 24<sup>th</sup> of November 1928), Šor promises to send the reviews about Sabina Spielrein's and Leonid Bulachovskij's books as soon as possible. She refuses to write a review of Michail Peterson's book *Vvedenie v jazykovedenie* [*Introduction to Linguistics*] as it was still unfinished. On 11<sup>th</sup> of December 1928 she sends another letter enclosing the reviews. The other two letters found in the collection are dated 1929. In the first, dated the 14<sup>th</sup> of November 1929, Šor informs Jakobson that she started teaching general linguistics at the University of Baku and that she intends to write reviews of Valentin Vološinov's *Marksizm i filosofija jazyka* [*Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, 1929], Evgenij Polivanov's *Vvedenie v jazykovedenie dlja vostokovovedov* [*Introduction to Linguistics for Orientalists*, 1928] and Nikolaj Marr's *Učenie o jazyke v mirnovom masštabe* [*Teaching about Language on a Global Scale*, 1929]. On 29<sup>th</sup> of December 1929, she mentions

---

<sup>513</sup> Concerning Jarcho, see Cadamagnani (2018).

<sup>514</sup> Concerning Rozisalija Šor see Velmezova – Moret (2016). Ekaterina Velmezova wrote “De plus, durant de nombreuses années, elle fut, en URSS, une voie d'accès vers la linguistique dite ‘occidentale’, en commentant les ouvrages d'Antoine Meillet, Edward Sapir, Otto Jespersen, Ferdinand de Saussure, etc. que l'on publia en russe dans les années 1920-1930.” (Velmezova – Moret 2016, 2-3). See also Anna Isanina: “Šor assistait aux conférences de V. K. Poržezinskij, le disciple immédiat de Fortunatov, elle communiquait beaucoup avec R. O. Jakobson et N. S. Trubeckoj, et a par conséquent hérité de quelques traits de la tradition scientifique qui les avait formés.” (Velmezova – Moret 2016, 115).

the PLK's *Travaux*: "but I have not yet received the works of the circle".<sup>515</sup> Šor appears among those who used to attend the MLK's meetings and was interested in the formalist method. This mention of the *Travaux* demonstrates that she was also later interested in Structuralism. Considering Jakobson's opinion about Šor, in 1935 he published in *Slovo a slovesnost* "Obecná lingvistika v SSSR" ["General linguistics in the USSR"] (Jakobson 2014, 78-80), a review of the first two volumes published as part of the Soviet editorial project "Jazykovedy Zapada" ("West Linguistics") by the Moscow publishing house Socjckniz. The first volume, Ferdinand de Saussure's *Kurs obščej lingvistiki* [*Course of General Linguistics*], appeared in 1933 and the second, Edward Sapir's *Vvedenie v izučenie reči* [*Language. An Introduction to the Study of Speech*], in 1934. Both volumes were translated by Aleksej Suchotin and Šor wrote an introduction to de Saussure. In the review Jakobson emphasises how effective Šor's notes were, stating that she had fully grasped the Genevan linguist's theories. Although she had exhaustively analysed de Saussure's relationship with the Neogrammarians regarding the preservation and innovation of their theories, she did not consider a pivotal point to Jakobson: the ties between de Saussure and Russian linguists, such as de Courtenay, were missing. Jakobson refers to Evgenij Polivanov's *Za marksistskoe jazykoznanie* [*In favour of Marxist Linguistics*] emphasising that the theories elaborated by Polish and Russian linguists in the nineteenth century (especially by the Kazanskaja škola) anticipated de Saussure's. Contrary to other Russian linguists, such as Dmitrij Vvedenskij who believed that the Russian pre-revolutionary linguistics copied theories elaborated in West Europe, Polivanov strongly endorsed the theoretical autonomy of Russian linguistic, denying the presence of an external influence. Jakobson also criticises Šor for her attempt to interpret de Saussure through Marxist theories, considering it lacking convincing conclusions:<sup>516</sup> as I have already emphasised while discussing his reaction to Marrism (§ 2.1), Jakobson was very polemical against Marxism.

*Boris Tomaševskij*

The letters sent by Boris Tomaševskij cover different topics. For example, in the one from the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1929, he initially complains about Jakobson's laconicism in answering his questions and his reluctance to pursue discussions:

---

<sup>515</sup> "но трудов кружка по сих пор не получила".

<sup>516</sup> About Šor and Jakobson and her interest in Marxist theories, see Patrick Flack's article in (Velmezova – Moret 2016, 186-198).

The laconicism of your postcards is hyperbolic. You systematically avoid answering questions. Remember that it takes eight days to get from Prague to Leningrad (at 12 kilometers per hour). It is difficult to ask questions under such conditions. You did not answer anything about nomogenesis or poetics.<sup>517</sup>

Then he informs Jakobson about his current activities and about mutual friends, such as Tynjanov, who just returned from Berlin and published his latest book. He then writes about the discovery of archival documents related to Puškin's *Monach* [*The Monk*], a poem in three cantos recognised as Puškin's first one by critics. It was discovered in 1928 and published in the Moscow journal *Krasnyj Archiv*:

If you need it for the *Rundschau* chronicle, use what follows: the newly discovered documents found in the Gorčakov's archives are now being printed. The materials mainly regard Puškin's poem *The Monk* (the first three cantos) and Gorčakov's letters to his family from the lyceum.<sup>518</sup>

This letter contains other relevant passages about the crisis and the future of the OPOJAZ (Society for the Study of Poetic Language):

I am not entirely sure that OPOJAZ will be resurrected. Generally, I think there is no need to expand the name now, especially since the name is heavily dated. This name belongs to the past as an external sign of the scientific direction. It is necessary to work anyway.<sup>519</sup>

*Jurij Tynjanov*

As with Tomaševskij, Jurij Tynjanov likewise laments that Jakobson was not answering to his letters: "Why do not you write anything? What do you think of my work *Archaists and Puškin*. I am very interested in your opinion. There are many misprints in the book. Has Petr

---

<sup>517</sup> "Лаконизм твоих открыток гиперболичен. На вопросы ты систематически избегаешь отвечать. Не забудь, что открытка от Праги до Ленинграда идет восемь дней (со скоростью 12 километров в час). Переспрашивать при таких условиях трудно. Ни о номогенезе, ни о поэтиках ты мне ничего не ответил."

<sup>518</sup> "Если нужно для хроники *Rundschau*, то используй нижеследующее: сейчас печатаются новооткрытые документы обнаруженные в архиве Горчаковых. Центральное место занимает поэма Пушкина *Монах* (первые три песни) и письма Горчакова родным из лицея."

<sup>519</sup> "Не совсем уверен, что Опояз воскреснет. Вообще я думаю сейчас не нужна экспансия имени, тем более что имя сильно датирует. Это имя как Внешний знак научного направления принадлежит прошлому. Работать же надо все равно."

Grigorievič received my *Archaists?*”<sup>520</sup> Tynjanov’s letter is only dated “Leningrad, 23<sup>rd</sup> of March”. *Archaisty i Puškin* [*Archaists and Puškin*] was edited in 1929 in the collection *Archaisty i novatory* [*Archaists and Innovators*], so we can deduce that the letter is from the same year. As Tomaševskij did in his letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1929, Tynjanov also commented on OPOJAZ’s crisis in a letter dated the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1929. As stated, he was consoled only by his last visit to Prague at the PLK: “Ferocious frosts greeted me. Frosts of 30 degrees. Without Prague’s warm boots, I would have died. Of course, OPOJAZ is not going to reconcile. You cannot make up for, there is a fight coming.”<sup>521</sup>

### *Boris Ejchenbaum*

Jakobson corresponded also with Boris Ejchenbaum in 1928. This correspondence contains only three letters regarding Ejchenbaum’s publications in *Slavische Rundschau*. Differently from other correspondents who merely discussed editorial questions, Ejchenbaum also elaborates some remarkable considerations about his research on Tolstoj. In 1928 Ejchenbaum was completing his first book on Tolstoj, *Lev Tolstoj. Kniga 1. Pjatidesjatye gody* [*Lev Tolstoj. Book one. The Fifties*] (Ejchenbaum 1928) and editing Tolstoj’s writings. Jakobson asks Ejchenbaum to write an article for *Slavische Rundschau* but, as Ejchenbaum writes in a letter sent on 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1928, he had no time for writing anything else, neither for letters:

I have delayed replying to your nice letter only because I am inhumanly busy... Not just busy, as busy people with things to do can be, but immersed with my head and almost going mad: I am finishing the first volume of a large work on Tolstoy, which will be published later. It will be a book of twenty printed pages, from the beginning to *War and Peace*. [...] I am writing with great tension and pressure... I have not taken my pen off the paper for three months now, and I still have not finished. [...] I am waiting for your reply and once again apologise for the delay... You can see by my handwriting how I am in a hurry. Moreover, I rarely write letters. It is difficult in our “literary way of life”.<sup>522</sup>

---

<sup>520</sup> “Отчего ничевок не пишешь? Какого ты мнения о моей работе *Архаисты и Пушкин*. Меня очень интересует твое мнение. Опечаток в книге очень много. Получил ли Петр Григорьевич моих *Архаистов?*”

<sup>521</sup> “Свирепые морозы встретили меня. Морозы в 30 градусов. Без пражских теплых сапог я погиб бы. Опояз, конечно, не клеится никак. Где уж тут мирить, того гляди сам рассоришься.”

<sup>522</sup> “Я задержался с ответом на Ваше милое письмо только потому, что нечеловечески занят - не просто занят, как бывают занятые люди с делами, а погружён с головой и почти схожу с ума: кончаю

Having no time to write an article for *Slavische Rundschau*, he proposed to send a chapter from his book which, according to him, was the central one because it proposed a new way of conceiving Tolstoj: “what is more relevant and essential is something else, not to modernise Tolstoj so that he would be suitable for us, but to show him in his epoch, to ‘develop him’, as Vitja used to say.”<sup>523</sup> According to Ejchenbaum, for the formalists it was not important the *aktual’nost’*, the actuality, of an author as Tolstoj, but to analyse his work through the perspective of the *literaturnyj byt*. In the following letter, dated the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1928, Ejchenbaum states that Jakobson did not understand what he meant while stating that Tolstoj’s historical dimension was relevant. He emphasises that the main question was not related to literature anymore, but to writing:

By “historical” I mean that the problem of the writer in his epoch is relevant now because this is the real “sociological” problem. [...] This is now a living problem. And it seems to you as if there is now another, purely literary perception. Maybe two or three writers have it. That is what is so characteristic: now we should not talk about literature, but about writing.<sup>524</sup>

At that time Ejchenbaum and Šklovskij were both researching on Tolstoj paying attention to the concepts of *literaturnyj byt*: “Vitja is here [in Leningrad] now, he is going back to Moscow tomorrow. We are marching like two athletes: both of us typing books on Tolstoj and looking at each other with a lovable anxiety: how will the public understand?”<sup>525</sup> These letters attest Ejchenbaum’s close collaboration with Šklovskij, they shared the same interests and developed a similar approach through a new historical approach of literature. In the letters, Ejchenbaum mentions also that he is eager of having a conversation with Jakobson and that he is attracted by the possibility of visiting Prague.

---

первый том большой работы о Толстом, которая выйдет потом дальше. Это будет книга в двадцати печатных листах - от начала до Войны и мира. [...] Пишу с огромным напряжением и натиском - уже три месяца не отрываю пера от бумаги, а всё ещё не кончил. [...] Жду вашего ответа и ещё раз извиняюсь за задержку - видите по почерку, как тороплюсь. Притом - письма пишу очень редко. Это в нашем ‘литературном быту’ даётся с трудом.”

<sup>523</sup> “Вопроса об актуальности в ней нет, да и, по правде сказать, он вообще кажется мне мало актуальным и несуществующим. Актуальнее и существеннее как раз другое – не модернизировать Толстого так, чтобы он годился для нас, а показать его в эпохах, ‘развинтить’, как говорил Витя.”

<sup>524</sup> “Под ‘историческим’ я разумею то, что сейчас актуальна проблема писателя в своей эпохе – ведь это и есть настоящая ‘социологическая’ проблема. [...] Это сейчас – живая проблема. А вам как будто кажется, что есть сейчас другое, чисто литературное восприятие. Оно, может быть, есть у двух-трёх писателей. То-то и характерно, что сейчас надо говорить не о литературе, а о писательстве.”

<sup>525</sup> “Здесь сейчас Витя – завтра возвращается в Москву. Мы ходим с ним как два атлета - оба печатаем книги о Толстом и смотрим друг на друга с любовной тревогой: как поймет публика?”

## Wolfgango Giusti

Among the documents are six letters by the Italian scholar Wolfgango Giusti written in German, except for one in Czech. Italian interest in Slavic studies increased during the interwar period thanks to scholars such as Giusti, Giovanni Maver and Ettore Lo Gatto. They occasionally published in Czechoslovakian periodicals, such as *Slavia* or *Slavische Rundschau*. Letters sent by Italian scholars appear frequently in the archives of scholars from Prague. Only three letters sent by Giusti are dated (resp. the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1931; the 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1931; the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1931). In the letter sent the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1931, Giusti assents to Jakobson's request to write an article about the studies dedicated to Dostoevskij in Italy, addressing to Jakobson as "Mein lieber Freund". He also sends his warmest greetings to Gesemann. In another letter sent with his contribution to *Slavische Rundschau*, Giusti asks Jakobson if he intends to come to Italy (Giusti 1931). Although only these letters survived, they undeniably evidence the existence of such a relationship between Giusti and Jakobson, which until now could only be supposed, on the basis that the two had attended the same conferences and congresses.<sup>526</sup>

## Dmytro Čyževs'kyj

The most frequent exchanges of correspondence are the ones with Durnovo and Čyževs'kyj.<sup>527</sup> Both actively published with *Slavische Rundschau* and collaborated with Jakobson while staying in Prague, but it is easier to discern structuralist influence in Čyževs'kyj's work than in Durnovo's. Regarding the correspondence with Čyževs'kyj, the archive of *Slavische Rundschau* contains twenty-nine letters sent by him between 1928 and 1931. Even though he settled in Prague, he spent much of his time in Germany. Čyževs'kyj wrote to Jakobson while he was in Freiburg, as can be surmised from his letterheads, where "Zähringen" (a suburb of Freiburg) occurs. The main topic concerns Čyževs'kyj's contributions

---

<sup>526</sup> In RJP's there is a significant presence of Italian scholars. Jakobson's relationship with Italy, which has been preliminarily sketched in Esposito (2018), significantly intensified during the American period, becoming strong as that with the French context. While Jakobson's relationship with Lévi-Strauss has been largely studied, the analysis of Jakobson's relationship with Italian scholars is still faintly. Eco's reception of Jakobson and his tendency of consider him a master of semiotics is of note: "Let me assume that Jakobson has never written a book on semiotics because his entire scientific existence has been a living example of a Quest for Semiotics." (Eco 1977, 42). Besides Eco, there is still much to discuss about the role Jakobson played in the Italian academy, such as the influence he exerted on Silvio D'Arco Avalle (1970). The reception of the Jakobsonian writings in Italy is a topic which should require a more detailed discussion.

<sup>527</sup> For an analysis of the relationship between Jakobson and Čyževs'kyj, see Mnich – Blaškiv (2016). They largely referred to the materials kept in Čyževs'kyj's at Heidelberg University. This correspondence started after Jakobson's departure from Czechoslovakia.

to *Slavische Rundschau*. He informs Jakobson about articles or reviews and asks for advice. There are also more informal requests, such as for news about Bogatyrev or proposals on when to meet in Prague (in one letter, Čyževs'kyj also asks if it could be possible to stay at Bogatyrev's place). So, this correspondence is not relevant, except for the fact that it is possible to ascertain that the two scholars were near at that time. Among other people mentioned there are Mathesius, Gesemann and, obviously, Bogatyrev.

### *Nikolaj Durnovo*

Nikolaj Durnovo, a Russian linguist who specialised in dialectology and morphology, lived in Prague from 1924 to 1927.<sup>528</sup> Toman collected letters from Jakobson to Durnovo between 1924 and 1927, kept at the Slavic library in Prague (Toman 1994, 76-111). As he states, in the “early 1920s [the letters] are characterised by relatively traditional approaches to sound change and dialectology” (*ibid.*, 78).

The correspondence with Durnovo differs from that with Čyževs'kyj. Durnovo sent around sixty letters between 1928 and 1932, from Moscow and Minsk.<sup>529</sup> Unlike those sent by Čyževs'kyj, the subject matter of Durnovo's letters does not only concern issues related to *Slavische Rundschau*. Durnovo's letters are longer and more articulate than Čyževs'kyj's ones, often written on postcards.

These letters are crucial to understand how the relationship between the two scholars evolved after Durnovo's departure from Czechoslovakia. A preliminary analysis of these materials proves that Durnovo was still a crucial reference to Jakobson after their separation. The content of this correspondence is varied. At that time, Durnovo was struggling with his academic position and had several financial problems because after returning from Czechoslovakia he was not welcomed by Russian scholars. It was a hard time for Durnovo, who had to face the hostility of his colleagues. In his letters to Jakobson he does not hide his feelings: “I was very tired; I was writing the whole time, without doing anything else, and yet the work was coming along slowly.”<sup>530</sup>

---

<sup>528</sup> Concerning Durnovo's activity in Czechoslovakia see Robinson (1992) and (2021).

<sup>529</sup> Concerning Russian scholars and Belarusian academy, see Robinson (2015).

<sup>530</sup> “Очень устал; писал все время, ничем другим не занимаясь, и тем не менее, работа подвигалась медленно.”

The most significant result of Durnovo's research period in Czechoslovakia, the monograph *Vvedenie k istoriju russkogo jazyka* [Introduction to the History of Russian Language, 1927] was not positively received. For example, in a letter to Michail Speranskij, the Ukrainian scholar Vladimir Perec commented as follows: "Originally conceived, but rather clumsy: à la Durnovo, as he is. There are a lot of omissions"<sup>531</sup> (Robinson 2015, 75-76). While reading Durnovo's writings published in the interwar period, it is possible to notice a lack of innovation, especially regarding methodology. In this regard, he can be perceived a scholar who continued academic paths already started by others, such as Aleksej Šachmatov or Evfimij Karskij, but without improving their approach. After he returned to Soviet Union, Durnovo pursued his relationship with scholars who worked in Czechoslovakia. For example, from the letters Durnovo sent to Jakobson we ascertain that he was still interested in Bogatyrev's research about the Sub-Carpathian folklore, a region he visited. He was mainly interested in the dialects and

emphasised the specificity of the historical existence of these dialects and stressed the special importance of their study: "A detailed study of the Carpathian-Russian dialects is extremely important for the history of Russian languages in general and Ukrainian in particular, since these dialects have not experienced a number of phenomena experienced by Ukrainian dialects, and allow us to judge about a very distant epoch in the history of Russian languages".<sup>532</sup> (Robinson 2021, 66)

Durnovo often asks Jakobson to be informed about scientific progress in the West and several letters contain lists of books or requests for specific material. Beside this, Durnovo's tendency to continue publishing in Czech journals also proves this intention of maintaining his relationship with the Czech academic context. He published for *Byzantinoslavica* and pursued his previous collaboration with *Slavia*. Relevant is then Durnovo's collaboration with *Slavische Rundschau*, where he published under Jakobson's invitation. Part of their correspondence is related to this topic, i.e., they discussed about the publication of articles or reviews. Jakobson evidently wrote to Durnovo in 1928 to ask whom he could contact for contributions to *Slavische Rundschau*, as he did with Trubeckoj. This can be deduced from a letter sent by Durnovo on

---

<sup>531</sup> "Оригинально задумано, нодовольно неуклюже: по Дурновски, как он сам. Пропусков масса."

<sup>532</sup> "Особо отмечал специфику исторического бытования этих говоров и подчеркивал особое значение их исследования: 'Детальное изучение карпаторусских говоров чрезвычайно важно для истории русских языков вообще и украинского, в частности, так как эти говоры не пережили целый ряд явлений, пережитых украинскими говорами, и позволяют судить об очень отдаленной эпохе в истории русских языков'."

16<sup>th</sup> of June 1928. In reply, Durnovo informs Jakobson about some scholars at the University of Minsk. At that time Durnovo was trying to gain a permanent position in the Belarusian academy, since he had several problems with the Russian one. The first name which occurs is that of Petr Buzuk, whom Durnovo describes as unsuitable for collaboration with *Slavische Rundschau*: his attitude was too blunt and subjective. This aversion can also be detached in the review Durnovo published a review about Buzuk's book *Kоротка istorija ukraïns'koï movy* [*A Brief History of Ukrainian Language*, 1924], stating that he was lacking originality: "In his exposition B.[ozuk] is not original, except for some excerpts, and repeats statements which are more or less established in the scientific community"<sup>533</sup> (Durnovo 1925-1926, 583). In the closing remarks Durnovo negatively addresses to Buzuk's scientific attitude: "Does B.[uzuk] really think that a bad student who makes more mistakes is braver than a good student who writes without mistakes?"<sup>534</sup> (Durnovo 1925-1926, 597). Besides his critique, Durnovo mentions other possible contributors. He suggests, for example, Evgenij Boričevskij since he considered him a better scholar than Aleksandr Voznesenskij, especially in the literary field. Durnovo constantly and detailly informs Jakobson about the development of his research, reporting some of his considerations about dialectology or history of Russian literature. Unfortunately, to date I have no evidence about the presence of Jakobson's letters in Durnovo's Russian archives.

#### *Andrej Durnovo*

In *Slavische Rundschau*'s archive, there are also letters sent to Jakobson by Durnovo's older son, Andrej Durnovo. Their correspondence mainly regarded A. Durnovo's involvement in the activity of the journal. From the letters we deduce that at that time he lived in Leningrad, where he was attracted by the city's cultural and artistic life. While planning to publish a monograph dedicated to Leningrad's cultural milieu, he asks Jakobson to give him some advice or remarks. This was his main interest, as we can clearly comprehend from an undated letter sent to Jakobson, in which A. Durnovo lists some periodicals (around 61) he previewed to read and follow in order to inform in *Slavische Rundschau* about Leningrad's cultural life. In the same letter, he also proposes to prepare some bibliographies about the last books or studies appeared in Russia.

---

<sup>533</sup> "В изложении Б.[озук] не оригинален, если не считать некоторых частных, и повторяет более или менее установившиеся в науке положения, относясь впрочем критически к взглядам".

<sup>534</sup> "Неужели Б. думает, что плохой ученик делающий больше ошибок, смелее хорошего ученика, пишущего без ошибок?"

### *Mark Aronson and Pavel Ettinger*

Remarkably frequent, although less significant to the interwar Czechoslovakian context, are the letters sent by Mark Aronson and Pavel Ettinger, who published several articles in *Slavische Rundschau*. Aronson was a Russian scholar who did his doctorate under the supervision of Trubeckoj in Vienna. For this reason, it could be assumed that his mentor warmly advised his participation in the *Slavische Rundschau* editorial project. Then, as Jakobson discussed in his article “On Visual and Auditory Signs” (Jakobson 1964), Aronson later returned to Russia and collaborated with Ejchenbaum in Leningrad.<sup>535</sup> Ettinger was a Russian art historian and collector, who had no special education, but his role in the Leningrad artistic scene was significant. His contacts with Prague are not completely clear, but relevant to this was his assiduous correspondence in the early 1920s with the painter Pavel Čarybin, who was settled in the Czech capital (Demskaja – Semenova 1989). Of note is his activity in *Prager Presse*, where he published more than 130 articles (Mágr 1945, 13). Alongside Aronson and Ettinger, it is also possible to mention the art historian Aleksej Nekrasov. Since his collaboration with *Slavische Rundschau* was remarkably prolific, he also sent numerous letters to Jakobson, which contains information about the publication of contributions.

### *Alfred Bem*

Bem was an active scholar in Prague, where he founded the Společnost Dostojevského [Dostoevskij’s Society] and was involved in the activities of the PLK. As I have already discussed (§ 2.4), in the 1930s, he edited some collections of Puškin’s works for the Czech publishing house Melantrich with Jakobson. He sent letters to Jakobson between 1928 and 1930. In the first one (the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 1928), Bem thanks Jakobson for proposing that he contribute to *Slavische Rundschau* and asks if he can write about the correspondence between Dostoevskij and Turgenev. He makes various requests of Jakobson. For example, in 1930, he asked if Jakobson’s brother could translate his book on Dostoevskij into German (the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1930).

---

<sup>535</sup> One of the most important results of the collaboration between Ejchenbaum and Aronson is the book *Literaturnye kružki i saloni [Literary Circles and Salons]* ([1929] 2001), which has an introductory section with writings by Ejchenbaum, Aronson and Solomon Rejser.

## *Leopold Silberstein*

Silberstein lived in Berlin and actively contributed to the Czechoslovakian German press. After he emigrated to Prague in 1933, he participated in cultural and scientific initiatives. These letters from Berlin are written both in Russian and in German. Their content concerns Silberstein's contributions to *Slavische Rundschau* and personal information. For example, in the one from the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1932, he notifies that he will delay his departure from Berlin due to financial issues. Silberstein's case corresponds to another important question related to Jakobson, his relationship with the German community of Prague, which intensified after the WWII. In RJP's there are at least three relevant correspondences, i.e., those with Friedrich Slotty, Antonín Stanislav Mágr, and Paul Eisner.

## Conclusions

This chapter concludes the thesis by summarising my research key findings. I will also acknowledge the limitations of the study and propose some possible future evolutions of the research.

The main aim was to investigate and discuss the activity of Roman Jakobson in Czechoslovakia (1920-1939), focussing the analysis on a corpus of materials selected from his journalistic production. This analysis has been based on the concept of the “cultural transfer”, a methodology which examines the movement and interaction of ideas, practices, and cultural products between different cultures and national contexts. According to Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, the central aim is on understanding how cultures are not static or isolated entities but are transformed through contact with others. In this thesis Jakobson has been questioned both as an active participant in this phenomenon, in Espagne and Werner’s words he was conceived as an “actor” or a “mediator”, and as an individual who was subjected to the processes inherent in cultural interaction, specifically adaptation and transformation as effects of contact with the “other”. The questions guiding the research were therefore twofold and complementary. The role Jakobson played as a cultural transfer between the Czech and Russian literary and academic context was considered together with the effects that this cultural interaction had on his evolution as a scholar.

Considering the writings appeared during Jakobson’s Czechoslovakian phase, this period was put in dialogue with the scholar’s other phases, i.e., the Russian, the Scandinavian and the American one. Such a classification echoed the traditional interpretation of Jakobson’s career given by scholars, but it revealed to be just an operational solution. As repetitively emphasised, the period spent in Czechoslovakia was profoundly dynamical and in constant evolution. It naturally presents some “dominants”, such as specific references or the development of a certain methodology, but at the same time the layered system of interaction with the other “phases” suggests that such a rigid subdivision of Jakobson’s career is not an appropriate key of interpretation. Jakobson’s body of work should be considered as a whole divided accordingly to topics, rather than only temporally. This statement finds his justification in two more characteristics. First, the heterogeneity of Jakobson’s work. Second, Jakobson’s interest in certain topics does not follow any temporal or systematic evolution. Rather, his career developed according to a sinusoidal movement, in which topics emerge and then disappear, before emerging again to be investigated through a different lens.

The study developed according to the following structure. The first chapter described the Czech press, explaining its main characteristics and the role Jakobson played in it. The second chapter depicted Jakobson's activity in the press considering the different genres he employed. During my analysis I have not analysed scientific articles, but only considered them as a reference. The third chapter delved into some relevant or recurrent topics of Jakobson's journalistic activity, i.e., poetry and folklore. The fourth chapter discussed Jakobson's writings about cinema. Finally, the fifth chapter was an analysis of Jakobson's correspondences through unpublished materials founded in two archives, i.e., *Slavische Rundschau's* collection kept at LA PNP in Prague and *Roman Jakobson Papers* kept at the MIT Distinctive Collections in Cambridge MA.

In the first chapter (§ 1.1), while describing Prague journalistic context, the difficulties Jakobson encountered once he moved to Prague have been widely discussed. Among the problems he had to deal with there was the accuse of being a Bolshevik or a spy. Jakobson's involvement in politics has always been denied, in first place by himself. Analysing his ideological writings (§ 2.2) and the polemic that arose against Konrad Bittner (§ 2.6.3) it is not possible to consider Jakobson as completely estranged to the political discourse. First, he considered the concept of "culture" in a political nuance as subject of a clash of nationalities. The concept of "nationality" is then discussed in the review of Erenburg and Savič's monograph about Russia and France (§ 2.5.2), in which Jakobson emphasised that the contact with the "other" could be beneficial to understand the "self". Second, the polemic against Bittner must be interpretate as Jakobson's attempt to fight the arising of Nazi ideology in the Prague academic milieu. This anti-Nazi behaviour emerged also in other writings, such as the report of the last international congress of linguists he participated in (§ 2.3) or the information about the issue published by the Spanish journal *Emerita*. Otherwise, Jakobson's political engagement did not emerge while investigating his relationship with Eurasianism, which was a declared political movement. As demonstrated in the second chapter (§ 2.2) Jakobson's involvement in the movement was more marginal than usually believed by scholars and did not contribute effectively to an evolution of the theories concerning the Eurasian geographical and linguistic space.

As shown in the first chapter (§ 1.2), the periodicals in which Jakobson contributed were remarkably diversified, encompassing an amplitude of languages, i.e., Czech, German, Russian, and French. A trait which characterises most of the newspapers analysed in this thesis

is the affiliation with Masarykian government, e.g., *Prager Presse* or *Lidové noviny*. He also employed various journalistic genres. The intensive involvement in the press is a peculiar characteristic of this period that was not pursued during the American years, when he primarily focused on his academic work and became a proper scholar. From the analysis led in this thesis emerges that during the interwar period Jakobson's figure was peculiar. He was not assimilated with the *émigré* community. Petr Bogatyrev was in the same position; he was not acquainted with the Russian *émigré* community. However, an analysis of their activity testifies that despite his close collaboration with Bogatyrev, their involvement in the Czech context was different, as shown in the third chapter (§ 3.2). Jakobson was integrated in the Czech cultural context by assuming two typical inclinations. First, he conceived the relationship with the artistic milieu as a pivotal prerequisite for a scholar, especially while studying literature. This trait was both a heritage from his period in Russia and a behaviour widely diffused in the Czech context. Second, during the period spent in Czechoslovakia, Jakobson embodied a hybrid position between journalism and academy. The Czech press was characterised by this hybrid nuance, i.e., people involved in journalism came from different contexts. A journalist could be a scholar or a poet because the demarcation between the academic, the poetic and the journalistic sphere did not exist.

For the purposes of this analysis, Jakobson's activity within the Czech press has been divided into two phases, with 1929 serving as a watershed. This year marks the moment when his journalistic and academic role evolved. After passing through the initial period of critics and rejections, he got his doctoral title at the Deutsche Universität Prag and became a member of the editorial board of *Slavische Rundschau*. Later, he was also nominated professor at Masaryk University. This temporal division was purely operational, such as the distinction of Jakobson's "phases", as it is not possible to clearly distinguish between the different stages of Jakobson's activity, even when these are marked by a moving, such as the one from Russia to Czechoslovakia in 1920.

By identifying these two phases, it was possible to observe a typological distinction in the genres Jakobson employed. Indeed, while the twenties were characterised by a significant publishing of obituaries and reviews, the thirties saw a stronger focus on writing articles, both academic and non-academic. It was only with the attainment of formal recognition, both in the press and in the academic milieu, that Jakobson began to favour the publication of articles. The act of initially writing obituaries or reviews reflected his social position within the Czech

context. A position which, as has been repeatedly emphasised in this study, was undefined and unstable. In this regard, if one were to define Jakobson's period in Czechoslovakia, the expression "the formation of a scholar" would be fitting. His engagement with writing obituaries or reviews was therefore a response to circumstances, as these were the only available spaces for him to express. This consideration founded his clarification while delving into the structure and the content of the texts selected for the analysis. I have observed Jakobson's inclination to not respect the traditional shape of a genre and the lack of correspondence between the title of a writing and the development of its content. The publishing of obituaries or reviews also highlights a key difference from the American phase, where the publication of obituaries reflected a more deliberate intention aligned with the conventions of the genre.

Unlike obituaries or reviews, Jakobson's publication of polemics was not the result of specific circumstances, but rather stemmed from a different intention: the desire to engage with one of the most pivotal genres of Czech journalism at the time. This genre exhibited two distinct features. First, the polemic has been a fundamental genre in Czech journalism since the nineteenth century. As emphasised in the thesis, polemics were one of the most widespread and frequently debated genres in terms of both form and purposes. Second, it is a genre consistently employed by Jakobson, also during his American period. A telling example is the case of André Mazon (§ 2.6.2), who, as has been shown, represented a position diametrically opposed to Jakobson in the field of Russian studies for over forty years. The polemical relationship between these scholars exemplified a generational and transcultural clash, driven by methodological and conceptual divergences. Jakobson's polemic approach was never merely deconstructive or an end to itself, but always aimed to engage in dialogue with the scholar under critique. While deconstructing the studies of other scholars, he consistently offered an alternative perspective, which in some cases resulted in a genuine rewriting of the original text. An example of constructive criticism can be identified in Jakobson's relationship with Melniková-Papoušková, described in the second chapter (§ 2.5.1).

As previously stated, it is not possible to clearly define the moment in which Jakobson disengaged from the Russian academic and cultural context, during which he was influenced by his active participation in Formalism and the philological-linguistic theories of his mentors, e.g., Aleksandr Šachmatov and Filipp Fortunatov. A third name that can be added to this list is that of Georgij Čelpanov, who was responsible for the dissemination of Husserlian philosophy

in the Russian context. Upon examining Jakobson's publications in the Czech press, references to these scholars, who were figures of encyclopaedic knowledge, repetitively occur, especially in obituaries. They represented a phase of the Russian academy that developed in the final three decades of the nineteenth century before being swept away by the arising of new trends in research during the early twentieth century. While Saussurian western theories found resonance in the works of these scholars, especially in Baudouin de Courtenay, the Formalist school instead brought a significant change in the study of literature or linguistic. When discussing the persisting of Jakobson's relationship with the Russian academy, it is essential to consider one aspect, that he did not view emigration as an isolated or independent context and that he did not conceive himself as an *émigré*. Maintaining communication and scientific dialogue with scholars who remained in Russia was crucial for him. This is evident in the correspondence discussed in the fifth chapter (§ 5.1). As demonstrated by the materials presented, Jakobson maintained strong ties with the Russian academic context, despite his decision not to continue his academic career in Russia. A notable example of this is the case of Jurij Sokolov, described in the third chapter (§ 3.2).

The years spent in Russia remarkably influenced Jakobson's later approach to literary studies, which was multifaced. First, he preserved the traditional approach of his masters, while overcoming it through the assimilation of new discoveries in the literary and linguistic field. This dialectical movement which converged in a "synthesis of methods" was one of the specific traits of Jakobson's methodology. Second, his investigation developed through an interdisciplinary perspective, which emphasised the importance of a text's linguistic tissue in relation to its rhetorical-stylistic dimension (i.e., in his analysis of Chlebnikov's body of work in *Novejšaja ruskaja poezija*) or its thematic one (i.e., in the case of Puškin's myth of the statue).

Concerning literature, in the third chapter poetry has been discussed as one of the pivotal topics analysed by Jakobson in the press. The analysis on his writings about Aleksandr Puškin (§ 3.1.1) and Boris Pasternak (§ 3.1.2) lead to some conclusions. Publishing these writings Jakobson contributed to the diffusion of their opus in the Czech context. While Puškin was already known thanks to a significant translational activity which already began in the nineteenth century, Pasternak's writings spread in the Czech context only in the 1936 with the publication of *Glejt* (the transition of *Ochrannaja gramota* by Svatava Pírková) and the collection *Lyrika* (translated by Josef Hora). Differently from Puškin, Pasternak's fortune in

the Czech context developed after the WWII, when an intense translational activity is observed. In his writings about the two poets, Jakobson addressed both to a specialised and a non-specialised public. Concerning Puškin, except for the publication of the article in *Slovo a slovesnost* “Socha v symbolice Puškinově”, Jakobson published some articles in *Lidové noviny* and as postfaces to the volumes he edited within Alfred Bem for the publishing house Melantrich. This editorial activity demonstrates Jakobson’s interest in promoting Russian literature abroad. As discussed in the second chapter (§ 2.4) Jakobson’s relationship with translation was mainly theoretical than practical. Regarding Pasternak, Jakobson published a longer version of “Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak” in *Slavische Rundschau* and, later, a short version as postface of *Glejt*. The second version is of note because there are some cuts which simplify the comprehension of Pasternak’s prose for a non-specialised reader. The fact that Jakobson’s writings about Puškin and Pasternak appeared in second half of the thirties, i.e., in the second phase of Jakobson’s journalistic activity, is also of note. If compared to writings published in the early twenties, such as the monograph about Chlebnikov, they represent a mature phase of Jakobson’s research about poetry. They do not present an “elliptic” style, but a more captive and organised structure, being more aligned with the writing appeared after the WWII. Concluding these remarks, it is of relevance to emphasise that the interwar period presents a pivotal distinction while comparing it to the American one. During the Czechoslovakian phase Jakobson’s comparative approach mainly encompassed Slavic literatures, while during the American one it was extended beyond the Slavic literary sphere. Regarding this, the interest of Jakobson for Russian literature indubitably played a pivotal role during the twenties, while the interest for Czech one emerged as prominent in the thirties, when he became more interested in different literary periods, from Middle Age to avant-garde. However, the comparative approach between the two literary contexts is a constant trait of the whole interwar phase, especially considering that in 1923 he published *O češskom stiche*, in which he analysed Czech prosody compared to Russian one.

Another important question regarded Jakobson’s relationship with Formalism. The Czech period cannot be reduced to a moment in which the inheritance of the Formalist method led to the development of Structuralism. Analysing the writings published in the Czech press, it is evident that references to Formalist studies are relatively rare, with the exception of specific cases such as the monograph *O češskom stiche*, where Brik and Tomaševskij’s writings on prosody were quoted as essential references, or the essay on film, “Úpadek filmu?”, where Ejchenbaum’s influence emerged. In his critique of Mazon, Jakobson referred to the meetings

of the MLK, reconstructed from memory, as the materials from Formalist research on language and revolution were never published in volume. The references to Formalism were more apparent in passages where Jakobson indirectly invoked them, regardless of whether this was intentional. A key example is his essay on Pasternak's prose, where the influence of Tynjanov's writings emerged not only on a theoretically but also conceptually. The coexistence of Formalism's inheritance and Jakobson's progressive distancing from its theoretical principles manifested in his lack of interest in themes that during the twenties became fundamental to OPOJAZ members. First, as emphasised in the third chapter (§ 4), his interest in cinematography was mainly personal and only due to some specific circumstances. Second, Ejchenbaum and Šklovskij were significantly interested in Tolstoj's work between the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties. Jakobson's writings on these topics did not have significant weight in his research and instead showed a focus on Masaryk. Another feature that distinguishes Jakobson from Formalists like Tynjanov and Šklovskij is his refusal to engage with the type of prose known in Russian as *chudožestvennaja* (fictional prose). There is no evident interest in Jakobson's work in publishing outside the field of criticism, except for his first collection of futurist poetry, published under the pseudonym Aljagrov.

After summarising the main results, I intend to emphasise the possible evolutions of this research. Jakobson's activity in Czechoslovakia represents a broad field of inquiry. In light of this, while preparing the corpus of texts for the analysis a selection was needed. The research conducted in this study could be expanded in several directions. Firstly, topics such as translation and polemics could be developed as independent theses. Secondly, the analysis could be extended to include topics which were excluded from this study, such as writings related to linguistics and Medieval studies.

While investigating Jakobson's activities in Czechoslovakia, it was essential to reference his American period to underscore the significance of his Czechoslovakian experience in shaping his academic career. Although Jakobson was more active in the Czech press than in the American one, a contrastive examination of his journalistic production during both periods would yield fruitful insights.

Jakobson's multifaceted and dynamical nature provides a layered selection questions which are worth of a further investigation, such as topics pertaining to Slavic and Germanic studies. For example, the role of German scholars in the PLK and the connections between Czech and Danish or Scandinavian scholars still need to be considered. Additionally, there are

research lacks related to specific scholars, e.g., Matija Murko, whose valuable Prague archive would benefit from more detailed research.

The relations between Russia and the West, particularly from the perspective of the cultural transfer methodology, have been extensively analysed through the method theorised by Michel Espagne (1985). Nevertheless, research on this subject could benefit from new possible developments, and there are two specific topics which are of note. The first concerns the translation of Russian literary works into Czech. In this regard, one may challenge the idea expressed by Jakobson in 1967, during his interview with A.M. Ripellino, suggesting that members of the Czech avant-garde, and Czech authors in general, were unfamiliar with Russian literature. By examining the works that have appeared in translation in Czechoslovakia (both in Czech and German), we can deduce that cases such as those of Pasternak and Nezval, or Weil's intense translation activity, should not be seen as exceptions but, rather, as examples of a phenomenon that has been continuously growing. Therefore, it would be valuable to study this phenomenon in light of Espagne's methodology, considering the different political approaches that have shaped its development in the aftermath of WWII. The second topic regards the press since European journals have always played a fundamental role in integrating Russian scholars into the European context. A preliminary analysis reveals similarities between journals published in different national contexts, such as *Slavia*, *Zeitung für slavische Philologie* and *Revue des études slaves*. It would be beneficial to analyse the role of Russian scholars within the context of European publishing, by conducting a comparative study of specific contexts: the Czech, German, and French.

In conclusion, the analysis presented in this study demonstrates that examining Jakobson's Czech phase can still yield valuable insights, both regarding Jakobson himself and the context in which his work was situated. Jakobson's role as a cultural intermediary between the Czech and Russian contexts during this formative period of his scholarly development is of particular significance. This phase, situated between his academic training in Russia and his celebrated years as a professor at prestigious American universities, proves to be a crucial period in the evolution of the Jakobson's figure.

## Bibliography

1919. *Nové Atheneum*, (1), 1.
1920. “Ruská mise červeného kříže sovětského Ruska (Dr. Hillersona) v Praze.” *Čas*, 13/07/1920 (26), 6.
1921. “Ve vlastní věci.” *Tribuna*, 06/04/1921 (80), 7.
1928. “K odchodu Antonova Ovsejenka z Prahy.” *Národní osvobození*, 29/12/1928 (358), 5.
1928. “K odchodu Antonova Ovsejenka z Prahy.” *Národní osvobození*, 29/12/1928 (358), 5.
1928. *Národní listy*, 15/07/1928 (194), 4.
1929. “‘Slovan’ Jakobson ze sovětské misse – členem pražského Slovanského ústavu.” *Národní listy*, 24/06/1929 (144), 2.
1929. “Bolševický agent ve Slovanském ústavu.” *Národní osvobození*. 26/06/1929 (175), 5.
1929. “Ve Slovanském ústavu” *Národní listy* 23/06/1929 (172), 3.
1930. “Nejstarší české písně duchovní.” *Národní osvobození*, 14/01/1930 (13), 4.
1931. “Stagnace v literatuře – hodnocení přesné.” *Národní osvobození*, 20/05/1931 (139), 3.
1933. “Na sluneční straně.” *Národní osvobození*, 02/12/1933 (282), 6.
1935. *Abeceda filmového herce a scenaristy*. Praha: Časopis Kino-Revue.
1936. “Češi a Němci v zrcadle politiky a vědy.” *Lidové noviny*, 10/12/1936 (618), 10.
1936. *Národní osvobození*, 03/12/1936 (281), 8.
1937. “Dánsko-česká součinnost v jazykovědě.” *Lidové noviny*, 04/11/1937 (553), 7.
1937. “Dánsko-česká součinnost v jazykovědě.” *Lidové noviny*, 04/11/1937 (554), 7.
1937. “Deutsche und Tschechen. Zwei Widerlegungen der Thesen und Konstruktionen K. Bittners.” *Prager Presse*, 21/02/1937 (52), 10.
1937. “Prof. Jakobson přednáší v Bulharsku.” *Národní osvobození*, 30/06/1937 (152), 7.
1938. *Lidové noviny*, 09/04/1938 (180), 12
- Ambros, Veronika. 2012. “Puppets, Statue, Men, Objects, and the Prague School.” *Theatralia*, 815), 74-88.
- Anděl, Jaroslav e Petr Szczepanik. 2008. *Stále kinema: antologie českého myšlení o filmu 1904-1950*. Praha: Národní filmový archiv.
- Andrejs, René. 2017. “Naděžda Melniková-Papoušková: Osudy ruské emigrantky v Československu.” *Rossica Olomucensia. Časopis pro ruskou a slovanskou filologii*, (2), 67-80.
- Andrejs, René. 2020. “Naděžda Melniková-Papoušková v letech 1918–1925: postoj k ruské emigraci a téma ruské literatury.” *Z historie exilu: emigrace z území bývalého Ruského impéria v meziválečném Československu*, ed. by M. Kuthanová. Praha: Památník národního písemnictví, 148-151.

- Andrejs, René. 2021a. “Образ Советской России в тексте Надежды Мельниковой-Папоушковой.” *Феномен затекста: монография*, под ред. Т. Снигиревой и А. Подчиненова. Екатеринбург: Издательство Уральского университета, 339-351.
- Andrejs, René. 2021b. “‘Ať je ke cti města, jež otevřelo brány a přijalo nás do svého tajuplného náručí’. Olomoucké období Naděždy Filaretovny Melnikové-Papouškové.” *Rossica Olomucensia. Časopis pro ruskou a slovanskou filologii*, (60), 47-60.
- Ansart, Pierre, Stella Bresciani, Alessandro Cavalli, Yves Déloye, Lilyane Deroche-Gurcel, Edgar de Decca, Claudine Haroche, et al. 2014. *Maurice Halbwachs: Espaces, Mémoire et Psychologie Collective*. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne.
- Armstrong, Daniel and Cornelis H. Schooneveld. 1977. *Roman Jakobson: Echoes of his Scholarship*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter.
- Assmann, Jan. 2011. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization : Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Avalle, D'Arco Silvio. 1970. *L'analisi Letteraria in Italia. Formalismo, Strutturalismo, Semiologia*. Milano-Napoli: R. Ricciardi.
- Baecklund-Ehler, Astrid. 1997 “Roman Jakobson’s Cooperation with Scandinavian Linguists.” *Roman Jakobson: Echoes of his Scholarship*, edited by D. Armstrong and C. H. van Schooneveld. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, 21-28.
- Baer, Brian. 2011. “Translation theory and cold war politics: Roman Jakobson and Vladimir Nabokov in 1950s America.” *Contexts, subtexts and pretexts. Literary translation in Eastern Europe and Russia*, ed. by B. Baer. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 171-186.
- Baran, Henryk. 2021. “Roman Jakobson and American Slavic Studies: The First Postwar Decade.” *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, (7), 91-116.
- Bassin, Mark, Sergej Glebov and Marlene Laruelle (eds.). 2015. *Between Europe and Asia: The Origins, Theories, and Legacies of Russian Eurasianism*. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Bassin, Mark, Sergey Glebov, and Marlène Laruelle, eds. 2015. *Between Europe and Asia : The Origins, Theories, and Legacies of Russian Eurasianism*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Becher, Peter, Steffen Höhne, Jörg Krappmann and Manfred Weinberg (eds.). 2017. *Handbuch der deutschen Literatur Prags und der Böhmisches Länder*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler Verlag.
- Bečka, Jiří. 1961. “A. St. Mágr: 6. IV. 1887 – 14. VIII. 1960.” *Slavia*, (30), 166-168.
- Bednařík Petr, Jan Jiráček, and Barbora Köpplová. 2019. *Dějiny českých médií. Od počátku do současnosti*. Praha: Grada.
- Bednaříková, Hana. 2007. “Šalda v polemikách desátých let.” *Na téma umění a život F. X. Šalda 1867-1937-2007*, ed. by L. Merhaut and T. Kubiček. Brno: Host, 232-237.
- Beke, Márton. 2011. “Migrating Scholars and Ideas The Prague School and Scandinavia.” *Bohemistyka*, (11), 191-204.
- Bernátek, Martin. 2014 “The Prague Linguistic Circle and the Prager Presse : a Remark on the Science in Interwar Czechoslovakia.” *Theatralia*, (17), 175-187.

- Bernátek, Martin. 2016. "Projekty spolupráce, formy propagace: Pražský lingvistický kroužek a německojazyčný tisk v meziválečném Československu." *Theatralia*, (19), 7-34.
- Bílek, Jaroslav and Oleg Sus. 1996. "O vzniku brněnského *Devětsilu*: (z dějin avantgardní umělecké organizace)." *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, (15), 117-124.
- Bittner, Konrad. 1929. *Herders Geschichtsphilosophie und die Slawen*. Reichenberg: Gebrüder Stiepe.
- Bittner, Konrad. 1935. "Methodologisches zur vergleichenden germanisch-slavisches Literaturwissenschaft." *Germanoslavica*, (3), 1-18; 241-276.
- Bittner, Konrad. 1936. *Deutsche und Tschechen: Zur Geistesgeschichte des böhmischen Raumes. I., Von den Anfängen zur hussitischen Kirchnerneuerung*. Brünn: Rudolf M. Rohrer.
- Bittner, Konrad. 1938. *Deutsche und Tschechen. Eine Erwiderung*. Brünn: Rudolf M. Rohrer.
- Bjørnflaten, Jan Ivar (ed.). 1998. *The Olaf Broch Symposium : A Centenary of Slavic Studies in Norway: Papers, Oslo, 12-14 September 1996*. Oslo: Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters.
- Bjørnflaten, Jan Ivar. 1996. "Jazykovedčeskaja rusistika v Norvegii." *Russian Linguistics*, (20), 15-23.
- Bjørnflaten, Jan Ivar. 2012. "Из истории славистики в Норвегии: о переписке иностранных славистов с профессором Олафом Брокком." *Slavica litteraria*, (15), 61-68.
- Blaškv, Oksana and Roman Mnich. 2016. *Дмитрий Чужевский versus Роман Якобсон*. Siedlce: Instytut Kultury Regionalnej i Badań Literackich im. Franciszka Karpińskiego.
- Blaškv, Oksana. 2019. "Súčasná biografistika: Roman Jakobson a Dmytro Čyževskij cez prizmu akademických a osobných vzťahov." *Slavica litteraria*, (20), 27-34.
- Blok, Aleksandr. 1921. *Rusko a inteligence: eassaye*. Praha: Kolokol.
- Blok, Aleksandr. 1923. *Poslední dny carské vlády na základě nevydaných dokumentů*. Praha: Čin.
- Bogatyrev, Petr. 1924. "A. N. Ostrovskij, Bibliographische Materialien." *Prager Presse*, 10/09/1924 (250), 4.
- Bogatyrev, Petr. 1927. "Vzpomínky jubilejní. Prof. Dr. N. N. Durnovo." *Národopisný věstník českoslovanský*, (20), 76-77.
- Bogatyrev, Petr. 1937. "Byly slovenské písně pramenem Puškinovým?" *Slovo a slovesnost*, (3), 53-56.
- Bogatyrev, Petr. 1938. "Disneyova Sněhurka." *Program D*, (39), 59-66.
- Bogatyrev, Petr. 1938. "Lidové divadlo." *Program D*, (37), 188-195.
- Bohumil, Mathesius. 1927. *Literární noviny*, (1), 1.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1988. *Homo Academicus*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Brabec, Jiří. 2001. "Modely kritické reflexe moderní české literatury." *Česká literatura na konci tisíciletí I. Příspěvky z 2. kongresu světové literárněvědné bohemistiky*, ed. by D. Vojtěch. Praha: ÚČL AV ČR, 13-21.
- Brabec, Jiří. 2002. "Boje o Rukopisy." *Cesta a odkaz T. G. Masaryka. Fakta – úvahy – souvislosti*, ed. by J. Lakosilová and M. Hurtová. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 41-47.
- Broch, Olaf. [1895] 1897. *Zum Kleinrussischen in Ungarn: Der Dialect von Ublya*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Broch, Olaf. [1911] 2012. *Slavische Phonetik*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Broch, Olaf. 1939. "Bedeutungsunterschied durch Intonationsunterschied." *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, (8).
- Brown, Edward J. 1973. *Major Soviet Writers: Essays in Criticism*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Brückner Aleksander. 1937. "Die Echtheit des Igorliedes." *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, (14), 46-52.
- Burke, Peter. 2007. *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buriánek, František. 1987. *Kritik F. X. Šalda*. Praha: Československý spisovatel.
- Buriánek, František. 1995. "Polemik Karel Čapek." *Přednášky z XXXIV. a XXXV. běhu Letní školy slovanských studií*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 153-156.
- Cadamagnani, Cinzia. 2018. *Un formalista sui generis: Boris Jarcho e la sua scienza esatta della letteratura*. Pisa: Pisa University Press.
- Camara Outes, Cristian. 2024. "The Three Jakobsons. Notes Towards a Historical Analysis of Roman Jakobson's Contribution to Twentieth-Century Literary Theory." *Enthymema*, (35), 1-15
- Čapek, Karel. [1936] 2013. *Hovory s. T. G. Masarykem*. Brno: Ústav T. G. Masaryk.
- Čapek, Karel. 1926. "O českou prosodii." *Lidové noviny*, 16/06/1926 (302), 7.
- Čapek, Karel. 1935. "Kdybych byl linguistou." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (1), 7-8.
- Catalano, Alessandro. 2019. "'Talvolta però si è scesi a temi particolari e ad autori modesti'. Arturo Cronia e la letteratura ceca." *Arturo Cronia. L'eredità di un Maestro a cinquant'anni dalla scomparsa*, ed. by R. Benacchio and M. Fin. Padova: Esedra, 61-78.
- Catalano, Alessandro. 2020. "La ricezione italiana dei falsi manoscritti di Dvůr Kralové e Zelená Hora." *Praga-Milano. Andata e ritorno. Scritti per Jitka Křesálková*, ed. by A. Trovesi. Alessandria: Edizioli dell'Orso, 7-37.
- Čermák, Petr, Claudio Poeta and Jan Čermák. 2012. *Pražský lingvistický kroužek v dokumentech*. Praha: Academia.
- Čermák, Petr. 2014. "A Few Notes on the History of the Classical Prague Linguistic Circle." *La Linguistique*, (50), 75-92.

- Černý, Vácalv. 1940a. "Kritik a generace." *Kritický měsíčník*, (3), 17-25.
- Černý, Vácalv. 1940b. "Šaldův kritický debut a povaha Šaldova vztahu k Francii." *Kritický měsíčník*, (3), 114-156.
- Chlumský, Josef. 1926. "K sporu o české přízvuk." *Národní listy*, 04/07/1926 (182), 17.
- Chmela, Michal. 2015. *Vznik a vývoj deníku Tribuna v letech 1919-1921*. Bachelor's thesis. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita.
- Christophe, Charle. 1986. *Les Professeurs de la Faculté des lettres de Paris: dictionnaire biographique. Roč. 2, 1909-1939*. Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique / Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Chvatík, Květoslav. 1970. *Strukturalismus a avantgarda*. Praha: Československý spisovatel.
- Chvatík, Květoslav. 2004. *Od avantgardy k druhé moderně*. Praha: Torst.
- Cigana, Lorenzo. 2022. *Hjelmslev E La Teoria Delle Correlazioni Linguistiche*. Roma: Carocci editore.
- Cirac, Stéphanie. 2008. "M. A. Vasil'eva, ed., A. L. Bem i gumanitarnye proekty ruskogo zarubež'ja." *Cahiers du monde russe*, (49), 823-825.
- Cita, Stanislav. 1986. "Ilja Bart jako překladatel Majakovského ve třicátých letech." *Československá rusistika*, (5), 198-203.
- Clark, Katerina. 1995. *Petersburg, Crucible of Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Cohen, Deborah and Maura O'Connor. 2004. *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- Čornejová, Ivana (ed.). 1996. *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy 1348-1990. Bd. 2*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Cosentino, Annalisa. 2000. *Realismo scientifico e letteratura. Teoria, critica e storiografia letteraria ceca*. Bulzoni Editore: Roma.
- Cosentino, Annalisa. 2017. "'Těším se na Vaši knihu.' K zrodu *Dějiny současné české poezie* (1950) Angela M. Ripellina." *Slovo a smysl*, 14 (27), 123-157.
- Cosentino, Annalisa. 2018. "*Do vlasti české.*" *Z korespondence Angela M. Ripellina*. Praha: Institut pro studium literatury.
- Čyževs'kyj, Dmytro. 1939. "Die neuere Puškin-Forschung." *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, (3/4), 363-397.
- Čyževs'kyj, Dmytro. 1964. "Trubetzkoy und Dostoevskij." *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*, (11), 148-153.
- D'Ottavi, Giuseppe. 2018. "Les 'Roman Jakobson Papers' au Massachusetts Institute of Technology." *Genesis*, (47). <http://journals.openedition.org/genesis/3182> (19/09/2024).
- Dalibor, Dobiáš (ed.). 2011. *Rukopisy Královédvorský a Zelenohorský*. Brno: Host.

- Dan, Liu. 2018. "Roman Jakobson's Poetics in China: 2000-2015." *Roman Jakobson, linguistica e poetica*, ed. by E. Esposito, S. Sini and M. Castagneto. Milano: Ledizioni, 223-236.
- Daneš, František. 1994. "O koherenci textu Hovorů s T.G. Masarykem." *O Čapkových Hovorech s T.G. Masarykem*, ed. by S. Čmejrková and F. Daneš. Praha: Academia, 11-26.
- Dejmek, Jindřich. 2013. *Diplomacie Československa. Díl II., Biografický slovník československých diplomatů (1918 - 1992)*. Praha: Academia.
- Depretto, Catherine. 1982. "Une page inédite de l'histoire de la linguistique : la première traduction russe du *Cours de linguistique générale* de Ferdinand de Saussure." *Revue des études slaves*, (54), 757-762. [https://www.persee.fr/doc/slave\\_0080-2557\\_1982\\_num\\_54\\_4\\_5286](https://www.persee.fr/doc/slave_0080-2557_1982_num_54_4_5286) (19/09/2024).
- Depretto, Catherine. 2005. "Boris Pasternak et la philologie russe des années 1910-1920." *Revue des études slaves*, (76), 429-446.
- Depretto, Catherine. 2009. *Le Formalisme en Russie*. Paris: Institut d'études slaves.
- Depretto, Catherine. 2018a. "Formalisme et poétique: Boris Tomaševskij, le formaliste oublié." *Communications*, (103), 107-118.
- Depretto, Catherine. 2018b. "Michel Aucouturier (1933-2017)." *Cahiers du monde russe*, (59), 143-152.
- Diment, Galya. 1997. *Pniniad: Vladimir Nabokov and Marc Szeftel*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Dirven, René and Ralf Pörings. 2022. *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*. Berlin – New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Dittman, Robert. 2014. "Roman Jakobson's Research into Judeo-Czech." *Roman O. Jakobson: A Work in Progress*, ed. by T. Kubiček. Olomouc: Palacký University, 145-153.
- Dmitriev, Aleksander. 2002. "Le contexte européen (français et allemand) du formalisme russe." *Cahiers du monde russe*, (43), 423-440.
- Dolanský, Julius. 1968. *Neznámý jihoslovanský pramen Rukopisů královédvorského a zelenohorského*. Praha: Akademia.
- Doubek, Vratislav, Ladislav Hladký, and Radomír Vlček (eds.). 2013. *T. G. Masaryk a Slované*. Praha: Historický ústav.
- Dudková, Veronika, Kristina Kaiserová and Václav Petrbok. 2009. *Na rozhraní kultur. Případ Paul / Pavel Eisner. Sborník symposia*. Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně.
- Eco, Umberto. "The Influence of Roman Jakobson on the Development of Semiotics." *Roman Jakobson: Echoes of his Scholarship*, ed. by D. Armstrong and C. H. van Schooneveld. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 39-58.
- Eco, Umberto. 1977. "The Influence of Roman Jakobson on the Development of Semiotics" In *Roman Jakobson: Echoes of his Scholarship*, ed. by D. Armstrong and C. H. van Schooneveld. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 39-58.

- Eco, Umberto. 2001. *Experiences in Translation*. Translated by Alastair McEwen. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ehlers, Klaas-Hinrich and Marek Nekula. 2011. *Funktional-Strukturelle Ethnographie in Europa: Texte Aus Den 1920er Und 1930er Jahren Zu Brauchtum, Folklore, Theater Und Film*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Ehlers, Klaas-Hinrich, 1999. "Petr Bogatyrev am Slavischen Seminar der Universität Münster (1931-1933)." *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, (44), 218-227.
- Ehlers, Klaas-Hinrich. 1996. "Deutsch und Französisch als tschechische Wissenschaftssprachen in der Ersten Republik: Die Sprache des Prager Linguistik-Zirkels." *brücken*, (4), 105-133.
- Ehlers, Klaas-Hinrich. 1997. "Die Slavische Rundschau (1929–1940). Porträt, Programm und Entwicklung einer Prager Zeitschrift." *brücken*, (5), 149-204.
- Ehlers, Klaas-Hinrich. 1998. "Petr Bogatyrev in Münster. Funktional-strukturelle Ethnographie und deutsche Volkskunde im Kontakt." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, (95), 7-24.
- Ehlers, Klaas-Hinrich. 2001. "Die Gründung der *Germanoslavica*. Vorgeschichte des deutsch-tschechischen Zeitschriftenprojekts 1929 bis 1931." *Brücken nach Prag. Deutschsprachige Literatur im kulturellen Kontext der Donaumonarchie und der Tschechoslowakei. Festschrift für Kurt Krolop zum 70. Geburtstag*. ed. by K. Ehlers, S. Höhne, V. Maidl, M. Nekula, *Germanoslavica*, (8), 83-103.
- Ehlers, Klaas-Hinrich. 2002. "Agonie und Nachleben einer deutsch-tschechischen Zeitschrift. Dokumente zum Ende der *Germanoslavica* aus den Jahren 1932 bis 1942." *brücken*, (8), 179-222.
- Ehlers, Klaas-Hinrich. 2005. *Strukturalismus in der deutschen Sprachwissenschaft: Die Rezeption der Prager Schule zwischen 1926 und 1945*. Boston – Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Ehlers, Klaas-Hinrich. 2015. "Leopold Silberstein – ein deutsch-jüdischer Intellektueller aus Berlin als Kulturbotschafter der Tschechoslowakischen Republik." *brücken*. (23), 321-327.
- Eisenmann, Louis. 1924. "Notre programme." *Le Monde Slave*, (1), 1-20.
- Eisner, Paul. 1926. "Zur tschechischen Verslehre." *Prager Presse. Dichtung und Welt*, 17/10/1926 (42), 1.
- Eisner, Paul. 1936. "Deutsche und Tschechen." *Prager Presse*, 12/12/1936 (339), 8
- Eisner, Paul. 1938. "Der tschechische Puškin abgeschlossen." *Prager Presse*, (22/03/1928), 8.
- Eisner, Pavel. 1936. "Hádání o kritickou dikci." *Čin*, (7), 172-173.
- Engerman, David. 2004. "The Ironies of the Iron Curtain: The Cold War and the Rise of Russian Studies in the United State." *Cahier du monde russe*, (45), 465-496.
- Erban, Karel. 1935a. "O českém slohu kritickém." *Naše řeč*, (19), 129-139.
- Erban, Karel. 1935b. "O metaphorách." *Naše řeč*, (19), 33-37.
- Erban, Karel. 1936. "Z našich časopisů." *Naše řeč*, (20), 64-71.

- Erenburg, Il'ja. 1930. "Randbemerkungen zur heutigen russischen Literatur." *Slavische Rundschau*, (2), 81-88.
- Erlich, Victor. 1980. *Russian Formalism: History - Doctrine*. The Hague: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Espagne, Michel and Michael Werner. 1988. *Transferts: les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe-XIXe siècle)*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Espagne, Michel. 1994. "Sur les limites du comparatisme en histoire culturelle." *Genèses*, (17), 112-121.
- Espagne, Michel. 1999. *Les Transferts culturels franco-allemands*. Paris : PUF.
- Espagne, Michel. 2013. "La notion de transfert culturel." *Revue Sciences/Lettres*, (1). <http://journals.openedition.org/rsl/219> (09/09/2024).
- Espagne, Michel. 2018. "Un formalisme germano-russe: le cas de Viktor Žirmunskij (1891-1971)." *Communications*, (103), 147-162.
- Esposito, Edoardo, Stefania Sini, and Marina Castagneto (eds.). 2018. *Roman Jakobson, linguistica e poetica*. Milano: Ledizioni. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.ledizioni.4465> (19/09/2024).
- Fabianová, Jeannette. 2005. "'Ruku v ruce s básnictvím.' Roman Jakobson a Umělecký svaz Devětsil." *Slovo a Smysl*. (2/4), 74-95.
- Firsov, Jevgenij. 1998. "Český historik Jaroslav Papoušek v Rusku a jeho neznámé dopisy z Butyrek N. F. Melnikové–Kedrové–Řivnáčové." *Bezděz*, (7), 57-58.
- Fischer, Otokar. 1929. "Deutsche Slavistik und tschechische Germanistik." *Prager Presse*, 29/03/1929 (88), 7.
- Fisher, Otokar. 1929. *Duše a slovo*. Praha: Melantrich.
- Flack, Patrick. 2013. "Le moment phénoménologique de la linguistique structurale." *Cahiers du Centre de Linguistique et des Sciences du Langage*, (37), 117-126.
- Flack, Patrick. 2016. "Roman Jakobson and the Transition of German Thought to the Structuralist Paradigm: Towards a New Historiography of Structuralism." *Acta Structuralica*, (1), 1-15.
- Fowler, Bridget. 2007. *The Obituary as Collective Memory*. New York: Routledge.
- Frankl, Michal. 2007. *Emancipace od Židů: Český antisemitismus na konci 19. století*. Praha: Paseka.
- Frinta, Antonín. 1926. "O češskom stiche. Preimuščestvenno sopostavlenii s russkim Roman Jakobson Základy českého verše Roman Jakobson." *Listy filologické*, (2/3), 176-184.
- Gadet, Françoise and Patrick Sériot (eds.). 1997. *Jakobson entre l'Est et l'Ouest (1915-1939): Un épisode de l'histoire de la culture européenne*. *Cahiers de l'ILSL*, (9).
- Gebauer, Jan and Tomáš G. Masaryk. 1886. *Potřeba dalších zkoušek Rukopisu Královédvorského a Zelenohorského*. Praha: J. Otty.

- Gebauer, Jan. 1874. "O metaforických obrazech básnictví národního, zvláště slovanského." *Listy filologické a paedagogické*, (1), 97-117.
- Gebauer, Jan. [1894] 2007. *Historická mluvnice jazyka českého*. Praha: Academia
- Gesemann, Gerhard. 1929. "Eins ist not." *Slavische Rundschau*, (1), 623-629.
- Giusti, Wolfgang. 1931. "Dostojevskij in Italien." *Slavische Rundschau*, (3), 547-552.
- Glanc, Tomáš, Stéphanie Cirac and Philippe Roussin. 2018. "Une généalogie du structuralisme." *Communications*, (103), 197-211.
- Glanc, Tomáš. 2003a. "Formalismus Forever: Roman Jakobson. 1935." *Prager Strukturalismus : Methodologische Grundlagen*, ed. by M. Nekula. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 105-119.
- Glanc, Tomáš. 2003b. "Le lexique du linguiste : la langue des cours de R. Jakobson sur le formalisme russe (1935)." *Cahiers de l'ILSL*, (14), 121-132.
- Glanc, Tomáš. 2016. "'Ils s'opposaient à tout le monde' Le statut de la pensée chez Potebnja vu par Jakobson." *Cahiers de l'ILSL*, (46), 93-104.
- Glanc, Tomáš. 2020. "Politika překladu. Nad korespondencí Jana Zábrany s Antonínem Přidalem." *Slovo a smysl*, (34), 165-176.
- Glanc, Tomáš. 2023. "Transfer as the Key: Understanding the Intellectual History of the Relationship between Formalism and Structuralism from the Perspective of the Prague Linguistic Circle." *Central and Eastern European Literary Theory and the West*, ed by M. Mrugalski, S. Schahadat and I. Wutsdorff. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, 611-631.
- Gletter, Monika and Alena Misková. 2001. *Prager Professoren 1938-1945. Zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik*. Essen: Klartext.
- Gołąbek, Józef. 1938. *Car Maksymilian. Widowisko ludowe na Rusi*. Kraków: PAU.
- Gonneau, Pierre (ed.). 2001. *André Mazon et les études slave. Revue des études slaves*, (82).
- Gramigna, Remo. 2016. "On the concept of 'ostension': a survey of contemporary semiotics." *Tartu semiotics library*, (16), 186-203.
- Grund, Antonín. 1937. "Konrad, Bittner: Deutsche und Tschechen." *Časopis pro moderní filologii*, (23), 281-284.
- Hála, Rudolf and František Kubka. 1937. *Věčný Puškin*. Praha: S. S. Alexandrovskij.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. 1992. *On Collective Memory*, ed by L. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hansen-Löwe, Aage. 1978. *Der Russische Formalismus: Methodolog. Rekonstruktion Seiner Entwicklung Aus Dem Prinzip D. Verfremdung*. Wien: Verl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss.
- Hanuš, Josef. "Padesátiletá diskusse o rukopisy." *Listy filologické*, (33), 109-135.
- Harris, Jane Gary. 1990. *Autobiographical Statements in Twentieth-century Russian Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hartl, Antonín. 1937. *A. St. Mágrovi k padesátým narozeninám*. V Praze: Vydal Kruh přátel.

- Hašková, Dana, Anastazie Kopřivová, Ljubov Běloševská, Julie Jančárková, and Sergej Jakovlevič Gagen (eds.). 2023. *Osobnosti emigrace z území Ruské říše v meziválečném Československu: biografický slovník*. Praha: Academia.
- Hausenblas, Karel. 1967. "Nový překlad Evžena Oněgina." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (28), 379-385.
- Havránek, Bohuslav. 1936. *Vývoj spisovného jazyka českého*. Praha: Sfinx.
- Havránek, Bohuslav. 1964. "Trubetzkoy's Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der Theorie der Schriftsprache." *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*, (11), 31-36.
- Havránek, Jan (ed.). 1997. *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy 1348-1990. Bd. 3*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Havránek, Jan (ed.). 1998. *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy 1348-1990. Bd. 4*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Havránková, Marie and Vladimír Petkevič. 2014. *Pražská škola v korespondenci: Dopisy z let 1924-1989*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Havránková, Marie and Vladimír Petkevič. 2018. *Pražská škola v korespondenci Výbor domácí a zahraniční korespondence představitelů Pražského lingvistického kroužku*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Havránková, Marie, Jindřich Toman and Bohuslav Havránek (eds.). 2001. *Quadriolog: Bohuslav Havránek, Zdeňka Havránková, Roman Jakobson, Svatava Pírková-Jakobsonová: Vzájemná korespondence 1930-1978*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Havránková, Marie (ed.). 2008. *Pražský lingvistický Kroužek v korespondenci : Bohuslav Havránek, Roman Jakobson, Vilém Mathesius, Jan Mukařovský, Bohumil Trnka, Miloš Weingart: Korespondence z let 1923-1970*. Praha: Academia.
- Hekter, Max. 1936. "Tschechisch-deutsche Beziehungen im Zeitaltern der Gotik." *Prager Presse*, 03/04/1936 (94), 8.
- Herrmann, Konrad. 2015. *Leopold Silberstein: Slawist und Philosoph*. Berlin: Be.bra Wissenschaft Verlag.
- Hirschkop, Ken. 2019. *Linguistic Turns, 1890-1950: Writing on Language and Social Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hjelmslev, Louis. 1938. "Rasmus Rask, jeho život a dílo." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (4), 65-72.
- Hlaváček, Antonín. 2000. "Marina Cvetaeva i Anna Teškova." *Dni Mariny Cvetaevoj – Všenory 2000. Novye rezul'taty issledovanij*, ed. by Zdeněk Mathauser. Praha: Národní knihovna ČR – Slovanská knihovna, 290-295.
- Höhne, Steffen and Ludger Udolph (eds.). 2012. *Franz Spina (1868–1938). Ein Prager Slavist zwischen Universität und politischer Öffentlichkeit*. Köln – Weimar – Wien: Böhlau Verlag.
- Holenstein, Elmar. 2020. *Phenomenological philosophy of language*. Genève-Lausanne: sdvig press.
- Holomáč, Jiří. 1998. "Polemika jako žánr (Na materiálu šaldovském)." *Česká literatura*, (46), 236-268.
- Honzl, Jindřich. 1936. "Reakční názory o mluvicím filmu." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (2), 59-60.

- Horák, Jiří and Stanislav Petíra. 1930. "Řeč při zahájení I. sjezdu slovanských filologů." *Slavia*, (8), 840-865.
- Horák, Jiří and Stanislav Petíra. 1930. "Řeč při zahájení I. sjezdu slovanských filologů. 6. X. 1929 v Praze." *Slavia*, (8), 840-865.
- Hoskovec, Jiří and Simona Horáková Hoskovcová. *Malé dějiny české a středoevropské psychologie*. Praha: Portál.
- Ibrahim, Robert. 2007. "Ke strukturalistické kritice Králových prozodických názorů." *Česká literatura*, (55), 717-723.
- Ingham, Norman and Valentina Pichugin. 2017. "The Igor' Tale and the Origins of Conspiracy Theory." *Russian History*, (44), 135-49.
- Ivanov, Miroslav. 1969. *Tajemství RKZ*. Praha: Mladá fronta.
- Ivanov, Miroslav. 1970. *Záhada Rukopisu královédvorského*. Praha: Novinář.
- Jacek, Baluch. 2003 "Czeska prozodia: od Dobrovského (1795) do Jakobsona (1926)." *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych. Seria 10. Literaturoznawstwo - Kulturologia - Folklorystyka. Prace na XIII Międzynarodowy kongres slawistów w Lublanie 2003*, ed. by A. Dudek. Warszawa: PAN, 4-46.
- Jakobson, Roman and Cornelis H. Schooneveld. 1973. *Slavic Poetics: Essays in Honor of Kiril Taranovsky*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman and Dmitrij S. Mirskij 1975. *Smert' Vladimira Majakovskogo*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman and John Burbank. 1975. *Pushkin and his Sculptural Myth*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman and Krystyna Pomorska. 1983. *Dialogues*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter.
- Jakobson, Roman and Nikolaj Trubeckoj. *N. S. Trubetzkoy's Letters and Notes*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 1985.
- Jakobson, Roman and Tomáš Glanc. 2005. *Formalistická škola a dnešní literární věda ruská: Brno 1935*. Praha: Academia.
- Jakobson, Roman, and Miroslav Červenka (ed.). 1995. *Poetická funkce*. Jinočany: H & H.
- Jakobson, Roman, Bengt Jangfeldt, and Stephen Rudy. 1998. *My Futurist Years*. New York: Marsilio Publishers.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1920. "V. Chlebnikov: Z poematu 'Sestry blýskavice'." *Den: Kulturní list*, (1), 19.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1921. "O realismu v umění." *Červen*, 13/10/1921 (4), 300-304.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1925. "Stanislav Neumann: *Vesennie ritmy*." *Nové Rusko*, (1), 164.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1927. *Spor duše s tělemi*. Praha: Ladislav Kuncír v Praze.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1929. *Nejstarší české písně duchovní*. Praha: Ladislav Kuncír v Praze.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1938. "Jazykověda v republikánském Španělsku." *Lidové noviny*, 30/03/1938 (161), 7.

- Jakobson, Roman. 1964. "Nachruf auf N. S. Trubetzkoy." *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*, (11), 216-220.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1966. *Selected Writings. Volume IV Slavic Epic Studies*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1967. "Conversazione sul cinema.", Interview with A. Aprà and L. Faccini). *Cinema e Film* (2), 157-162.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1971. *Roman Jakobson: A Bibliography of his Writings*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1971. *Selected Writings. Volume II Word and Language*. Berlin – New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1976. "Petr Bogatyrev (29. I. 93—18. VIII. 71): Expert in Transfiguration." *Sound, Sign and Meaning: Quinquagenary of the Prague Linguistic Circle*, ed. by L. Matejka. Ann Arbor Michigan Slavic Contributions, 29-39.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1978. *Selected Writings. Volume VIII Major Works 1976-1980*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1979. *Selected Writings. Volume V On Verse, Its Masters and Explorers*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1981. *Selected Writings. Volume III Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry*. Berlin – New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1983. *A Tribute to Roman Jakobson, 1896-1982*. Berlin: Mouton Publishers.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1985. *Selected Writings. Volume VII Contributions to Comparative Mythology*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman. 2002. *Selected Writings. Volume I, Phonological Studies*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman. 2013. *Selected Writings IX, Completion Volume Two, Uncollected Works, 1916-1943. Part One, 1916-1933*, ed. by J. Toman. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman. 2014. *Selected Writings. IX, Completion Volume Two, Uncollected Works, 1916-1943. Part Two, 1934-1943*, ed. by J. Toman. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jakubec, Jan. 1929. *Dějiny literatury české I*. Praha: J. Laichter.
- Janda, Laura. 2019. "The Slavic Field in Norway." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, (63), 339-48.
- Jia, Hongwei. 2017. "Roman Jakobson's Triadic Division of Translation Revisited." *Chinese Semiotic Studies*, (13), 3-46.
- Jirát, Vojtěch. 1936. "Bittner K. Deutsche und Tschechen." *Slavia*, (14), 468-476.
- Kaderka, Petr. 2017. "Slovo a slovesnost." *Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*, ed. by P. Karlík, M. Nekula and J. Pleskalová. <https://www.czechency.org/slovník/SLOVO%20A%20SLOVESNOST> (19/09/2024).

- Kalinin, Il'ja. 2017. "Viktor Šklovskij vs. Roman Jakobson: Poetic Language or Poetic Function of Language." *Enthymema*, (19), 342-351.
- Karasová, Anna. 1985. "K 50. Výročí Založení Literárněhistorické Společnosti." *Česká Literatura*, (33), 263-268.
- Karcevskij, Sergej. [1929] 1982. "The Asymmetric Dualism of the Linguistic Sign." *The Prague School: Selected Writings, 1929-1946*, ed. by P. Steiner. New York: University of Texas Press, 47-54
- Karcevskij, Sergej. 1929a. "Die Slavistik in der Schweiz." *Slavische Rundschau*, (1), 248-249.
- Karcevskij, Sergej. 1929b. "Foyer d'études slaves in Genf." *Slavische Rundschau*, (1), 729-730.
- Kavka, František (ed.). 1995. *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy 1348-1990. Bd. 1*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Kavka, František. 1974. "Universitätsgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zum Humanismus." *Bohemia sacra. Das Christentum in Böhmen 973-1973*, ed. by F. Seibt. Düsseldorf: Schwann, 406-413.
- Keenan, Edward. 2003. *Josef Dobrovský and the Origins of the Igor' Tale*. Cambridge Ma: Harvard University Press.
- Kieval. Hillel. [1998] 2011. *Formování českého židovstva*. Praha: Paseka.
- Kisch, Guido. 1969. *Die Prager Universität und die Juden 1348-1848. Mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte des Medizinstudiums*. Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner.
- Köpplová, Barbora. 1989. "Die Rolle der Kulturrubrik der Prager Presse 1921-1924." *Prager Deutschsprachige Literatur zur Zeit Kafkas*. Wien: Braumüller, 81-91.
- Kopřiková, Anastazie. 2004. "Petr Grigorjevič Bogatyrev – jiný pohled: (několik biografických poznámek)." *Česká literatura*, (52), 510-519.
- Kopřivová, Anastazie. 2004. "P. G. Bogatyrev - jiný pohled (několik biografických poznámek)." *Česká literatura*, (52), 510-519.
- Král, Josef and Bohumil Rypka. 1938. O prosodii české. Část 2. O přízvukném napodobení starověkých rozměrů časoměrných. Praha: Česká akademie věd a umění.
- Král, Josef and Jan Jakubec. 1923 *O prosodii české. Část 1. Historický vývoj české prosodie*. Praha: Česká akademie věd a umění.
- Král, Josef. 1909. *Česká prosodie*. Praha: J. Otto.
- Král, Petr. 1966. *Karel Teige a film*. Praha: Český filmový ústav.
- Králík, Oldřich. 1942. "Šaldův stylový absolutismus." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (8), 181-194.
- Králík, Oldřich. 1947. "O metodu Šaldových polemik." *Vyšehrad*, (2), 38-45.
- Krásová, Eva and Tomáš Koblížek. 2019. "Émile Benveniste et le Cercle linguistique de Prague." *Émile Benveniste: 50 ans après les Problèmes de linguistique générale*, ed. by G. D'Ottavi and I. Fenoglio. Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm/Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 163-193.

- Krásová, Eva. 2014. "Words that Refer to their Utterance: Jakobson and Benveniste on Shifters." *Roman O. Jakobson: A Work in Progress*, ed. by T. Kubíček. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 103-120.
- Krásová, Eva. 2018. *Z Hlediska Smyslu ... Émile Benveniste a Zrod Strukturalismu*. Prague: Univerzita Karlova.
- Krásová, Eva. 2021. "Za vědu o vývoji: Jan Mukařovský a Antoine Meillet." *Česká literatura* (69): 285-311.
- Krátký, Karel. 2002. *TGM, Rusko a Evropa: dílo - vize - přítomnost : sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference pořádané ve dnech 12.-14. září 1997 v Praze*. Praha: Masarykův ústav AV ČR.
- Kraus, Jiří. 1994 "Žánr polemiky v politickém a filozofickém díle T. G. Masaryka." *O Čapkových hovorech s TGM*, ed. by F. Daneš and S. Čmejrková. Praha: Academia, 55-58.
- Křesalková, Jítka. 1995. "Dagli appunti sulla fortuna di Marinetti in Boemia." *Il confronto letterario*, (12), 231-246.
- Krystyna Pomorska. 2014. "Roman Jakobson: The Autobiography of a Scholar." *Autobiographical Statements in Twentieth-Century Russian Literature*, ed. by J. Harris. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 217-226.
- Kšicová, Danuše. 1968. "Puškinské studie Františka Táborského." *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. D, Řada literárněvědná*, (17), 63-80.
- Kubíček, Jaromír (ed.). 2010. *Pásmo 1924-1926. Index 1929-1939*. Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna.
- Kučera, Martin. 2004-2006. "T. G. Masaryk: Z počátků Athenaea." *Masarykův sborník XIII*, ed. by J. Gebhart, J. Kuklík and J. Tomeš. Praha: Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 465-466.
- Kudělka, Milan. 1960. "Zemřel A. St. Mágr." *Slezský sborník: Acta Silesiaca*, (4), 582-583.
- Kurz, Josef. 1971. "Padesát let časopisu Slavia." *Slavia*, (40), 502-504.
- Květoslav, Chvatík and Zdeněk Pešat. 1967. *Poetismus*. Praha: Odeon.
- Laplantine, Chloé and Pierre-Yves Testenoire. 2021. "La correspondance d'Émile Benveniste et Roman Jakobson (1947-1968)." *Histoire Epistémologie Langage*, (43), 139-168.
- Laruelle, Marlene. 2008. *Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire*. Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Laurin, Arne. 2019. *Dopisy*, ed. by M. Topor. Praha: Institut pro studium literatury.
- Lawrence, Thomas. 1957a. *The linguistic theories of N. Ja. Marr*. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California press.
- Lawrence, Thomas. 1957b. "Some notes on the Marr school." *American Slavic and East European Review*, (16), 323-348.
- Lehár, Jan. 2005. "Co dal Roman Jakobson české medievistice." *Slovo a smysl*, (5), 231-240. <http://slovoasmysl.ff.cuni.cz/node/373>. (19/09/2024).

- Lemberg, Hans (ed.). 2003. *Universitäten in nationaler Konkurrenz. Zur Geschichte der Prager Universitäten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. München: Oldenbourg.
- Levý, Jiří. 2011. *Umění překladu*. Praha: Apostrof.
- Levý, Jiří. 2023a. *České teorie překladu I*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Levý, Jiří. 2023b. *České teorie překladu II*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Lönnngren, Tamara. 2015. "... прошу не забыть, что есть у Вас друг: Олаф Брок и Алексей Шахматов." *Slovo. Journal of Slavic Languages, Literatures and Cultures*, (56), 37-57.
- Lönnngren, Tamara. 2019. "Enforced lacuna in N. Kondrasov's studies on historiography of slavistics: Norwegian slavist Olaf Broch." *Bulletin of Moscow Region State University, Series: Russian Philology*, (5), 94-110.
- Mágr, Antonín Stanislav. 1935. "Diskussion über eine Monographie." *Prager Presse*, (154), 8.
- Mágr, Stanislav Antonín. 1945. *Kulturní slavika v "Prager Presse"*. Praha: Orbis.
- Malevič, Oleg. 2009. "F. X. Šalda a Karel Čapek. (Smysl jednoho literárního sporu)." *Osobitost české literatury*. Praha: Malvern, 228-258.
- Malínek, Vojtěch. 2012. "'Uděláme Prahu hlavním městem střední Evropy.' Časopis *Den* a jeho role při formování české meziválečné avantgardy." *Česká literatura*, (69), 173-202.
- Mareček, Zdeněk, 2022. "'Židé jsou cizinci mezi námi.' Jan Herben jako mladší soupevník Masarykův a jejich vztah k židovství." *Přednášky a besedy z LV. ročníku Letní školy slovanských (bohemistických) studií*, ed. by E. Rusinová. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 121-132.
- Mareš, Petr 1988. "Roman Jakobson a film o mezejícím světě folkloru." *Illuminace*, (10), 87-88.
- Masaryk, Tomáš. 1920. "Rozmluva s presidentem Masarykem." *Čas*, (30), 1.
- Masaryk, Tomáš. 1923. *Slované po válce*. Praha: Stanislav Minařík.
- Masaryk, Tomáš. 2004. *Z bojů o rukopisy: texty z let 1886-1888*. Praha: Masarykův ústav AV ČR.
- Mathesius, Vilém. 1929. "Glossen zur českischen Slavistik eines českischen Nichtslavisten." *Slavische Rundschau*, (1), 651-656.
- Mathesius, Vilém. 1934. "Čechische Slavistik nach fünf Jahren." *Slavische Rundschau*, (6), 343-348.
- Mathesius, Vilém. 1936. "Deset let lingvistického kroužku." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (3), 137-145.
- Mathesius, Vilém. 1939. *Co dal naše země Evropě*. Praha: ELK.
- Mathesius, Vilém. 2009. *Paměti a jiné rukopisy*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Mazon, André and Roman Jakobson. 2017. *La langue russe, la guerre et la révolution*. ed. by S. Archaimbault and C. Depretto. Paris: Eur'Orbem Éditions.
- Mazon, André. 1919. "Prisons russes 1." *Revue de Paris*, (12), 683-705.

- Mazon, André. 1919. "Prisons russes 2." *Revue de Paris*, (13), 107-133.
- Mazon, André. 1923. "Chronique: Publications. Tchèque et slovaque." *Revue des études slaves*, (3), 144.
- Mazon, André. 1926. "Chronique: Publications. Tchèque et slovaque." *Revue des études slaves*, (6), 101.
- Mazon, André. 1949. "La Slovo d'Igor." *Slavonic Review*, (69), 515-535.
- McGuire, William. 1982. *Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the Past - Updated Edition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mecco, Martina. 2022. "Language and Stylistic Aspects of Karel Čapek's Journalistic Writing: An Analysis of Hovory s T. G. Masarykem through the Method of Textual Linguistics." *Academic Journal of Modern Philology*, (18), 121-130.
- Mecco, Martina. 2023. "I legami di Roman Jakobson con la stampa tedesca praghese. Il caso *Prager Presse*." *Ricerche Slavistiche*, (66), 109-123.
- Med, Jaroslav. 1988. "K zrodu České moderny." *Slavia*, (57), 15-21.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1931. "Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague, 1929." *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, (31), 8-13.
- Melniková-Papoušková, Naděžda. 1921. "Futurismus jako oficiální bolševická poezie." *Čas*, 08/02/1921 (32), 2-3.
- Melniková-Papoušková, Naděžda. 1925. *A. A. Blok*. Praha: Plamja.
- Merrill, Jessica. 2022. *The Origins of Russian Literary Theory: Folklore, Philology, Form*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Mikuášek, Miroslav (ed.). 1996. *Roman Jakobson*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.
- Moraw, Peter. 1986. "Die Universität Prag im Mittelalter. Grundzüge ihrer Geschichte im europäischen Zusammenhang." *Die Universität zu Prag (Schriften der Sudetendeutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste)*, ed. by F. Seibt. München: Verlag Sudetenland, 9-134.
- Mukařovský, Jan. 1926. "Základy českého verše." *Naše řeč*, (7), 212-221.
- Mukařovský, Jan. 1931. *Masaryk a řeč*. Praha: Pražský lingvistický kroužek.
- Mukařovský, Jan. 1936 "Protichůdci. Několik poznámek o vztahu Erbenova básnického díla k Máchovu." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (2), 33-43.
- Murko, Matija. 1949. *Paměti*. Praha: Fr. Borový.
- Nejedlý, Zdeněk. 1930. *Masaryk 1850-1882*. Praha: Melantrich.
- Nejedlý, Zdeněk. 1932. *Masaryk docent 1877-1882*. Praha: Melantrich.
- Nejedlý, Zdeněk. 1935. *Masaryk na pražské univerzitě 1882-1886*. Praha: Melantrich.
- Neumann, Stanislav Kostka. 1925. "Romanu Jakobsonovi." *Reflektor*, (1), 15.
- Neumann, Stanislav Kostka. 1967. *Básně I*. Praha: SNKLU.
- Nezval, Vítězslav. 1959. *Z mého života*. Praha: Československý spisovatel.

- Nováčková, Helena. 1987. "Puškinské oslavy v Československu roku 1937." *Praha-Moskva*, (33), 59-60.
- Novák, Arne. 1910. "Perspektivy naší staré literatury." *Česká revue*, (2), 6-17.
- Novák, Arne. 1916. *Kritika literární: zásady a praxe*. Praha: F. Topič.
- Novák, Arne. 1929. "Nové vydání staré literatury." *Lidové noviny*, 27/04/1929 (215), 17-18.
- Novák, Arne. 1938. "Bittner Konrad, Deutsche und Tschechen." *Český časopis historický*, (44), 338-343.
- Nykl, Hanuš. 2020. "T. G. Masaryk's The Spirit of Russia: between Positivism, Axiology and Orientalism." *Studies in East European Thought*, (72), 101-115.
- Nykl, Hanuš. 2021. *Instituce a osobnosti ruské meziválečné emigrace v Československu*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Nývltová, Dana and Radek Hylmar. 2018. *Čtení o Marii Majerové*. Praha: Institut pro studium literatury.
- Nývltová, Dana. 2011. *Femme fatale české avantgardy*. Praha: Akropolis.
- Oinas, Felix and Stephen Soudakoff. 1975. *The Study of Russian Folklore*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Oinas, Felix. 1985. *Essays on Russian Folklore and Mythology*. Columbus: Slavica Publishers.
- Opat, Jaroslav. 1990. *Filosof a politik T. G. Masaryk 1882-1893. Příspěvek k životopisu*. Praha: Melantrich
- Orzoff, Andrea. 2009. *Battle for the Castle. The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe 1914-1948*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Otáhal, Milan. 1992. "Význam bojů o Rukopisy." *Masarykův sborník VII. T. G. M. a naše současnost*, ed. by M. Machovec. Praha: Academia, 40-71.
- Otokar, Fischer. 1913. "O polemikách." *Národní listy*, (56), 1.
- Palková, Zdena. 1994. *Fonetika a fonologie češtiny*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova.
- Papoušek, Vladimír. 2014. *Dějiny nové moderny. 2, Lomy vertikál: česká literatura v letech 1924-1934*. Praha: Academia.
- Pasternak, Boris. 1935a. *Glejt*. Praha: S. V. U. Mánes.
- Pasternak, Boris. 1935b. *Lyrika*. Praha: Melantrich.
- Pasternak, Boris. 1965. *Glejt*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury a umění.
- Pasternak, Boris. 2019. *Doktor Živago*. Praha: Odeon.
- Patočka, Jan. 2006. "Masaryk v boji proti antisemitismu." *Češi II*. Praha: Oikoymenh, 33-112.
- Pěkný, Tomáš. 1993. *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě*. Praha: Sefer.
- Pernes, Jiří. 1993. *Svět Lidových novin 1893-1993*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

- Petrbok, Václav, Alice Stašková and Štěpán Zbytovský (eds.) 2020. *Otokar Fischer (1883-1938) : Ein Prager Intellektueller zwischen Dichtung und Wissenschaft*. Wien: Böhlau Verlag.
- Petrbok, Václav. 2021. *Čtení o Otokaru Fischerovi: Stopovat kentaura*. Praha: Institut pro studium literatury.
- Pistorius, Jiří. 1947. "F. X. Šalda bojovník a učitel svobody." *Kritický měsíčník*, (8), 441-449.
- Poggioli, Renato. 1954. *Cantare della Gesta di Igor*. Torino, Einaudi.
- Polívka, Jiří. 1921. "Aleksej Aleksandrovič Šachmatov." *Nové Atheneum*, (2), 188-192; 228-240.
- Pomorska, Krystyna. 1987. *Language, Poetry and Poetics: The Generation of the 1890s: Jakobson, Trubetzkoy, Majakovskij. Proceedings of the First Roman Jakobson Colloquium, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, October 5-6, 1984*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Pospíšil, Ivo and Miloš Zelenka. 2005. *Matija Murko v myšlenkovém kontextu evropské slavistiky: sborník studií*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.
- Pospíšil, Ivo. 2012. "Slovo o pluku Igorově v kontextu současných výzkumů: Keenanova hypotéza a její souvislosti." *Slavica Slovaca*, (42), 37-48.
- Puškin, Aleksandr. 1920. *Z Puškinovy lyriky*, ed. by J. Jakobson and A. Bem. Praha: Politika.
- Puškin, Aleksandr. 1937. *Básně*, translated by I. Bart. Praha: Lidová kultura.
- Puškin, Aleksandr. 1937a. *Dramata*, ed. by J. Jakobson and A. Bem. Praha: Melantrich.
- Puškin, Aleksandr. 1937b. *Eugen Oněgin: román ve verších*, ed. by J. Jakobson and A. Bem. Praha: Melantrich.
- Puškin, Aleksandr. 1938. *Povídky veršem a prózou. Ohlasy lidové poesie*, ed. by J. Jakobson and A. Bem. Praha: Melantrich.
- Rachůnková, Zdeňka, Michaela Řeháková and Jiří Vacek (eds.). 1996. *Práce ruské, ukrajinské a běloruské emigrace vydané v Československu 1918-1945: bibliografie s biografickými údaji o autorech = Труды русской, украинской и белорусской эмиграции, изданные в Чехословакии в 1918-1945: библиография с биографическими данными об авторах*. Praha: Národní knihovna ČR – Slovanská knihovna.
- Racyn, Michal. 2024. "Eurasianist Approach to the Concepts of Russian Formalism in Selected Works of N. S. Trubetzkoy and P. N. Savitsky." *Slavia*, 93 (1), 35-45.
- Raeff, Marc. 2000. "Russian and Slavic Studies in Europe and America Before the 'Great War'." *Biblion: The Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, (8), 81-113.
- Redakce. 1919. Untitled. *Nové Atheneum*, (1), 1.
- Redakce. 1921. "In eigener Sache." *Prager Presse*, 06/04/1921 (9), 6.
- Redakce. 2022. "Sto let časopisu Slavia." *Slavia*, (91), 1-2.
- Rejchrt, Ivo. 2004. "Athenaeum a literární věda." *Masarykův sborník XI–XII (1999–2003)*, ed. by J. Gebhart, J. Kuklík and J. Tomeš. Praha: Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 115-133.

- Ripellino, Angelo Maria. 1967. "V Římě o Praze." *Literární noviny*, 18/02/1967 (7), 1;3.
- Ripellino, Angelo Maria. [1950] 2022. *Storia della poesia ceca contemporanea*, ed. by A. Cosentino. Venezia: Marsilio.
- Ripellino, Angelo Maria. 2024. *Poesie di Chlebnikov. Saggio, antologia, commento*, ed. by A. Niero and R. Mini. Torino: Einaudi.
- Rippl, Eugen. 1937. "Konrad Bittner, Deutsche und Tschechen." *Germanoslavica*, (4), 349-352.
- Robinson, Michael. 2021 "Научная деятельность Н.Н. Дурново во время командировки в Чехословакию (1924–1927)" *Chinese Journal of Slavic Studies*, (1), 61-78.
- Roman, Jakobson. 1929. *Remarques sur l'évolution phonologique du russe: comparée à celle des autres langues slaves*. Praha: Jednota československých matematiků a fysiků.
- Roman, Jakobson. 1946 "Polish Scholarship and Puškin." *ASEER*, (5), 88-92.
- Rosenbaum, Maurice. 1943. "Slavonic Studies in America." *The Journal of Higher Education*, (14), 9-14.
- Rubilina, Radka. 2000. *Diplomatická kariéra Jaroslava Papouška: Jeho činnost v Rusku v době První světové války*. Bachelor's thesis. Praha: Karlova Univerzita.
- Rudy, Stephen. 1978. *Jakobsonian Poetics of the Moscow and Prague periods*. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses
- Rudy, Stephen. 1990. *Roman Jakobson: A Complete Bibliography of His Writings*. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Sager, Juan. 1994. *Language Engineering and Translation: Consequences of Automation*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Šalda, František Xaver. 1948. *Boje o zítřek: meditace a rapsodie*. Praha: Melantrich.
- Šalda, František Xavier. 1994. "Kus filologické lživědy." *Zápisník VII. 1934-1935*. Praha: Československý spisovatel, 352-362.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de, and François Vincent. 2020. *Ferdinand de Saussure, Le Premier Cours de Linguistique GéNéRale : La Trilogie Achevee : StéNogramme Caille, Transcription Triple, Analyses et Commentaires*. Deauville: ECE-D.
- Sedlák, Jan. 1929. *K problému rytmu básnického*. Praha: Filozofická fakulta.
- Sedlák, Jan. 1935. *O díle básnickém*. Praha: Ladislav Janů.
- Seibt, Ferdinand. 1984. *Die Teilung der Prager Universität 1882 und die intellektuelle Desintegration in den böhmischen Ländern*. München: Oldenbourg.
- Sériot, Patrick (ed.). 1997. "Jakobson entre l'Est et l'Ouest, 1915-1939." *Cahiers de l'ILSL*, (9).
- Sériot, Patrick and Patrick Flack. 2023. "Roman Jakobson, language unions, and structuralism in Russia: Encounter or misunderstanding?". *The Limits of Structuralism: Forgotten Texts in the History of Modern Linguistics*, ed. by J. McElvenny. Oxford: Oxford Academic, 139-204.

- Sériot, Patrick. 2014. *Structure and the Whole. East, West and Non-Darwinian Biology in the Origins of Structural Linguistics*. Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Sériot, Patrick. 2018. "Biology for Linguists: An Obstacle or a Royal Path to Concept Building?". *Sign Systems Studies*, 46 (1), 117-25.
- Sériot, Patrick. 2023. "Bibliographie des œuvres de N. S. Troubetzkoy." *Encyclopédie des linguistes russes et soviétiques, et d'Europe centrale et orientale*. <https://crecleco.seriot.ch/recherche/ENCYCL%20LING%20RU/TRUBECKOJ/Trub.html> (19/09/2024).
- Silberstein, Leopold. 1936. "Bilanz einer Zeitschrift." *Prager Presse*, 30/01/1936 (29), 6.
- Silberstein, Leopold. 1936. "Deutsche und Tschechen." *Prager Presse*, 10/12/1936 (337), 8.
- Silberstein, Leopold. 1937. "Ueber den sprachlichen Ausdruck der Quantität." *Prager Presse*, 11/03/1937 (70), 8.
- Škarpová, Marie. 2022. "'Budou Vám toho Michnu u nás závidět' aneb Vznik české barokní knihovny v korespondenci Antonína Škarky a Dmitrije Čyževského. Kapitola z dějin vědecké týmové práce realizované přes železnou oponu." *Slovo a smysl*, (11), 121-129.
- Škarpová, Marie. 2022. "Vzájemná korespondence Antonína Škarky a Dmitrije Čyževského z období 1. 2. 1965 - 21. 4. 1966." *Slovo a smysl*, (11), 130-150.
- Sládek, Ondřej. 2014. *Český strukturalismus v diskusi*. Brno: Strukturalistická knihovna.
- Sládek, Ondřej. 2018. *Slovník literárněvědného strukturalismu A-Ž*. Praha – Brno: Host.
- Sládek, Ondřej. 2015. *Jan Mukařovský: život a dílo*. Brno: Host.
- Sládek, Ondřej. 2021. "Structural Poetics in Motion: Jan Mukařovský and Roman Jakobson." *RUS*, (19), 172-188.
- Šlaisová, Eva. 2016. "Spojité nádoby: Etnologie, pražský strukturalismus a česká divadelní avantgarda." *Theatralia*, (19), 65-85.
- Slodnjak, Anton. 1975. *Obrazi in dela slovenskega slovstva*. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga.
- Smith, Gerald Stanton. 2000. *D.S. Mirsky: A Russian-English Life, 1890-1939*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sokolov, Jurij. 1966. *Russian Folklore*, ed. by C. Smith, F. Oinas. Hatboro: Wildside Press.
- Špét, Jiří. 1968. "Athenaeum a jeho místo ve vývoji české bibliografie." *Česká bibliografie: sborník statí a materiálů*, (7), 155-197.
- Špirit, Michael. 2000. "Komentář. Polemik – Básník, umělec, spisovatel – Kritika." *F. X. Šalda: Boje o žitřek. Meditace a rapsodie*, ed. by E. Macek and M. Špirit. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 252-298.
- Srba, Bořivoj. 1981. *Emil František Burian a jeho program poetického divadla*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, Filozofická fakulta.
- Stachowski, Marek. 2013. "Marr i marryzm." *LingVaria*, 2 (16), 249-271. <http://www.lingvaria.polonistyka.uj.edu.pl/documents/5768825/bd3b0b53-a6e5-434da0f2-d15cf5b8db70> (19/09/2024).

- (ed.). 1982. *The Prague School. Selected Writings, 1929–1946*. Austin, Austin: University of Texas.
- Steiner, Peter, Miroslav Červenka, and Ronald Vroon. 1982. *The Structure of the literary process: studies dedicated to the memory of Felix Vodička*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Steiner, Peter. 1984. *Russian Formalism: A Metapoetics*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Steiner, Peter. 2019. "Which Side Are You On? Roman Jakobson in Interwar Prague". In *Roman Jakobson, Linguistica E Poetica*, ed. by Edoardo Esposito, Stefania Sini, and Marina Castagneto. Milano: Ledizioni, 75-86.
- Struve, Gleb. 1946. "Slovo o Polku Igoreve: An Eighteenth-Century Fake?" *The Slavonic and East European Review*, (63), 213-18.
- Sturm-Schnabl, Katja (ed.). 1991. *Der Briefwechsel Franz Miklosich's mit den Südslaven*. Maribor: Obzorja.
- Sturm-Schnabl, Katja, 2004. "Aktualnost Miklošičevega znanstvenega dela in misli." *Jezikoslovni zapiski: zbornik Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša*, (10), 19-46.
- Sturm-Schnabl, Katja. "Franz Miklosich, ein „Europäer“ im 19. Jahrhundert." online: [https://www.inst.at/studies/s\\_0104\\_d.htm](https://www.inst.at/studies/s_0104_d.htm) (19/09/2024).
- Sturm-Schnabl, Katja. 2001. "Franz Miklosich als Wegbegleiter bei der Entstehung der ukrainischen Schriftsprache." *Sprache und Literatur der Ukraine zwischen Ost und West*. ed. by J. Besters-Dilger. Frankfurt/M: Lang, 195-209.
- Sus, Oleg. 1968. "Český formalismus a český prestrukturalismus." *Orientace*, (6), 2-27.
- Svejkovský, František. 1969. "Základní proudy ve vývoji bádání o starší české literatuře. Informativní stať." *Přednášky ve XII. běhu Letní školy slovanských studií v r. 1968*. Praha: SPN, 59-89.
- Táborský, František. 1937. *Puškin, pěvec svobody*. Praha: Česká akademie věd a umění.
- Tchougounnikov, Sergey and Céline Trautmann-Waller (eds.). 2013. *Petr Bogatyrev et les débuts du Cercle de Prague: Recherches ethnographiques et théâtrales*. Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle.
- Tchougounnikov, Serguei and Céline Trautmann-Waller (eds). 2013. *Pětr Bogatyrëv et les débuts du Cercle de Prague*. Paris: Sorbonne Nouvelle.
- Teige, Karel. [1927] 1972. "Slovo, slovo. slovo." *Avantgarda známá a neznámá, 2: Vrchol a krize poetismu*, ed. by Š. Vlašín. Praha: Svoboda, 331-354.
- Teige, Karel. 1926. "Kino a Film v SSSR." *Reflektor*, (2).
- Thomas A. Sebeok. [1994] 2010. *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Semiotics*. 3rd rev. and updated ed. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Tihanov, Galin. 2019. *The Birth and Death of Literary Theory: Regimes of Relevance in Russia and Beyond*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. 1966. *Théorie de La Littérature : Textes Des Formalistes Russes*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

- Toman, Jindřich. 1992. "‘If I were a linguist...’ Karel Čapek and/vs the Prague Linguistic Circle." *For Henry Kučera: Studies in Slavic philology and computational linguistics*, ed. by A. Mackie. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 365-380.
- Toman, Jindřich. 1994. *Letters and other materials from the Moscow and Prague Linguistic Circles: 1912 1945*. Ann Arbor : Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Toman, Jindřich. 1995. *The magic of a common language: Jakobson, Mathesius, Trubetzkoy, and the Prague Linguistic Circle*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Toman, Jindřich. 1996. "‘Balancovat v nepředstavitelných situacích’: poznámky k českým létům Romana Jakobsona." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (57), 226-240.
- Toman, Jindřich. 2017. *Angažovaná čítanka Romana Jakobsona*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Toman, Jiří. 1994. "Remarques sur le vocabulaire idéologique de Jakobson." *Cahiers de l'ILSL*, (5), 57-64.
- Tomelleri, Vittorio. 2020. *Linguistica E Filologia in Unione Sovietica : Trilogia Fra Sapere E Potere*. Milano: Mimesis.
- Topor, Michal and Daniel Řehák. 2019. *Arne Laurin (1889-1945): Portrét novináře*. Praha, Institut pro studium literatury.
- Trávníček, František. 1922. "André Mazon: *Lexique de la guerre et de la révolution en Russie* (1914-1918). Bibliothèque de l'Institut français de Petrograd, tome VI; Roman Jakobson: *Vliv revoluce na ruský jazyk*. Zvl. otisk z Nového Athenea II." *Listy filologické*, (49), 244-246.
- Tria, Massimo. 2010. "Marinetti e Prampolini a Praga: contatti futuristi con l'avanguardia cecoslovacca fra le due guerre." *Gli altri futurismi. Futurismi e movimenti d'avanguardia in Russia, Polonia, Cecoslovacchia, Bulgaria e Romania*, ed. by G. Tomassucci and M. Tria. Pisa: Pisa University Press, 37-54.
- Tria, Massimo. 2012. *Karel Teige fra Cecoslovacchia, URSS ed Europa: avanguardia, utopia e lotta politica*. Firenze: Firenze University Press.
- Tria, Massimo. 2013a. "La Boemia come patria dell'anima nelle lettere di Marina Cvetaeva ad Anna Tesková." *Studi Slavistici* (10), 149-173.
- Tria, Massimo. 2013b. "Le lettere di Ettore Lo Gatto a Evgenij Aleksandrovic Ljackij." *Russica Romana*, (20), 141-172.
- Trubeckoj, Nikolaj. 1924. "Roman Jakobson, *O češskom stiche. Preimuščestvenno sopostavlenii s ruskim*." *Slavia*, (2), 452-460.
- Trubeckoj, Nikolaj. 1935. "Pismo." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (1), 133.
- Trubeckoj, Nikolaj. 1971. *Principles of Phonology: Transl. By Christiane A.M. Baltaxe*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
- Trubeckoj, Nikolaj. 2005. *Russland - Europa - Eurasien: ausgewählte Schriften zur Kulturwissenschaft*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Ulicka, Danuta. 2021. "Role społeczne uczonych. Roman Jakobson i Polacy." *Teksty drugie*, (2), 260-280.

- Unbegaun, Boris. 1968. "André Mazon." *The Slavonic and East European Review*, (107), 442–445.
- Vachek, Josef. 1965. "Slovo a slovesnost jako tribuna pražské školy jazykovědné v letech 1935–1943." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (26), 305–310.
- Válka, Miroslav. 2013. "Národnopisný věstník československý jako tisková platforma národnopisné společnosti československé a nástupnických organizací." *Český lid*, (100), 107–120.
- Vašek, Richard. 2019. *Račte to podepsat libovolnou šifrou*. Brno: Academia.
- Vedenina, Lioudmila. 2016. "Nikolaï Sergueïevitch Troubetzkoy dans le contexte des traditions linguistiques russes." *La linguistique*. (52), 21–34.
- Velmezova, Ekaterina and Sébastien Moret (eds.). 2016. "Rozalija Šor (1894–1939) et son environnement académique et culturel." *Cahiers de l'ILSL*, (47).
- Venuti, Lawrence. 2000. *The Translation Studies Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Vlašín, Štěpán. 1970. *Avantgarda známá a neznámá III Generační diskuse 1929–1931*. Praha: Svoboda.
- Vlašín, Štěpán. 1971. *Avantgarda známá a neznámá I. Od proletářského umění k poetismu 1919–1924*. Praha: Svoboda.
- Vlašín, Štěpán. 1972. *Avantgarda známá a neznámá II. Vrchol a krize poetismu 1925–1928*. Praha: Svoboda.
- Vlček, Radomír. "Konrad Bittner." *Biografický slovník českých zemí* [https://biography.hiu.cas.cz/wiki/BITTNER\\_Konrad\\_1890–1967](https://biography.hiu.cas.cz/wiki/BITTNER_Konrad_1890–1967) (19/09/2024).
- Vodička, Felix (ed.). 1968. *F. X. Šalda*. Praha: Academia.
- Vodička, Felix. 1968. "Formování Šaldova kritického typu." *F. X. Šalda: 1867, 1937, 1967*. Praha: Academia.
- Vohryzek, Lev. 1936. "Jak jsme zakládali *Tribunu*." *Die Brücke/Most*, (37).
- Vohryzek, Lev. 1937. "Ze života *Tribuny*." *Die Brücke/Most*, (25).
- Vohryzek, Lev. 1938. "Konec *Tribuny*." *Die Brücke/Most*, (6).
- Vojtěch, Daniel. 1998. "Polemičnost v koncepci Šaldova románu." *Česká literatura*, (46), 274–282.
- Vojtěch, Daniel. 2008. *Na křižovatkách moderny*. Praha: Academia.
- Vojvodík, Josef and Jan Wiendl (eds.). 2011. *Heslář české avantgardy*. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.
- Vondrák, Jindřich. 1926. "Slovo k dílku odbornickému." *České slovo*, 30/05/1926 (128), 5.
- Voznesenskij, Aleksandr. 1927. "Die Methodologie der russischen Literaturforschung in den Jahren 1910–1925." *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, (1–2), 145–162.
- Vuković, Petar. 2012. "Jiří Haller mezi purismem a strukturalismem." *Přednášky a besedy ze XLIII. běhu LŠSS*, ed. by E. Rusinová. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 191–202.

- Weil, Jiří (ed.). 1932. *Sborník sovětské revoluční poesie*. Praha: Karel Borecký.
- Weil, Jiří. 2021. *Reportáže a stati 1920-1933*, ed. by M. Špirit. Praha: Triáda.
- Weil, Jiří. 2022. *Stati a reportáže 1938-1959*. ed. by M. Špirit. Praha: Triáda.
- Wellek, René. 1936. "Review of President Masaryk." *The Slavonic and East European Review*, (41), 456-462.
- Wellek, René. 1991. *A History of Modern Criticism: Volume 7, German, Russian, and Eastern European Criticism, 1900-1950*. New Heaven: Yale University Press.
- Werner, Michael and Michel Espagne. 1987. "La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France: genèse et histoire des transferts franco-allemands." *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, (42), 969-992.
- Wiendl, Jan. 2019. "Deníky Karla Teigeho v Literárním archivu Památníku národního písemnictví v Praze." *Slovo a smysl*, (32), 231-309.
- Winner, Thomas. 1996. "Roman Jakobson and the Czech Poetists Language is not a Prison House." *Roman Jakobson*, ed. by M. Mikulášek. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 17-28.
- Winter, Gustav. 1930. *Kniha o Francii*. Praha: Aventinum.
- Winter, Gustav. 1932. "Umschichtung der českischen Gesellschaft." *Slavische Rundschau*, (4), 369-383.
- Winter, Gustav. 1936. "Poznámky k novinářské češtině." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (2), 114-120.
- Wollman, Frank. 1936. "Literárněvědné metody v Bittnerově knize *Deutsche und Tschechen*." *Slovo a slovesnost*, (2), 201-207.
- Wollman, Frank. 1947. "Murkova vědecká osobnost." *Slavia*. (18), 1-22.
- Zalambani, Maria. 2022. *Letteratura e psicoanalisi in Russia all'alba del XX secolo*. Firenze: Firenze University Press.
- Zavacká, Marína. 2019. "Dobrodružství akademické mobility: Roman Jakobson na Slovensku." *Historický časopis*, (66), 107-32.
- Zehnalová, Jitka. 2018. "The Czech structuralist tradition and a model of translation-related semiotic analysis." *Brno Studies in English*, (44), 37-58.
- Zeil, Liane. and Wilhelm Zeil. "Die „Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie 1924 bis 1944." *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, (24), 719-742.
- Zelenka, Miloš. 2000. "Slavia v dějinách české a slovenské meziválečné slavistiky." *Česko-slovenská vzájemnost a nezájemnost*, ed. by I. Pospíšil and M. Zelenka. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 15-27.
- Zelenka, Miloš. 2003. "Matija Murko a česká literární komparatistika." *Slavia*, (72), 27-40.
- Zelenka, Miloš. 2017. "Jan Vojtěch Sedlák v diskusi s Pražským lingvistickým kroužkem: (spor o koncepci českého verše)." *Slavica litteraria*, (20), 9-19.
- Zelenka, Miloš. 2020. "Le rôle de la slavistique française dans l'essor institutionnel et l'orientation intellectuelle de la slavistique tchèque après 1918 (André Mazon et Matija Murko dans les années 1920)." *Revue des études slaves*, (91), 45-63.

- Zelenka, Miloš. 2021. "Italský slavista Arturo Cronia v meziválečném Československu." *Slavica litteraria*, (24), 33-47.
- Zelenková, Anna and Hana Hlôšková. 2008. *Slavista Jiří Polívka v kontexte literatury a folklóru I–II*. Brno: Slavistická společnost Franka Wollmana.
- Zelenková, Anna and Jiří Bečka. 2003. "Výběrová bibliografie Matiji Murka." *Slavia*, (72), 123-148.
- Zelenková, Anna. 2006. "Review of *Matija Murko v myšlenkovém kontextu evropské slavistiky : sborník studií*. (*Matija Murko dans le contexte de la slavistique européenne: recueil d'études*), édité par Ivo Pospíšil et Miloš Zelenka, Brno: Slavistická společnost Franka Wollmana." *Revue des Études Slaves*, (77), 677-678.
- Zelenková, Anna. 2017. "Frank Wollman v kontextu strukturální teorie a terénních výzkumů slovesného folklóru (Příspěvek k nálezu tzv. wollmanovského moravského sběru)." *Český lid*, (104), 433-452.
- Zídek, Petr. 2014. *Osobnosti Lidových novin: životní příběhy lidí, kteří vytvářeli nejstarší český deník (1893-1989)*. Praha: Knižní klub.
- Zoltán, András. 1992. "Die Bedeutung von Franz Miklosich für die ungarische Sprachwissenschaft." *Miklošičev zbornik Mednarodni simpozij v Ljubljani od 26. do 28. junija 1991*, ed. by J. Toporišič. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta Univerza v Ljubljani, 411-413.
- Zusi, Peter. 2024. *The Integrity of the Avant-Garde: Karel Teige and the Biography of an Ambition*. Oxford: Legenda.
- Автономова, Наталья и Михаил Гаспаров. [1997] 1999. "Якобсон, славистика и евразийство: две конъюнктуры, 1929-1953." *Роман Якобсон. Тексты, документы, исследования*. Отв. ред. Х. Баран и С. Гиндин. Москва: РГГУ, 334-340.
- Андреев, Николай. 1996. *То, что вспоминается*. Таллинн: Авенариус.
- Аронсон, Марк и Соломон Рейсер. 20021. *Литературные Кружки И Салоны*. Санкт-Петербург: Академический проект.
- Ачкасова, Людмила. 2009. *Александр Николаевич Вознесенский (1888-1966)*. Казань: Казанский государственный университет.
- Бабка, Лукаш и Игор Золотарев (под. ред.). 2012. *Русская акция помощи в Чехословакии: история, значение, наследие*. Прага: Национальная библиотека Чешский Республики / Славянская библиотека.
- Байссвенгер, Мартин. 2008. *Петр Николаевич Савицкий (1895-1968). Библиография опубликованных работ*. Прага: Национальная библиотека Чешский Республики.
- Балашкив, Оксана. 2010. *Ческа и словацка култура в житті і науковому доробку Дмитра Чижевського*. Siedlce: Stowarzyszenie tutajteraz.
- Баран Хенрик. 2016. Р. О. Якобсон и жанр некролога. *Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета. История*, (1), 4-17.
- Баран, Хенрик и Елена Душенчиназа. 1999. "Переписка С. И. Карцевского и Р. О. Якобсона", *Роман Якобсон. Тексты, документы, исследования*, под. ред. Х. Баран и С. Гиндин, Москва: РГГУ, 175-191.

- Баран, Хенрик и Сергей Гиндин. 1999. *Роман Якобсон. Тексты, документы, исследования*. Москва: РГГУ.
- Бахтина, Валентина. 1993. “Славистические связи русской фольклористики 20-х годов (П. Богатырев, Р. Якобсон, Ю. Соколов).” *История, культура, этнография и фольклор славянских народов. XI международный съезд славистов*, под ред. Г. Литаврин. Москва: Наука, 297-309.
- Бахтина, Валентина. 2000. *Фольклористическая школа братьев В. М. и Й. М. Соколовых*. Москва, Наследие.
- Белый, Андрей. 1910. *Символизм*. Москва: Музагает.
- Белый, Андрей. 1919. “О художественной прозе.” *Горно-Московский пролеткульт*, (2-3), 49-55.
- Богданчиков, Сергей. 2013. *Г. И. Челпанов и его школа в контексте истории российской психологии: исследования и материалы: монография*. Москва: Диркет медиа.
- Божилова, Румя. 1996. Любомир Милетич до Вратослав Ягич: Писма: 1896-1919. София, Академичко издательство “Проф. Марин Дринов”.
- Божилова, Румяна. 2013. “Писмата на Любомир Милетич в писмата му до Ватрослав Ягич.” *Исторически преглед*, (69), 37-40.
- Брок, Олаф. 1910. *Очерки филологии славянской речи*. Санкт-Петербург, Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук.
- Брук, Осип. 1919. “Звуковые повторы.” *Зборник по теории поэтического языка*. Петроград: Государственная типография.
- Брюсов, Валерий. 1919. *Наука о стихе*. Москва, Альциона.
- Вадалковская, Маргарита. 2005. *Т. Г. Масарик и “Русская акция” Чехословацкого правительства: к 150 летию со дня рождения Т. Г. Масарика: по материалам международной научной конференции*. Москва: Русский путь.
- Ванечкова, Фалина. 2006. *Летопись бытия и быта. Марина Цветаева в Чехии 1922-1945*. Прага: Национальная библиотека Чешской Республики – Славянская библиотека.
- Васильков, Ярослав. 2001. “Трагедия академика Марра.” *Христианский Восток. Серия посвященная изучению христианской культуры народов Азии и Африки. Новая серия*, 2 (8), 390-421.
- Вертов, Дзига. *Стати, дневники, замыслы*, под ред. С. Цробашенко. Москва: Искусство.
- Виноградов, Виктор. 1935. *Язык Пушкина*. Москва-Ленинград: Academia.
- Виноградов, Виктор. 1941. *Стиль Пушкина*. Москва: Государственное издательство.
- Владимир, Карелин и Андрей Репневский. 2018. “Из переписки профессора Олафа Брока и Петра Савицкого (1916-1958).” *Альманах североевропейских и балтийских исследований*, (3), 275-303.
- Галушкин, Александр. 1999. “Виктор Шкловский и Роман Якобсон. Переписка (1922&1956).” *Роман Якобсон. Тексты, документы, исследования*, под ред. Х. Баран и С. Гиндин, Москва: РГГУ, 104-135.

- Галушкин, Александр. 2000. “‘И так, ставши на костях, будем трубить сбор...’ К истории несостоявшегося возрождения Опояза в 1928-1930 гг.” *Новое литературное обозрение*, (44), 136-153.
- Герцен, Александр. 1967. *С того берега*. Москва: Издательство Академии Наук СССР.
- Гланц, Томаш. 2017. “Космополитическое месиво “de Dieu et de bordel”: Что думал Роман Якобсон о дада?” *Верба волант, скрипта манент: Фестирифт к 50-летию Игоря Пильщикова. Сборник статей*, под ред. Н. Поселягин и М. Трунин. Новы сад: Сборник матице србске за славистику, 211-217.
- Гланц, Томаш. 2017. “Формализм Якобсона. 1935.” *Философия первой половины XX века. Роман Якобсон*, под ред. Н. Автономова, Х. Баран и Т. Щердина. Москва: РОССПЭН, 219-233.
- Глебов, Сергей. 2010. *Евразийство между империей и модерном: история в документах*. Москва: Новое издательство.
- Глебов, Сергей. 2016 “Роман Якобсон: Великий шифтер.” *Формальный метод: Антология русского модернизма*, под ред. Сергей Ушакин. Екатеринбург: Кабинетный Ученый, 221-245.
- Гусев, Виктор. 1995. “Русский фольклорист в двойной Чехословакии.” *Славия*, (64), 49-57.
- Демсакая, Александра и Наталия Семенова. 1989. *П. Д. Эттингер. Статья из переписки. Воспоминания современников*. Москва: Советский художник.
- Дурново, Николай. 1925-1926. “Коротка історія української мову. I. Вступ и звучня.” *Славия*, (4), 582-587.
- Жирмунский, Виктор. 1924. *Задачи и методы изучения искусства*. Петербург: Академия.
- Илизаров, Семенович. 2012. *Почетный академик Сталин и академик Марр*. Москва: Вече.
- Карцевский, Сергей. 1922. “Язык, война и революция.” *Современные записки*, (10), 313-320.
- Карцевский, Сергей. 1923. *Язык, Война, Революция*. Берлин: Русское университетское издательство.
- Кортхаазе, Вернер. 2010. *Дмитрий Чижевский: жизнь великого ученого*. Drohobuץ – Siedlce: Izdatelstvo Sprint.
- Корш, Федор. 1902. *О русском правописании*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Академии Наук.
- Корш, Федор. 1909. *Слово о полку Игореве*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Академии Наук.
- Кулешов, Лев. 1979. *Статьи, материалы*. Москва: Искусство.
- Лапртева, Людмила. 1996. “Русская академическая эмиграция в Чехословакии в 20-30 годах XX века.” *Интеллигенция в условиях общественной нестабильности*, под ред. А. Студеникин. Москва: Издательская группа URSS.

- Лапртева, Людмила. 1997. *Российская сорабистика XIX–XX веков в очерках жизни и творчества ее представителей. Справочник*. Москва: Институт славяноведения и балканистики РАН.
- Лапртева, Людмила. 2012. “Неопубликованная рукопись В. А. Францева о чешской историографии второй половины XIX в.” *Славянский альманах*, (16), 97-109.
- Лаптева, Людмила. 2016. “Чешско-русские научные связи во второй половине XIX-начале XX вв.” *Россия и Чехия: научные, культурные и общественные связи. Материалы комиссий историков и архивистов Российской Федерации и Чешской Республики*. Санкт-Петербург: Алатея, 156-175.
- Левченко Ян. 2012. *Другая Наука: Русские Формалисты В Поисках Биографии*. Москва: Издательский дом Высшей школы экономики.
- Лённгрен, Тамара и Лариса Заковоротная. 2021. *А. А. Шахматов - О. Брок. Переписка: 1889-1919*. Москва: Издательство им. Сабашниковых.
- Лённгрен, Тамара и Наталя Василівна. 2018. *Слов'янський Світ Олафа Брока: Збірник За Матеріалами Доповідей Семінарів До 150-Річчя Від Дня Народження Першого Професора Слов'янських Мов Університету Осло, 2017*. Львів: Університет Осло.
- Леушин, Максим. 2001. “Сталин и Марр: три архивных документа.” *Логос*, 4 (30), 86-90. <http://www.philology.ru/linguistics1/leushin-01.htm> (19/09/2024).
- Ляцкий, Евгений. 1934. *Слово о полку Игореве: повесть о князях Игоре, Святославе и исторических судьбах русской земли: очерк из истории древне-русской литературы, композиция, стиль*. Прага: Орбис.
- Магидова, Мария. 1995. *Русская, украинская и белорусская эмиграция в Чехословакии между двумя мировыми войнами: результаты и перспективы исследований: фонды Славянской библиотеки и пражских архивов: Международная конференция, Прага 14-15 августа 1995 г.: сборник докладов*. Прага: Национальная библиотека Чешской Республики – Славянская библиотека.
- Марченко, Татьяна. 2016. “Россика на страницах *Slavische Rundschau*.” *Литературный факт*, (1-2), 142-178.
- Маяковский, Владимир. 1957. *Полное собрание сочинений. Том 3*. Москва: ГИХЛ.
- Маяковский, Владимир. 1958. *Полное собрание сочинений. Том 8*. Москва: ГИХЛ.
- Маяковский, Владимир. 1961. *Полное собрание сочинений. Том 13*. Москва: ГИХЛ.
- Мелникова-Папоушкова, Надежда. 1921. *Антология русской поэзии XX столетия*. Прага: Наше речь.
- Папоушек, Ярослав. 1927. *Центральная Европа*, (1), 1.
- Пастернак, Борис. 1931. *Охранная грамота*. Ленинград: Издательство писателей в Ленинграде.
- Пастернак, Борис. 1967. “Люди и положения.” *Нобый мир*, (1), 204-236.
- Пильщиков, Игорь. 2024. “Лотман и Якобсон как пушкинисты: пути и перепутья.” *Slavic Literatures*, (143), 79-116.

- Поливанов, Евгений. 1991. “Стенограмма 4 февраля 1929 г. ‘Проблема марксистского языкознания и яфетическая теория.’ Доклад Е. Д. Поливанова (Из Архива АН СССР).” *Труды по-восточному и общему языкознанию, составление, послесловие, комментарии и указатели Льва Рафаиловича Консевича*. Москва: Главная редакция восточной литературы, 508-586.
- Полилова, Вера, Игорь Пильщиков и Анастасия Белоусова. 20002. “Сравнительное стихотворение в России и за рубежом.” *Вопросы языкознания*, (2), 125-150.
- Робинсон, Михаил и Марина Досталь, 1994. “Переписка Р. О. Якобсона и П. Г. Богатырева.” *Славяноведение*, (4), 69-91.
- Робинсон, Михаил. 1992. “Н.Н. Дурново и Н.С. Трубецкой: проблема евразийства в контексте «Дела славистов» (по материалам ОГПУ–НКВД).” *Славяноведение*, (4), 68-82.
- Робинсон, Михаил. 2015. “Русские ученые-слависты и Белорусская академия наук в 1920-е годы.” *Белоруссия и Украина: история и культура*. Москва: Институт славяноведения РАН, 319-372.
- Руди, Стивен. 1999. “Якобсон при маккар-тизме.” *Роман Якобсон. Тексты, документы, исследования*, под ред. Х. Баран и С. Гиндин, Москва: РГГУ, 192-200.
- Светаева, Марина. 2000. *Где мой дом? Стихи к Чехии. Документу, письма, фотографии*. Москва: Дом Музей Марины Светаевы.
- Светаева, Марина. 2009. *Спасибо за долгую память любви... Письма к Анне Тесковой 1922/1939*, под ред. Г. Ванечкова и М. Ванечек. Москва: Русский путь.
- Слюсарева, Наталья. 2010. *Теория Ф. Де Соссюра В Свете Современной Лингвистики*. Москва: Едиториал УРСС.
- Соколов, Юрий. 1926. “Очередные задачи изучения русского фольклора.” *Художественный фольклор*, (1), 5-29.
- Сорокина, Марина. 1994. “П. Г. Богатырев и русская формальная школа.” *Архетипы в русском фольклоре и литературе*, под ред. Б. Невзоров. Кемерово: Кузбассвузиздат, 42-49.
- Сорокина, Марина. 2002. “Переписла П. Г. Богатырева.” *П. Г. Богатырев. Воспоминания, документы, статьи*. Санкт-Петербург: Алтейя, 121-124.
- Сорокина, Марина. 2018. “Нужна ли биография эмигранту? Роман Якобсон в московских архивах. *Roman Jakobson, linguistica e poetica*, ed. by E. Esposito, S. Sini and M. Castagneto. Milano: Ledizioni, 61-74. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.ledizioni.4504> (19/09/2024).
- Сорокина, Марина. 2019. “Роман Якобсон в Праге: Славянский Институт.” *Ежегодник*. Москва: Дом русского зарубежья им. Александра Солженицына, 195-206.
- Сталин, Иосиф. 1950а. “Относительно марксизма и языкознания.” *Правда*, 20/06/1950 (171), 3-4.
- Сталин, Иосиф. 1950б. *Марксизм и вопросы языкознания*. Москва: Государственное издательство политической литературы.
- Тимошенко, Семен. 1926. *Искусство Кино И Монтаж Фильма*. Ленинград: Академия.

- Тоддес, Евгений и Мариэтта Чудакова. 1981. “Первый русский перевод *Курса общей лингвистики* Ф. де Соссюра и деятельность Московского лингвистического кружка (Материалы к изучению бытования научной книги в 1920-е годы.”, *Федоровские чтения*. Москва: Наука, 229-249.
- Толстой, Никита. 1993. *Н. С. Трубецкой и современная филология*. Москва: Наука.
- Томашевский, Борис. [1925] 1990. *Современные проблемы историко-литературного изучения*. Москва: Книга.
- Томашевский, Борис. 1921. “Валерий Брюсов. Наука о стихе. Метрика и ритмика. Изд. Альциона. Стр. 131. М., 1919. — Андрей Белый. О художественной прозе. Горн. Кн. II—III. Изд. Моск. пролеткульта. М. 1919.” *Книга и революция*, (10-11), 32-34.
- Томашевский, Борис. 1923b. *Русское стихосложение. Метрика*. Петроград: Академия.
- Томашевский, Борис. 1923a. *Очерки по поэтике*. Берлин: Эпоха.
- Топкоров, Андрей. 2014. “Русские формалисты и изучения фольклора.” *Индрик*, 38-55.
- Трубецкой, Николай. 1958. “Мысли об индоевропейской проблеме.” *Вопросы языкознания*, (1), 65-77.
- Трубецкой, Николай. 1987. *Избранные труды по филологии: Переводы*, под ред. В. Виноградов и В. Нерознак. Москва: Прогресс.
- Трубецкой, Николай. 1987. *Избранные труды по филологии*. Москва: Прогресс.
- Тынянов, Юрий. 1968. *Пушкин и его современники*. Москва: Наука.
- Тынянов, Юрий. 1983. *Пушкин*. Москва: Книга.
- Тынянов, Юрий. 1993. *Литерарный факт*. Москва: Высшая школа.
- Тынянов, Юрий. 1995. *Архаисты и новаторы*. Мичиган: Ардис Публишер.
- Тынянов, Юрий. 1977. *Поэтика, история литературы, кино*. Москва: Наука.
- Уманцев, Александр. 1937. *Пушкинские веяния в чешской литературе*. Прага: Уманцев.
- Флоровский, Антон. 1935. *Чехи и восточные славяне: очерки по истории чешско-русских отношений X-XVIII вв.. Том первый*. Прага: Práce Slovanského ústavu v Praze.
- Фрейденберг, Ольга. 1988. “Воспоминания Н. Я Марре.” *Восток-Запад. Исследования, переводы, публикации наука*. Москва: Главная редакция восточной литературы, 181-208.
- Чиковаба, Арнольд. 1950. “Он некоторых вопросах советского языкознания.” *Правда*, 09/05/1950 (129), 3-5.
- Чиковаба, Арнольд. 1985. “Tberiul-ḳavḳasiuri enatmesnerebis se liḳḳ euli.” Ежегодник иберийско-кавказского языкознания, (12), 39-52.
- Шапир, Максим. [1991] 2000. “О поэтическом языке произведений Хлебникова. Обсуждение доклада. Р. Якобсона в Московском лингвистическом кружке.” *Мир Владимира Хлебникова: Статьи. Исследования, 1911-1998*. Москва: Язык русской культуры. 90-96.

- Шахматов, Алексей. 1915. *Ф.Е. Федор Евгеньевич Кори. Некролог*. Петроград: Извѣстія императорской Академіи Наукъ.
- Шкловский, Виктор (под ред.). 1923. *Чаплин. Сборник статей*. Берлин: Издательство Кино.
- Шкловский, Виктор. 1923. *Литература и кинематограф*. Берлин: Издательство Кино.
- Шкловский, Виктор. 1929. *О теории прозы*. Москва: Федерация.
- Щерба, Лев. 1963. “Ф. Ф. Фортунатов в истории науки о языке.” *Вопросы языкознания*, (5), 89-93.
- Щерба, Лев. 1983. *Русские гласные в качественном и количественном отношении*. Ленинград: Наука.
- Эйхенбаум, Борис (под ред.). 1927. *Поэтика кино*. Ленинград: Кинопечать.
- Эйхенбаум, Борис. 1928. *Лев Толстой. Книга Первая. Пятидесятые годы*. Ленинград: Прибой.
- Эренбург, Илья и Овадий Савич. 1931. *Мы и они*. Берлин: Петрополис.
- Эренбург, Илья. 1990. *Люди, годы, жизнь. Воспоминания в трех томах. Том первый*. Москва: Советский писатель.
- Якобсон, Роман и Бенгт Янгфельдт (под ред.). 2012. *Будетлянин Науки: Воспоминания, Письма, Статьи, Стихи, Проза*. Москва: Гилея.



## **Abbreviations**

AMU – Masaryk University Archive

GML – National Museum of Literature

LA PNP - The Museum of Czech Literature Literary Archive

MDK - Moscow Dialectological Commission

MLK – Moscow Linguistic Circle

OPOJAZ – Society for the Study of Poetic Language

PLK – Prague Linguistic Circle

RGALI – Russian State Archive of Literature and Art

RPJs – Roman Jakobson Papers

VBA – Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European Culture



## Appendix. Tables of contents

This appendix contains a diversified selection of materials. First, a table with Jakobson's short obituaries published in *Slavische Rundschau* is provided. Then, I have transcribed some "uncollected writings" by Jakobson and writings about Jakobson quoted in this study, the "other writings". In the last two sections of the appendix I have proposed a selection of the materials founded during my archival research. The first section (§ A. 4) regards the correspondences from *Slavische Rundschau*'s collection, while the second (§ A. 5) proposes some writings from Roman Jakobson Papers.

### A.1 Obituaries in *Slavische Rundschau*

### A.2 Uncollected writings

A.2.1 Roman Jakobson, "Z poematu *Sestry blýskavice*" (1920)

A.2.2 Roman Jakobson, "Stanislav Neumann, Vesennie ritmy" (1925)

A.2.3 Roman Jakobson, "Gemeinsame Kultursprache" (1935)

A.2.4 Roman Jakobson, "Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak" (1935)

A.2.5 Roman Jakobson, "Jazykověda v republikánském Španělsku" (1938)

### A.3 Other writings

A.3.1 "Ve Slovanském ústavu" (1929)

A.3.2 "Bolševický agent ve Slovanském ústavu" (1929)

A.3.3 Untitled (1929)

A.3.4 "Slovan' Jakobson ze sovětské misse – členem pražského Slovanského ústavu" (1929)

- A.4 Correspondences (1920-1939)
  - A.4.1 Jurij Tynjanov
  - A.4.2 Boris Tomaševskij
  - A.4.3 Boris Ějchenbaum
  - A.4.4 Jurij Sokolov
  - A.4.5 Rosalije Šor
  - A.4.6 Alfred Bem
  - A.4.7 Petr Savickij
  - A.4.8 Sergej Karcevskij
  - A.4.9 Leopold Silberstein
- A.5 Correspondences (1940-1982)
  - A.5.1 Nadežda Melníkova-Papoušková
  - A.5.2 Antonín Stanislav Mágr
  - A.5.3 Paul Eisner
  - A.5.4 Nikolaj Vernadskij
  - A.5.5 Vladimir Nabokov

## A.1 Obituaries in *Slavische Rundschau*

Scholar	Reference	Notes
Agrell Per Sigurd	1937, p. 278	
Aksenov Ivan	1935, p. 425	
Amfiteatrov Aleksandr	1938, p. 223	typescript in German
Aničkov Evgenij	1938, p. 70	manuscript in German
Bagrickij Eduard	1934, p. 229	typescript in German
Balijev Nikita	1936, p. 421	
Bruni Nikolaj	1936, p. 136	
Budzynovsk'kyj Vjačeslav	1935, p. 207	
Čajkovs'kyj Andrij	1935, p. 281	typescript in German
Čapygin Aleksej	1938, p. 71	typescript in German (partially)
Čechonin Sergej	1936, pp. 208-209	
Čelpanov Georgij	1936, p. 209	manuscript in Russian
Čertkov Vladimir	1937, pp. 63-64	
Chyl'ovyj Mykola	1933, p. 279	
Čičerin Georgij	1936, p. 353	manuscript in Russian
Dančenko Vasilij	1936, p. 422	
Demidov Aleksej	1934, p. 303	
Dnistr'ans'kyj Stanislav	1935, p. 281	
Dobroklonskij Aleksandr	1938, p. 71	typescript in German
Dolobko Milij	1936, pp. 65-66	manuscript in German
Eisenmann Louis	1937, p. 279	

Feinsilber Ilja	1937, p. 280	
Gal'kovskij Nikolaj	1933, p. 280	typescript in German
Gil'jarovskij Vladimir	1935, p. 425	
Glazunov Aleksandr	1936, p. 209	
Glubokovskij Nikolaj	1937, p. 208	
Grot Konstantin	1934, p. 448	typescript in German
Hadžega Vasyľ	1938, p. 224	typescript in German
Hessen Sergej	1937, p. 137	typescript in German
Holoskevyč Hryhorij	1935, p. 353	
Husserl Edmund	1938, p. 302	manuscript in Russian typescript in German
Iocheľ'son Vladimir	1938, p. 71	manuscript in Russian typescript in German
Ippolitov Michail	1935, p. 135	
Istrin Vasilij	1937, p. 351	
Jacobsohn Hermann	1933, p. 280	typescript in German
Jakobson L'ubov'	1937, p. 208	manuscript in Russian typescript and in German
Jakovlev Aleksandr	1938, pp. 303-304	typescript in German (partially)
Jarcho Arkadij	1937, p. 208	manuscript in Russian typescript in German
Jasinskij Anton	1934, p. 71	manuscript in Russian
Kallinikov Josif	1934, p. 303	
Karinskij Nikolaj	1936, pp. 353-354	manuscript in Russian
Karpinskij Aleksandr	1936, p. 354	
Kobil'nyk Volodymir	1937, p. 208	typescript in German
Kokorudz Il'ja	1933, p. 280	
Kozlov Petr	1935, p. 425	

Kuprijanov Nikolaj	1933, pp. 356-357	
Kurpin Aleksandr	1938, p. 408	typescript in German
Kuzmin Michail	1936, p. 209	manuscript in Russian
L'ubavskij Matvej	1937, p. 137	manuscript in Russian
Lazarevskij Boris	1936, p. 422	
Leontovyč Volodymyr	1934, p. 72	
Lerner Nikolaj	1934, p. 448	typescript in German
Levinson Andrej	1934, p. 72	typescript in German
Levyč'ka Sofija	1937, p. 425	typescript in German
Levyč'kyj Volodymyr	1938, pp. 408-409	typescript in German
Lichačev Nikolaj	1936, p. 284	
Lopatyns'skyj Jaroslav	1936, p. 136	
Lunačarskij Anatolij	1934, p. 143	manuscript in Russian typescript in German
Mal'utin Sergej	1938, p. 72	typescript in German
Malevič Kazimir	1935, p. 281	
Malyškin Aleksandr	1938, pp. 383-384	manuscript in Russian manuscript in German (Rippl)
Marr Jurij	1936, p. 354	manuscript in Russian
Marr Nikolaj	1935, pp. 135-136	manuscript in Russian
Meillet Antoine	1936, p. 422	manuscript in Russian
Mendelson Nikolaj	1934, p. 230	
Metner Emilij	1936, p. 354	manuscript in Russian
Michail Rozanov (N. Ognev)	1938, p. 384	
Minclov Sergej	1934, pp. 143-144	
Minskij Nikolaj (Vilenkin)	1937, p. 352	

Nilov Ivan	1934, p. 72	manuscript in Russian typescript in German
Novakivs'kyj Olenska	1935, p. 426	
Novyc'kyj Oleksa	1934, p. 448	
Ol'denburg Sergej	1934, p. 230	typescript in German
Ol'minskij Michail	1933, p. 281	
Ostrovskij Nikolaj	1937, p. 138	typescript in German
Patovkova O. V.	1933, p. 281	typescript in German
Peretc Vladimir	1936, p. 422	manuscript in Russian
Petřík Stanislav	1938, p. 72	manuscript in Russian
Podjačev Semen	1934, p. 231	typescript in German
Poletajev Nikolaj	1935, p. 208	
Poplavskij Boris	1936, p. 136	manuscript in German
Rabotnov Leonid	1935, p. 354	
Rathaus Daniil	1937, p. 281	
Romanov Pantelejmon	1938, p. 305	manuscript in Russian typescript in German
Rozanov Matvej	1937, p. 65	
Rykovskij Jurij	1937, p. 208	
Sabov Evgenij	1935, p. 64	manuscript in Russian
Šal'apin Fedor	1938, p. 224	typescript in German
Savickij-Dioneo Isaak	1935, pp. 208-209	manuscript in Russian typescript in German
Ščerbyna Fedir	1937, p. 65	
Ščukin Sergej	1936, p. 137	manuscript in Russian
Setälä Eemil Nestor	1935, p. 281	manuscript in German
Sicins'skyj Jefym	1938, p. 151	typescript in German

Smal'-Stoc'kyj Stepan	1938, pp. 384-385	typescript in German
Sreznevskij Vsevolod	1936, pp. 354-355	
Stolica L'ubov'	1934, p. 304	
Stolpner Boris	1937, p. 426	
Szober Stanisław	1938, p. 409	typescript in German
Taranovskij Fedor	1936, p. 137	
Thomson Aleksandr	1938, p. 225	manuscript in German
Vas'utinskij Anton	1936, p. 66	
Vigotskij Lev	1935, p. 209	typescript in German
Vinogradov Ivan	1936, p. 210	typescript in German
Vladimircov Boris	1933, p. 281	manuscript in Russian
Volkonskij Sergej	1938, p. 73	typescript in German
Waldhauer Oskar	1935, p. 136	
Wóycicki Kazimierz	1938, p. 306	manuscript in Russian typescript in German
Zam'jatin Evgenij	1937, p. 210	typescript in German
Zimmerman Michail	1935, p. 282	typescript in German

## A.2 Uncollected writings

### A.2.1 Roman Jakobson, “Z poematu *Sestry blýskavice*” (1920)

Originally published in *Den: Kulturní list*, 27/12/1920 (1/20), 19.

Translation of the last paragraph of Velimir Chlebnikov’s *Sestra molnii* from Russian into Czech by Roman Jakobson. Signed “R. A.”.

#### Z poematu „Sestry blýskavice“

Kol úlu ulice  
hustě jak včely  
poletuji kule.  
Chvějí se stoly  
bledne i smělý.  
V ulici dlouhé  
jak kule let  
znovu kulomet  
kosi, mete  
Jak smeták listy  
kulem drti  
kapitalisty.

Přeložil R. A.

## A.2.2 Roman Jakobson, “Stanislav Neumann, *Vesennie ritmy*” (1925)

Originally published in *Nové Rusko*, (1/5-6), 1925, p. 164. Translation from Czech into Russian by Roman Jakobson. Signed “R. Ja.”.

Станислав Нейман:

### Весенние ритмы

(Из цикла стихов 1897-1902)

5-го июня исполнилось пятьдесят лет крупнейшему из современных чешских лириков – Станиславу Нейману. В течение тридцати лет литературной деятельности Неймана его место было неизменно в авангарде чешской поэзии. Нейман было в своем раннем творчестве одним из первых чешских пионеров модернизма, в дальнейшем он первый ввел в чешскую поэзию мотивы итальянского футуризма. После национальной революции 1918 г. Нейман выступает восторженным проповедником коммунизма, и стихи становятся для него только ударным средством революционной агитации. На стихах Неймана воспитано молодое поколение чешских лириков левого фронта. Сборники стихов Неймана – „Книга юность и мятежа“, „Книга лесов, вод и берегов“, „Горячий ветер“, „Новые песнопения“, „Красные песнопения“. Сборник теоретических статей – „Да здравствует жизнь“.<sup>536</sup>

Деревья на склонах цветут, и воздух чист как младенец,  
природа, невинная даже в своих злодеяниях суровых,  
юность зовет к торжеству и к совокупленью счастливых...  
Я хотел бы сегодня сыскать ту чету, что забыть умеет  
о когтях, стерегущих во тьме углов чужих и домашних,  
хотел бы цветком лечь на грудь, когда мнет ее милый впервые,

---

<sup>536</sup> The translation of the foreword follows: “On 5<sup>th</sup> of June, Stanislav Neumann, the greatest of contemporary Czech lyricists, turned fifty years old. During the thirty years of Neumann’s literary activity, he was invariably at the forefront of Czech poetry. Neumann was in his early work one of the first Czech pioneers of modernism, and later he was the first to introduce motifs of Italian Futurism into Czech poetry. After the national revolution of 1918. Neumann became an enthusiastic preacher of communism, and poetry became for him only a percussive means of revolutionary agitation. The young generation of Czech left-wing lyricists was educated on Neumann’s poems. Neumann’s collections of poems are *The Book of Youth and Rebellion*, *The Book of Forests, Waters and Shores*, *Hot Wind*, *New Chants*, *Red Chant*. Collection of theoretical articles: *Long Live Life*.”

хотел бы травой под объятьями тел молодых ложиться  
чтоб на утро, росой окропленный, снова вздымался к солнцу  
с воспоминаньем роскошным, что был я подушкой ласок.

Хотел бы пойти туда, где труд великий вершится,  
где согласно мышцы и дух мерный бег машин направляют,  
и где работа людей опьяняет и освобождает,  
хотел бы песней родиться из уст рабочих бессмертных,  
сливаться с гулом колес сирен победным воем,  
быть рубахой и впитывать пот, незримый в горячке работы,  
хотел бы виться венцом, украшающим труд заверченный,  
когда, успехом горда, отдыхает лихая работа.

Еще я хотел бы к сонму тех пламенных душ приобщиться,  
которые вспышки мятежные слили в прекрасный синтез  
и с лучами в щедрых руках расходятся ныне по свету,  
всем, кто поработен, неся мятежные мысли,  
неся надежду на жизнь униженным у неимущим;  
хотел бы факелом быть, твердынь поджигателем старых,  
хотел бы быть словом, которое будит рабов покорных,  
знаменем красным, которое пало на баррикаде  
и понято вновь поутру восстаньем победным.

Деревья на склонах цветут, и воздух чист как младенец,  
о скажите, где та любовь, что ходит по свету нагая,  
не боясь ни союза глупцов, попов и лицемеров,  
ни когте, стерегущих во тьме углов чужих и домашних,  
о скажите, где же тот труд, что тешит и освобождает  
и с утонченным грабежом не связан целью позорной,  
толп детей истощенных на влечет за собою,  
и скажите, где тот мятеж с пламенем в мудром взоре,  
малюсенькими политиками не поработенный

коркой королевских посулов ненасыщенный и слишком гордый,  
чтобы волочиться вертепами парламентов обветшалых!

И если вы знаете новь, где такая любовь расцветает,  
такой опьяняет труд, и такой мятеж родится,  
придите вырвать с корнями росток, в борьбе изнемогший,  
и погрузите корни в эту счастливую землю.

Перевод Р. Я.

### **A.2.3 Roman Jakobson, “Gemeinsame Kultursprache” (1935)**

Originally published in *Prager Presse*, 06/06/1935 (153), p. 2.

#### Gemeinsame Kultursprache

Von Dr. Roman Jakobson, Professor der Masaryk-Universität, Brünn

Die Ideologen des heutigen Rußland haben mehr als einmal gegen die vulgäre Identifizierung des internationalen Gedankens mit dem nationslosen Kosmopolitismus Einspruch erhoben. Sie kämpfen gegen die Ehrhebung der nationalen Abgeschlossenheit zu einem selbstgenügenden Götzen, sie tragen jedoch der nationalen Eigenart als einem wichtigen und wertvollen geistigen Faktor Rechnung und betrachten die Kultur und namentliche die Wissenschaft als national in ihrer Form und international in ihrem objektiven Gehalt. Die Formen der Beherrschung der objektiven Wirklichkeit sind mannigfaltig. Einer der führenden Vertreter der neuen russischen Wissenschaft, der unlängst verstorbene hervorragende Kulturhistoriker Oldenburg, betonte mit Recht, daß „jedes Volk, freilich aus verschiedenen Gründen, deren viele uns noch nicht ganz klar sind, seine spezifischen Eigentümlichkeiten sowohl in der Wahl der wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen, für die es sich besonders interessiert, als auch in den Methoden und Arten ihrer Erforschung besitzt“.

Ein Kenner der Spitzenleistungen der russischen Wissenschaft wird darin mühelos verwandte Züge mit der klassischen russischen Literatur entdecken. Diese Eigentümlichkeiten treten ebenfalls in der Wissenschaft der Sowjetunion zutage, in welcher das russische

wissenschaftliche Erbe und das aktuelle russische Denken begreiflicherweise eine führende Rolle spielt, ohne jedoch die Eigenart des Kulturlebens der einzelnen Nationalitäten der Union zu unterdrücken. Neben den nationalen Besonderheiten kommen hier unvermeidlich die für Rußland spezifischen historischen Bedingungen zum Ausdruck. So wurde beispielsweise die schwache Entfaltung der russischen klassischen Philologie mit Recht als Folge des Fehlens einer humanistischen Strömung in der Vergangenheit betrachtet; die ständige Neigung des russischen Denkens zum Hegelianismus wurde mit der Tradition der byzantinischen Dialektik in Verbindung gestellt; die traditionelle Verstaatlichung der Wissenschaft, eine Begleiterscheinung der besonderen Entwicklung der russischen Staatwesens und Gesellschaftslebens, hatte, wie Oldenburg, treffend bemerkte, die weiteren Schicksale der russischen Wissenschaft vorbestimmt, und in dieser Hinsicht ist die Sowjetwissenschaft „ein direkter Erbe der revolutionären petrinischen Wissenschaft“. Die außerordentliche Zuspitzung der sozialwirtschaftlichen Gegensätze im russischen Leben des 19. Jhs. bedingte im Vergleich mit dem Westen ein erhöhtes Interesse der russischen historischen Wissenschaften für die entsprechende Problematik, so daß die Sowjetwissenschaft auch in dieser Hinsicht die ältere Tradition nur fortsetzt und vertieft. Auch die geopolitischen Bedingungen mußten dem wissenschaftlichen Leben ihren Stempel aufprägen; ein Territorium, das sich über ein Sechstel der Welt ausbreitet, rief dringend nach einer breit angelegten synthetischen Erforschung, während die kleinliche Mikrologie, die in der Heimatkunde kleinerer Länder eine nicht geringe Rolle spielt, hier naturmäßig in den Hintergrund trat. Nicht nur der Umfang, sondern auch die qualitativen Eigentümlichkeiten des russischen Raumes diktierten der dortigen Wissenschaft ihre spezifischen Forderungen. Die grundlegende Verschiedenheit der sozialpolitischen Verhältnisse in der Sowjetunion und im Westen mußte natürlich auch die Eigenart des wissenschaftlichen Schaffens wesentlich steigern.

Bedarf es eines Hinweises, daß die besondere Art der heutigen russischen Wissenschaft, ihre charakteristische Auswahl und Behandlung der Frage eine erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit der westeuropäischen kulturellen Elite für diese besondere wissenschaftliche Welt erfordert? Muß man daran erinnern, daß es mehrere Gebiete gibt, die entweder ausschließlich von der modernen russischen Wissenschaft oder wenigstens von ihr am gründlichsten und tiefsten bearbeitet sind? Hierher gehören z.B. Bodenkunde, Geochemie, physikalisch-chemische Analyse, Reflexologie, mathematische Wahrscheinlichkeitstheorie, Arktisforschung, Mongolenkunde, Nomadenkunde, einige Fragenkreise der Volkskunde, einige Zweige der Medizin. Es mangelt sich an Anerkennungen berufener Vertreter der westlichen Wissenschaft

für die neuen Errungenschaften der russischen Natur- und Geisteswissenschaften, der reinen sowie der angewandten.

Abgesehen von wenigen Ausnahmen ist jedoch der wissenschaftliche Kontakt des Westens mit der UdSSR immer noch viel zu gelegentlich, episodisch, privat, unorganisiert. Infolgedessen werden im Auslande einzelne, isolierte Erscheinungen des sovjetrussischen wissenschaftlichen Lebens bekannt, einzelne Fragmente, nicht aber das ganzheitliche Bild der Wissenschaft des neuen Rußland in ihren Grundtendenzen. Indessen sind an der neuen Sovjetwissenschaft nicht so sehr die Einzelheiten belehrend, als ihr allgemeines ununterbrochenes Streben, die Zerstückelung des Wissens zu überwinden und die membra desjecta der Einzelfächer durch ein einheitliches gebundenes System der koordinierten Wissenschaften zu ersetzen.

Die europäische romantische Wissenschaft was ein Versuch einer allgemeinen globalen Konzeption des Weltalls, die Antithese dieser Epoche – die positivistische Wissenschaft – opferte den Totalitätsgedanken um den Preis den Anhäufung eines möglichst reichhaltigen Tatsachenmaterials, um den Preis der Eroberung verschiedenartigster Teilwahrheiten; die Gegenwart sucht nach einer Synthese, sie will den allgemeinen Sinn, die gesetzmäßige Struktur des Geschehens nicht aus dem Auge verlieren, dabei aber rechnet sie mit dem großen Tatsachenvorrat, der von der vergangenen Epoche angehäuft wurde. In ihrem Kampfe um die Überwindung des atomistischen Verfahrens muß die heutige europäische Wissenschaft den imponierenden Sovjetversuch, eine ganzheitliche wissenschaftliche Weltanschauung aufzubauen, die sämtliche Einzeldisziplinen umfaßt, berücksichtigen und nach Gebühr würdigen, sie muß diesen Versuch zur Kenntnis nehmen, mögen ihr seine Ausgangspostulate noch so fern und fremd sein. Mit dem Kampf der europäischen Wissenschaft gegen den Atomismus des Wissens ist ebenfalls das Bestreben nach der Überwindung der Anarchie des wissenschaftlichen Schaffens, des von der jüngsten Vergangenheit übernommenen äußersten Individualismus der Forschung verbunden. Die russischen großzügigen Versuche der Planung' der Wissenschaft sind daher für die westlichen Gelehrten besonders aufschlußreich — trotz ihrer unvermeidlichen Fehler und Mißgriffe, zum Teil auch gerade wegen dieser Fehler und Mißgriffe.

Die Bekanntschaft der westlichen Welt mit der russischen planierten Wissenschaft müßte eine planmäßige sein, um Früchte zu tragen. Die Wissenschaft der Sowjetunion bedarf ihrerseits eines dauernden planmäßigen Kontaktes mit der westlichen wissenschaftlichen Welt. Lediglich unter der Voraussetzung eines derartigen unmittelbaren Kontaktes können, um eine beliebte

Redensart der Sowjetblätter zu gebrauchen, an der breiten wissenschaftlichen Front die Grundpostulate verwirklicht werden, die von der Sowjetöffentlichkeit aufgestellt sind: sich der Technik zu bemächtigen und einen hochqualifizierten Nachwuchs zu schaffen. Wir täten der russischen Wissenschaft unrecht, wenn wir ihre reichen technischen Erfahrungen leugnen wollten, doch wirkte sich stets in der russischen Wissenschaft dieser Mangel an Arbeitern am ungünstigsten aus, und die allzu dünne Schicht ihrer Kräfte, ihre Qualität, die von keiner entsprechenden Quantität unterstützt wurde, machte öfters selbst ihre an sich hervorragenden Leistungen zunichte. Gerade darum erwies sich die geniale chemische Entdeckung des Russen Lomonosov als ergebnislos, während die spätere Entdeckung des nämlichen Gesetzes durch den Franzosen Lavoisier den Anfang einer neuen Aera in der Geschichte der internationalen Chemie machte. Die Geschichte der russischen Wissenschaft wimmelt von derartigen Beispielen. Daher gebicht es in Rußland sehr häufig an jener Technik der Wissenschaft, die eine große Zahl qualifizierter Arbeiter erfordert, und eben auf diese Gebiete, zum Beispiel in der wichtigen Arbeit der Herstellung verschiedener Spezialatlanten, müßte man sich zu der westlichen Wissenschaft in die gründliche Lehre begeben. Nur durch ununterbrochene und allseitige Verfolgung der Entwicklung der westlichen Wissenschaft kann man sich vor der wiederholten „Entdeckung Amerikas“ bewahren — einem Vorgang, der in den Chroniken der russischen Wissenschaft öfters vorkommt und eine zwecklose Vergeudung kostbarer Forschungsenergie bedeutet. Die geringe Zahl der wissenschaftlichen Kräfte bringt einen Mangel an qualifizierter streng wissenschaftlicher Kritik mit sich, was wiederum zu gelegentlicher Unterschätzung wichtiger Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der einheimischen Wissenschaft oder zu nicht minder schädlicher Überschätzung wert-loser Neuerungen führt. Darum ist selbst vom Standpunkt der Erfolge der Sowjetwissenschaft die aktive Beteiligung der westlichen Kritik an der Besprechung der Neuerscheinungen der russischen Wissenschaft wünschenswert. Unbedingt notwendig ist die tätige Mitarbeit der Sowjetwissenschaftler an den westlichen wissenschaftlichen Kongressen und umgekehrt, sowie ein regerer und planmäßigerer Austausch von Büchern und wissenschaftlichen Arbeitern, namentlich von wissenschaftlichem Nachwuchs. Die Verschiedenheit der ideologischen Voraussetzungen ist kein Hindernis. Nicht selten trägt eine fremde Anregung, auf einen anderen ideologischen Boden verpflanzt, reiche Früchte. War denn das Verhältnis Marxens zur Lehre Hegels ein anderes gewesen? In einer Rede, die Stalin Anfang vorigen Jahres gehalten hatte, heißt es: „Bekanntlich hatte das alte Rom auf die Vorfahren der heutigen Deutschen ebenso herabgeschaut, wie die Vertreter der ‚höheren Rasse‘ heute auf die slavischen Stämme herabschauen. Bekanntlich hatte sie das alte Rom als ‚niedrigere Rasse‘, als ‚Barbaren‘

behandelt, die dazu da sind, um bei der ‚höheren Rasse‘ in ewiger Botmäßigkeit zu bleiben, wobei das alte Rom dazu gewissermaßen berechtigt war, was keineswegs für die Vertreter der heutigen ‚höheren Rasse‘ zutrifft. Was ist aber daraus geworden? Geworden ist daraus, daß alle ‚Barbaren‘ sich gegen den gemeinsamen Feind vereinigt und Rom mit Krach umgestoßen hatten.“ Wenn trotz verschiedener ideologischer Basen eine gemeinsame politische Sprache zur Verteidigung der Welt gegen abenteuerliche Angriffe möglich und notwendig ist, warum sollte nicht eine gemeinsame kulturelle Sprache möglich und erforderlich sein, um die Motivierung derartiger Angriffe zu kritisieren, um gemeinsam gegen eine „sonderbare Theorie“ zu kämpfen, die, um ein weiteres Wort aus der zitierten Rede zu verwenden, „ebenso weit von der Wissenschaft entfernt ist wie der Himmel von der Erde“ ?

#### A.2.4 Roman Jakobson, “Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak”<sup>537</sup> (1935)

Originally published in *Slavische Rundschau*, (7), 357-374.

### 1.

Классификации школьных учебников успокоительно просты. Проза – поэзия. А между тем разница между прозой поэта и прозой прозаика (или соответственно между стихами прозаика и стихами поэта) не менее разительна. Горец идет по равнине, ему не за что зацепиться, он спотыкается о ее гладь. Его поступь либо трогательно неуклюжа, либо ловкачески искусна; как ты то ни было, это не его родная походка, шаги ощутительны как па, напряжение налицо. Мы четко отличаем от родного языка приобретенный, хотя бы он был безукоризненно усвоен. Конечно не приходится отрицать случаев подлинного, абсолютного двуязычия. Читая прозу Пушкина или Махи, Лермонтова или Гейне, Пастернака или Малларме, мы невольно дивимся, как эти художники овладели иноязычными средствами и в то же время неизбежно улавливаем чужестранный отпечаток в акценте и внутренней форме<sup>538</sup>, – это блестящие вылазки с гор поэзии в прозу равнины.

Но особенный отпечаток лежит не только на прозе поэта, существует проза поэтической эпохи, проза литературного течения, держащего курс на стихи, отличная от прозы литературных эпох и школ, ориентированных прозаически. Передовые линии русского словесного искусства первых десятилетий нашего века принадлежат поэзии, именно поэзия здесь осознается как беспризнаково<sup>539</sup>, каноническое проявление литературы, как чистое воплощение. И символизм, и последовавшее литературное брожение, нередко объединяемое под кличкой «футуризм», представлены почти исключительно поэтами, и когда иные из них вступают на путь прозы, это сознательный уклон, сверхпрограммный опыт стихотворного виртуоза. За немногими исключениями профессиональная художественная проза этой эпохи – типичное эпигонское производство, менее или более успешно воспроизведение классических образцов; интерес этих сочинений сводится

---

<sup>537</sup> In the typescript Jakobson did not provide a Russian title, but directly the German one. This title is provided by the editor. (M.M.)

<sup>538</sup> Innere Sprachform.

<sup>539</sup> Merkmallos.

либо к удачной подделке под старину, либо к прихотливому одичанию канона, либо новость состоит в хитроумном подгоне новой тематики к унаследованному трафарету. Эта проза, в противоположность высокому внутреннему напряжению современной ей поэзии, велика исключительно тем, что во-первых когда-то Гоголь и Толстой высоко звинтили спрос на качество, и во-вторых крупны масштабы текущей действительности. Эволюционная ценность этой сотой провинции русского классического реализма в истории художественной прозы незначительна, тогда как проза Брюсова, Белого, Хлебникова, Маяковского, Пастернака – эта своеобразная колония новой поэзии – приоткрывает извилистые пути к новому расцвету русской прозы[. Так] как в свое время проза Пушкина и Лермонтова оповестила о близости великолепного прозаического фестиваля, открытого Гоголем. Проза Пастернака – характерная проза поэта великой поэтической эпохи.

Проза писателя и литературного течения, ориентирующегося<sup>540</sup> на стихи, глубоко специфична как в тех пунктах, где она поддается влиянию господствующей, т.е. поэтической стихи, так и там, где она с нарочитым, напряженным усилием отталкивается, отрывается от этой стихии. Не менее существен общий контекст литературного творчества, т.е. его роль в целостном концерте искусств. Различна иерархия художественных ценностей в концепции отдельных художников и художественных течений: для классицизма изобразительное искусство, для романтизма музыка, для реализма словесность есть вершинное, образцовое, предельное проявление искусства вообще. Петь и растворяться в музыке приказано романтическому стиху, напротив в музыкальной драме и программной музыке реалистической эпохи искусство звука ищет приближения к литературе. Символизм в значительной мере подхватил лозунг романтиков об искусстве, тяготеющем к музыке. Преодоление основ символизма началось в живописи, и на первых порах футуристического искусства живопись занимает командные высоты. Далее, по мере обнажения знаковой природы<sup>541</sup> искусства, поэзия становится как бы показательным хозяйством художественного новаторства. Тенденцию к отождествлению искусства с поэзией проявляют все поэты футуристического поколения. «Искусство в целом, иными словами, - поэзия», говорит Пастернак. Но возникновение этой иерархии у отдельных поэтов различно, различны пути, ведущие их к поэзии, различны их точки отправления. Пастернак, убежденный

---

<sup>540</sup> Eingestellt.

<sup>541</sup> Zeichencharakters.

ученик «искусства Скрябина, Блока, Комиссаржевской, Белого», т.е. символистской школы, пришел к поэзии от музыки, к которой у него было характерное именно для символистов культовое отношение. Маяковскому трамплином к поэзии была живопись. При всем многообразии художественных задач, которые ставил перед собою Хлебников, слово было его единственным и неизменным материалом. Мы могли бы сказать, что Маяковский олицетворяет бурю и натиск<sup>542</sup> в развитии русской посимволистской поэзии, Хлебников ее наиболее отстоявшиеся, наиболее своеобразные достижения, а творчество Пастернака является как бы связующим звеном между [символизмом и последующей школой] ~~обеими школами~~. И хотя физиономия Хлебникова определилась раньше Маяковского, а Маяковского раньше Пастернака, мы были бы правы в том смысле, что читатель, танцующий от печки символизма, был готов принять Пастернака, затем неминуемо спотыкался о Маяковского и, наконец, одолев его, принимался за изнурительную осаду Хлебниковских твердынь. Однако всякая попытка трактовать писателей одной временной волны как отдельные звенья [одноколейной] литературной эволюции и установить последовательность этих звеньев всегда условна в своей односторонности. Продолжая традицию в одних отношениях, поэт тем решительнее отталкивается от нее в иных секторах; равно отрицание традиции никогда не бывает огульным: элементы отрицания ощутимы лишь в сочетании с элементами инерции. Поэтому Пастернак, сам осознающий себя в своем литературном задании продолжателем символизма, в то же время понимает, что из стремления повторить и увековечить старшее искусство неизбежно возникало новое. Пересказ получался «шибче и горячей» оригинала, и это количественное отличие закономерно превращалось в качественное. Здесь, согласно самонаблюдению поэта, «новое возникало не в отмену старому..., но совершенно напротив, в восхищенном воспроизведении образца». Обратно Маяковский сознательно выступил именно в отмену старой поэзии, и тем не менее чуткий на символизм Пастернак правильно улавливает в «романтической манере» Маяковского и кроющемся под нею мировосприятии сгущенное наследие отвергнутой воинствующим футуристом поэтической школы. В чем же дело? Новаторство Пастернака в-так же фрагментарно, как и связь с литературным прошлым. Представим себе два родственные языка, разнящихся не только новообразованиями, но и праязыковыми отложениями: нередко сохраненное от общего источника в одном, упразднено в другом и обратно. Эти два

---

<sup>542</sup> Sturm und Drang.

языка – поэтические миры Маяковского и Пастернака, общий праязык – поэтическая система символизма. Тема дальнейших замечаний – то необычное в творчестве Пастернака, что отмежевывает его от предшественников, отчасти обособляя, отчасти напротив разительно сближая с современниками, и проявляется пожалуй всего наглядней в его прозе с ее предательской неопытностью поступи.

## 2.

Учебники уверенно разграничивают лирику и эпос. Схематизуя проблематику до грамматической простоты, мы можем сказать, что для лирики исходной точкой командующей<sup>543</sup> темой всегда является первое лицо настоящего времени, а для эпоса третье лицо прошедшего времени. Каковы бы ни были предметы лирического повествования, это всегда лишь атрибуты, лишь аксессуары, лишь фон первого лица, и если речь идет о прошлом, лирическое прошлое предполагает вспоминающего субъекта. Обратно в эпосе настоящее время настойчиво отсылается в прошлое, а «я» повествователя если и н~~е~~является, то лишь как одно из действующих лиц, [–] это объективированное «я» выступает в качестве одной из разновидностей 3-ьего лица, поэт как бы смотрит на себя со стороны; здесь может [наконец] ~~далее~~ сигнализироваться<sup>544</sup> «я» в качестве точки засъемки, но никогда это точка не сливается [при этом] ~~тут~~ с предметом засъемки, иными словами, поэт в роли «предмета лирики, от первого лица обращающейся к миру» эпосу глубоко чужд.

Русский символизм насквозь лиричен, его эпические эпизоды – характерные попытки лириков заgrimироваться под эпос; в послесимволистской поэзии происходит расщепление жанров: при явном превосходстве лирической инерции, получившей предельное выражение в творчестве Маяковского, находит себе выход и чисто эпическая стихия, почти беспримесно воплощенная в поэзии и прозе Хлебникова. Пастернак – доподлинный лирик, и в частности его проза – проза лирического поэта, а его исторические поэмы по существу не отличаются от его же циклов интимной лирики.

Пастернак~~н~~ признается, что для него достижения Хлебникова в значительной мере и дон~~ы~~не недоступны, и в свое оправдание приводит: «поэзия моего понимания все же

---

<sup>543</sup> Führende (sic!).

<sup>544</sup> Betont werden.

протекает в истории и в сотрудничестве с действительной жизнью». Этот упрек в отрыве от действительной жизни наверно изумил бы Хлебникова, который напротив усматривал в своем творчестве утверждение действительности, чуждое отрицающей литературе предшествующих поколений. Мир Хлебникова до такой степени весь опредмечен, что всякий знак, всякое творимое слово наделено для него полной самостоятельной реальностью, и вопрос о его отнесенности к некому внеположному предмету, да и самый вопрос о существовании такого предмета становится излишним. Для Хлебникова, как для маленькой героини повести Пастернака, имя имеет полное, подетски успокоительное значение: «Нипочем нельзя было определить того, что творилось на том берегу, далеко-далеко, - у того не было названия и не было отчетливого цвета и точных очертаний... Женя расплакалась... Объяснение отца было коротко: Это – Мотовилиха... Девочка ничего не поняла и удовлетворенно сглотнула катившуюся слезу. Только это ведь и требовалось: узнать, как зовут непонятное – Мотовилиха». Когда Женя вышла из младенчества, она в первый раз заподозрила явление в чем-то таком, что явление либо оставляет про себя, либо открывает лишь избранным. С этим подходом отрочества к явлению полностью совпадает подход Пастернака. Эпическое отношение к окружающему миру, разумеется, недоступно поэту, убежденному, что в мире прозаического факта элементы будничного существования тупо, ломотно и тускло попадают в душу и «опускаются на ее дно, реальные, затверделые и холодные, как сонные оловянные ложки», и что только страсть избранного преображает эту «удручающую по своей обязательности правду» в поэзию. Только чувство оказывается очевидным и абсолютно достоверным. «В сравнении с ним даже восход солнца приобретал характер городской новости, еще требующей проверки». В основу своей поэтики Пастернак кладет личное, мало того, собственническое [,] аффективное<sup>545</sup> проживание действительности («Мне события в таком виде не принадлежали» и т.п.). И равнение языка поэзии на чисто экспрессивный язык музыки, и мотивировка этой концепции торжеством живительной страсти над неотвратимостью знаменует продолжение романтической линии символизма, но по мере роста и обособления творчества Пастернака его первоначальная романтически аффективная речь

---

<sup>545</sup> In the typescript Jakobson uses “афект” an antique version of “аффект”, here I have decided to use the current spelling for this word and its derivatives. (M.M.)

преображается постепенно в речь об аффекте, и в прозе поэта этот повествовательный<sup>546</sup> характер находит себе предельное выражение.

### 3.

Если, несмотря на явные отражения Хлебникова в сочинениях Пастернака, отчетлива грань между обоим поэтами, то значительно труднее провести демаркационную линию между творчеством Пастернака и Маяковского. Оба – лирики одного поколения, и последний более других поэтов в молодости потряс и продолжал поражать Пастернака. Если пристально сопоставить ткань метафор обоих поэтов, любопытные сходства не замедлят обнаружиться. «Время и общность влияний роднили меня с Маяковским, отмечает Пастернак, - у нас имелись совпадения». Есть в метафорической структуре стихов Пастернака и прямые следы увлечения автором «Облака в штанах». Но при сопоставлении метафор обоих поэтов, необходимо учитывать, что они играют в их творчестве далеко не одинаковую роль. В стихотворениях Маяковского метафора, заостря традицию символизма, является не только наиболее характерным, но и наиболее существенным поэтическим тропом, именно она определяет строй и развитие лирической темы. Здесь поэзия, по меткому слову Пастернака, «заговорила языком почти сектантских отождествлений».

Предположим задачу: известна абсолютная метафоричность поэта, требуется определить тематический строй его лирики. Лирическим импульсом является, повторяем, поэтово «я». Образы внешнего мира в метафорической лирике призваны к созвучности с этим импульсом, к его транспозиции в иные планы, к установлению в многочисленности<sup>547</sup> космических планов сети соответствий, повелительных уподоблений, отождествлений, к растворению лирического героя в многопланности бытия и к слиянию многообразных планов бытия в лирическом герое. Путь метафоры – творческая ассоциация по сходству и контрасту. Герою противопоставлен контрастный образ его смертного врага, многоликий, как все составные элементы метафорической лирики.<sup>548</sup> Эта лирика неизбежно тяготеет<sup>549</sup> к теме смертного единоборства героя.

---

<sup>546</sup> Dartstellend.

<sup>547</sup> Vielheit.

<sup>548</sup> Bestandteile der metaforisch eingestellten L.

<sup>549</sup> Mündet.

Героическая лирика, опутанная крепкой и зажимистой метафорической цепью, нераздельно сливает мифологию и бытие поэта, и он (Пастернак это правильно понял) расплачивается жизнью за свою всеобъемлющую символику. Из семантического строя поэзии Маяковского мы дедуктивно вывели таким образом и ее фактическое<sup>550</sup> либретто, и ядро биографии поэта.

Как ни утончены и богаты метафоры Пастернака, не они определяют и ведут его лирическую тему. «Необщее выражение» сообщают творчеству Пастернака не метафорические, а метонимические ходы. Лирика Пастернака в стихах и прозе пронизана метонимичностью, иными словами доминирует ассоциация по смежности. Первое лицо как бы отеснено тут, по сравнению с поэзией Маяковского, на задний план. На это – только кажущееся пренебрежение, – вечный герой лирики и здесь налицо. Суть лишь в том, что герой подан метонимически: так в «Парижанке» Чаплина, поезда в кадрах нет, но мы узнаем его приход по отсветам на заснятых людях, - незримый, сквозной поезд как бы проходит между экраном и зрительным залом. Так же образы окружающего в лирике Пастернака выступают<sup>551</sup> в качестве смежных отражений, метонимических выражений поэта «я». Автор ясно приоткрывает местами свою поэтику, но эгоцентрически отождествляет ее с искусством вообще. Он не верит в возможность подлинной эпической установки искусства на внешний мир, – он убежден, что настоящие художественные произведения, повествуя о наиразличнейшем, на самом деле рассказывают о своем рождении. «Действительность предстает в какой-то новой категории. Категория эта кажется нам ее собственным, а не нашим состоянием. Мы пробуем его назвать. Получается искусство». Так древнерусскому паломнику Царьград казался ненасытным городом, потому что он никак не мог на него насмотреться. Так же в стихах и особенно в прозе Пастернака, где антропоморфизм неодушевленного мира куда приметней, вместо героев зачастую мнутся окружающие вещи, неподвижные очертания кровель любопытствуют, дверь затворяется с тихой укоризной, радость семейного примирения проявляется в приливе горячности, усердства и преданности ламп, а когда поэта отвергла любимая девушка, «гора выросла и втянулась, город исхудал и почернел». Мы умышленно приводим элементарные примеры, более

---

<sup>550</sup> Tatsächlich.

<sup>551</sup> Fungieren.

замысловатыми конструкциями подобных типов изобилуют книги Пастернака. Подстановка соседнего предмета есть простейшая форма ассоциации по смежности.

Поэту известны и иные метонимические пути — от целого к части и наоборот, от причины к следствию и наоборот, от пространственных отношений к временным и наоборот, и т. д., и т. д.. Но, пожалуй, наиболее характерная фигура для Пастернака — подстановка деятельности взамен деятеля или подстановка состояния, проявления, свойства взамен его собственника и соответственное обособление и овеществление этих отвлеченных понятий.<sup>552</sup> Философ Brentano, настойчиво ратовавший против логически незаконного превращения в предметы таких языком обусловленных<sup>553</sup> фикций как отвлеченные понятия,<sup>554</sup> нашел бы в стихах и прозе Пастернака богатейший ассортимент этих мнимых entia,<sup>555</sup> трактуемых словно существа из плоти и крови. «Сестра моя — жизнь», собственно непере译имое заглавие и лейтмотив самой ударной из стихотворных книг Пастернака ('жизнь' в русском языке женского рода), наглядно изобличает языковые корни этой мифологии. Это существо неоднократно появляется и в его прозе. «Жизнь посвящает очень немногих в то, что она делает с ними. Она слишком любит это дело и за работой разговаривает разве с теми только, кто желает ей успеха и любит ее верстак» (Детство Люверс). То же в еще более сложном метонимическом окружении в «Охранной грамоте»: «Вдруг внизу под окном мне вообразилась его (Маяковского) жизнь, теперь уже начисто прошлая. Она пошла вбок от окна в виде какой-то тихой, обсаженной деревьями улицы... И первым на ней у самой стены стало наше государство, наше ломящееся в века и навсегда принятое в них, небывалое, невозможное государство. Оно стояло внизу, его можно было кликнуть и взять за руку».

Стихи Пастернака — царство пробужденных к самостоятельной жизни метонимий. Позади усталого героя продолжают жить и шевелиться его собственные следы, которым тоже хочется спать. Сновидение поэта, на своем крутом ходу, тихо пробило: «Я — сновидение». В своих воспоминаниях сообщает автор: «Я часто слышал свист тоски, не с меня начавшейся. Настигая меня с тылу, он пугал и жалобил... Молчание ехало со мной, я состоял в пути при его особе и носил его форму, каждому знакомую по собственному опыту». Появление предмета принимает на себя его функции: «где-то

---

<sup>552</sup> Abstracta.

<sup>553</sup> Sprachlich fundiert.

<sup>554</sup> Abstracta.

<sup>555</sup> Entia.

неподалеку музицировало... стадо... Музыку сосали слепни. Вероятно, на ней дергом ходила кожа». Действие и деятель в равной степени предметны: «два редких алмаза грозно и самостоятельно играли в глубоких гнездах этой полутемной благодати: птичка и ее чириканье». Абстракция, опредмечиваясь, обрастает вещественными аксессуарами: «Это были воздушные пути, по которым, как поезда, ежедневно отходили прямолинейные мысли Либкнехта, Ленина и немногих умов их полета». Абстракции персонифицируются хотя бы ценой катахрезы: «Цария полуденная тишина. Она сносилась с тишиной простершейся внизу равнины». Абстракция оказывается способна к самостоятельным действиям, и эти действия в свою очередь опредмечиваются: «втихомолку перемигивались лаковые ухмылки рассыхавшегося уклада».

Маяковский, пристрастившийся брать все новые барьеры, многие годы носился с мыслью о романе. Возникали даже заглавия – сперва «Две сестры», потом однажды «Дюжина женщин». Не случайно замысел неизменно откладывался: стихия этого поэта – либо лирический монолог, либо драматический диалог, повествовательная установка ему глубоко чужда, тематику 3-ьего лица он заменяет тематикой 2-ого... Все, что не слитно с поэтовым «я», воспринимается Маяковским как враждебно противопоставленное, и он непосредственно обращается к противнику – вызывает на бой, изобличает, громит, поднимает на смех, анафематствует. Неудивительно, что единственным осуществленным опытом художественной прозы были замечательные театральные пьесы Маяковского, принадлежащие последним годам его жизни. Не менее обоснован путь Пастернака к прозе повестей. Существуют стихи, сплошь протканые метонимиями, и повествовательная проза может быть начинена метафорикой (яркий пример – проза Белого), но по существу внутреннее родство стиха с метафорой и прозы с метонимией бесспорно тесней. Стих опирается об ассоциацию по сходству, ритмическая схожесть стихов – необходимая предпосылка их восприятия, ритмический параллелизм наиболее ощутителен, если ему сопутствует сходство (или контраст) образов. Намеренно заметное членение на схожие отрезки чуждо прозе, основной двигатель повествовательной прозы – ассоциация по смежности; повествование переходит от предмета к [прееееу] смежному по пространственно-временным и причинно-следственным путям; путь от целого к частям и наоборот есть лишь частный случай этого процесса. Чем менее проза сюжетна, тем большую автономию приобретает ассоциация по смежности. Для метафоры стих, а для метонимии проза с приглушенным

или выключенным сюжетом (пример первого – новеллы Пастернака, пример второго – его «Охранная грамота») является линией наименьшего сопротивления.

#### 4.

Суть поэтических фигур не только в регистрации разнородных связей между вещами, но и в смещении ходовых соотношений. Чем напряженнее роль метафоры в данной поэтической структуре, тем решительнее ломаются традиционные классификации, вещи группируются по новому, на основе нововведенных родовых знаков. Соответственно творческая (или в терминологии неприемлющих ее новизны) насильственная метонимия меняет привычный распорядок вещей. Ассоциация по смежности, став в творчестве Пастернака послушным орудием художника, преобразует пространственное расположение и временную последовательность. Это особенно заметно в прозаических опытах поэта, на ощутительном фоне обиходной деловой коммуникативной<sup>556</sup> прозы. Пастернак мотивирует эти смещения аффектом или, если исходить из экспрессивной функции словесного искусства, дает при их помощи выражение аффекту.

Поэтический мир, управляемый метонимией, стирает контуры вещей как апрель в [повести Пастернака] «Детстве Люверс» границу между домом и двором, а два разных аспекта одного предмета он обращает в самостоятельные предметы, подобно детям в той же повести, принимающим одну и ту же улицу изнутри и со стороны за две разных улицы. Обе эти характерных черты – взаимопроникание предметов (реализация метонимии в собственном смысле термина) и их разложение (реализация синекдохи) – роднят творчество Пастернака с устремлениями кубистической живописи. Меняются размеры вещей: «Гондола была по-женски огромна, как огромно все, что совершенно по форме и несоизмеримо с местом, занимаемым телом в пространстве». Меняются расстояния между вещами[,] так что возникает уверенность, что разговор о чужих должен быть теплее разговора о своих, а видение космического движения в первой части Охранной грамоты превращает неодушевленные предметы в отдаленный недвижный горизонт. Яркий пример перетасовки смежностей: «Лампы только оттеняли пустоту вечернего воздуха. Они не давали света, но набухали изнутри, как больные плоды, от той мутной и светлой водянки, которая раздувала их одутловатые колпаки. Они

---

<sup>556</sup> Mitteilend.

отсутствовали... До комнат у ламп было касательства куда меньше, чем до весеннего неба, к которому они казались пододвинутыми вплотную»... Сдвинутое пространство Пастернака самим поэтом мимоходом сопоставлено с пространством гоголевской эсхатологии: «вдруг стало видимо далеко во все концы света». Пространственные отношения перетасовываются с временными, и временная последовательность теряет свою принудительность, – предметы «то-и-дело поколыхивает из бывшего в будущее, из будущего в бывшее, как песок в часто переворачиваемых песочных часах». Любая смежность может быть осмыслена как каузальный ряд. Пастернаку импонирует терминология ребенка, который, догадываясь о смысле фразы по ситуации, говорит: «я это понял не из слов, а по причине». Поэт склонен [xxxxxxxxxxxx] отождествить ситуацию с причинностью, он осознанно предпочитает «красноречию факта превратности гадания», он учит, что «время пронизано единством жизненных событий», и строит мосты между ними именно на прелогических «смешных резонах», открыто противопоставленных силлогистике «взрослых». Поэтому неудивительно, если болтовня собеседников Когена оказывается «негладкой в виду ступенчатости марбургских тротуаров», и если обильные «оттого что» поэта нередко ~~нередко~~ лишь функция винословных<sup>557</sup> предложений.

Чем шире захват поэтических фигур, тем сильнее (пользуясь термином Пастернака) «исполненное» погашает «предмет исполнения». Творимая связь затеняет связуемое, доминирует над ним; обнаруживается «прелесть самобытного смысла»<sup>558</sup>, тогда как предметная отнесенность<sup>559</sup> приглушается, порою едва мерцает. В этом смысле метонимические связи, творимые Пастернаком, равно как метафорические связи Маяковского или как многообразные методы сгущения языковой формы – внутренней и внешней – в поэзии Хлебникова, проявляют ту упорную тенденцию к беспредметности, которая характеризует и другие виды искусства той же эпохи. Творимая связь сама по себе становится предметом. Пастернак не устает настаивать на несущественной случайности связуемого: «Каждую подробность можно заменить другою... Любая на выбор годится в свидетельства состоянья, которым охвачена вся переместившаяся действительность... Части действительности взаимно безразличны». Поэт определяет искусство как взаимозаменяемость образов. Любые образы не только

---

<sup>557</sup> The adjective “винословный” in antiquate and means “причинный”. (М.М.)

<sup>558</sup> Bedeutend.

<sup>559</sup> Gegenständliche Bezogenheit.

таят сходство и следовательно могут быть взаимными метафорами («С чем только не сравнимо небо» и т.д.), – любые так или иначе потенциально смежны. «Кто несколько не пыль, не родина, не тихий весенний вечер?» – гласит пастернаковская апология всеобъемлющего метонимического родства. Чем неприметнее это родство, чем непривычнее общность, устанавливаемая поэтом, тем более разлагаются и лишаются своей букварной ясности сопоставляемые образы и целые ряды образов. Любопытно, что Пастернак последовательно противопоставляет «введенный в предметы смысл» их наглядности, для которой он так охотно подыскивает пейоративные эпитеты, – в мире Пастернака смысл неизбежно обесценивает, а наглядность обездушивает.

## 5.

Предположим задачу: известна абсолютная метонимичность поэта, требуется определить тематический строй его лирики. Героя как в загадочной картинке трудно отыскать: он разложен на ряд составных и смежных элементов, герой подменен цепью своих овеществленных состояний и окружающих предметов – неодушевленных и одушевленных. «Каждая малость жила и, не ставя меня ни во что, в... значеньи своем подымалась», отмечает Пастернак в раннем цикле стихов «Поверх барьеров», где своя поэтика, по признанию автора, была уже найдена. Тема стихотворения – отвергнутое предложение поэта, но действующие лица – плитняк, булыжник, ветер, «инстинкт прирожденный», «новое солнце», цыплята, сверчки и стрекозы, черепица, полдень, марбургцы, песок, предгрозье, небо и т.д. И через полтора десятка лет в книге воспоминаний «Охранная грамота» Пастернак напомнит, что свою жизнь он характеризует намеренно случайно, что признаки он мог бы умножить или заменить другими, и что собственно жизнь поэта надо искать под чужими именами.

Покажи нам свое окружение, и я скажу тебе, кто ты. Мы узнаем, чем живет, с чем связан, чем обусловлен, на что обречен очерченный метонимиями, разложенный синекдохами на отдельные свойства, реакции, состояния лирический герой. Но собственно героическое, т.е. деятельность героя, от нас ускользает, действие подменено топографией. Если у Маяковского столкновение двух миров неизбежно выливается в поединок, то отточенный образ стихов Пастернака – мир миру зеркало – твердит об иллюзорности столкновенья: «Огромный сад тормошится в зале, подносит к трюмо

кулак, бежит на качели, ловит, салит, трясет – и не бьет стекла.»<sup>560</sup> Если Маяковский развертывает лирическую тему в виде цикла преобразений, метаморфоз героя, то в лирической прозе Пастернака излюбленной формулой перехода служат поездки в поезде взволнованного героя, разнообразно и поневоле бездейственно переживающего «перемену мест». Действительный залог [вычеркнут] из поэтической грамматики Пастернака ~~вычеркнут~~. Именно в его опытах реализована метонимия, полагающая действие взамен деятеля: «вполне проспавшийся, свежий человек... ждет, чтобы решение встать пришло само собой, без его помощи.» Деятель<sup>561</sup> изъят из тематики Пастернака. Героиня не звала, не назначала и т.д., - «все это объявлялось ей». Верх активности героини, влекущий за собой неизбежность трагедии [, сводится к мысленному претворению смежностей:] она кого-то заметила «без нужды, без пользы, без смысла» и [имагинарно] ~~мысленно~~ ввела в свою жизнь. Может быть, человек активен в искусстве? Нет, согласно эстетике Пастернака, «в искусстве человеку зажат рот», такова специфическая черта искусства. Значит, активно искусство? Нет, оно даже метафору не выдумало, а только воспроизвело. И поэт не дарит своих воспоминаний памяти их объекта: «Наоборот, я сам получил их от него в подарок». Если лирическое «я» в произведениях<sup>562</sup> Пастернака страдательно<sup>563</sup>, то, может-быть, подлинным героем здесь оказывается деятельное «3-ье лицо»? Нет, настоящий<sup>564</sup> agens остается вне поэтической мифологии Пастернака: человек обычно не знает и не слышит «то, что зиждет, ладит и шьет его», поэту «совершенно безразлично, как называется сила, давшая его книгу.» 3-ье лицо, выступающее у Пастернака, обозначает<sup>565</sup> не деятеля, а орудие. Например, в Детстве Люверс «все, что шло от родителей к детям, приходило невпопад, со стороны, вызванное не ими, но какими-то посторонними причинами». Подсобность, побочность, кулисность 3-ьего лица в тематике Пастернака нередко резко подчеркивается: «В жизнь вошел другой человек, третье лицо, совершенно безразличное, без имени или со случайным, не вызывающее ненависти и не вселяющее любви. Существенно лишь самое его вторжение в жизнь лирического «я». Вне

---

<sup>560</sup> This paragraph also appears at the bottom of the previous page of the typescript, however the last sentence is illegible. Jakobson copies the paragraph at the beginning of the next page and crosses it out in red. The readable parts coincide. (M.M.)

<sup>561</sup> Agens.

<sup>562</sup> Im Werke.

<sup>563</sup> Patiens.

<sup>564</sup> Agens.

<sup>565</sup> Bezeichnet.

отношения к этому единственному герою это только «неясные нагромождения без имен».

Этим строгим репертуаром семантических знаков определяется и бесхитростная схема лирической повести Пастернака. Герой восторженно или испуганно одержим внешним импульсом и то несет его отпечаток, то внезапно теряет с ним связь, и тогда на смену приходит новый [импульс]. Охранная грамота – вдохновенный рассказ о том, как автор поочередно проходит сквозь влюбленное изумление Рильке, Скрябиным, Когеном, «красивой милой девушкой», Маяковским, и как он сталкивается при этом «с границами своего понимания» (личное непонимание – одна из острейших и проникновеннейших тем в лирике Пастернака, как личная непонятость – в лирике Маяковского). Назревают недоуменные недоразумения, наступает неизбежная пассивная развязка – герой стушевывается, обреченно покидает поочередно музыку, ~~любовь~~ философию, романтическую поэзию. Активность героя вне компетенции поэта Пастернака. Когда все-же заходит речь о действиях<sup>566</sup>, она становится цитатно банальна, и в теоретических отступлениях автора отстаивает право на пошлость. Банальность в роли строительного материала знакома и Маяковскому, но у него, в противоположность Пастернаку, она целиком идет на характеристику враждебного «не-я». Схожи по бездейственности и новеллы Пастернака. Наиболее драматическая – Воздушные пути – слагается из следующих «несложных происшествий»: ожидается бывший любовник жены, друг мужа, возвращающийся из плавания; все трое ошеломлены пропажей ребенка; [xxxxxxx] приезжий ошеломлен признанием, что пропавший – его сын; через 15 лет он ошеломлен подтверждением этого признания, а вслед затем известием о сыновней гибели. Все, что сколько-нибудь отдает деятельностью (причины исчезновения мальчика, его нахождение, причины его гибели), отнесено за пределы кадров<sup>567</sup>. Фиксированы исключительно этапы взволнованности и их отражения.

## 6.

Мы попытались дедуцировать тематику Пастернака и Маяковского из основных структурных особенностей их поэтики. Значит ли это, что первая вызвана<sup>568</sup> последнею?

---

<sup>566</sup> Taten.

<sup>567</sup> Der Aufnahmen.

<sup>568</sup> Verursacht.

Механисты от формализма ответили бы утвердительно и сослались бы на сообщение Пастернака о замеченных им в молодости формальных совпадениях с Маяковским, [которые грозили] ~~фрезивниж~~ участвовать и потому побудивнижили его радикально изменить поэтическую манеру, а вместе с ее приемами и то мировосприятие, которое под ними крылось. «Вакансия» / ~~этим термином в применении к поэту пользуется сам Пастернак~~ / мастера метафор была занята, и поэт ушел в мастера метонимий, сделав и соответствующие идеологические выводы.

Другие силились бы обосновать примат содержания. Механисты от психоанализа нашли бы истоки тематики Пастернака в его признании позорно долгого пребывания «в кругу ошибок младенческого воображенья, детских извращений, юношеских голодовок». Они вывели бы из этих предпосылок не только постоянную тему пассивной экзальтированности и неизбежных срывов, не только взволнованные возвращения поэта к мотивам отроческого созревания, но и метонимические блуждания вокруг каждого фиксируемого предмета. Механисты от материализма отметили бы показание автора об аполитичности его среды и его откровенную слепоту к социальной проблематике, в частности к социальному пафосу поэзии Маяковского, и подвели бы социально-экономическую базу под те настроения беспомощной, бездейственной, элегической растерянности, которым отдают и Охранная грамота, и Воздушные пути.

Закономерно стремление найти соответствие между отдельными планами реальности, закономерны и попытки вывести факты одного плана из соответствующих фактов другого, как метод проекции многомерной действительности на плоскость. Но ошибкой было бы отождествление этой проекции с действительностью, неучет специфической структуры и самодвижения отдельных планов, т.е. обращение таковых в механические надстройки. Из актуальных возможностей формального развития известная среда или индивид может выбрать наиболее отвечающую данным социальным, идеологическим, психологическим и т.п. предпосылкам, равно как комплекс художественных форм, заданный закономерностью их развития, приискивает себе для осуществления адекватную среду или творческую личность. Но нельзя идиллически абсолютизовать эту гармонию планов, нельзя забывать о возможности диалектических напряжений между отдельными планами действительности. Эти конфликты планов являются существенными двигателями истории культуры. Если многие индивидуальные особенности поэзии Пастернака согласуются с характерными чертами его личности и

социального окружения, то есть в его творчестве неизбежно и такие явления, которые современная<sup>569</sup> поэзия властно навязывает каждому своему поэту, хотя бы наперекор его индивидуальному и социальному облику, (речь идет о необходимых стержнях ее целостной структуры), и, если бы поэт отверг эти требования, он автоматически был бы выброшен из ее русла. Художественное задание никогда не вторгается без боя в биографию поэта, так же как биография поэта никогда не уместается целиком в его художественном задании. Герой Охранной Грамоты – хронический неудачник, потому что с его фактическими многочисленными успехами его прототипа нечего делать поэту Пастернаку, как нечего делать книге Казановы с его вероятным промахами. Тенденция к предельной эмансипации<sup>570</sup> знака от предмета, отмеченная нами в поэзии Пастернака и его сверстников, является краеугольным устремлением всего нового искусства, выступившего в качестве антитезы натурализма, она неотделима от поступательного пафоса этого искусства и находит себе выражение<sup>571</sup> независимо от биографических особенностей тех или иных его носителей. Попытки наблюдателей [просто] прикрепить это специфическое художественное явление к ограниченному социальному сектору и к определенной идеологии являются типичным механистическим заблуждением: умозаключая от беспредметности искусства к ирреализму мирозерцания, м<sup>572</sup> искусственно затушевываем кардинальную антиномию. Беспредметному уклону искусства ближе соответствует именно тяготение философии к предметности.

Принадлежность к сплоченному коллективу, направленчество глубоко претит Пастернаку, страстно разрушающему ходовые смежности. Он силится убедить Маяковского, как чудно было бы, если бы [тот] он навсегда упразднил футуризм. Он не хочет «пошлости» совпадений с современниками, отталкивается от них и проповедует отскоки в сторону с общей дороги. И тем не менее в его поэзии вопреки идеологической разноголосице эпохи, пестрой до взаимной ненависти и непонимания, ярко сказалась именно «генерационная связанность». Она проявилась и в упорном творчестве творческом упразднении предмета, и перестройке грамматики искусства. Последняя жила прошедшим и настоящим, настоящее время в противопоставлении к одному прошедшему воспринималось как беспризнаковое<sup>573</sup> непрошедшее<sup>574</sup>. Именно футуризм

---

<sup>569</sup> Der Zeit.

<sup>570</sup> Verselbstständigung.

<sup>571</sup> Wird verwertet.

<sup>572</sup> Man.

<sup>573</sup> Eine merkmallose.

<sup>574</sup> Nichtvergangenheit.

кличкой, теорией и практикой попытался ввести в поэтическую систему будущее время и притом в качестве исходного времени. Об этом неустанно кричат стихи и публицистика Хлебникова и Маяковского, и этим же пафосом проникнуто творчество Пастернака, вопреки ~~его~~ интимному тяготению [автора] к «глубокому горизонту воспоминанья». Он по-новому, в контексте нового противопоставления, осознает настоящее, как самостоятельную категорию, он понимает, что «уже и одна заметность настоящего есть будущее», и напряженный гимн Маяковскому, завершающий Охранную грамоту, не случайно кончается следующими словами: «Он с детства был избалован будущим, которое далось ему довольно рано и, видимо, без большого труда». Что эта «грамматическая реформа» существенно меняет самую функцию поэзии в кругу прочих социальных ценностей, об этом в другой раз.

### A.2.5 Roman Jakobson, “Jazykověda v republikánském Španělsku” (1938)

Originally published in *Lidové Noviny*, 30/03/1938 (161/ 46), 7. Signed R. Jn.

V Madridu právě vyšlo nové číslo časopisu pro linguistiku a klasickou filologii Emerita. V úhledném svazku, obsahujícím nad 200 stránek. V Blanco pojednává o formách budoucího času v latinské literatuře křesťanské doby, Gonzáles de la Calle dokončuje svou rozsáhlou monografii o metrice Horaciové, a G. Bonfante uvažuje o lidových prvcích v Horaciově jazyce. Soustřeďuje pozornost na mluvě římských plebejců a otroků, která žila podzemním životem vedle spisové latiny, a dala vznik románským jazykům. Pronikala i do klasické literatury, a lze stanovit tuto stupnici literárních druhů podle jejich odolnosti k jazykovým vulgarismům: epigram, satira, veselohra, dopisy, technické spisy, elegie, řečnictví, filosofie, rétorika, tragedie, epika, dějepis, óda. Horaciové satiry a ódy jsou po této stránce dva opačné póly. Španělský dnešek se zrcadlí jen ve vyhraněném zájmu uvedené studie o sociologii jazyka a v nezvykle širokém mezinárodním obzoru bohaté a zevrubné kritické rubriky. Nalézáme tu i odůvodněné odmítnutí německých usilování o tendenční nacistickou jazykovědu i nová pro španělskou vědu zájem o odbornou literaturu slovanskou. Jde zde podrobně probrána kniha Poláka Kurylowicze, jsou kladně zhodnoceny příspěvky Rusa Pokrovského k obecnému významoslovi a zvláště Bulhara Georgieva k srovnávací mluvnici, je zdůrazněn průkopnický význam Prací pražského linguistického kroužku a několika jiných fonologických studií, a v důkladném rozboru germanistického hláskového pojednání Desnické, vydaného Akademií nauk Sovětského Svazu, je pádně odsouzena pseudomarxistická a nevědecká škola Marrova. Věda s obdivou hodinou houževnatosti vzdoruje válečnému požáru.

R. Jn.

## A.3 Other writings

### A.3.1 “Ve Slovanském ústavu” (1929)

Originally published in *Národní listy*, 23/06/1929 (68/172), 3.

Při vzniku Slovanského ústavu řekli jsme své výhrady ke způsobu jeho formálního vzniku i ke jmenování jeho členů, kdo jmenování byly a kdo jmenování nebyly. Myslíme, že není o tom v zásadě nikde pochybnosti, že Slovanský ústav ve svém složení není správným a skutečným představitelem slovanské práce, ne snad pro praeterito, ale pro presente. Jest až překvapujícím zjevem, s jakou rezervou, ne-li dokonce i s pochybnostmi chová se česká veřejnost k Slovanskému ústavu, ačkoli v našem národě, nejvíce slovansky založeném mezi všemi Slovany, byla myšlenka na Slovanský ústav vždy vyslovována s velkými, až nadšenými nadějemi.

Reservovanost české veřejnosti jest pochopitelná, když se vysloví několik jmen, která jistě podivnými cestami se dostala do ústavu, který má representovati výkvět slovanských pracovníků. A těmito podivnými cestami zdá se, chce Slovanský ústav jíti i dále, když slyšíme, že činným členem Slovanského ústavu byl svolen sovětský agent, v Praze žijící a působící, pan Jakobson. Věc nutno posuzovati se dvou stránek. Jednak po stránce věčné kvalifikace, že takových Jakobsonů a hlediska odborné činnosti slavistické jsou tisíce. Jestliže někdo spolupracuje v německém listě, věnovaném slovanským otázkám, jestliže někdo pracuje k tomu, aby si získal vědeckou kvalifikaci a mohl se habilitovat na německém ústavě pro slavistiku, to jest opravdu ještě tuze málo a před takovým kandidátem stojí na desítky, ale sta slavistů, kteří odborně znamenají více a kteří by před takovým slavistou Jakobsonem musili býti jmenování členy Slovanského ústavu. Věc má však ještě druhou stránku. Nikdo snad není tak naivní v celé Československé republice, aby neviděl velmi určitě, že slavistická činnost pana Jakobsona v Praze není leč maska, pod kterou koná pan Jakobson skutečné poslání, poslání komunistického agenta. Nikdo neuvěří, že tu pan Jakobson v Praze žije tak, jak žije, za honoráře ze „Slavische Rundschau“, které, jak zřejmo, nepřekážejí komunismu pana Jakobsona, aby ho měla ve svém redakčním kruhu a při tom současně aby nedostávala subvencí od státu, proti němuž pan Jakobson jako poctivý komunista musí hlásat rozvrat, a nejen hlásat, nýbrž dělat. Při zajímavém pořádku, jaký jest v republice, že jest možno z peněz republiky i jinde vydržovat odpůrce, jest možný i takový Jakobson v listu, subvencovaném státem.

Konečně nemáme práva na nikom, kdo je slavistou německé národnosti, žádat, aby proto byl přítelem slovanských národů, a poněvadž o pana Jakobsona jeví zvláštní zájem němečtí slavisté, snad he to naplňuje určitou ironickou škodolibostí, když vidí, jak vykonavateli rozvratné sovětské činnosti v Československé republice české kruhy i mnozí činitelé velmi rozhodující projevují blahovůli a tím mu usnadňují konání skutečného účelu, pro který byl sovětskou vládou poslán do Prahy.

Jestliže dokonce i Slovanský ústav se propůjčil, aby sloužil ještě ze větší ochranu maskované činnosti Jakobsonově v Praze, pak skutečně jsme nuceni obrátit se přímo k rozhodujícím osobám ve Slovanském ústavě, zodpovědným mravně celé české veřejnosti za způsob, jakými podivnými cestami sovětský agent, osobnost a odbornou kvalifikací slavistickou velmi podřadnou, mohl býti jmenován členem ústavu, dostává se osobám typu Jakobsonova, pak opravdu pro mnohého slavisti přestává toto členství býti poctou osobě a uznáním práci.

### **A.3.2 “Bolševický agent ve Slovanském ústavu” (1929)**

Originally published in *Národní osvobození*, 26/06/1929 (6/175) 5. Signed “R.”.

Protože se Slovanský ústav nestal doménou výhradního vlivu pana dra Kramáře a jeho Slovanů, národní demokracie a její tisk nepokládají ho „za správného a skutečného představitele slovanské práce“, a považujíce za „českou veřejnost“ jen sebe samy, vykládají, že se ta česká veřejnost chová k Slovanskému ústavu „s rezervou, ne-li dokonce i s pochybnostmi“. Nedělní „Národní listy“ vysvětlovaly tuto „reservovanost“ tím, že prý „podivným cestami pan Jakobson, sovětský agent, osobnost a odbornou kvalifikací slavistickou velmi podřadnou, byl jmenován členem ústavu“, který „se propůjčil k tomu, aby sloužil ještě za větší ochranu maskované činnosti Jakobsonově v Praze“, a činí za to „mravně odpovědnými rozhodující osoby ve Slovanském ústavě. „Národní listy“ – to třeba uznati – neopouštějí svou proslulou tradici: útočí nepravdami, osobním utrháním na cti, a vedou si při tom tak neobratně a hloupě, že by větší hlouposti nedovedl jim podsunouti ani nejzavilejší jejich odpůrce. Kdo je Roman Jakobson, je dobře známo v našich vědeckých i politických kruzích: „Národní listy“ se ovšem tváří, jako by to nevěděly. Bylo by vždy známo – i době, kdy Jakobson byl tiskovým referentem pražského sovětského zastupitelstva – že není

komunista, nýbrž bezpartijní. Nikdy svou činnost nemaskoval, přičiňoval se podle svých možností o přátelství poměr mezi Ruskem a Československým, k němuž upřímně přilnul. Není dosud mnoho cizinců, a zejména není mnoho Rusů, kteří by tak znali československou kulturu, dějiny a politiku a kteří by měli tak opravdovou a vřelou osobní účast na našich věcech jako Jakobson. Odborné filologické kruhy uznávají a velmi cení jeho vědecké práce slavistické, z nichž mnohé jsou věnovány ji věcem československým, tak zejména středověké naší literatuře a studiu české rytmiky. Proto byl zcela řádně navržen a jmenován členem Slovanského ústavu. Třeba připomenouti, že jeho odborná práce a znalosti byly uznávány i v referátech, publikovaných – „Národních listů“: recensenty byli profesori Flajšhans a Hrozný, a člen redakce „N.L.“ Vincenc Červinka! Kdo by neznal „Národních listů“, byl by překvapen, jak je možno, že tentýž list, který chválil, najednou hanobí. „Národní listy“ přesvědčují neustále, že v nich žádné překvapení není vyloučeno. Ostatně – jak se popovídáme – pan Jakobson poskytl „Národním listům“ příležitost, aby dokázaly svoje infámie: podává na ně žalobu prostřednictvím svého právního zástupce dra Langra. R.

### 3) Untitled

Originally published in *Národní osvobození*, 24/01/1930 (7/23), 5. Signed “R.”.

Slovanský ústav takřka z nadřzování bolševismu: dokazovaly to tím, že za jeho člena byl zvolen Roman Jakobson, známý slavista, zasloužilý o čsl. linguistickou a literárně historickou vědu, který býval tiskovým attaché pražského sovětského zastupitelství. Napadly při tom urážlivě Jakobsona. Ten nenechal si libiti křivé urážky, nespokojil se tím, že vědecké kruhy odsuzovaly výpad „N. L.“, nýbrž žaloval tento list. Redakce Kramářova listu byla nyní nucena požádati pana Jakobsona za prominutí. Zaplatila soudní útraty a odvolala své obvinění veřejným prohlášením, že nemůže Jakobsona vinit, že by byl komunistickým agentem, ani že by jeho vědecká činnost byla maskou rozvratné činnosti proti Československu, ani že by se byl dostal do Slovanského ústavu podivnými cestami, protože byl za jeho člena řádně zvolen jednomyslným usnesením valného shromáždění. Panu Jakobsonovi „Národní listy“ daly satisfakci vlastně už před tímto odvoláním. Uveřejnily v neděli pochvalný a uznalý referát o jeho nové knize „Nejstarší české písně duchovní“. Panu Jakobsonovi dostalo se tak zasloužené satisfakce, a „Národní listy“ utrpěly zaslouženou ostudu. R.

#### 4) Slovan' Jakobson ze sovětské misse – členem pražského Slovanského ústavu

Originally published in *Národní listy*, 24/06/1929 (144), 2.

Slovanský ústav v Praze získal novou „ozdobu“ v agentu bolševické obchodní misse Jakobsonovi, kterého zvolil za svého člena. Krutější ironie nelze si věru představit nad tu, když mezi členy, kteří mají representovat výkvět slovanských pracovníků, jest jmenován komunista, jehož pravým posláním a úkolem jest pracovat propagačně pro světovou vládu a pro ujařmení slovanského Ruska. Tovaryš Jakobson nezasloužil se dosud o Slovanstvo ničím. Napsal jenom několik prací slavistických do německého časopisu, aby tak maskoval pravý svůj úkol a poslání jako bolševický agent. Pro pana Jakobsona členství Slovanského ústavu jest. Za to není pro mnohé vynikající muže, kteří Slovanstvu věnovali práci a úsilí celých desetiletí. Pan dr. Beneš má totiž zvláštní názory na práci pro Slovanstvo. Odmítnutí nemusejí toho však litovat, neboť – jak píše „N. L.“ – jestliže čest, býti členem Slovanského ústavu dostává se osobám typu Jakobsonova, pak opravdu pro skutečného slavistu přestává toto členství býti poctou osobě a uznáním práci.

## A.4 Correspondences (1920-1939)

### A.4.1 Jurij Tynjanov

#### [1] Jurij Tynjanov to Roman Jakobson 23/02/1929

23/II 29

Дорогой Роман.

Свирепые морозы встретили меня. Морозы в 30 градусов. Без пражских теплых сапог я погиб бы. Опояз, конечно, не клеится никак. Где уж тут мирить, того гляди сам рассоришься. Опоязисы прошли без особого оживления. Витина реакция главным образом фактическая: “Дай сюда напечатаю в Лефе”. Леф, кстати выходит последний номером, за отсутствием такого литературного направления. Никому не жалко / мне тоже / в том числе. / Томашевский мне не очень согласен: “Это больше относится к языку, чем к литературе”, но как и что, – пока не договорил.

Якобинский не согласен, как и можно было ожидать. Эйхенбаум еще не откликнулся. С Виноградовым еще не встречался. Встречи туго мне налаживаются, – морозы. Результаты те, что Витя, подумав, вдруг открыл: “собственно говоря, мы втроем это и есть Опояз. Остальное наладится”. Вот подробная, но не длинная история опоязисов. Выслал тебе, Софе Николаевне и Богатыреву свои книги: 1/ *Вазира*, 2/ *Архаистов*. По числу опечаток видные книги. Витя сдал в Гиз свою работу Матвее Комарове, разведческая вылазка в 18-й век. Интересно. Очередная его тема-о народной поэзии. Нашупывает и обобщает ее книжное происхождение. Если ему это удастся/через исследование лубочной литературы; Комаров-автор Баньки Каин а/, это будет завоеванием фольклора, или скромнее-интересно.

С твоей книгой все выяснено. Я переписал твой план и отдал в Гиз. Книга уже значится в плане Гиза и вопрос о ней может считаться решенным. Но официально план / вес ь/ должен итти на утверждение в Москву. Без этого они не могут тебе послать предложения. Оно будет тебе послано не позже середины марта.

Как только получают предложение, подписанное тобою, – вышлют договор, а как только подпишешь договор, – вышлют деньги. Насчет гонора постараемся не продешевить.

Так что, по-моему, садись за дело и вычеркни Куманово из души своей. И Таверну тоже / как хорош, боже мой, карп в масле/

Вите скажу. Борису Михайловичу тоже. / О письмах и статьях в *Рундшау*. / Очень рад, что выяснилось.

Поклон низкий Софье Николаевне. Привет Богатыреву.

## [2] Jurij Tynjanov to Roman Jakobson

Ленинград, 23 марта [1929]

Дорогой Роман.

Пишу для тебя о Грибоедове и прочтем. Отчего ничего не пишешь? Какого ты мнения о моей работе “Архаисты и Пушкин”. Меня очень интересует твое мнение. Опечаток в книге очень много. Получил ли Петр Григорьевич моих “Архаистов”? Вазир выходит 2-м изданием. Холодно, вьюги, бедные мои ноги. Часто думаю о тебе. Пишешь ли свою книгу? На сколько тебя нагрели за то, что ты меня не прописал? Очень мне неприятно. Все-таки сволочи. Поклона учтива, а потом штраф. Очень скучно. Витя занят <...>, я тоже. Скоро идем на Кавказ. Сердечный привет Софье Николаевне. Ю Т

### A.4.2 Boris Tomaševskij

#### [1] Boris Tomaševskij to Roman Jakobson 09/05/1928

Дорогой Роман Осипович,

Давно не мог урвать минуты, чтоб написать тебе. Что касается до культхроники для *Rundschau*, то я думаю, самое удобное – это газетная информация. Какие газеты читаешь? Ленинградская культурная жизнь довольно подробно регистрируется в Вечерней Красной газете, за которой необходимо следить, если хочешь давать более или менее подлую хронику. Например: все публикация текстов Пушкина (*Монах* и пр.) в этой газете отмечались прежде, чем в других изданиях. Я полагаю, что внутренняя жизнь академических учреждений тебе должна интересовать в меньшей степени. Если я ошибаюсь, то источником информации могут служить студенческие газеты, равно как у об комсомольские органы (*Комсомольская Правда, Смена*). Я не совсем уяснял себе структуру культотдела нашего полпредства, но если он поддерживает связь с культурной жизнью. Союза, то всю эту информацию можно получать оттуда. Поэтому я информировать тебя о культурной жизни Союза не буду, т. е. опередить ваши газете нет возможности. Лучше, если буду писать о книгах. Но у меня останавливает одно: в како тоне писать? Если отводить душу, то упрекнул за то, что выношу сор из избы (хотя не уверен, что держать сор в избе гигиенично), а затем – еще наживать себе врагов на свою жизнь. Поэтому буду цокать лишь протокольные библиографические справки. Если ты усмотришь, что книга нуждается в суровом ответе, то препоручай его кому-нибудь, а мне сейчас не до схваток.

Вот и все пока. Воспользуйся эти как можешь, но лучше без моего имени. Культхроники писать некогда. все три книжки *Rundschau* получил. От тебя никаких известий, ни Слуху ни Берга. Последний пункт начинает меня беспокоить.

Привет.

Твой БТомашевский

PS Получил вопрос из съезда – в каком отношении лингвистики похожая к поэтике? [--] Если увидишь Матезиуса – передай. Борис

## [2] Boris Tomaševskij to Roman Jakobson 02/11/1928

II/XI 28

Дорогой Роман Осипович

Наконец то получил от тебя письмо. Должен отвечать тебе в довольно кислом тоне. Бот по пунктам, что имею оказать.

С институтом я сам в настоящее время не имею связи, т. к. перевезен в нештатные. Лучше тебе обратиться к члену коллегии Якубинскому или к штатному действительному члену Эйхенбауму. Якубинский здесь много может, а мое вмешательство кроме вреда ничего не принесет.

Белорусские и украинские пиитики постараюсь раздобыть. Рецензии о них дать не смогу по трем причинам: я их не читал, не смогу их прочесть по незнанию мовы и не хочу дразнить гусей.

С Балухатым я говорил и оба мы пришли к неутешительным выводам: он считает, что ему эта работа не по дороге, а я считаю, что она мне не по плечу. Выступить в *Slavische Rundschau* с конспектом русской литературы вещь более чем ответственная. Для этого надо знать на зубок историографию русской литературы у формализма и всю литературу формализма. Я ни в том, ни в другом несилён. А не 25 страниц с одним общими фразами не обойдешься: краткость требует декларативной четкости и точности. Не сможет ли это сделать кто-нибудь на заграничных сотрудников? Перебирая имена здесь в Ленинграде, мы с Балухатым убедились, что подобная статья может быть или авторефератом (напр. Тынянова) или же за нее, должен взяться кто-нибудь из молодых. Самый старый из молодых – Гуковский. Возьмется ли он и что у него вы выйдет, не знаю.

Вообще не знаю, удастся ли мне что-либо написать для *Rundschau*? В ближайшее время я очень занят и даже халтурить ничего бы не смог. Надо обождать, когда немного освобожусь.

Карцевского не получил. Если ты его послал заказанным, справься на почте. Если простым, сделал ошибку. Кстати, просил выслать одну фр. книжку по *littérature comparée*. Как ее судьба?

Мой привет Винокуру и Тынянову. Поговори с последним по академическим вопросам. Он знает мою точку зрения, если не забыл нашего разговора.

С Мокульским имел очень краткий разговор в перерыве между лекциями. Он отозвался полным неведением и заявил, что никаких просьб от тебя не получал. Переговорю с ним еще.

Привет Богатыреву и вашим семействам.

Твой Б Томашевский

[3] Boris Tomaševskij to Roman Jakobson 29/01/1929

29/I 29

Дорогой Роман Осипович

Не могу тебе выслать Берга, потому что он растрогаю. Это издание Гос. Из. 1922 и я справлялся в первой сточнике.

Трудно достать белорусские поэтики – здесь не торгуют белорусскими книгами, очевидно, трудно деться вытесывать из Минска.

Что касается украинский – то указал точнее: вязь там обширная литература по поэтике. Постараюсь выписать из Киева.

Не оказывалось от Геземанна на Виноградова какой срок?

С Мокульским поверил,

Привет всем.

Б Томашевский

[4] Boris Tomaševskij to Roman Jakobson 31/01/1929

31 января 1929

Дорогой Роман Осипович

Наши открытки разошлись. О Берге я писал. Нельзя ли его заметить другим номогенезом (такие существуют)? Если книга действительно нужно до завезу, можно выслать на подержание библиотечный экземпляр, но обязательством срочного возврата. Кому я обязан присылкой кучи диссертаций учеников Sasan'a? Тебе или Мукажовскому? Он мне прислал свою книгу о *Мае* Махи, но не прислал своего адреса. Передай ему мою благодарность устно, равно как и за перевод в *Часописе*. Тынянов приехал, но я его еще не видал. Он передал мне через Шкловского ваш манифест, но пункт 6 вызывает опасения: соотношения *langue* и *parole* и в языке то не совсем Женевские, а в литературе есть опасность повторении типологических антиномических фикций, как суррогата системы. Но об этом говорить долго.

P.S. С Мокульским говорил. Об украинских пиитиках жду ответу.

Привет Семейству

Твой Борис Томашевский

[5] Boris Tomaševskij to Roman Jakobson 10/02/1929

Ленинград 10 февраля 1929

Дорогой Роман Осипович,

Лаконизм твоих открыток гиперболичен. На вопросы ты систематически избегаешь отвечать. Не забудь, что открыта от Праги до Ленинграда идет восемь дней (со скоростью 12 километра в час). Переспрашивать при таких условиях трудно. Ни о номогенезе, ни о поэтиках ты мне ничего не ответил.

Постараюсь удовлетворить твоё требование, и написать нужно рецензию на книгу Винограда. Только что вышла книга Тынянова. Кто о ней пишет?

Видел Тынянова, который еще не полон впечатлений от Берлина и Праги. Он хотел телеграфировать тебе о необходимости срочно прислать рукопись твоих сборников *Язык и Революция* и литературных статей. Лучше их направить оказией – скорее дойдут. Статьи по языку годятся для Госиздата, по литературе – для Федерации Писателя. Но все разговоры вез аврора и рукописи платоничны, хотя и вызывают сочувствие.

Если нужно для хроники *Rundschau*, то используй нижеследующее: сейчас печатаются новооткрытые документы, обнаруженные в архиве Горчаковых. Центральное место занимает поэма Пушкина *Монах* (первые три песни) и письма Горчакова родным из лица. Первая песня Монаха появится в ближайшей книжке *Красного Архива*. Полностью поэма выйдет отдельным выпуском, вместе с другими произведениями Пушкина, автографы которых нашлись в архиве Горчаковых. Поэма относится вероятно и началу 1814 года (а может быть и раньше) и представляет первую попытку пародической поэмы, внушенной Пушкину чтением *Pucelle* Вольтера. Поэма еще совершенно детская, несмотря на обилие эротизма: главный ее интерес в том, что в ней заключены несколько мотивов, получивших у Пушкина дальнейшее развитие впоследствии. Поэму комментирует Щеголев и другие. Центрархив, издающий эту поэму, чрезвычайно озабочен, чтобы до выхода в свет она не стала как-нибудь известна публике, а потому я лишен возможности что-нибудь прибавить. Письма Горчакова родным дают подробную хронику лицейской жизни и сообщают много новых данных.

От себя скажу, что шум, поднятый вокруг находки, не соответствует действительному ее значению. Фрагмент *Монаха* – детская пачкотня, имеющая очень ограниченное и узкоспециальное значение. Когда он выйдет в свет пришлю тебе. Скрытие *Монаха*, о котором было кое-то известно и ранее поставило на очередь вопрос о принадлежности Пушкину-лицейцу порнографической поэмы *Тень Варкова*. Поэма эта будет напечатана в ограниченном числе экземпляров с комментарием Цявловского и в продажу не поступит. Впрочем, Лернер поторопился и уже напечатал о Тени в Огоньке.

На днях выходит первый том юбилейного полного собрания сочинений Толстого. Вслед за ним выходит законченный печатанием шестой том (Казки под ред. Грузинского).

Виноградов выпускает еще один сборник статей.

С Мокульским говорю каждую субботу. Он просит прощения, т.к. очень был занят. Собирается скоро написать.

О себе сообщить любопытного ничего не могу. Сдал в печать сборник статей о стихе (все старые мои работы). Занят выпуском в свет последних томов Достоевского (Дневник и журнальные статьи). Кроме того, редактирую роман Гончарова. Все это хлопотная работа, отнимающая много времени. Скоро приступлю к подготовке для юбилейного Толстого *Воскресения*. Только что сдал статью о французской традиции в *Монахе* для издания Центрархива. Много времени расходую на Толковый словарь русского литературного языка, который делаем вместе с Ушаковым, Виноградом и Лариным. Может быть, из этого перечня ты усмотришь, почему у меня не остается времени на научную работу. К этому присоедини лекции в Университете и на Выс. Курсах Искусствоведения (при Институте Истории Искусств), где приходится читать один новый курс среди прочих. К этому курсу приходится готовиться. О уже растянулся на два года. Тема его – Пушкин и Французская традиция. Вероятно, эта тема и явится предметом моей очередной работы. В ней мне хочется разработать проблему влияния в новом аспекте: заменить самую постановку ее концепцией истории литературы, взятой из определенного фокуса. Здесь возникает интересная задача построения истории литературы по признаку ее активности на позднейшие литературные явления (таким образом удастся избежать с одной стороны безнадежного субъективизма, а с другой – изучения литературной патологии, графомании и т. п.; см. *Вайрон и Пушкин*). С другой стороны, проблема ассимиляции традиции совпадает с проблемой изменения литературной функции материала в новой обстановке. Не знаю, получатся ли объективно интересные результаты, но самый процесс изучения явлений с этих точек зрения дает любопытные наблюдения. Впрочем, мне хочется, чтобы в моей работе было как можно меньше проблематики и как можно больше материалы. Но среди прочих вопросов, здесь возникающих, любопытен один. Анализ взаимоотношения литературного ряда с другими вообще затрудняется тем, что все сопоставляемые ряды или извне взаимно обусловлены и между системами разных рядов существует сложное и постоянное взаимоотношение. Трудно бывает решить, при соответствии литературного и внелитературного фактов, обусловил ли один факт другой или оба они явились как параллельные члены параллельных систем. Другое дело при перенесении фактов из одной среды в другие. Там два факта разных систем, объединенные по смежности становятся в новой обстановке элементами двух систем, находящихся в совершенно новых условиях соотносительности. Они перестают быть параллельными членами. При этом возможны две комбинации: или ассоциация по смежности побеждает и в новом создании эти факты продолжают связываться, вопреки требованиям современности. Это в свою очередь может оказать факты и новом создании кажутся столь разнородными, что они расчлняются. При этом происходит или полное разъединение фактов разных рядов (это любопытно тем, что обнажается граница ряда), или смежные факты отрываются от своего ряда и воспринимаются как элементы системы другого ряда. Напр. факт какой-либо идеологии в новом поколении (при разрыве традиции) может восприниматься как эстетический факт (и очень часто наоборот). Бывает и обратное: новое соотношение рядов проецируется в прошлое, но этот случай менее интересен для проблемы.

На моей теме все очень удобно иллюстрируется. К сожалению, без иллюстрации все это звучит крайне невнятно. Иллюстрации же, собственно, влагают истинный смысл в эти утверждения.

Ну, впрочем, довольно теории.

Вот еще новость (пушкинистическая). Найдены подлинные мемуары Смирновой. Как и следовало ожидать, в них мало о Пушкине. Однако, говорят, они интересны, хотя в какой-то части Смирнова писала их в состоянии психического расстройства.

Только что написал об этом, как прочел в *Вечерней Красной* информационную заметку Н. Лернера). Он поторопился сообщать об находке Л. В. Крестовой, Хранилище, им называемое, - б. Румянцевский Музей. Георгический долго скрывал от всех эти записки. Обнаружены они потом, что в одном библиографическом журнальчике начала революции было непечатно о поступлении этих бумаг в Музей. Заметку Лернера прилагаю.

Получил твое письмо. Отвечаю. Денги пола удерки: на них много не купишь. Саранчу передам в Институт.

Не совсем, что ОПОЯЗ воскреснет. Дело в том, что как "ОПОЯЗ". Он может и настоящую минуту оказаться, т. к. следует объединения. Требуются новые формы объединения, т. к. следует объединить и тех, кого ОПОЯЗ пугает. Вообще я думаю сейчас не нужна экспансия имени, тем более что имя сильно "датирует". Это имя как Внешний знак научного направления принадлежит прошлому. Работать же надо все равно.

Царя Никиту еще не получил. Постараюсь по получении что-нибудь написать. А о переводе ты припиши сам.

Пора кончать. Берга постараюсь послать в четверг. Не задерживай из него рукописи.

Письмо мое заваляюсь. Отправляю привет.

Твой БТомашевский

#### [6] Boris Tomaševskij to Roman Jakobson 18/02/1929

18.И.29

Дорогой Роман Осипович

Книга твоя (язык) назначена к сдаче в печать в марте. Теперь все зависит от Москвы. Если план будет утвержден, то договор может быть заключен в ближайшее время. Но по существующим правилам деньги выплачиваются только по сдаче рукописи. Поэтому прошу тебя, поторопись с высылкой рукописного оригинала. Печатай его на машинке в двух экземплярах, и один оставь себе на всякий случай.

*Car Nikita* пришел. Рецензию вышло в ближайшее время, раньше Виноградова, т. к. для этой рецензии все готово. Хорошо бы за одно прихватить издание перевода *Гавришляды*, которое вышло о месяц тому назад. Кстати бы *Rundschau* разорилось бы на 30 fr. и купило бы мне парижское издание русского текста *Гавришляды* 1928 г. Только как его получить?

Мне нужна одна фр. книжка: A. Francois, *Les Origines lyriques de la phrase moderne*. Presses Universitaires 10 fr. Если возможно, вышли. Получило ли Берга. Привет жене.

Борис Томашевский

**[7] Boris Tomaševskij to Roman Jakobson 03/10/1929**

Leningrad 3/X 29

Дорогой Роман Осипович

Начал получать от тебя оттиски. Надеюсь, получить еще. Хотелось бы поговорить об десятисложные и Вавиле да не удосужусь.

Привет съезду и всем его участникам. Впрочем, не всем, но надеюсь на твое опоязовское чутье и думаю, что кому надо, ты воздашь по заслугам. Ведь этим ты хоть отчасти скомпенсируешь в моем сознании досаду, что на этот раз мне не удастся повидать всех славистов. Да и одно находится в тесной связи с другим.

Надеюсь, что твой тон будет тверже чем в *Rundschau*.

Еще раз приветствую и жду вестей.

Берга получил как раз кстати: к моменту перерегистрации абонентов библиотеки.

БТомашевский

**[8] Boris Tomaševskij to Roman Jakobson [undated]**

<...> Вот тебе рецензия, или, вернее, материал для рецензии, т. к. вместо нескольких строк получилось их очень много. Разметь сокращения для перевода по своему благоусмотрению.

Только что получил твою открытку. Проспект к Никиту я получил, я журнал, видимо, еще не едет. Берг давно выслал. Мокульский отвечает по-прежнему. Не пугает ли его место, где печатается *Rundschau*? Это весьма возможно. Думаю, его увидеть в суб[б]оту и поговорить окончательно. Я старался его успокоить, но не убежден, что достиг цели.

Из новой литературы, представляющей интерес, сообщаю о выходе в свет книг: Валерий Брюсов *Мой Пушкин. Статьи, исследования, наблюдения*. Редакция Н. К. Пиксанова, ГИЗ 1929 ц. 3 р. В книге собраны старые статьи и прибавлены малозначительные ненапечатанные. Далеко не все стоило перепечатывать. Пиксанов отнесся к делу по обычно халтурно, не исправив и не оговорив описок и обмолвок Брюсова.

С. Балухатый *Теория литературы. Аннотированная библиография I. Общие вопросы* 1929 Прибий ц. 2 е. 75 к. Библиография довольно слабая и небрежно сделанная. Во всяком случае я ожидал от Балухатого лучше. Будем ждать второй части, может быть, она восполнит недостатки первой.

Привет БТомашевский

### A.4.3 Boris Eĵchenbaum

#### [1] Boris Eĵchenbaum to Roman Jakobson 10/06/1928

Дорогой Роман Осипович!

Я задержался с ответом на Ваше милое письмо только потому, что нечеловечески занят – не просто занят, как бывают занятые люди с делами, а погружён с головой и почти схожу с ума: кончаю первый том большой работы о Толстом, которая выйдет потом дальше. Это будет книга в двадцати печатных листах - от начала до *Войны и мира*. За ней последует, вероятно, отдельное исследование *Войны и мира* – с целым рядом неожиданных “открытий”. Пишу с огромным напряжением и натиском – уже три месяца не отрываю пера от бумаги, а всё ещё не кончил.

Тут-то и затруднение. Как мне после этой книги, которую я кончу только к июлю (а там уже пойдёт возня с примечаниями и корректурой), написать приветственную статью, для которой нужно и собрать материал, и заново подумать? Очевидно – не смогу. Единственное, что я мог бы сделать, – это дать кусок из своей книги, но это нелегко по другим соображениям: книга, хотя и не учёная в обычном смысле этого слова, но насыщенная материалом, идущая хронологически, очень связанная. Вопросы об актуальности в ней нет, да и, по правде сказать, он вообще кажется мне мало актуальным и несуществующим. Актуальнее и существеннее как раз другое – не модернизовать Толстого так, чтобы он годился для нас, а показать его в эпохах, “развинтить”, как говорил Витя. Это – не моё личное отношение, а наше общее. Для нас здесь вопрос об “актуальности” Толстого какой-то мёртвый, академический, потому что главный и живой для нас вопрос – создание литературы и литературных условий (“литературного быта”) заново. Для этого надо пристально посмотреть, как писатели делались писателями, и какими они были в своей эпохе. Писать о том, как Толстой “повлиял” на Фадеева или на Петрова, Сидорова и т.д. – совсем неинтересно и не нужно. Так ли я понял Вашу тему? Мой тезис такой: Толстой актуален для нас сейчас не столько своим творчеством (это будет потом), сколько своей писательской позицией, своей писательской судьбой, своей писательской эволюцией – тем, как он пронес своё писательство через ряд эпох.

Если хотите такую тему, то можно было бы сделать так. Я мог бы дать одну главу из своей книги – главу, которую считаю центральной, потому что выхожу в ней из области частных вопросов в область общих проблем и говорю о Толстом в целом. Чтобы сделать её полезной вне книги, я мог бы написать к ней специальное вступление – то, что я пишу вам об “актуальности”. Тогда, я думаю, эта глава приобрела бы принципиальный и многодневный интерес. Ведь она построена на одном письме Толстого (1856 года) и на одном вопросе – о “крепостничестве” Толстого, а отсюда идёт к самым важным обобщениям. Она стоила мне много труда и увлечения. Как вы об этом думаете?

Другое затруднение – материальное. 100 германских марок на наши деньги – 50 рублей, а я получаю здесь за лист 150-200 рублей. Преодолеть это затруднение можно двумя способами: или устроить так, чтобы гонорар мой и за эту статью, и за следующие оставался за границей – как фонд на случай моего приезда, потому что там эти деньги не то, что у нас; или выслать гонорар «натурой» (чулками, например, для чего я попрошу Вас узнать адрес Владимира Николаевича Тукалевского, который, вероятно, не откажется взять на себя покупку и отправку этой “натуры”. Одно ясно – высылать деньги сюда не имеет смысла.

Я очень хотел бы в будущем году поехать за границу и попасть в Прагу на съезд. Весной я подавал заявление в Наркомпросвет Интс. Ист, Иск. и получил – отказ. Не могли бы Вы посодействовать, чтобы в будущем году меня выпустили? Съезд может очень помочь – и меня могут официально вызвать. Что вы думаете по этому поводу?

Итак, жду вашего ответа на оба пункта. Если Вы захотите получить от меня ту главу, о которой я пишу, то я мог бы выслать её вам в конце июня. Кстати, как посылаются рукописи за границу?

Книга о личном быте пока застряла – заслонена Толстым, куда и пошло кое-что из этого материала. Ужасно много работы. Ведь кроме книжки о Толстом я редактирую собрание сочинений Толстого (15 томов, из которых 4 уже вышли), собрание сочинений Тургенева (2 тома вышли с моими примечаниями), собрание сочинений Гоголя и участвую в большом московском издании Толстого.

Я пишу книгу совсем заново и работаю над ней так, как никогда не работал. Очень, очень жаль, что не могу вам всего рассказать. Устал, но здоров. Бодр и увлечён до страдания.

Жду вашего ответа и ещё раз извиняюсь за задержку – видите по почерку, как тороплюсь. Притом – письма пишу очень редко. Это в нашем “литературном быту” даётся с трудом.

Ленинград, Васильевский остров, Большой проспект, д. №60/5, кв. 11

## [2] Boris Eĵchenbaum to Roman Jakobson 07/07/1928

Дорогой Роман Осипович!

Страшно подвела меня почта. Письмо Ваше, написанное 17 июня и помеченное штемпелем в Праге 19 июля, пришло ко мне только вчера! А я, не получая так долго ответа, думал, что что-нибудь разладилось. Теперь не знаю, как и быть. 15 июля я уезжаю на полтора месяца на Кавказ, и так переутомлен, что едва делаю то, что необходимо, чтобы выбраться, а между тем мне нужно еще дописать последнюю главу и сделать примечания. Если бы можно было просто дать кусок из книги – все было бы, конечно, просто, но статья – другой жанр. Успею ли я написать?

Мы все же не совсем понимаем друг друга. Я считаю, что сейчас актуален именно исторический Толстой, а под историческим я не разумею “реставрированного”. Под “историческим” я разумею то, что сейчас актуальна проблема писателя в своей эпохе – ведь это и есть настоящая «социологическая» проблема. Ведь другой интерпретации, кроме разговоров о том, чужд ли нам Толстой как представитель дворянского помещичьего класса и его идеолог, сейчас в критике нет. Это сейчас – живая проблема. А вам как будто кажется, что есть сейчас другое, чисто литературное восприятие. Оно, может быть, есть у двух-трёх писателей. То-то и характерно, что сейчас надо говорить не о литературе, а о писательстве. (я, конечно, всё время имею в виду неакадемическую постановку вопроса), в том-то и дело, что сейчас огромное значение приобрели историко-биографические проблемы. Даже Шкловский занялся *Войной и миром* для того, чтобы доказать, что она была изначально задумана и писалась как “дворянская агитка”. Это – не “реставрирование”, это самое злободневное сейчас у нас, и об этом нужно говорить, потому что проблема нашей эпохи – “как быть писателем” и что значит “быть писателем”. Ясно ли я говорю? Изменилось не восприятие, а функции литературы

– поэтому так ненужным кажется мне писать сейчас о Толстом в чисто литературном плане.

Очень досадно, что мы на таком расстоянии, и нельзя сговориться. Я только что написал статью для книги, которую будет выпускать Ленинградское издательство писателей под моей редакцией – книгу, состоящую из монтажа биографических материалов, кончая женитьбой (*Молодой Толстой*). К этой книге я написал статью - выжимку из своей книги. Она вышла, кажется, удачно, написана журнально, дает новое и общее представление о судьбе Толстого, хотя и доходит только до *Войны и мира* (но это мотивировано принципиально – как способ снятия вепских лаков, наслонившихся именно на старческий облик Толстого и сделавших этот образ иконописным). Знаете, что я немного переработаю и пошлю вам её. Другого ничего я не умею сейчас делать, а это, мне кажется, должно подойти. Вы можете пометить, что это – вроде конспекта написанной книги, поэтому всё кускам, почерк без цитат и ссылок.

Я наткнулся на очень интересный материал для *Войны и мира*, над которым буду работать дальше, а в статье говорю вскользь. Толстовский Наполеон ведь имеется во французской исторической публицистике 50-х годов – обшарная литература, обличающая Наполеона и уничтожающая легенду его величия. Во Франции – это радикальное течение, в России это использовано консервативными кругами как реванш. Страшно интересно. Интересно и другое. В 1861 году Толстой поехал в Брюссель специально для свидания с Прудоном (взяв рекомендательное письмо у Герцена), а Прудон в то время закончил свою новую книгу, которая называется..... *Война и мир* (*La Guerre et la Paix*). Этим “открытием” (никто никогда об этом не писал) И заканчиваю статью. *Толстой и Прудон* — целая обширная тема, над которой я и буду работать.

Так вот, Роман Осипович, я проработаю эту статью и вышлю вам её около 15 июля. Тогда тем пошлю Вам письмо, в которое вложу записку для В.Н. Тухалевского, адреса которого не знаю. В ней я попрошу его купить на гонорар некоторые вещи. Очень хотелось бы побывать в будущем и у вас. Я сейчас много работаю и много думаю. Интересно было бы побеседовать. Книгу мою на-днях начнут набирать и выпустят в начале сентября.

Жму Вашу руку!

### [3] Boris Eĵchenbaum to Roman Jakobson 15/07/1928

Дорогой Роман Осипович!

Я так одурел от своей работы над Толстым (кончил книгу в 19 печатных листов), что написать еще что-нибудь новое не в состоянии, да и не успеть – 19-го уезжаю на полтора месяца на Кавказ. Поэтому посылаю вам ту статью, о которой писал в прошлом письме. Если подойдет – можете напечатать, но это краткий конспект и выжимка из моей книги. Если не подойдет и вы решите не печатать ее, я несколько не обижусь. Она, наконец, может пригодиться для какого-нибудь другого журнала или сборника – действуйте по своему усмотрению.

Ежели она окажется напечатанной, вы, вероятно, пришлете мне номер журнала или оттиск. Тогда мы сговоримся, как сделать с гонораром.

Здесь сейчас Витя – завтра возвращается в Москву. Мы ходим с ним как два атлета – оба печатаем книги о Толстом и смотрим друг на друга с любовной тревогой: как поймет публика?

Мне бы очень хотелось знать о судьбе рукописи до своего возвращения домой. Если будет не лень, пошлите, когда выяснится, открытку по следующему адресу: Абхазия, Ахали Афони, Б.М. Эйхенбауму до востребования. Я буду там, примерно, до последних чисел августа.

С ним нам нужно будет почаще списываться – и о журнале, и о съезде, и так далее.

Передайте, пожалуйста, мой сердечный привет В.А. Тухалевскому. Напишите мне его адрес.

Жму вашу руку!

#### **A.4.4 Jurij Sokolov**

##### **[1] Roman Jakobson to Jurij Sokolov, 12/05/1928**

PRAG, den 12. V 1928

Bělského tř. 16, PRAHA VII Roman Jakobson

Многоуважаемый Юрий Соколов,

Надеюсь на Ваше любезное согласие принять участие в журнале *Сл. Р.* Прошу вас сообщить в каком отделе журнала и по каким преимущественно вопросам имеете в виду добавь статьи, обзоры и заметки. Материалы для журнала могут быть присылаемые на русском языке, и будут в этом случае переводиться на немецкий язык в редакции. Гонорар составит около 100 герм. марок запечатали лист. Со стороны советского пальто детство отношение нет журналу благодарю приятная и никаких недоразумений участие в журнале повлечь за собой не может.

Уважающий Вас

Р. Якобсон

##### **[2] Roman Jakobson to Jurij Sokolov, 20/08/1928**

20 августа 1928 г.

Дорогой Юрий Матвеевич,

Рад был знать из вашей открытки, что на днях переезжайте в Прагу ждем вас с нетерпением. Надеюсь, что чешские визы у вас уже есть. В противном случае сообщите мне и визе буду вам немедленные телеграфно высланы, только назовите это такой город, где есть чехословацкое консульство. Как только будет знать день приезда, телеграф уйти мне, чтобы я с Петром Григорьевичем успели распределить своё время так, чтобы к

вашему приезду будет невозможности свободными. Он много хочется с вами поговорить, но откладываю всё до личной встречи.

Преданный Вам

Р. Якобсон

Дорогой Юрий Матвеевич,

Буду Вас рад увидеть в Праге. Обязательно телеграфируете, когда придете, чтобы мы с Ром. Исиф. могли Вас встретить. Если будет время черкните как долго сможете остаться в Чехословакии, чтобы мы могли задание сминаться с чешскими этнографами и выработать маршрут,

Жду с нетерпением Вас

Ваш П. Богатырев

### [3] Jurij Sokolov to Roman Jakobson ,31/01/1929

31 1 1929 г. Москва. Красная площадь, Гос. Истор. Музей.

Дорогой Роман Осипович!

На днях получил письмо от А. Мазона, в котором он пишет мне приглашение от Франц. Комитета научной связи с Россией, от университетских институтов: славянского и фонетического приехать в весенние месяцы в Париж для научных докладов о русском былевом эпосе и для демонстрации сказителя былин. При этом расходы по проживанию моему и певца в Париже но оплате пути от Берлине до Парижа названные организации берут на себя. Сегодня Валя прислала мне письмо, сообщая, что наше Полпредство в Париже охотно поддерживает мою поездку, о чем и будет писать через Наркоминдел в Наркомпрос. Мне кажется, что сейчас было бы целесообразно получить аналогичные приглашения от немецких и чешских научных учреждений, которые, как Вы мне писали, очень заинтересованы в моем приезде с певцом. Одновременное приглашение от ученых трех стран мне чрезвычайно облегчило бы хлопоты. Приехать придется весною-в мае, т. к. позднее нельзя будет для французов: у них очень затягиваются летние каникулы. Пожалуйста, присылайте необходимые отношения скорее. Свою статью я пришлю скоро. Крепко жму Вам и Петру Григорьевичу руки. Поучительнейший привет Софье Николаевне. Всего доброго.

Преданный Вам Юрий Соколов

### [4] Roman Jakobson to Jurij Sokolov, 01/02/29

Prag, I.II.29.

Дорогой Юрий Матвеевич,

Во-первых, напоминаю Вам Ваше обещание прислать в первой половине февраля статью и информационные заметки для *Рундшау*. Во-вторых, ВОКС сообщили

пражскому Полпредству, что будет приятно участие в международном съезде славистов в Праге. Сообщаю вам здорово, между нами, что Подпред в ответном письме, между прочим, отметил желательность вашего участия з съезде - в числе командированных. В-третьих, крупные германская Издательство выпускает 2-томную Монографию под заглавием Эпические песни гуслея Вучича, грамофоном записанные и исследование Бегингом, Сараном и Геземанном, Якобсоном и Ружичичем, под ред. Геземанна. Геземанн передает вам что соответственно можно будет в том же издательстве опубликован монографию “Эпические песни русского сказителя имярек, записанные грамофоном и обследованние Беконгом, Сараном, Соколовым, Геземанном и Якобсоном, под ред. Соколова”. Подходит ли Вам это?

4. Как только Вы сообщите мне, когда Вам удобнее всего приехать со сказителем, Вам будут посланы приглашения от следующих институций: 1. Славянский семинарий Карлова Университета в Праге, 2. Славянский семинарий немецкого университета в Праге, 3. Славянский институт в Чехословакии, 4. Пражский Лингвистический кружок, 5. Чехословацкое Общество Сближения с СССР, 6. Немецкое Общество Истории и Древностей в Чехословакии. Из Германии Геземанн сообщает соответственно следующие приглашения: от Музыкально-исторического Института, от Эрлангенского Университета, от Германско-югославянского Научного Общества во Франкфурте Паке, и от Джон-Майера. Кроме того, думаю, пришет приглашение Фасмер от своего семинария. Так наз. Нотгемейншафт германских ученых даст вам, рассчитывает Геземанн (и при содействии Геземанна), сверх ассигновки на грамофонные записи Дегена и на кинематографические снимки сказителя, чем уже Геземанн договорился, еще марок 500 на путевые расходы. Этого, конечно, недостаточно, но, как только он мне напишете, кода вы рассчитываете приехать, мы переговорим с профессором Мурко, и я рассчитываю на надлежащую субсидию, для осуществления этой поездки со сказителем, которою и здешние, и германские, и, как я вижу из письма Мазона, Французские научные круги, живо интересуются.

Только сообщите точно, когда думаете приехать - осенью или весной, и если весной, то в каком месяце. Геземанн просил Вам передать, что весной у него будет больше времени для принятия участия в изучении сказителя и т. д., нежели осенью.

В-пятых, Очень прошу Вас найти среди Ваших сотрудников, учеников или просто знакомых подходящего человека, или, в случае надобности, двоих-троих, которые могли бы ежемесячно снабжать *Славские Рундшау* московской культурной хроникой - научно заседания открытия, раскопки, экспедиции, музейные новости, выставки и т.д. Постоянному корреспонденту за сводку для одного номера две-три страницы - 25 герм. марок. По другим городам у нас есть, а для Москвы нет такого корреспондента. Вы получите на днях I-й - двойной номер *Рундшау*, и увидите, какого типа хроника журналу нужна.

В-шестых, при случае спросите, пожалуйста, Ив. Никан. Розанова, почему он не ответил на мое приглашение сотрудничать в журнале. Отметьте, в случае надобности, что отношение Полпредства и т. д. к журналу вполне благожелателю.

Жду ответа и статьи. Сердечный привет Борису Матвеевичу. До скорого, надеюсь, свидания.

Ваш Р. Якобсон

[5] Roman Jakobson to Jurij Sokolov, 09/02/1929

Prag, 9. II. 29.

Юрию Матвеевичу Соколову.  
Москва, Красная площ. 2. Росс. Историч. Музей.

Дорогой Юрий Матвеевич.

Наши письма разошлись. Я очень рад, что дело с Вашей поездкой налаживается.

Мурко Вам уже послал приглашение славянского семинария. В течение будущей недели получит е следующие приглашения славянского семинария Немецкого университета в Праге, от Пражского лингвистического Кружка под председательством проф. Матезиуса, от Немецкого Общества Истории и Древностей Чехословакии, от Чехословацкого Общества Сближения с СССР, от Музыкально-исторического Института при Эрлангенском университете, и прочие германские приглашения, упомянутые мною в предыдущем письме. Но что я считаю особенно важным, это приглашение от президиума съезда чехословацких филологов и историков, который состоится 3 7-го апреля. Было бы очень желательно, и Полпредство это поддержит, чтобы Вы могли выступить на этом съезде со сказителем.

Другая важная вещь: Геземанн добился того, что Деген возьмет все расходы по грамофонной записи сказителя на свой счет. Он ввел новое техническое усовершенствование, и записи теперь совершенно безукоризненны, еще куда лучше, нежели те, которые вы слушали у Геземанна. Итак, Вам придется, во всяком случае, побывать, кроме Франции, в Берлине, где будут записи Дегена, в Эрлангене, где будет работа с Сараном и Бекингом, и в Праге, где Вам предстоит ряд выступлений. Хорошо бы еще включить в поездку Франкфурт на Майне и Братиславу.

Прошу Вас держать меня в курсе дел. Геземанн и я очень просим, в частности в интересах Вашей поездки, чтобы Вы не позднее самого начала марта, прислали обещанную статью для *Рундшау* примерно в 24-30 тысяч печатных знаков, с двумя-тремя фотографиями. Мы бб дадим тогда в очередной номер, место для нее оставлено, будут заблаговременно сделаны оттиски, и это поможет пропаганде вашей поездки. Очень прошу, Вас, Юрий Матвеевич, по возможности поторопиться с этой статьей о судьбах былевого эпоса в современной России, а также ответить мне на все вопросы предыдущего письма. Напишу сегодня также Валентине Александровне.

Искренне уважающий Вас

Р. Якобсон

[6] Roman Jakobson to Jurij Sokolov, 21/02/1929

Prag, 21. II. 29.

Юрию Матвеевичу Соколову.  
Москва, Красная пл.2, Росс. Истор. Музей.

Дорогой Юрий Матвеевич.

Прилагаю новое приглашение. - от Траутмана, на имя Геземанна. Возможно скорее сообщите, в каком положении вопрос о поездке. Сроки. Очень прошу Вас выслать в течение ближайшей недели обещанную статью, чтобы она попала в апрельский номер. Это очень важно. Не забудьте приложить Две-три характерных фотографии. Почему замолчала Розалия Осиповна, и продолжает хранить молчание И. Н. Розанов?

Преданный Вам

Р. Якобсон

**[7] Roman Jakobson to Jurij Sokolov, 02/03/1929**

Prag, 2. III. 29.

Юрию Матвеевичу Соколову.  
Москва, Красная пл., Росс. Истор. Музей.

Дорогой Юрий Матвеевич.

Посылаю Вам для сведения письмо, полученное Геземанном от профессора Геча из Берлина в связи с вопросом о Вашей поездке. Почему мне не отвечаете? Ведь поездку можно как следует готовить, только зная, хотя бы приблизительно, сроки, А главное умоляю, пришлите немедленно статью, хотя бы короткую, страницы четыре, о судьбах былевого эпоса в России в настоящее время. Геземанн из-за статьи задерживает номер, и если Вы почему-либо не можете прислать, телеграфируйте мне. Но это только в самом, самом, самом крайнем случае. Жду с нетерпением статьи, письма, Вас.

Жму руку. Р. Якобсон

**[8] Roman Jakobson to Jurij Sokolov, 22/03/1929**

Prag, 22. III. 29.

Юрию Матвеевичу Соколову.  
Москва, Красная площ.2.  
Российский Исторический Музей.  
Дорогой Юрий Матвеевич.

Как только вопрос с Вашей поездкой окончательно выяснится, телеграфируйте, и я извещу заинтересованные научные институты Германии и Чехословакии. Еще раз очень прошу Вас не задерживать статью. и прислать 66 до I-го апреля. Профессор Геземанн исключительно мил по отношению к Вам. Думаю, что Вам во всех отношениях полезно сохранить с ним дружеские отношения, а он все время напоминает о статье, и мне не хотелось бы оставлять эту его просьбу невыполненной, тем более, что эта статья необходимая предпосылка к тому большому коллективному немецкому труду по былинам, который, как Вам уже писал, мы проектируем под Вашей редакцией И который, как я уверен, будет существенным новым этапом в истории изучения былевого эпоса.

Искренне преданный Вам

Р. Якобсон

[9] Roman Jakobson to Jurij Sokolov, 19/05/1929

19. IV. 29.

Юрию Матвеевичу Соколову.  
Москва, Красная пл.2,  
Российский Исторический Музей.

Дорогой Юрий Матвеевич.

Не могу вам сказать, до чего нас огорчила Ваша телеграмма. Обидно, что с Вами не увидимся, что Вы не приедете, что не суждено состояться поездке, которой был обеспечен громадный и повсемест<ный> успех, и что сорвалась задуманная монография, на которую я возлагал большие надежды. Вы и не представляете себе, какая большая предварительная работа все ми нами была проделана. Неужели невозможно, вместо Якушева, привезти иного сказителя - хотя бы с опозданием, к июню или к октябрьскому съезду славистов. Наконец, если даже это невозможно - а ведь это редкий случай-дать, наконец, подлинно всестороннюю запись былин в их исполнении - то неужели Вы не приедете на съезд славистов. Я думаю, что не следует бросать на ветер всю сделанную подготовительную работу, и при первой возможности необходимо привезти сказителя. Статью мне непременно пришлите, чтобы поддержать интерес. Непременно напишите, по-русски, большое благодарственное письмо Геземанну, а также Мурко. В письме к Геземанну попросите передать Вашу признательность за любезные приглашения профессорам Гечу, и Сарану, Бекингу, Траутману, Пака и Дегену. Отдель но напишите - тоже по-русски профессору Янко, пригласившему Вас со сказителем на состоявшийся в начале апреля съезд чешских профессоров. Можете вложить письмо к Янко в письмо ко х мне, я передам. Постарайтесь, Юрий Матвеевич, наладить поездку, будем страшно рады. Напишите мне, не откладывая.

Баш Р. Якобсон

[10] Jurij Sokolov to Roman Jakobson, 02/06/1929

2 06 1929 Воскресенье.  
Москва. Красная пл.2.  
Гос. Истор. Музей.  
Проф. Юрий Матв. Соколов

Дорогой Роман Осипович!

Валентина Александровна писала мне, в каком находитесь, Вы недоумении не получаете (sic!) меня известий. Но я, как пишу сегодня н Геземанну, не хотел писать Вам и ему до тех пор, пока не выяснится окончательно вопрос о моей поездке. Теперь я могу Вам написать совершенно точно, что мне поездка разрешена вместе со сказителем. Срок отъезда не фиксирован: предполагается, что этот вопрос я должен согласовать с пригласившим меня заграничными научными организациями, т. к. на поездку мне денег не дается ни копейки. Я полагаю, если у Геземанна, у Мурко, у Мазона, у Траутмана идр. пыл не остыл или если они не слишком разобиделись на всю эту долгую канитель, я полагаю, что рациональнее всего было бы ехать мне в сентябре прямо прельщающей монографии о русских былинах. Затем выступить с докладом и со сказителем на съезде. Было бы очень приятно, если бы нашли возможным выступить о былинах же и Геземанн

и Бекинг и Вы /ведь сказитель, которого я везу вместо умершего Якушова тоже незаурядная личность материал для научных вопросов он даст нам большой/. После съезда я оправился бы в турне по Германии, а затем к концу октября или к началу ноября в Париж. Вы, конечно, понимаете, как мне в Валентине Александровне должно было быть тяжело, когда вдруг так хорошо налаживавшаяся поездка моя была отложена. В причинах этого в точно добиться не могу, но предполагаю, что сочтено было неудобным одновременное пребывание мужа и жены за границей. Теперь, по-видимому, мне придется поехать, когда Валя уже вернется в Москву. Срок ее паспорта кончается в июле. Досадно, она мне помогла бы особенно при выступлениях со сказителем в Париже: она теперь ведь так хорошо должна овладеть французским языком. Но что же делать. нет тому же худа без добра: из-за задержки командировки я теперь могу принять участие на столь меня интересующем съезде славистов филологов. Вчера я узнал в Наркомпрсе (**sic!**), что правительство наше к участию советских ученых относится положительно. В частности узнал я, что и мое участие санкционировано. Состав же всей делегации мне неизвестен. Из-за валютных соображений полагаю, она будет весьма малочисленна: человек пять. По всей вероятности я, напр., командировочных денег не получу: т. к. я буду в это время в Праге, мне будет разрешено принимать участие в работе съезда. Поэтому Вы постараетесь рассеять предположения Геземанна или Мурко, если таковые предположения возникнут, что я нуду обеспечен деньгами от Наркомпроса: мне поездка разрешена лишь при том условии, что расходы будут оплачены пригласившими меня научными учреждениями. Если это условие не будет выполнено, то вся моя поездка вновь летит в трубу. А это было бы для меня непереносимо. Я истрепал свои нервы из постоянных этих колебаний и неопределенностей. Теперь я получил заверения, что при соблюдении условия оплаты из-за границы вся моя поездка твердо за мною закреплена. Пожалуйста, как только полу чите это мое письмо, переговорите с Геземанном, Векингем и Мурко и немедленно мне сообщите, когда точно и на каких условиях желательна и возможна моя поездка в Прагу и в Германию. Я сегодня Геземанну написал огромное письмо, конечно, как иностранцу не вполне в той же редакции, как Вам. Единственное объяснение для иностранцев причины моей задержки: смерть Якушова и невозможность быстро подыскать ему постоянного преемника. Как досадую я на то, что поездка не состоялась весною: ведь сейчас в Париже находятся С. Ф. Ольденбург и Н. Я. Марр. Как интересно было бы мне выступать в Париже в их присутствии: как бы они не помогли. Жду от Вали письма, в котором она должна мне описать обед в честь наших академиков и доклад Ольденбурга об изучении сказки в СССР. Ольденбург хотел почести доклад значительном мере теоретического характера. В. А. писала мне что должна была выступать со вступительным словом перед чтением Эренбургом своих новых произведений в Советском Клубе при Полпредстве. Не знаю, как соло у нее это выступление. В Москве недавно, на своей лекции [в] политическом музее со сказителями были видел Ло-Гатто, которого рецензировала у Вас, в *Славии Рундшау* Валя. Он способный, но поверхностный господин. Недавно у Бориса я виделся находящимся сейчас в Москве Олафом Броком. Он занимается сейчас не филологией, а гл. обр. историей, для чего сидит все дни в Центрархиве у М. Н. Покровского. Отрешившись от его несколько или даже весьма узких общественных взглядов, надо признать, что он очень тонкий ученый филолог. Боря, когда был в Скандинавии познакомился с ним у Коллонтай. Вообще Москву иностранные ученые навещают, хотя все еще не так много. Вот очень жаль, что в этом году не состоится предполагавшаяся был поездка группы немецких этнографов и фольклористов, корытах интересовало посещение разных немецких колоний в СССР. Кстати о колониях. На прошлой неделе по моему приглашению приезжал в Москву В. М. Жирмунский вместе с тремя сотрудницами Института и с тории Искусств в Ленинграде. В течение четырех вечеров

ленинградские гости делали Фольклорной Подсекции ГАХН доклады о работе фольклористической своего института. Жирмунский и его ассистентка Э. Г. Иогансон, которая, кажется, в прошлом году, была в Праге, делали доклады о быте и поэтическом творчестве немцев колонистов. Иогансон в частности, делилась своими наблюдениями над бытом и творчеством немцев как в крымских колониях, так и на первоначальной родине их в Чехии в Шенхенсгау. В колониях по наблюдениям Иогансон и Жирмунского сохраняются такие языковые и фольклорные архаизмы, которые давным давно стерлись в метрополии. Для теоретических соображений эти наблюдения весьма интересны. Н. Р. Карнаухова сделала очень живое сообщение об исполнении сказок, о сказочнике, как артисте, предложив нашему вниманию выработанный ею вопросник для собирателей фольклора, обычно не фиксирующих своих наблюдений над артистической стороной выполнения. Н. П. Колпакова делала обзор экспедиционной работы Института, произведшего три экспедиции на север: на Онежское озеро на Пинегу, Мезень. Результаты экспедиций опубликованы в изящно изданных “Академика” двух книгах “Крестьянское искусство”. последнюю экспедицию на север-на Печору. Наконец, Жирмунский и Карнаухова сообщили нам о принципах организаций фольклорных архивов в частности. Ж. остановился на характеристике Лидер-Архива Джона Мейера в Фрейбурге и подробно рассказал о том как организован фольклорный архив Института. Архивом заведует Жирмунский. Я был очень рад, что организованная мною “фольклорная неделя” прошла удачно. А то до сих пор эта группа ленинградских фольклористов стояла несколько в стороне. Мы теснее были связаны со сказочной Комиссией Георг. Общества. Жду тем работа Института очень интересна. Все это я пишу Вам в полном убеждении, что вы покажете мое письмо Петру Григорьевичу. Как он себя чувствует. У его очень часто с любовью вспоминаю, хотя я и остаюсь до сих пор перед ним свињью на семьдесят процентов. Знакомство с его милой женой у меня как то пообозвалось: я нахожу на холостом положении, к себе приглашать стесняюсь, а навещать не удастся из-за того, когда бывает свободное время, тогда обыкновенно не бывает денег: а идти с пустыми руками к тому, кому должен деньги неприятно. Вот вам исповедь русской души. Но все же я в самое ближайшее время постараюсь заглазить свою вину и на вешу Тамару Юреву. Еще об одном моем свинстве. Вы не додумываете, почему я не посылаю статьи своей в *Славские Рундшау*. Я объясняю и в письме своем к Геземанну это тем, что не хотел писать статьи, собственно, заканчивать ее из за неопределенности в отношении моей поездки. А не знал, поеду ли и с кем поеду. Мне хотелось бы устроить так, чтобы статья эта могла послужить и вступлением к вечерам былин. А для этого, нужно было твердо знать, кто именно из сказителей со мной поедет. Я Якушову, а теперь Конашкову отвечу в статье видное место. Статью теперь пришлю без задержки. На съезд мечтает приехать и Борис, но включают ли его в делегацию неизвестно: состав, как я сказал, будет очень органичен. От РАИОН, а предполагается в июне фольклорная экспедиция на Урал/ Пермь-Свердловск/ для собирания заводного фольклора под моим руководством. Я сейчас аспирантов не разочаровываю, помога всячески организации экспедиции, но думаю, что не смогу поехать: устал что очень, а впереди заграничная командировка: все же предстоит еще много всякой беготни препоручении виз для себя и сказителя. Но я думаю, что с визами все устроится довольно быстро, если я покажу приглашения, полученные мною. О многом бы хотелось Вам написать и о многом спросить. Что это мне В. А. писала, что Вы с Петром Григорьевичем составили статью о фольклористике. Где же она появится. Что же статья Петра Григорьевича для Художественного Фольклора. Новую книжку моего журнала я привезу с собой. Да вот еще фольклористическая новость. В ВОКСе, по предложению О. Д. Каменевой организуется, при ближайшем участии моем и Бориса, Этнографическая Секция, задача которой содействовать сближению русских и

заграничных этнографов и фольклористов. Т. о. наша связь с европейской наукой будет еще прочее. Отделение Сек здешней работе и, с другой стороны, шире оповещать в советской прессе о том, что нового в области этнографии и фольклористики делается на западе. Надеюсь, что и Вы и Петр Григорьевич поможете в этой работе. Каковы планы П. Г. насчет переезда в Москв[е.]

Как было бы хорошо, если бы он устроился бы здесь. Как его французская книга о Пр карпатской Руси. Вышла она или все еще маринуется. Ездили ли Вы куда из Праги. Как Софья Николаевна. Горячий ей привет от меня, если она меня не забыла.

Крепко жму Вашу руку. Дружеский привет Петру Григорьевичу.

Ваш Юрий Соколов

Прилагаю, по Вашему совету, письмо на имя проф. Янко, приглашавшего меня со сказителем нас съезд чешских профессоров. Геземанна я прошу поблагодарить за приглашения Геча, Сарана, Бекинга, Траутмана, Пакэ, Дегена. Кроме того, напишу каждому из них, как только получу от Геземанна и от [н]ас сообщения, какие сроки моего приезда казались б бы Вам наиболее подходящими для нашей общей работы и для успеха моей поездки.

#### [11] Jurij Sokolov to Roman Jakobson, 30/09/1929

30. IX 1929

Москва

Дорогой Роман Осипович и Петр Григорьевич!

Получил Вашу немецкую статью о фольклоре. Очень Вам за нее благодарен. Непременно напечатаю на нее ответ в своем журнале. Сейчас пока Вам по содержанию статьи ничего не пишу: еще ее не прочитал да кроме того знаю, что связи с филологическим съездом Ви чрезвычайно сейчас заняты. Вы конечно понимаете, до какой степени я огорчен, что мою поездку со сказителем былин отложили в Комиссии по командировкам до... будущего года. А я так мечтал выступить с докладом о былинах и с демонстрации сказителя на таком многолюдном всемирном съезде специалистов. Насколько я знаю, на съезде русской, т. е. нашей советской делегации не будет. По-видимому, главные причины-валютные, Досадно, что советская филология не будет представлена. А ведь там было бы интересного доложить. Ведь вы знаете, как много по некоторым областям филологических знаний особенно литературоведческих и фольклористических у нас здесь сделано за последние годы. Не будучи уверен, что моя поездка состоится, я не посылал своей статьи-доклада. Но она, надеюсь, все же будет Вам послана. Ужасно обидно, что все так неудачно сложилось. Интересно, будут ли представители украинских и белорусских ученых. Вдруг опять произойдет то, что было с прошлогодним съездом по истории искусств, когда и от УССР и БССР ученые приехали, а от РСФСР не было никого. Сказителю своему я еще не писал об отказе. Он будет до слез расстроен: ему так хотелось похвастать перед другими народами, какие есть у нас былины. Ну что же [де]лать. Буду надеяться на будущий год. Относительно организации Сл[а]вянского Научного Института я не этот раз совершенно не в курсе дела. Мих. Ник. Покровского не видел: он долгое время был болен. Ая хотел говорить с ним но о съезде. Если узнаю что либо новое Вам сообщу. Мне очень неловко перед Геземаном. Такая интересная научная совместная работа сорвалась ил во всяком случае

отложена на неопределенное время. Привет всем тем немецким, чешским и словацким ученым филологам, о которым я познакомился в свою прошлогоднюю поездку. Желаю Вам обоим великих успехов. Привет Софье Николаевне. Валя хочет сама написать. Тороплюсь на лекцию. У меня в этом году лекций очень много. Из Музея я ушел: вышли личные столкновения. А проработал я в нем -15 лет! Но я доволен: у меня теперь будет больше оставаться время для научно/литературных работ. Всего доброго. Искренно Вам преданный.

Юрий Соколов

[12] Jurij Sokolov to Roman Jakobson, 30/09/1929

30 IX 1929

Москва.

Дорогой Роман Осипович.

Я не буду писать Вам о том огорчении, которое мне принесла необходимость вернуться в Москву раньше предположенного срока, раньше свидания с Вами. Что поделаешь. Надеюсь, что в будущем году валютное положение будет более благоприятным, и мне не удастся опять съездить на два-три месяца. Я так мечтала провести лето, каникулы где-нибудь на берегах, дописывая свою книгу. Хотелось мне со многим поговорить с Вами. Как Ваш журнал. Так и не удалось мне написать условленный обзор: то пришлось заняться отъездом, а по приезде в Москву я оказалась без нужных книг только теперь стала их получать понемножку отдельными почтовыми пакетами. Теперь не знаю, как быть. Стоит ли писать обзор. Говоря откровенно, меня привлекла бы больше какая-нибудь другая тема, напр., о русском литературоведении. За последнее время я очень внимательно стала полемическая “техника” совершенно неприемлема, но, если глядеть в корень, это, несомненно, самый интересный из марксистов-литературоведов, единственный, собственно говоря, кто воспринимает, или, по крайней мере, хочет воспринимать, произведение органически, для которого вопросы божественной конструкции лежат в центре литературоведческого интереса, а составляют лишь материал для общепринятой концовки: “Теперь скажем несколько слов о форме”. Во всяком случае, Переверзев во сто крат интереснее, чем соглашать Эйхенбаум, даже с точки зрения “формалистической”. Только он делает ошибку, не давая до сих пор достаточно четкой формулировки своих теоретических взглядов, сразу бросаясь в плавь. Так вот, если тема о русском литературоведении или, точнее, литературоведческой методологии, Вас заинтересует, я с большим удовольствием пришлю Вам статью. На той неделе в ГАХН состоится заседание, посвященное последней книге Сакулина по русской литературе. Заседание будет, по-видимому, интересным. Если Вам нужно, я пришлю маленькую корреспонденцию по этому поводу. Положение ГАХН сейчас несколько неопределенное. Ее лишили помещения, перевели в Музей Игрушки о злая обмолвка судьбы! Но внутренние условия стали у нас в западно-европ. отдела значительно интересней, в связи со сменой председателя.

Вчера я была у Сакулина. Он окрылен новыми проектами. Вы знаете, что он будет стоять во главе Пушкинского Дома. Он мечтает о полной реорганизации Дома, об оживлении в нем исследовательской работы.

Свою книгу о Франсе я кончаю через месяц. По-видимому, ее удастся выпустить в ближайшее же время. Кроме того, мне заказали книгу очерков о Париже. Ноя пока написала еще очень мало. Вообще же, в этом году собираюсь перейти на беллетристику.

О наших литературных делах Вы, должно быть, знаете. Полонский сейчас окончательно вытеснен из “Печати и Революции”, Большие перемены в Союзе Писателей и в Федерации. Группа “Перевал” собирается издавать литературно-художественный журнал, и по-видимому, ей это разрешат.

Пишите, пожалуйста, дорогой Роман Осипович. Интересно, как пройдет у вас съезд. Каковы дела Вашего журнала. Каковы собственные Ваши дела. Скоро ли выходят книжки.

Привет Софе Николаевне и Петру Григорьевичу.

Любящая Вам

В. Дынник

### [13] Jurij Sokolov to Roman Jakobson, 01/10/1929

Дорогие друзья,

Письма сознательно не отправил Вам написанного письма, т. к. узнал некоторые новости в связи со съездом. Оказывается, советская делегация на съезде будет и состав ее определен. К великому сожалению, изумлению и досаде, моего имени в ней не значится. Огорчен я не только по соображениям и мотивам личного порядка/ мне так было бы интересно принят участие в обсуждении меня живо затрагивающих вопросов/, но гл. обр. с точки зрения интересов фольклористики: в делегации не будет ни одного представителя этой отрасли, а ей, судя по присланным проспекта, уделяется весьма видное место. Я удивлен и потому моим исключением, как мне известное пражское полпредство называло мое имя как желательного кандидата. Жаль, что не придется перед собранием специалистов высказаться поподробнее о той громадной работе, которая проделана фольклористами СССР как по собранию, так и по раз работке фольклорных материалов. Но что же делать! Рад я, до крайней меры тому, что поедет Павел Никитич. Ведь надо отдать ему справедливость / как бы не относиться к его теоретическим построениям / он почти единственный сейчас у нас литературовед, прекрасно ориентированный во всех областях русского литературоведения. Он может дать яркую характеристику литературоведческих достижений, исканий и опор, существующих в Союзе. Завидую Вам; Вы, наверное, будете принимать самое деятельно участие на Съезде. Но почему нет в присланных проспектах указаний на Ваши до коды. Почему бы Вам не прочитать тезисы своей немецкой статьи разграничении фольклористики и литературоведения. Надеюсь, что Вы впоследствии поделитесь со мною, а также и со всеми русскими фольклористами на страницах *Художественного Фольклора* о работах съезда по этим вопросам. Крепко, жду Вами дружеские руки.

Всего Вам доброго!

Ю. С.

#### [14] Jurij Sokolov to Roman Jakobson 12/10/1929

Дорогие Петр Григорович и Роман Осипович!

Никак не могу спокойно думать о том, что мне удалось приехать на филологический съезд. С нетерпением буду ожидать возвращения Павла Никитича и его рассказа о наиболее интересных докладах по занимающим меня вопросам фольклористики и литературоведения. Ужасно досадно, что в нашу советскую делегацию не был включен ни один специалист по фольклору. Надеюсь, что Вы позаботитесь, чтобы мне можно было бы получить бюллетени и протоколы заседаний. А Вас обоих прошу дать для *Худ. Фольклора* статьи-обзоры о работах съезда по фольклористике. Досадно, что не пришлось привезти и сказителя с собою. Но я все же не отчаиваюсь и глубоко уверен, что еще удастся выполнить прекрасно задуманное дело по коллективному изучению былины представителями нескольких специальностей. Проф. Геземан своею статьею в только что полученном мною номере *Славские Рундшау* еще более растрогал мне сердце, убедительно доказывая в необходимость перехода в наших научных областях на коллективную работу. Прочитал я, Роман Осипович, с большим интересом и Вашу статью о современной славистике. С многими мыслями Вашими нельзя не согласиться полностью. Напр., Вы современно правильно отмечаете, что славистика у нас сейчас несправедливо загоняется, что в отношении ее существуют предубеждения, правда обусловленные определенными чертами славистики в русской прошлом; Вы совершенно верно отмечаете, что русская славистика осталась совершенно в стороне от тех знаменательных крупнейших сдвигов теоретического и методологического порядка, которыми характеризуется наши русские языковедение и литературоведение. В этом обстоятельстве, надо думать, заключается также одна из существенных причин общественного невнимания к ней в настоящее время. Правда же, какой интерес к современному студенту, ищущем твердых методологических путей и вполне оправданных целей, вместо живого изучения современных явлений в славянстве почти исключительно погружается в глубины общеславянской эпохи и старославянского языка, причем в полном отрыв от принципиальных вопросов, которые в соседних науках составляют основу исследовательского пафоса. Но я с Вами не могу согласиться в характеристике прошлого в русской славистике. Если сейчас нет школы, то своя русская славистическая школа была-школа Ламанского, игравшая в свое время крупную роль, как бы мы ее ни расценивали с точек зрения нам современный научной идеей. Не могу также согласиться с Вами о вопросе о характерных будто бы издавна тенденций в русской науке – телеологичности и “структурализме”. Мне представляется, что Вы довольно произвольно под эти две формы научного мышления подводите слишком разнородные явления из истории русского знания и произвольно замалчиваете прямо противоположные тенденции. Особенно меня растрогало Ваше, психологически вполне понятное, стремление подвести под формализм чуть ли не национально- или культурно-психологическую базу. Здесь, Вы на меня не сердитесь, сказала Ваша страстность в обороне своих научных позиций. Но темпераментность нередко мешает объективности. Ваши же очень интересные рассуждения о различии евразийского научного подхода к материалу от западноевропейского все же оставляют меня в убеждении, что наша задача сейчас не в выискивании самобытных достоинств своих, а в установлении больших научных связей с западноевропейской наукой, еще недостаточно прочных. Я полагаю, что выделение специфических черт в научном мышлении того или другого народа или групп народов -дело еще очень далекого будущего. Стоит ли в настоящее время оперировать тем понятием, которое еще по моему, не мой взгляд, различием опыта в области фольклористики к западно-европейскому материалу обогатит

интернациональную разных стран во одной и тоже специальности. Материал варьирует научных опыт, но принципы и методы работы должны быть и есть интернациональный. Я, напр., желал бы, чтобы в русской фольклористике скорее бы и как можно полнее развернулись работы по истории лирических песен в духе работ Джона, Мейера, Мюллера, Ферле, Наумана и др. Как Вам известно в отношении фольклора немцев колонистов с успехом этот метод приминается Жирмунским и Вашим товарищем-другом Дингесом. А наша “русская фольклористическая школа” с ее учением Вами ревизуемым об элементах “индивидуального творчества” в фольклоре по моему глубокому даст очень крупные результаты в совсем применений к западноевропейскому материалу. Неужели Вы это будете отрицал, дорогие славянофилы?

Теперь по поводу Вашей статьи о фольклоре, как особой форме творчества.

Я в понедельник 7-го сделал у себя в Фольклорной Подсекции сообщение о ней. Сначала прочитать Вашу статью, чтобы не допустить неточной передачи Ваших мыслей, а затем позволил свое высказаться по всем пунктам. И должен Вам сообщить хотя Вы это итак знаете/- я с Вами почти ни в чем не согласен. Подробно свои сооружения я изложу в ближайшей же книжке “Художественного Фольклора”. Пока же ограничусь двумя-тремя строчками мне прежде всего кажется, что Вы слишком много стараетесь натянуть фольклористику на колодку лингвистики, в Соссюровском ее понимании. Проводить аналогию между, напр. фольклорными схемами и “ланг” о одной стороны вариантами и “пароль” с другой – я считаю совершенно невозможным: эти аналогии очень внешние. Главное же, на что я напирваю: устанавливаемые Вами отличия фольклора от литературы или мнимы или носят не качественный и принципиальный, а количественный характер. Мне пришлось частично повторить то, что я несколько лет тому назад высказывал в полемике со Шпетом. Ваши же удары против изучения “индивидуальных моментов” в фольклорном творчестве и в плотности выведение этой проблемы из навыка в мышлении “младограмматиков” уже по одному тому не могу считать верными, что этот интерес к индивидуальности сказителя, сказочника явились в умах не лингвистов в роде Всеволода Миллера, а этнографов наблюдателей Гильгердинга, впоследствии и недостатков выводить из лингвистики терпит в этом случае совершенно очевидную неудачу. Но не генезисе фольклористических проблем дело, а в их существовании конечно. Но мне представляется – не так ищите Вы спецификум фольклора в отличие его от литературы. Спецификум в более синкретической природе его сравнении с литературой. Но я тут же буду настаивать, что это отличие все же в конце концов относительно основные методы изучения и фольклора и литературы должны быть одними и теми же, отличаясь преимущественно в технике их применения, а не по существу. Я сейчас говорю без аргументации, но приходится отложить до напечатания моей статьи. Я надеюсь, - Вы не будете иметь ничего против, если а или приведу очень большие выдержки из Вашей статьи в своей или же перепечатаю Вашу полностью, чтобы яснее была Ваша точка зрения.

В прениях по моему докладу, собственно, это было сделано в виде введения в беседу/приняли участие Борис Матвеевич, Борис Исаакович, Розалия Осипова и Смирнов Кутаческий. видите – т. ск. фольклористический актив сред его поколения. Выступали также некоторые из молодежи. Борис Исаакович еще более решительно, чем я возражал Вам. Да и вообще сторонников Вы себе не нашли, за исключением одного моих учеников, старавшегося определить отличие фольклора от литературы в том, что фольклорное произведение может нести в себе одновременно следы творчества разных эпох и разных социальных групп. Но это, как Вы замечаете, нечто другое, чем то, на что

упираете Вы. Через понедельник мы продолжим разгоревшиеся споры. Вам должно быть приятно, что статья Ваша задела за живое, хотя и не встретила сочувствия со стороны большинства наших московских фольклористов. Интересно, как на съезде прошла беседа на тему о "фольклоре и литературоведении" со вступительным словом проф. Геземанна. Интересно было бы узнать его тезисы. Вы, конечно, принимали участие в дискуссии. Опять разбередил рану. Зимой эту мы собираемся устроить специально фольклористическую беседу с Вами. Всего доброго. Непременно напишите мне подробное письмо о съезде. Геземанну передайте от меня глубоки поклон. Также проф. Мурке и Поливке. Горячий привет шлет Вам Валентина Александровна. Передайте от нас обоих самое дружеское приветствие Софе Николаевне.

Преданный Вам

Юрий Соколов

12/X 1929 г.

**[15] Roman Jakobson to Jurij Sokolov, 24/10/1929**

24. X. 29.

Юрию Матвеевичу Соколову  
Москва.

Дорогой Юрий Матвеевич.

Мы не меньше Вашего жалею о том, что не пришлось встретиться с Вами на съезде филологов. Все же надеюсь, приедете и привезет б хорошего сказителя. Наша монография о сербском гусларе подвигается. Она будет заключать запись всего эпического и лирического репертуара гуслара, при чем текст двух эпических песен - в общей сложности, около полутора тысяч стихов будет в двух записях: одна простая, со слов, другая - текст по грамофонной записи в Воле. Одна из этих песен будет еще в третьей записи, сделанной месяц спустя после первой. К этим двум песням будет нотная передача обеих, сделанная по грамофонным записям известным музыковедом, проф. Бокинггом, Далее будем микроскопическое воспроизведение части грамофонной записи; Фотографии гуслара во время исполнения; статьи Геземанна о репертуаре гуслара, о его исполнении, о мимике при исполнении, подробная характеристика и биография гуслара, сличение вариантов; статья сербского лингвиста Ружичича о говоре гуслара и о языке его песен; статья Бекинга о мелодии С песен, Сарана о ритмике и моя - Фонологическая характери стика стиха эпических песен гуслара". Геземанн ведет переговоры оби аналогичных работах по украинскому, болгарскому и м.-б., албанскому эпосу. Как хорошо было бы, если бы задуманная работа этого типа по былинам осуществилась. Ведь самое главное, что вся техническая и финансовая сторона дела урегулирована.

На съезде было много интересного. О работе литературной секции Вам расскажет Павел Никитич, с которым мы были душевно рады здесь встретиться. О фольклорных вопросах на съезде Вам напишет Богатырев. Краткую характеристику работы лингвистической секции я публикую в одном здешнем журнале и на днях пришлю Вам. На днях получите и мою только что вышедшую книгу по истории русского языка и мою печатающуюся книжку о древнейших чешских песнях и книгу Богатырева о карпато-русских

верованиях. Вы не пишете, получили ли Вы оттиск Моей статьи о стих с былины о Вавиле.

Очень Вам признателен за Ваши четкие замечания по поводу нашей статьи и фольклоре. Что ж, дискуссия, так дискуссия. Будем очень рады принять в ней участие. Здесь у нас уже ряд сторонников и ряд противников. Только об очном Вас очень просим: напечатайте в *Художественном Фольклоре* статью целиком. но не по тому экземпляру русского текста, который мы послали Валентине Александровне, а по другому, который мы Вам на днях пошлем. Дело в том, что текст, который у Вас, был просто канвой для перевода на немецкий язык. Он стилистически весьма несовершенен.

Очень, очень, очень прошу Вас: пришлите поскорее обещанную статью для *Рундшау*: это со всех точек зрения необходимо.

Жду Вашего ответа. Сердечный привет Валентине Александровне, которой на днях напишу подробное письмо. Надеюсь, до скорого свидания.

Ваш Р. Якобсон

[16] Jurij Sokolov to Roman Jakobson, 09/11/1929

9 11 1929 г.

Дорогой Роман Осипович!

Спешу ответить на ваше последнее, сегодня мою полученное письмо от 2-го марта. Я думал, что сегодня смогу в точности написать Вам состоится ли и когда именно моя поездка. К сожалению, вопрос немного осложнился тем, что Комиссия по заграничным командировкам не решилась сама сделать определенного постановления и передала все дело на рассмотрение коллегии Наркомпроса, следовательно, окончательное решение откладывается опять на несколько дней. Между тем, конечно, надо торопиться: ведь нужно отправить сотрудника за границу на север, нужно вести всю работу с пасторами и с визами, не все это необходимо время. Ведь бессмысленно ехать по окончании учебного года. Я надеюсь, что вопрос разрешится для меня благоприятно, т. к. я предварительно встретил сочувственное отношение к своей поездке со стороны Луначарского Главнауки. Затруднение в денежной стороне дела: хотя я и имею сообщения, что некоторые заграничные научные учреждения и общества готовы принять на свои расходы по моему переезду и проживанию вместе со мной, но нельзя же ехать совершенно без своих денег и целиком находиться в материальной зависимости от иностранных научных организаций. Между тем деньги по командировкам уже почти все распределены согласно определенным инструкциям, вот почему вопрос приходится переносить в высшую, в сравнении с Комиссией инстанцию. Как только я получу тот или другой, но определенный ответ, я немедленно сообщу Вам. Я очень тронут хлопотами и заботами проф. Геземанна. Передайте, пожалуйста, ему мой сердечный привет и искреннюю признательность. Если бы моя поездка осуществилась, мы бы сообща сумели бы сделать больше в научном отношении дело. Совместно с выдающимися специалистами (*sic!*) изучить былевое творчество всестороннее и глубоко-заманчивая и вдохновляющая задача.

Что касается моей статьи для *Славяне Рундшау*, то я, к сожалению, не успел ее приготовить в назначенные Вами сроки/был болен и был страшно завален служебной

работой/. Все же на самых ближайших днях ее Вам высылаю. Если она уже опоздает к ближайшему номеру журнала, то, м. б. редакция найдет целесообразным сделать предварительно ее отдельные оттиски, с тем чтобы включить статью в следующую 3-ю книжку. Мне бы хотелось статью дать в виде итогов всех трех лет нашей работы. Статья послужила бы мне подспорьем для докладов и вступительных слов к концертам сказителя. М. б., брошюрка была бы наиболее подходящей формой в этом отношении. Статья почти готова.

Винокур мне на днях рассказывал, с каким он удовольствием жил и работал у Вас. Спасибо Вам и Петру Григорьевичу за те дружеские чувства, которые Вы сохранили ко мне и к Валентине Александровне. Она молодец: не поддается скуке и работает во все над рукобитиями Франса.

Привет Софье Николаевне.

Преданный Вам Юрий Соколов

#### **A.4.5 Rosalija Šor**

##### **[1] Rosalija Šor to Roman Jakobson, 16/10/1928**

Глубокоуважаемый Роман Осипович!

Не примите за навязчивость мое к Вам обращение. Дело в том, что Борис Исаакович и только что вернувшийся из-за границы Юрий Матвеевич уверяют меня, что Вами было направлено мне любезное приглашение принять участие в редактируемом Вами журнале по славистике. В виду того, что подобное участие представляет для меня большой интерес, беру на себя смелость (хотя Ваше письмо до меня не дошло) обратиться к Вам с просьбой – не отказать мне в любезном сообщении, действительно ли желательно для Вас мое сотрудничество в названном журнале и в какой форме обзоры новых работ по лингвистике за несколько лет, рецензии на вновь выходящие книги, самостоятельные исследования) оно представляется наиболее целесообразным. Еще раз простите мою навязчивость, но виной в ней – наши «взаимные друзья» и их указания.

Примите уверения в моем глубоком уважении

Р. Шор

«16» октября 1928 г.

г. Москва.

ул. Герцена, д. 24, кв. 30

[2] Rosalija Šor to Roman Jakobson, 24/11/1928

Глубокоуважаемый Роман Осипович!

На Ваше любезное письмо спешу Вас уведомить, что рецензии на Шпильрейна и Булаховского будут мною высланы Вам в самом непродолжительном времени. Что кажется работы Петерсона *Введение в языковедение*, то она еще не вышла вся, рецензировать же ее по частям представляется нецелесообразным.

В дальнейшем, следуя Вашими указаниям, буду давать рецензии о всех новых публикациях. Относительно же старых очень прошу Вас сообщить, рецензировались ли уже в Вашем журнале книги: Пешковского *Русский синтаксис в научном освещении* (новое издание), Селищева *Русский язык революционной эпохи*, Презент *Происхождение речи* и последняя (3-я) книга *Русская речь*, изд. Шербы.

Если они не рецензировались, то я просила бы предоставить мне право рецензий.

Еще раз позвольте Вас поблагодарить. Жду Ваших указаний относительно обзоров.

Искренне уважающая Вас

Р. Шор

Москва

ул. Герцена 24, кв. 30.

«14» ноября 1938 г.

[3] Rosalija Šor to Roman Jakobson, 11/12/1928

12/XII/1928

Глубокоуважаемый Роман Осипович!

Посылаю Вам рецензии на Шпильрейна и *Русскую Речь* III; книгу Булаховского я заказала в Укриздате, пак только по лугу, пришло рецензию. В дальнейшем обещаю следить за новиками.

Очень прошу Вас прислать мне N журнала, где будут мои рецензии, авторский же гонорар прошу непосредственно переводить книготорговые Markert und Petters, Leipzig, Seeburg str. 53, с послабей занести на мой счет.

Всего хорошего.

Уважающая Вас

Р. Шор.

[4] Rosalija Šor to Roman Jakobson, 14/11/1929

Баку 14/11/29 ого

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович!

Простите, что задержалась с ответом, - переезд в Баку, куда меня пригласили про честь о курс по общему языковедению, занял у меня много времени. Рецензию на Андреева вам шлю в ближайшее времени, хотя по-моему эта брошюра ее не заслуживает. Кроме того пришлю рецензию на Волошинова *Марксизм и философия языка*, Поливанова *Введение в языковедение [для востоковедов]* и Марра *Учение о языке в мировом масштабе*. Очень прошу Вас выслать мне книжку журнала с моими рецензиями. Как обстоит дело с гонораром? Пожалуйста, не забудьте моя просьба. Адресуйте по старому в Москву – мне все перешлют сюда.

Уважающая Вас

Р. Шор.

[5] Rosalija Šor to Roman Jakobson, 29/12/1929

Глубокоуважаемый Роман Осипович!

Посылаю Вам отчет о выставке, с которым предоставлю Вам полное право делать все, что угодно: т.к. мне пришлось говорить довольно много и о своей работе, то очень прошу вас поместить его без всяких инициалов. Заснять карты алфавитов не удалось они сделаны очень блеклыми красами, и на снимке выходит одно серое платно. То, что вышло более удачно, вышло по получении отпечатков. Посылаю Вам маленький руководитель по 3-му отделу выставки. Думаю, что Вы из него могли-бы взять таблицу унифицированного ново-тюркского алфавита, а м.б. и портреты деятелей реформы.

Журнал Ваш получаю аккуратно, но трудов кружка по сих пор не получила. В середине января кончаю свой курс в университете, и тогда немного освобожусь и примись за давно обещанный обзор. Простите столь большое опоздание.

Всего доброго.

Уважающая Вас

Р. Шор

Москва.

Ул. Герцена 24, кв. 30.

«29» декабря 1929 г.

#### A.4.6 Alfred Bem

##### [1] Alfred Bem to Roman Jakobson, [no date]

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

пошлю вам обещанную для *Славские Рундшау* рецензию. Очень прошу, если она окажется для журнала слишком обстоятельной, мне ее вернуть. Вы мне обещали возвратить рецензию мою на книгу Пиксанова, задержавшуюся у Вас. Я ее еще могу напечатать в *Славии*, хотя она уж очень долго залежалась в ред. *Рундшау*. Спасибо за присылку гонорара.

Я возвращаюсь в Прагу к 1-му сентября, так что сюда мне посылать уже не стоит.

Всего доброго, искренне преданный Вам.

АльБем

Думаете ли Вы отозваться на статью-ответ мне-Ходасевича? Может быть следовало бы ответить возникшую полемику в связи с Вашей работой о Маяковском в *Прагер Прессе*?

АБ.

##### [2] Alfred Bem to Roman Jakobson, 12/05/1930

12 мая 1930.

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

я просил Вас как-то выяснить вопрос о причине, по которой мне прекращена высылка *Сл. Рундш.* / начиная с 3-го пп № за этот год /. Гектор мне сказал по телефону, что это связано с решением редакции прекратить эмигрантскую хронику, которую я вел. Так ли это? Меня бы следовало, по крайней мере, об этом поставить в известность.

Как обстоит дело с отгисками статьи д-ра Осипова, о которых ха просил Редакциюю? Никакого ответа до сих пор я тоже не получил.

Вы мне в последнее свидание с Вами обещали переслать несколько книг о Чехов. Если можно, перешлите или ставьте на мое имя в Слав. Семинарии.

У меня к Вам личная просьба. Я все не могу найти переводчика для совей книги о Достоевском на немецкий язык. Вот в связи с этим, после разговора о Чижевским, у меня явилась мысль-не взялся ли бы Ваш брат за эту работу? Мне кажется, что он с такой работой вполне бы справился. Как Вы смотрите на это? Если Вы посоветуете мне, то я ему об этом напишу и узнаю его условия. Работу надо закончить к сент., чтобы книга успела выйти к нач. будущего года. Всего листов 12 печатных. Сообщите мне, пожалуйста, Ваше мнение и адрес Вашего брата / Имя отчество? / Буду вам очень признателен.

Только на днях узнал, что Вам не удалось поехать на Съезд в Белград. Как это глупо!

Каковы Ваши планы на лето? Напишите, пожалуйста, когда возвращается проф. Геземанн в Прагу и как долго еще здесь пробудет?

Искренний привет Вашей жене.

Преданный Вам АлБем

**[3] Alfred Bem to Roman Jakobson, 22/05/1930**

Прага, 22 мая 1930.

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

не ответил сейчас же на Вашу просьбу, так как хотелось навести справку о книжке Маяковского. Я помню, что ею пользовался, но не был уверен, что в библиотеке “Земпора”. Книжка *13 лет работы Маяковского*, т. 1 имеется в этой библиотеке, я даже хотел было ее просто сегодня взять для Вас, но она оказалась занятой. Ея шифр: 3.4.26 н 4.10.44. Если будете спрашивать, то скажите, что я просил для Вас отложить, т.к. мне обещали книжку задержать, если она вернется, и Вам могут не выдать.

Что касается Гумилева, то мне помнится, что кое-что интересное печатал о нем Клементьев в газ. *За Свободу*. Фактического материал о последних годах его жизни я нигде не встречал. Кажется в свое время в Берлине опубликовал небольшую книжечку Алекс. Толстой. Есть, кажется, у Амфитеатрова в его книжке *Горестные заметы* или в этом роде. Георг. Иванов печатал в “Посл. Нов.” свои воспоминания, но ха не помню, чтоб там было о последних днях Гумилева. Журнал “Октябрь” не знаю где можно найти. Нет ли случайно в “Русском Архиве”? Спросите по телефону у С. П. Постникова. Очень меня интересует Ваша статья о Маяковском..... Жаль будет, если мне прекратят выслать *Слав. Рундшау*. Выписывать я лишен возможности, а до библиотечного экземпляра не всегда доберешься. В Слав. Сем. все еще как новинка лежит кн. 2-я!

Почему Вы мне не ответили ничего на вопрос о переводе моей книги Вашими братом. По забывчивости, или Вы его запросили? Пожалуйста, не забудьте черкнуть мне, что Вы думаете по этому поводу?

Искренно преданный Вам. АлБем

**[4] Alfred Bem to Roman Jakobson, 12/10/1930**

12 окт. 1930.

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

посылаю Вам для *Сл. Рундшау* статейку о Съезде Русский Ученых в Софии. Я старался держаться в рамках обычного научено отчета. Мне бы не хотелось, чтобы в и так скупом отчет были сделаны еще сокращения, но если в интересах журнала это необходимо, то не буду возражать. Желательно, чтобы отчет попал в ближайшую книжку. Буду Вам благодарен, если Вы попросите мне выслать недостающая у меня к комплекту книжки: № 3 и после № 6 за 1930 г. Если и Вас есть что-либо интересное по литературе для рецензирования, пришлите мне.

Искренне Ваш АлБем

#### A.4.7 Petr Savickij

##### [1] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 24/06/1928

24 VI 1928

Глубокоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

Только что вернулся из Берлина и нашел у себя на столе Ваше письмо 0716VI. Прилагаю открытку с моим согласием на сотрудничество в „Slavische Rundschau“. Статью к августу подготовлю. Ввиду того, что приходится только рассчитывать время, пожалуйста сообщите, в каких именно числах августа бы было Вам удобно получить эту статью (подразумеваю, что доставлю Вам русскую рукопись). В порядке чаемого нашего обмена изданиями, посылаю Вам только что появившийся географический мой обзор. Обзор для поведу, конечно, в менее --- чертах (чтобы охватить большее количество названий). Сообщите пожалуйста, издания каких именно лет желательно охватить (только 1928 г.? 1927-28? или шире?). – Давайте увидимся, как мы в том условливались в марте. Предлагаю субботу, 30<sup>го</sup> VI, 5 час. дня ресторан <...> (II класс – там же, где и прошлый раз). К этому сроку принесу список нужных мне евразийских изданий. Срок этот пожалуйста подтвердите.

Уважающий Вас П Савицкий

##### [2] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 07/07/1928

7 VII 1928

Глубокоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

извините, что пишу карандашом. Как раз истощилось чернило самопишущем перо, я же не хочу откладывать на дальнейшее ответ на открытку Вашу от 26 VI. Ваше указание о стоке принял к сведению. Общему пафосу развития рус. географической науки в последние годы посвящу достаточное внимание. Решаю охватить работы 1927 и 1928 г. – коснусь также и некоторых украинских (т. е. появившихся на украинском языке) и белорусских (там печатают по русски). Европейские работы пока оставлю в стороне (включу их в следующий обзор). Список нужных мне книг за сим следует – Лучший (число научный) обзор евразийской работы мог бы дать кн. Дм. Петр. Святополк-Мирский (и при том по широте своей эрудиции – по всем отраслям). Адрес его: 17, Flower str., London W. СТ. К сожалению, он вскоре в Америку (на несколько месяцев) и м. д. не успеет справиться с этим обзором. – Он – как раз близко к евразийцам – и не боговой евразиец.

Другое лицо, которое удовлетворяет требованиям – это – Василий Петрович Никитин (иранист, лингвист и историк, обозревает географию и философию). Адрес: 5, rue Francois Gérard, Paris, Anteuil. Вас. Петр., полагаю, согласится во всяком случае. Если будете писать тому или другому, если пожелаете, сошлитесь на меня.

Буду ожидать Вашего письма. Буду без весьма интересно ознакомиться с работой прог. Бороздина (знаю его статьи на „татарские“ темы в „Новом Востоке“)

Жду Вашу руку.

Искренне уважаемый Вас.

П Савицкий

**[3] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 13/08/1928**

13 VIII 1928

Глубокоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

Пушу Вам из Христиании – Осло, куда приехал на международный съезд историков. Съезд этот открывается завтра. Поездка в Христианию явилась тем обстоятельством которое оторвало меня от работы над старьем обещаемой много Вам. Статью эту хочу озаглавить „Русская география за последние годы“. Очерк первый-большую, в этом отношении, работу я уже пробелам – в виде просмотра до 200 книг и статей, сюда относящаяся (1921-28). Однако же, не пугайтесь: это количество названий не означает, что я превзойду указание мне придали. Не все, конечно, буду цитировать, особенности – из долее раннего. Вы будете вольные также видоизменить и заправить очерка. Прибывшийся срок съезда историков лишил меня буквально тех 2-3 дне, которые нужны были для самого процесса писания. Таким образом, буду готов только к 1 IX (но к <sup>му</sup> IX надеюсь быть готовым действительно), очень хотелось был, чтобы статья это все же поспела к первооктябрьскому номеру. Если переводчиком, могу рекомендовать быструю и удовлетворительную переводчику.

Пожалуйста ответьте мне по моему пражскому адресу. Жду Вашу руку.

Искренние уважаемый Вас

П Савицкий

**[4] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 20/08/1928**

20 VIII 1928

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович

13 VIII я писал Вам из Осло письмо, а то, что не успел закончить до отъезда на здешний международный конгресс историков статьи обещанной много Вам для первооктябрьского номера „Slavische Rundschau“, но что я закончу эту статью к 1 IX. Я писал также, что для меня было бы очень желательно, чтобы статья это всё же попала в первооктябрьский номер и на случай надобности, предлагал свои услуги для организации скоро перевода. – Теперь меня берет сомнение, получите ли Вы это письмо: по-видимому, Я накроит на него несколько меньше норок чем следовало. Поэтому и ищу Вам вновь. 27<sup>ого</sup> я надеюсь быть в Праге. Пожалуйста ответьте мне по поему обычном адресу. – Конгресс была очень интересен. Не заинтересовала для Вас (в качестве материала для „Slavische Rundschau“) моя заметка о том славянский ученых на здешнем конгрессе? Впрочем, нужно заметку могут дать шуста при кивал, кот. здесь были. Я не мог был специально взять на себя обозрение русских проблем, поставленных на этом конгрессе. Жду Вашему руку.

Баш ПНС

[5] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 08/09/1928

8 IX 1928

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

Получил Вашу открытку от 7 IX. Со своей стороны, именно о нем с Вами поговорить. Буду рад познакомиться с Вашими друзьями. Нужный комитет книг (для Бороздина) надеюсь принести с собою. Итак встретимся в среду, 12<sup>то</sup> в 3 час. дня в ресторане „Куланово“.

Преданный Вам

П Савицкий

[6] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 20/10/1928

20 X 1928

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович.

настоящий момент нахожусь буквально на отлете: уезжало в Париж завтра, в воскресенье. Рассчитываю (**sic!**) вернуться не позже конца ноября. П. адр. перевод с переводчиком физический лишен возможности. Лучше всего, пришлите мне перевод (когда он будет готов) в Париж (P. Savitzky, III gauche, 2 avenue Jeanne d'Arch, Meudon pres Paris, S. a. O., France). Я его немедленно же верну с моим замечаниями и полировки, окончательный лоск на контроле может навести тот же переводчик. На внесение того изменения, о котором Вы пишете, я согласен. – Согласен тоже дать рецензию на сборник Семенова. Если рецензия эта, разе чаянья нужна Вам еще в ноябре, то книгу направьте ко парижскому адресу; если же дело не так спешно, то направьте ее на <...> и пожалуйста напишите, к какому именно сроку нужна эта рецензия. Сердечно благодарю за сообщение адреса Валентины Александрович, непременно с нею и с 10 м-чем повидалось в Париже.

Искренно уважающий

П Савицкий

[7] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 01/12/1938

Дорогой Роман Осипович,

С позавчерашнего дня – я – в Праге.

Давайте увидимся среду 5<sup>то</sup> в 3 час дня в ресторане I-II на Дипьсонова вокзала. Туда же принесите пожалуйста книгу о Семенове Тянь-шанком и перевод первой части моей статьи. Если ничего не буду от Вас иметь, буду считать, что час место для Вас удобный. Жду вам руку. Привет П. Т-чу. Н. Кор

П Савицкий

**[8] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 13/12/1928**

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

Вне, вероятно, уже знаете от редактора Гектера, почему я не был у Вас в субботу: телеграмма вчера доставлена мне в искаженном (до непонятности) виде. Перевод уже <...> мной (вместе с г. Гектером) в помещении „Prager Presse“ между чем, я изготовил уже для „Slavische Rundschau“ и рецензию на книгу о П. П. Семенова. Хочу передать ее Вам, а также готовить на некоторые темы связанные с „Slavische Rundschau“, по которым у меня давились новые мысли с этой увиваю зайду к Вам завтра в встречу, 14<sup>ого</sup> XII в 2½ час дня (половина третьего) надеюсь, что застану Вас дома.

Уважающий Вас

П Савицкий

**[9] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 20/07/1928**

25 XII 1928

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

Мне приходил уехать из Праге (на несколько дней) несколько раньше, чем я предполагал – а именно сегодня. Поэтому, завтра Вы меня пожалуйста не ждите, „Книжную же Летопись“ занесет Вам мой добрый друг, Андрей Вас. Усачев. Я успел просмотреть только восемь выпусков (N N 16, 17, 33, 34, 35, 36, 42, 43), но просмотрел очень внимательно – и отметил всё, что меня интересует (как Вы знаете, мои интересен довольно разнообразен) Если найдете нужным, пожалуйста произведите сокращению в списке – на ближайшие 10-12 дней действителен адрес: 2, as Jeanne d'Arc, Meudon, S. a. O. France. – Когда молимо надеяться иметь корректуру статьи и рецензии? Привет Вашей супруге.

Искренно уважающий

П Савицкий

**[10] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 13/02/1929**

13 II 1929

Многоуважаемый

Роман Осипович,

Посылаю Вам то примечание, о составлении которого меня вчера просил Геземанн. Его нужно вставить в заключение первого же подстрочного примечания моей статьи, непосредственно после перечисления монографий, появившихся в 1921 году. Я составил его по русски, но все термины пишу по немецки. В связи со вчерашним (очень интересным для меня) терминологическим разговором моим с Геземанном, мне приходит в голову мысль: – не следовало ли бы мне еще раз, уже в корректуре, поглядеть немецкий текст моей статьи – во избежание ошибок в транскрипции и в технической терминологии. Также ошибки были бы очень чем более, что перевод пана

Гектера я видел только в рукописном черновике. – Для разговора нашего (о котором мы улавливались вчера) я мог бы зайти к Вам д будущий вторник, т. е. 19<sup>ого</sup> I, между 5½ и 6 часами дня. Приемлемо ли для Вас это время? Был бы очень Вам благодарен, если бы Вы приготовили к этому времени и тот аванс, о котором мы вчера говорили. Если бы Вы согласились с моими соображениями относительно корректуры, то корректуру эту я мог бы тогда же просмотреть т. ск. „на месте“, т. е. у Вас. Но, конечно, можно ее мне и выслать – верну немедленно. Очень было бы интересно узнать тогда же о цене изготовления оттисков. Итак, если не будет от Вас никаких известий, буду считать – до вторника – Глубокоуважаемой супруге Вашей мой привет. Жду Вашу руку.

Искренно уважающий Вас

П Савицкий

**[11] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 19/02/1929**

19 II 1929

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

К сожалению, мне нездоровиться, по этому заехать к Вам я прошу моего отца. – Если Вы приготовили корректуру и справку о цене оттисков, то пожалуйста передайте отцу. Корректуру верну немедленно, 7. к работало в кровати. Ему же передайте пожалуйста тот аванс, о котором мы говорили. На этот случай прилагаю расклеим. Получено ли Вами мое письмо от 14 II и приложенное к нему „примечание“. Если у Вас освободились книжные бюллетени, то пожалуйста передайте их мне для просмотра и разметки. И скажите, в какой срок их вернуть. Жду Вашу руку,

Искренно преданный

П Савицкий

**[12] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 02/03/1928**

2 III 1929

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

Моя заметка по поводу книги проф. П. Г. Любомирова („Хозяйство нижнего Поволжья...“) уже готова. Если позволите, занесу её к Вам на квартиру в среду, 6<sup>ого</sup> III, между 6 и 7<sup>ого</sup> часами вечера. Тогда же принесу имеющиеся у меня выпуски книжкой летописи и хотел бы взять новую их партию. Прочту Вам недавно полученное много интересное научное письмо Н. С. Трубецкого как же обстоит Н 3<sup>ый</sup> „Slavische Rundschau“? Если Вы не посылали еще мне аванса, о котором мы говорили, то пожалуйста задержите его у себя; передайте мне при свидании. Был бы также очень благодарен Вам за справку о цене оттисков. Итак надеюсь до скорого свидания. Искренно уважающий Вас П Савицкий

**[13] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 30/02/1929**

30 III 1929

Многоуважаемый Роман Осипович,

Хотел бы Вас повидать и поговорить по очередным делам. Мог бы приехать к Вам на Běleského, 16, в четверг, 4<sup>ого</sup> IV, между 2½ и 3 час. дня. Удобно ли Вам это место и время? Если не удобно, пожалуйста напишете. Когда же выйдет очередной номер „Slavische Rundschau“?

Жду Вашу руку,

Искренно преданный

П Савицкий

**[14] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 29/09/1930**

Дорогой Роман Осипович,

Только что я получил Ваше письмо от 27 IX.

Все дело в том что я сейчас сижу в Париже специально из-за издания «Тридцатых годов» - Вы можете представить чем является для меня каждый лишний день задержки в Париже, при множестве дел в Праге – и препустом кармане! Ваша статья по мнению всех ее читавших (в тон числе – Н. Н. Алексеева и здешних евразийцев), будет одними из важнейших центров этого сборника. Я нашел, что и Н.С. очень его заинтересовал. На Вашем слове, что она будем у меня здесь никак не позже 10го октября – я строю мой расчеты, как лучшие, так и в отношении типографии. – И поверьте, дорогой Роман Осипович, авторизация полемика прямо желательна, она не только не сможет «похоронить» вашу статью, но будет ее лансировать. В таком положении можно просто «нарочно» оставить какой-нибудь промах, чтобы помочь оппонентам «привязаться», а зачем выбрать их на спор по существу. Только спорами популяризируются идеи. Это мы должны помнить твердо боязнь полемику у Н. С. Я считаю своего рада болезненным явлением. С его пессимизмом явлением. С его пессимизмом нужно бороться неуклонно. Этим путем получают ход и его замечательные мысли.

«Перекраивая» свою статью не забывайте пожалуйста о соображениях популярности!

Был ли П. Г. В Праге в дни пребывания Н. С.-ча? Н. С. Обещал мне также и со своей стороны, поговорить с ним о понятии «этнографического союза», которые и Н. С.-чу показалось весьма важным.

Одновременно пишу и П. Г-чу, если его паче чаянья, нет в Праге, то пожалуйста перешлите мое письмо по его нынешнему место пребыванию.

Нет ли чего-либо нового по делу об Институте?

Был бы рад, если был некролог Бартольда появился в «Прагер Прессе». Целую руку Софии Николаевиче. Жду руку.

Искренне уважаемый

Вас П. Савицкий

**[15] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 30/10/1930**

30 X 1930

Дорогой Осипович

нахожусь у друзей в Англии, откуда и пишу Вам. – Окончание Вашей статьи получил несколько дней тому назад, и сейчас же сдал его в набор. Надеюсь, что первая корректура будет в Праге недели через две. Ввиду опоздания в получении Вашей статьи и некоторых других, довести до конца печатание «Тронутых годов» во время моего пребывания в Париже мне не удалось: это задержало бы меня на западе до начала декабря, что, меня совершенно не устраивает. – хорошо еще, что удалось закончить печатание книги Н. Н. Алексеева «Теория государства» которая вышла в свет позавчера. Везу для Вас экземпляр. – Какие же новости по институту? Ожидаю их большим нетерпением. На случай, что возникнет вопрос о сроке моего возвращения в Прагу, сообщись, что вероятнее всего приеду 5-6го ноября; во всяком случае надеюсь; вернуться в ближайшие дни. Пожалуйста передайте П. Г-чу, вместе с моим приветом, что обстоятельства сложились чем, что и сейчас еще и. Савельев имеет время написать статью для «Тридцатых годов». Об этом я и прошу его очень. Тема намечена ли самый в письме ко мне: понятие «этнографического союза», продемонстрированное на костюмном матерной России-Евразии. Жму Вам руку. Привет С. Н-не. Ваш ПНС

**[16] Petr Savickij to Roman Jakobson, 27/04/1931**

Дорогой Роман Осипович,

предотъездные дела меня закрутили. Несмотря на всё желание, не успевало к Вам зайти. Статью для Вас закончил только в субботу вечером. На 7-8 початы страницах реферирую около 60 работ. Высаживаю и некоторые общие точки зрения. Думаю, что краеведенье можно перевести „wissenschaftliche Landskunde“, как это сделано в оборе библиография (Sl. Rund., 1930, октябрь)

Пожалуйста напишите мне о прочтении этой статьи.

Написали ли Вы уже в ВОКС?

Мой парижский адрес: P. Savickij, chez Florovsky, 131, av. Jean Jaurès, Paris XIX<sup>e</sup>

Жму Вашу руку шлю привет С. Н-не.

Ваш П Савицкий

14 V 1931

Дорогой Роман Осипович

к моменту прихода исправленной Ваши корректурные знаки долготы и две „точки“ над буквами были уже наставлены, недостающие знаки ударения включения и все вообще знаки ударения унифицированы(на). Я процвел перевод в типографии и заставил ее прикупить некоторые знаки. „Верстам“ как известно, это в свое время не удалось, и статья Н. С-го о частушке вышла без многих необходимых знаков. Чешское й – изготавливается. Те две таблиц, о которых Вы пишете, войдут в брошюру в виде клише. Сделаны они с моего автографа. Почерк мой отнюдь не идеальный, но все-таки, надеюсь, будет понятно. – Брошюра уже сверстана. Составлено мною и краткое оглавление. Всего вышло 60 страниц. Ссылки на страницы уже вставлены. Ваша работа выходит отделкой брошюрой, и только ею. – Печатаем 500 экз. с русским заглавием и 500-с *Études phonologiques*. Я хочу организовать самую широкою рассылку Вашей монографии. Прошу Вас помочь мне в том смысле, что заготовить несколько сот, вне-европейских адресов, куда для следовало послать брошюру.

Надеюсь, что к 1-му июня она уже появится в свет/

Вчера получил (из Берна) корректуру статьи моей *Wissenschaftliche Landeskunde in RSFSR* - и вчера же, по исправлении, отправил ее М. Г. Гектеру – по адресу Praha I, 606. – Если поправил, имеющие некоторое техническое значение. Очень прошу участь их. Прошу также изготовить для меня двести (200) отдельных оттисков этой статьи. Написал об этом М. Г-му. Но у Вас очень прошу напомнить ему об этом.

Видам ли Вы мартовский номер «*Monde Slave*»? Как видите, редакционное примечание снято. Рядовому читателю, броне меня, французский текст Вашего доклада кажется удовлетворительный. Впрочем, и в окончательном тексте заметил три ошибки: на с. 376 в одном месте вместо *isolignes* сказано *isophones*, на стр. 377 в одном месте – вместо *Sud-Ouest – Sud-Est*; на стр. 378 – вместо *occidentale* – сказано *méridionale*. К счастью, во всех трех случаях контекст дает возможность разобраться в существе дела. – Впрочем, сейчас это и не так уже важно: Ваша монография выходит в свет в течение ближайших дней, а ее мы разошлем *urbi et orbi*. Только очень прошу: подготовьте достаточное количество чисто-научных адресов: как европейских, так и вне-европейских!

Если не умеете март. номера «*Monde Slave*», пожалуйста возьмите его у моих домашних: он у них есть, а у меня здесь есть тоже.

Видали и Вы «прикуску» А. Салжикова по поводу различения согласных по твердости и мягкости в османском? На всякий случай посылаю ее Вам. Не обратитесь ли Вы к Салжкову (2, rue de Sèze, Paris IX<sup>e</sup>), с просьбой сообщить Вам „весьма обстоятельно мотивированное“ письмо Шебунина. А вдруг – Рылика и Кавальский окажутся неправыми, и „Константинополь окажется нашим“. Ведь по признаку распространения склонений (Н. С. Трубецкой) дело обстоит именно так. – Во всяком случае, мне кажется, интересно выяснить, в чём же дело.

Около времени моего приезда в Париж здесь много говорим о Вашей работе и к моему удивлению в большинстве ободрительно.

Считает ли возможности и Сп. сделать что-либо в смысле ускорения кредитов? – Как обстоят дела в М. М. Д.?

Есть ли ответ от ВОКСа, по поводу адресов, по которым рассылается Sl. R.?

По своем возвращении, я считал бы очень желательным приступить к рассылке. Написаны ли письма тем краеведным организациям, которые перечислены в моем предыдущем письме? Мне написал Герасим Федорович. Хочу ему ответить. Каков, в настоящее время, его адрес? Пожалуйста ответьте мне на этот вопрос.

Как идут Ваши работы?

За полное отсутствие опечаток в Вашей брошюре не ручалось. Но делаю всё, что возможно, чтобы их было меньше.

Крепко жму Вашу руку. Шлю привет С. Н-не. Буду ждать письма.

Ваш П Савицкий

Что слышно о Н. С.? П. Г-че? – Сергей Осипович мне пишет, что вы думаете перенести в библиотеку значительную часть Ваших книг. Так ли это? Если да, то это меня радовало бы: вместе с книгами Дм. М-го и моими, это составило бы хороший руссие-ведический круг.

Есть ли прибытия книг с Востока? Интересна ли эти недели „Книжная летопись“?

ut in litteris

П Савицкий

Не успел отравить этого письма, как получил Ваш экспресс с дополнением об аларском. Дополнение это уже привел в надлежащий (для типографии) вид- и сдало в набор. Оно пойдём в конце брошюры.

Ответ на Ваши вопросы такало-чается в этом письме. Ответвите же пожалуйста и на все мои вопросы!

15 V 1931, раннее утро.

Ваш П Савицкий

#### A.4.9 Leopold Silberstein

[1] Leopold Silberstein to Roman Jakobson, 20/07/1930

Sehr verehrter Herr Doktor,

Das Bibliographische Institut in Leipzig hat an mich di Anfrage gerichtet, ob ich dazu bereit sei, über das neue Buch von Paus SCHEFFER, „Sieben Jahre Sowjet-Union“, in der *Slavische Rundschau* zu referieren. Das Rezensionsexemplar würde mir bejahendenfalls zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Ich möchte mir daher an Die die ergebene Anfrage erlauben, ob Sie, Herr

Doktor, einer solchen Besprechung freundlichst Raum gewähren könnten. Sollte Ihnen die gesonderte Besprechung der Arbeit eines deutschen Publizisten zu mager erscheinen, könnte ja evtl. FEILERS „Experiment des Bolschewismus“ / das ich bereist besitze / hinzugenommen werden.

Indem ich gern Ihren freundlichen Bescheid erwarte, möchte ich nochmals meinem Bedauern Ausdruck geben, dass es mir im März nicht gelungen ist, Sie, Herr Doktor, mehr also das eine flüchtige Mal zu sehen. Da ich aber in absehbarere Zeit wieder nach Prag zu kommen gedenke, dann höchstwahrscheinlich zu längerem Aufenthalt, so hoffe ich bestimmt Gelegenheit zu finden, das Versäumte nachzugehen. Inzwischen bitte ich Sie begrüßen zu dürfen mit dem aufrichtigen Ausdruck.

Ausgezeichneter Hochachtung als Ihr sehr ergebener.

Leopold Silberstein

## [2] Leopold Silberstein to Roman Jakobson, 06/05/1932

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor Jakobson,

Endlich sind die in meiner letzten Karte angedeuteten Dinge so weit, dass man darüber schreiben kann. Wie Sei vermutlich aus der gestrigen „Prager Presse“ ersehen haben werden, hat sich in Berlin eine „Slavistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft“ konstituiert. Ich hatte ursprünglich geglaubt, dass man die Genehmigung des Rektorats noch vor Redaktionsschluss der Mainummer herausbekommen werde, dann hat sich die Sache durch Beurlaubung des zuständigen Herrn doch noch um über eine Woche verzögert. Nunmehr aber, seit Montag, ist alles Formelle erledigt, und kommenden Montag beginnt die Arbeit, für die wohl einiges zu erhoffen ist, da auf der Gründungsversammlung gerade Leute, die schon etwas geleistet haben, erfreulich zahlreich vertreten waren und die meisten Teilnehmer der Gründungsversammlung auch sofort ihre Mitwirkung bei der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit zugesagt haben. Wir richten im laufenden Sommersemester folgende Arbeitszirkel ein:

1. Die Nationalitätenfrage bei allen slavischen Völkern zu verschiedenen Zeiten. Leitung: Dr. Klaus Menhert, Dr. Wolfgang Leppmann und der Unterzeichnete. Es werden abwechselnd die Fragen des „zwischeneuropäischen“/ in der PENCK-WIRSINGs „Zwischeneuropa und die deutsche Zukunft“. Montag darauf: Die ideologischen Grundlagen der **sovetrussischen (sic!)** Nationalitätenpolitik /LENIN-LUXEMBURG-STALIN/.
2. Probleme des russischen Mittelalters. Leitung: Dr. Raissa Bloch.
3. Die slavische Romantik und ihre Stellung innerhalb der europäischen Romantik, Leitung: Dr. Michael Gorlin, Dr. Maximilian Landau und der Unterzeichnete, Nächsten Dienstag: Referat von Fr. Dr. v Busse / Verf. eines Buches über Adam Müller / über die europäische Romantik. Der ganze Zirkel wird an Hand einer fest umrissenen Schemas leitender Gesichtspunkte durchgeführt, die bei jeder Spezialfrage zu berücksichtigen sind.

Ich möchte Sie, sehr verehrter Herr Prof. JAKOBSON, nunmehr fragen, in welcher Form ich über das ganze Unternehmen im Juliheft der „Slavische Rundschau“ Bericht erstatten darf. Soll ich darüber im Rahmen einer Gesamtübersicht referieren, oder dürfte ich evtl. einen separaten Artikel für die Kulturchronik schreiben? Ich würde Sie, sehr verehrter Herr Professor, auch bitten, mir für fällt, damit außerhalb der formellen Gerüstes und evtl. allgemeiner gesitiger

(sic!) Richtlinien auch schon über möglichst viel geleistete konkrete Arbeit referiert werden kann. Andererseits möchte ich auch nicht zu spät schreiben, damit das Referat such wirklich in die Julinummer hereinkommt.

Dass sich das Referat lohnt, möchte ich bestimmt annehmen. Wir stehen mit der vorzüglich organisierten „Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas“ in Raumburgemeinschaft und durch die Persönlichkeit des unseren Vorstände angehörigen Generalsekretärs Dr. Klaus MENHERT auch in partieller Personalunion. Die Energie MENHERTs, der auch schriftstellerisch bereite bemerkenswert hervorgetreten ist, muss als bedeutendes Aktivum verzeichnet werden. / A propos Schriftsteller: auch die umseitig genannten Dr. Michael GORLIN und Dr. Raissa BLOCH gehören zur Literatur. Sie haben in Sammelbändchen hiesiger russischer Dichter bereits sehr hübsche Gedichte veröffentlicht. /

Ich wäre Ihnen, sehr verehrter Herr Professor, sehr verpflichtet, wenn ich Genaueres über Ihre Wünsche betreffe dass hier besprochenen Kulturberichtes erfahren könnte.

Angesichts der unisicheren wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse werde ich wohl noch längere Zeit in Berlin bleiben, zumal ich mich bei meiner letzten Abreise aus Prag ausgiebig mit Material eingedeckt habe.

Mit verbindlichsten Empfehlungen habe ich Ehre, Sie, Herr Professor, zu begrüßen als Ihr stets in vollkommener Hochhaltung ergebener.

Leopold Silberstein

## A.5 Correspondences (1940-1982)

### A.5.1 Nadežda Melníková-Papoušková

#### [1] Nadežda Melníková-Papoušková to Roman Jakobson, 31/12/1946

Praha, 31. prosince 1946

Milý Romane,

Už vidím, jak se divíš, že jí, slavný lenoch, Ti piši dopis. Jsou ale k tomu dva důvody: především stárnu a stávám se sentimentální a za druhé že jsem četla, že ses stal profesorem na kolumbijské universitě. Hned jsem di pomyslela, že jako starý přítel můžeš být k něčemu dobrý a tak Ti posílám spolu se svým dopisem i dopis svého chráněnce a mladého přítele MUDr Klenu, který by velmi rád se dostal na studijní cestu do Ameriky. Ve jménu našeho starého přátelství a všech lumpáren, které jsme spolu prováděli, udělej co je v Tě moci, pro tohoto mládence, který je pro mne dnes náhražkou syna. Víš, pocítila jsem, po prvé na podzim 1938 tento nedostatek. Neměla jsem žádného syna, kterého bych mohla poslat do boje. Bohužel musím přiznat, že v této věci většina holek je k ničemu. Nu a Pán Bůh mi poslal Rudu Klenu, který se připojil k naší skupině a nějakým zázrakem vrátil se doma z celé řady koncentráků, které vymetl během tří a půl let. A teď on nikoho nemá a já taky ne. Vidíš, že důvodů je dost. Víc se o tom šířit nebudu. O mém osudu snad vím, že jsem zůstala jako kůl v plotě. Zbylo mi trochu věcí z bytu, část knihovny a kotě. S tím vším žiji. Snažím se pracovat a vydávám knížky. Zatím mi vyšel Ruský lubok. Abys měl úplný obraz, musím dodat, že jsem byla jmenovaná před vánocema profesorem na olomouckou universitu. Jistě neuhádneš obor, který budu přednášet – je to lidová výtvarná kultura, takže dělám skoro konkurenci Petrovi. O něm jsem hodně slyšela všemožných anekdot, ale dohromady nic konkrétního. Nejlépe nejvčetněji vypravoval Erenburg. Ale už je dávno. Občas se vídáváme s Mukařovským a vždycky proklepáme všechny staré známé. Když budeš mít trochu možnost, napiš mi o sobě a jak ses zařídil a jak žiješ. Přejí Ti od čistého srdce, abys konečně už našel definitivní místo pro svou práci a život. Věř mi, že je to velké štěstí mít blízkého člověka a svůj domov. Vidíš, jak osudy jsou různé. Jsme všichni tři rozmetáni po celé zeměkouli a jen Petr je vlastně doma. Ale neproměnila bych Československo ani za zlatý palác. Musím tady žít a umřít. A tak buď teď s Bohem, pozdravuj paní a všechny známé, kteří se Ti mohou přichomejtnout při cestě. Mám kanonický věk, proto si troufám napsat, že Tě mockrát líbím a těším se, že splníš mou prosbu a také mi napíšeš.

Tvoje, Nad'a.

Nadežda Melníková-Papoušková

Československo, Praha XIX, ul. Národní obrany 29.

#### [2] Nadežda Melníková-Papoušková to Roman Jakobson, 19/12/1947

V Praze 19. prosince 1947

Milý Romane,

Tak jsem stále čekala, že když víš mou adresu, že přece si vyšetříš chvilku a napíšeš mi aspoň pár slov. Děkuji Ti za to, co jsi vše vyšetřil pro Rudu Klenu, který je dnes jakýmsi mým adoptivním synem. Myslím, že v roce 1948 se dostane k Vám a poví Ti o mých

dobrodružstvích vše podrobně. Zhruba to víš od jiných i bez něho, takže nic zde říkat o tom nemusím. Objektivně řečeno nežiji zle. Je přirozené, že některé věci schází, ale nebýt katastrofálního sucha, bylo vše docela přijatelné. Subjektivně Ti musím říci, že jsem velmi unavena na práci, ale životem. Mnoho věcí pro mě vůbec přestalo existovat. A teď se jistě ptáš, proč Ti vše píši. Jsou k tomu 2 důvody, nebo dokonce 3. První, že jsem viděla v novinách, že vyšel překlad paní Pírkové-Jakobsonové. Druhý, že se blíží vánoce, doba vzpomínek, a já rekapituluji celou řadu let, které jsme společně ztrávili [sic!]. A konečně třetí, pro mne nejméně příjemný, že jsem chtěla poprosit, jestli bys mi nemohl poslat docela malý balíček, ve kterém by bylo sušené mléko, trochu kávy a čaje. Jsou to věci, které u nás hodně postrádám a jejichž nedostatkem dosti trpím. Odpuť, že se s tím na Tebe obracím, ale nemám tam nikoho jiného známého, nebo spíše nemá nikoho, kdo by se sám dovtípil mně takto ulevit.

Tak nechme už to stranou a děkuji Ti za vše předem. Jestli Tě bude zajímat, pošlu Ti několik svých knížek, ze kterých něco vyšlo za války a něco má vyjít v nejbližších měsících. Uděl jsi kdysi šťastný počín, když jsi mi daroval obrázek na skle sv. Vendelín. Věnuji se opravdu skoro výhradně lidovému umění, nebo správněji řečeno lidovému výtvarnictví, které je u nás, jak sám víš, hodně zanedbáno. Vyдалa jsem knížečku o Lubku a teď čekám na jinou o lidové hračce. Rozpracovanou mám větší práci o lidovém českém sochařství a řezbářství.

Napiš mi, co vlastně děláš Ty. Víím, že jsi napsal za války nějakou knihu, ale nemohla jsem ji u nás dostat. Cesty boží jsou vyzpytatelné a po tolika letech jsme zase kolegy. Říkám Ti to na případ, kdybys to ještě nevěděl. Byla jsem loni jmenována profesorem národopisu na staronové olomoucké universitě. Celkem vzato snad je to vše, co jsem Ti chtěla napsat. Až to dostaneš, vzpomeň na Járu a na Válú.

Srdečně Ti tiskne ruce a vzpomíná Tvá stará přítelkyně.

N. Melniková-Papoušková

Nad'a.

## A.5.2 Antonín Stanislav Mágr

### [1] Antonín Stanislav Mágr to Roman Jakobson, 28/11/1945

28.XI.45

Milý příteli,

Děkuji Vám pěkně za Vás dopis ze dne 1.XI, a za seznam Vašich práci, o němž Vám nebudu vykládat, že mne překvapil a zase nikoliv konečně myslím, že Vás po této stránce znám. Lituji jen, že to všechno nemám, jinak mám docela pěknou sbírku Vašich různých pojednání a knížek i když ne všechny. Vytušil jste správně, že bych se rád o to postaral aby se lidé zde seznámili s Vaším výkonem, mluvil jsem o tom s Havránkem a dohodli jsme se na tom, že to vyjde s náležitou stílisací v Slově a slovesnosti, kam to patří v první řadě. Prozatím jsem to ukázal některým lidem np. Maxovi.

Ptáte se co je s ostatními kolegy. Myslíte-li na bývalou redakci *PP*, pak asi sám víte že Picka a Benda zemřeli v Londýně. Kubka je odborovým přednostou v ministerstvu informací a půjde co nejdříve jako vyslanec do Sofii. Eisner všechno šťastně přežil a píše teď ve všech možných

časopisech, všelicos také přeložil, co ještě nevyšlo, poněvadž není dost papíru. Sám se s ním nestýkám, poslal jsem mi svou publikaci In memoriam Arne Laurina – poslední výtisk jsme ostatně uschoval pro Vás -, ale nereagoval na to. Laufer pracuje v ČTK. To by asi byli všichni, o které byste se mohl zajímat.

Já sám jsem v lednu 1938 vstoupil do redakce Centropresse a chtěl jsem vydávat německou kulturní korespondenci, jakousi malou PP. S tím ovšem po 15. březnu nebylo nic, ale zůstal jsem na svém místě, kde jsem většinou vyřizoval všelijaké administrativní a pod práce pokud jsme vůbec pracoval ve svém povolání. Vydali jsem ještě nákladem Slovanského ústavu 1 2/3 ročníku Slavische Rundschau a v tom zvláštní sešit o knihtisku v slovanských zemích a druhý – k sjezdu slovanských filologů v Bělehradě – o romantice u Slovanů. Poslední sešit měl být věnován Murkovi k osmdesátce a přinést soubor článků o stavu bádání o lidové písni slovanské. Ten již nevyšel. Část materiálů vyjde nyní v Murkově sešitu Slavii k jeho 85. narozeninám. Ve svých volných chvílích jsem se vrátil k své staré lásce: indické filosofii speciálně k buddhismu, zapracoval jsem do pálijského jazyku, abych mohl číst původní texty a nakonec jsem přeložil spolu s Halasem Dhammapadam do češtiny a vedle toho některé menší texty v proze. Nebylo to čistě theoretické zaměstnání, hledal jsem tam centrum securitatis, ale to je moje privatissimus, jimž Vás nechci obtěžovat. Šlo o zásadu: readiness is all. Ovšem by se snad i pro theorii něco našlo a sestavil jsem mi trochu materiálů k tematů sound and meaning, sanskrit -puli arthah -atto a vynjanam kde ovšem smysl stojí na prvním místě. Požadavek této jazykové filosofie je, aby byla kongruenci mezi zvukem, zněním a smyslem, obsahem.

Přiznávám se, že jsem neměl nijaké plány do budoucnosti a celkem je i teď život jakousi improvisací. Po 5. květnu jsem pomáhal v nakladatelství Orbis organisovat nový směr, byla možnost přejít do ministerstva informací – do publikačního odboru, jemuž předsedá Halas, ale nakonec jsem zůstal v Centropressu, když byla vyhlídka na jakési pokračování bývalé práce v slavistické žurnalistice. *Prager Presse* již nebude, ale píšou noticky a články pro náš bulletin. Prozatím se podařilo navázat styky s Polskem, psal mi Ingarden a Batowski, dostávám noviny časopisy, ovšem mají tam ještě méně papíru než my. Do našich novin nelze nic psát, není na to místo. Byl jsem zvolen členem Pražského Slovanského výboru a členem jeho pracovního sboru, kde mám publikační referát. Bude obnoven Slovanský přehled a tam by se daly snad využít zkušenosti ze Slavische Rundschau. Slovanský ústav má být vybudován jako vědecká instituce v souvislosti s Českou akademií, ale jak patrně nikdo neví. Předsedou bude Albert Pražák tj. prozatím, ostatní je vše hudbou budoucností.

Kroužek už není ten starý kroužek z dob Vašich a Mathesiových, kdy dojížděli Trubeckoj, Benveniste, Hjelmslev, Bröndal atd. Mluvím ovšem jen o debatních večerech, publikační činnost byla za války tlumena, ale Slovo a slovesnost si zachovalo svou úroveň nejlepšího českého vědeckého časopisu. Snad se nyní i ožíví ostatní literární práce. Dalo by se zajisté všelicos udělat, ale na universitách to vyhlíží dosti problematicky. Málo vědeckých průkopníků.

Minulý týden jsem také dostal první knihu ze Záhřebu: silný svazek o více než 600 stranách „Hrvatska svjedočanstva o Rusiji“ – anthologie textů od Križanice po Miroslava Krležu, ukázky z cestopisů charvátských lidí, kteří navštívili Rusko / Rački, Jagić, Radić, Cesarec, Krleža a jiní menší /. Vydavatel je dr. Josip Badalić, dříve knihovník universitní knihovny a nyní profesor ruské literatury na universitě. Nakladatel: Suvremena naklada, Zagreb, cena 320 dinárů.

Tím jsem snesl několik střepů ze své dnešní existence, o nichž se domnívám, že by Vás mohly více méně zajímat. Přeji Vám všeho zdaru Vaši budoucí badatelskou práci a zůstávám.

Vždy Váš A. St. Mágr

**[2] Antonín Stanislav Mágr to Roman Jakobson, 03/04/1947**

Praha dne 3. dubna 1947.

Milý příteli,

Vás dopis ze 26. března byl již 29. března v Praze a 31. jsem ho měl již v rukou. S Vašimi poznámkami k "Slovanskému přehledu" zásadně souhlasím. Bibliografie by se zajisté dala rozšířit, ale je to, bohužel, otázka místa, a tak jsme se prozatím rozhodli pro tuto formu, zejména také proto, že časopis je přece jenom v první řadě určen české veřejnosti. Po této stránce má časopis poněkud jiné poslání než "Slavische Rundschau", s kterou po některých stránkách asi nikdy nebudeme moci konkurovat, "Slovanský přehled" je orgánem Slovanského výboru, a tím nástrojem určité politiky, kdežto "Slavische Rundschau" mohla se vyhradně řídit čistě theoretickými zásadami. Přesto se domnívám, že během doby se i článková částlepší. Vaše zpráva o činnosti Masarykovy stolice bude nám ovšem velmi vítána a vůbec všechno, co byste nám mohl později poslat.

Velmi mne zajímalo, co píšete o své práci kolem slova o pluku Igorově a rád bych Vám při to posloužil. Věc se ovšem má tak, že překlad Rilkeho doposud nebyl celý uveřejněn, Kromě ukázky, která vyšla kdysi v Prager Presse, byla uveřejněna ještě druhá ukázka, a to v Inselalmanachu na rok 1931. Rilke-archiv chystal svého času soubornou publikaci o Rilkevi a Rusku a sháněl k tomu ještě různý materiál, což se patrně nepodařilo v žádoucím rozsahu. Mezi tím vyšla v roce 1934 v Královci disertace od Sophie Brutzer: "Russische Reisen". Titul je potud nepřesný, že práce nejedná jen o cestách Rilkeho, nýbrž skutečně o celém komplexu poměru Rilkeho k Rusku. Při tom ovšem nejde do hloubky, ale má v každém případě tu cenu, že podává na základě autopste úplný inventář materiálů, které jsou zachovány v Rilke-archivu, zejména také dopisy a seznam ruských knih z knihovny Rilkeho, tedy pramenů, z kterých čerpal. V najnovější době byl, memýlím-li se, Rilke-archiv ve Výmaru reorganizován, jako veřejná instituce. Úplný text překladu byste v každém případě mohl dostat jen odtemtud.

Díla Godebského nejsou bohužel ani v universitní, ani v slovanské ani v knihovně Národního muzea, takže nezbyvá, než s obrátit přímo do Polska. Mám ale dobré styky s Krakovem a doufám, že se mi podaří Vám opatřit dopisy nebo fotokopie stránek, které potřebujete.

Domnívám se, že Vám Tuwim poslal newyorskou verzi svého překladu, kterou uveřejnil koncem minulého roku v časopisu "Odrodzenie" / III. 51-52/. V úvodě se tam také zmiňuje o Vaší pomoci a zároveň oznamuje, že se chce pustit do třetího zpracování překladu, poněvadž prý po svém návratu do Polska se seznámil s některými pracemi sovětských badatelů, zejména Orlova, Grekova a Jugova, v nichž některá nová objasnění sporných míst.

Máte také překlad Kubkův?

Přiložený výstřižek ze "Svobodných /lidových/novin" Vás snad bude zajímat a snad ještě víc speciální publikace, kterou Černý chystá. Při této příležitosti: Co je s novým vydáním Vaší "Moudrosti starých Čechů"?

Normální poštou Vám posílám dvě malé publikace, na nichž jsem trochu spolupracoval: "Praga-Moskva" a antologii polské lyriky z let 1938-1945 v českých překladech.

Nikterak Vám nezazlívám, že píšete tak zřídka. Víím, že pracujete a jsem přesvědčen, že se tou či onou cestou něčeho dovím o výsledcích Vaší činnosti. Často na Vás myslím a cítím se jaksi s Vámi spojen, neboť ta léta společné práce jsou něčím, co se nezapomíná. Musím Vám také potvrdit, že Vás paměť skutečně neklamala a že dne 6. dubna vyšel Váš článek v *Lidovkách*. Tentokrát doufám odbude se to méně hlučně. Jsem přesvědčen o upřímnosti toho, co píšete na konci svého dopisu, sám se ovšem na to vše dívám docela jinak. Ale to už Vám zde vykládat nebudu. Někdy si myslím, že by bylo velmi pěkné, kdybychom se aspoň ještě jednou osobně sešli. Ale prozatím se to zdá být utopií. Přeji Vám mnoho zdaru pro Vaši další práci a hlavně, abyste ještě dlouho nepocítil nějaký úbytek sil.

Váš Mágr

**[3] Antonín Stanislav Mágr to Roman Jakobson, 25/04/1948**

Milý příteli,

eppur si muove! Díky za *IGORA!* Napsal jsem ho hned článek, doufám, že mi ho „Svobodné noviny“ vezmou, PP však už není. Těším se na další svazek, postrádám ale stať *consacrée* a *l'accueil fait à la Geste d'Igor' dans les pays de langue slave*. Vůbec už dlouho nemám přímých zpráv od Vás a tak nevím, zdali Vás došly moje drobné zásilky. Zda-li se ještě setkáme na tomto světě? Buď tomu tak či onak, často na Vás myslím a přeji dalších úspěchů v plodné práce, která je jednou z nejpůsobivějších ilusí životních. Buďte hodně zdrav! Tisknu Vám ruku.

Vždy Váš A. St. Mágr

**[4] Roman Jakobson to Antonín Stanislav Mágr, 05/05/1948**

New York, 5. května 1948

Ředitel A. S. Mágr  
Nakladatele Orbis  
Stalinova třída, Praha XII.

Drahý příteli,

Váš milý dopis mě hluboce dojal. Dokuji za přichystaný referát o naší knize. Iroč nenapi ete o tom do Slovenského přehledu, snad by to jeho čtenáře zajímalo. Kniha mé v odbornických kruzích světových opravdu veliký úspěch a odezvu. Poslal jsem řadu exemplářů taky do SSSR a jedině od tamější a československých vědců ještě nemám odpovědi. V Jugoslavi i tuto práci velice uvítali. Od Ramovše mám velkolepý dopis. Svazek epických studií bude vytištěn v létě. Bude v něm mnoho nového. Zdá se mi, že sejm pokus o rekonstrukci ruského ústního eposu XI stol. povedl. Věcnou studii o přijetí roli Slova slovenských zemích bylo by těžké uskutečnit tady. Chtěl jsem mít v tomto svazku články o prvním polském překladatel *Slova* a překladu Rilkeho, ale pro první úkol jsem neměl pramenu pro staroruskou lexiku fraseologii <...> odborníka a překlad Rilkeho se mi nepodařilo opatřit. Jsem velice zaměstnán universitní prací pod mým vedením se píše na dvacet disertaci, což zpomaluje mou činnost literární. Nicméně doufám, že brzy dokončím kritické vydání dolnoněmecké příručky hovorové rutiny z první polovice dokončit taky svou knihu *Sound and Meaning*, která shrnuje čtvrt století mé fonologické a vůbec jazykovědné práce. Mezinárodní linguistický sjezd mě vyzval o uhrnný

“report” o aktuálních problémech poměru mezi hláskoslovím a gramatikou. Právě jsem ji poslal do pařížské tiskárny. Moc by se mi chtělo dodělat v mé studii o různých problémech staročeského písemnictví a folkloru. Ale, bohužel, nemám tu svá rukopisné materiály, nepostradatelné pro skutečné dokončení práce. Mukařovský, kterému jsem je dal schovat v roce 1939, odevzdal je do Národního musea a nehne, prstem, aby mi je vrátil. Bolí mě to a prosím o pomoc v dopisech, které zároveň píšu jemu, Havránkovi a ministru Clementisovi. Dobře víte, milý příteli, co znamená pro vědce postrádat vlastní materiály nutné pro pokračování badání. Můžete-li mi v té věci pomoci, budu Vám nesmírně vděčen. Jsem Vám velice zavázán za ty krásné a hodnotné publikace Orbisu, které jste mi laskavo dal poslat. Blahopřeji Vám i k jubileu i k Vaší nové práci v tomto záslužném kulturním podniku. V souvislosti s Orbisem mám k Vám dvojí prosbu. Jednak zda smím Vaším prostřednictvím objednat pro sebe knihy, které pro svou vědeckou práci nutně potřebuji a jejichž seznam přikládám, účet bych ihned vyrovnal způsobem, jež mi udáte ať peněžními nebo knižními a p. zásilkami. Kdyby se knihkupectví zajímalo, mohl bych na př. poslat jistý počet svazky o *Igorovi* s knihkupeckou slevou. Je pravda, že *Zádonština* a Florovský vyšly v Sl. v Slovanském ústavu a ten by je měl poslat jako členské a nebo aspoň recensní exempláře. Můžete-li je na nich pro mne vydobýt / skutečné knihy nejen sliby / ovšem rád je do stanu zadarmo. Nejdete-li to však, ať mi je pošle Orbis. Druhá prosba: zda a za jakých podmínek je Orbis ochoten přijímat větší knižní objednávky od knihovny Columbijské university. Zrovna dělám teď seznam nutných objednávek novějších českých knih a periodik a rád bych doporučil Columbiu spolupráci s knihkupectvím Orbisu, ale musím vědět technické podmínky a rovněž do jaké míry se dají objednávat knihy. starší je antikvárně přístupné.

Nepsal jsem Vám dlouho hlavně proto, že tento rok byl pro mne zvláště těžký: vydání Igorova svazku leželo zcela na mne a vyžadovalo strašného napětí sil a vedle práce učitelská, organizační a mnoho problémů badatelských, které mně zabírají, nebo leccos bych ještě chtěl dokončit a zatím čas kvapí.

Oddaně a věrně Váš

**[5] Antonín Stanislav Mágr to Roman Jakobson, 11/05/1948**

11. V. 1948

Milý příteli,

děkuji Vám za Váš dopis ze dne 5.t.m., s potěšením jsem aspoň četl zase jednou Vaše slova, když je nemohu slyšet. V “Lidových novinách” / které se od 9. května t.r. zase nazývají “Lidové” / mi slíbili, že můj článek otisknou myslil jsem ovšem také na “Slovanský přehled”, ale tam by článek vyšel někdy v červenci a já jsem chtěl, aby vyšel co nejdříve. Redaktorem kulturní rubriky je tam E. A. Saudek, ale je bohužel pravda, co nedávno napsal Wollman, že “ani jeden z našich žurnálů nemá slovanského zpravodaje, který by poněkud nahradil značku Mgr.”

S našimi slavisty je to teď tak, že se pro samou organizační a jinou práci k vědě nedostanou. Mukařovský není zdrav a kromě toho je nyní prorektorem za rovněž nemocného rektora a tak to všude pokulhává a vázne.

Chápu, že byste tam a snad vůbec nedostal věcnou studii o roli a přijetí *Slova* v slovanských zemích, je to však škoda už těch osm českých překladů přece není maličkost. Pokud jde o článek o Godebském, dal by se snad získat Prof. Waclaw Kubacki na universitě v Poznani,

jeden z nejčilejších mladších polských literárních historiků, tož to s ním zkuste! NB. Pokud vím, je stále ještě v Americe Manfred Kridl?

Co se zase týče Rilkeho, doporučil jsem Vám svého času, abyste se obrátil na Rilke-Archiv ve Výmaru, aby Vám poslali opis textu nevím, zdali jste se o to pokusil.

Té dolnoněmecké příručky jsem si dobře všiml ve Vašich poznámkách. Přeji Vám tedy, aby brzo spatřila denní světlo. A teď k těm knihám:

Vyjednal jsem s III. odborem ministerstva informací, jehož předsedou je Halas, který Vám posílá mnoho pozdravů, že Vám ministerstvo bude posílat pro Vaši osobní potřebu všechny knihy, které si budete přát, bezplatně. To platí jak pro seznam který jste mi poslal, jak pro futuro. Seznam poslalo ministerstvo firmě André, která je pod naší správou, aby Vám vyžádané publikace dodala, ovšem musíte počítat s tím, že jistý počet bude rozebrán. Se své strany by ministerstvo informací / III.odb. / vítalo, kdybyste mu mohl na adresu Praha XII., Stalinova 46, postoupit bezplatně několik výtisků *Igora*, aby jimi mohlo podělit některé z našich knihoven. Svá desiderata posílejte příště dále na moji adresu / osobní /, bude tak lépe, když budu moci trochu na to dohlížet.

Pokud jde o Slovanský ústav, vyzval jsem je, aby Vám Zádonštinu a druhý díl Florovského poslali, přesvědčím se, zdali tak učinili. Je tam nyní zaveden modus, že publikace se členům posílají jen na požádání. Ve věci dodávek pro knihovnu Columbia University postoupil jsem Váš dotaz sortimentu a novinářství Orbis s důrazným pokynem, aby Vám co nejdříve leteckou poštou odpověděli. Předpokládám, že to udělají ve vlastním zájmu.

Dovedu si představit, kolik máte práce, přesto bych se chtěl zeptat, co se stalo s *Moudrostí starých Čechů*, který jste na mou intervenci slíbil činu a která je dosud aktuální.

I u nás je práce dost, život je rušný a nabitý různotvárnou problematikou. Vděčných úkolů je dost a dost a doufám, že uhlídám ještě ten nebo onen skutek.

To tedy pro dnešek. Budu se těšit, že v dohledné době od Vás zase uslyším a zůstávám

vždy Váš Mágr

**[6] Roman Jakobson to Antonín Stanislav Mágr, 24/05/1948**

New York 24. května 1948

A. S. Mágr

Nakladatelství Orbis

46 Stalinova třída Praha XII

Milý příteli,

jsem Vám nesmírně zavázán i za Váš krásný referát, i za Vaše milé dopisy, i za Vaši neochvějnou ochotu pomoci mi v mé vědecké práci. Moji pražští universitní kolegové mě čím dál, tím víc zklamávají. Mimo Vás nikdo z Československa se ani korespondákem neozval na mou knihu, ačkoliv jsem poslal ji jednotlivcům i knihovnám. Zatím z ostatních zemí mám plno zajímavých a povzbuzujících odpovědí. Na mé dopisy mi neodpovídají ani Havránek ani Mukařovský, ačkoliv tento by měl konečně něco udělat, aby mi vrátil mé rukopisy, které jsem mu půjčil a bez nichž nemohu dokončit svou knihu z dějin českého a slovenského básnictví. Ani Novotný z Musea, kterému Mukařovský dal prý mé rukopisy na schovanou mi neodpovídá

na dopisy a mému žákovi řekl, že nemohou ty rukopisy najít. Po všem tom, co jsem pro českou vědu dělal, dělám, chystám se udělat, je toto chování opravdu nezodpovědným lajdáctvím.

Na základě dohody polské vlády s Columbijskou universitou, byla tu právě založena Mickiewiczova stolice polských studií a je na ní jmenován profesor M. Kridl. Těším se na spolupráci s ním.

Dopis od Orbisu jsem dostal a podniknu náležité kroky. Poslal jsem Halasovi do ministerstva informací tři výtisky *Igora*. Jsem Vám a jemu nesmírně vděčen za ochotu a poslat mi knihy nutné pro mou badatelskou práci čekám s netrpělivostí na první zásilku.

Děkuji Vám za slib dbát, aby z ministerstva a ze Slovanského ústavu knihy byly opravdu poslány. Ty obě publikace Ústavu opravdu potřebuji jako sůl. A o *Zádonštinu* jsem se už bůhví jak dlouho hlásil. Ptáte-li se na moje další desiderata jsou to dvě ukrajinské knihy Čyževského vydané v Praze 1942: *Ukrajinská barokní poesie* a *Dějiny ukrajinské literatury/ renesance a reformace*. Autor byl pozván sem vyučovat dějiny slovanských kultur, ale dosud se nemůže hnout z Marburgu, kde je profesorem slovanských jazyků a literatur a dotiskuje ve Frankfurtu své rozsáhlé dějiny nejstarší ruské literatury O Godebském nám píše článek Kridl. Potřebujete-li zase Vy nějaké knihy, napište, pošlu.

Oddaně Váš, Roman Jakobson

#### [7] Roman Jakobson to Antonín Stanislav Mágr 10/11/1948

V New Yorku dne 10. 11. 1948.

Milý příteli,

děkuji Vám za Váš milý dopis z 15. října. Zatím už došly Quodlibet, Malík a svazečky sbírky *Kdo je*, rovněž *Selecká*, *Šourek* a *Česká mystika*. Až dojde kniha *Kalandrova*, dám ji do universitní knihovny, neboť mám již svůj exemplář. Měl jsem a mám autora za velice nadaného, ale tato kniha je, bohužel, šílená. Otázka nejstarších česko-latinských legend se mi stává stále jasnější a tápání historiků se do značné míry vysvětlují jejich nedostatečným zvládnutím církevně slovanského materiálu. Opravil jsem pro Sfinx svůj článek o českém vlivu na staropolskou literaturu, zcela jsem stať o českém podílu na kultuře církevněslovanské *Mathesiova* sborníku a nově jsem napsal článek o Řeči a písemnictví českých židů za doby přemyslovské. Jsem velice zvědav, co těmto posledním oběma článkům Vy a jiní v Praze řeknete. Moje největší radost je, že se mé rukopisy konečně v museu našly a doufám, že je brzy dostanu. Pak se intenzivně vrátím k bohemistickým tematům. Mám teď v Praze jednu svoji zdejší žačku, nesmírně nadanou a seriosní, Barbaru Latimore / Kolej Budeč, Praha XII., Wenzigova 20 /. Pracuje na disertaci o slovanských, hlavně československých i jihoslovanských svatebních písních. Doporučil jsem jí, aby si s Vámi pohovořila a jsem jist, že jí dáte dobré bibliografické a zásadní rady. Studuje teď na Karlově universitě u Havránka a jiných. Za obě knihy Hálovy budu Vám velice vděčný. Rovněž můžete mi zařídit, abych, ať bezplatně nebo "platně" dostával ČČM, ČMF, LF, Slovo a slovesnost a Slovesnou vědu. Dovolte, abych Vaši laskavosti použil ještě v třech dalších záležitostech. Na splnění těchto desiderat závisí úplnost studií, na nichž teď pracuji. V Akordu na začátku doby protektorátní vyšly dvě studie, které bych moc potřeboval v souvislosti s monografií o církevněslovanském básnictví v českých zemích. Jsou to: Orlova studie *Hospodine pomiluj my* a článek *Vašicův o církevně slovanském básnictví* s překladem básně Konstantinovy. Kdybyste oba tyto články nechal pro mne ofotografovat anebo opsat, rád ihned uhradím výdaje buď zásilkou, anebo v

peněžích, event. se o tu úhradu může postarat Latimore. Bod druhý: Mám v podstatě hotovou knihu – *Bohemika v hebrejských rukopisech 11. 13. století*. Zabýval jsem se těmito věcmi a sbíral materiál od svých studentských let. Je tam mnoho nového a neočekávaného. Excerpta z jednoho rukopisu mně scházejí. Je to rukopis hebrejský pražské universitní knihovny. Pergamenový foliant, který v 14. století náležel chebské synagoze. Známý badatel A. Berliner v knize *Pletath Soferin – Beiträge zur jüdischen Schriftauslegung in Mittelalter*, Vratislava 1872, na str. 20 píše: "... der Universitätsbibliothek zu Prag angehörende Handschrift, welche den Pentateuch mit Onkelos, Raschi u. Massora, die 5 Megillot mit einem anonymen Commentar den Dr. Hübsch / Pr. 1866 / edirt hat, und die Haftarot mit einem ebenfalls anonymen commentar enthält. Der letzterwähnte Commentar enthält häufige slavische Ausdrücke." Kniha Hübschova vyšla hebrejsky a jmenuje se *Hamišo megilot*. Právě zmíněný nevydaný komentář k Haftarot nanejvýš potřebuji. Okamžitě a rád zaplatím všecko, co by jeho ofotografování stálo, poněvadž to poslední mezera v mé, jinak více méně úplné práci. Doufám, že najdete v universitní knihovně anebo kolem ni znalce hebrejštiny, který bude sto aspoň zjistit, které stránky foliantu jsou vyplněny tímto komentářem k Haftarot. A konečně, jak říkal nebožtík Weingart, všeho dobrého do třetice: lze-li ofotografovat první vydání slovanského slovníku Benešovského, také by to našim studiím prospělo: chci dát rozbor tohoto slovníku za thema disertační, ale toto třetí desiderátum je méně spěšné a důležité, než první dvě. Mohu-li Vám býti užitečný zásilkami knih, nebo potravin, rád to ihned zařídím.

Poslal jsem Vám před časem mimeografovanou bibliografii svých prací. Dostal jste ji? Pomýšlejí pražští filologové na referát o naší Igorově publikaci?

Upřímně oddaný,

Roman Jakobson

#### [8] Antonín Stanislav Mágr to Roman Jakobson 16/12/1948

Milý příteli,

dostal jsem včera najednou Vaše dopisy ze dne 6.a 7. t.m. a mohu Vám dnes obšírně ji odpovědět na Váš dopis ze dne 11. 1stopadu t.r.

Pokud jde o Vaše přání, zašel jsem do Universitní knihovny a předložil jsem je paní dr. Urbánkové, která pečuje o díl rukopisný. Slíbila mi, že udělá vše co bude v její moci a dnes mi konkrétně sdělila, že Vám opatří fotokopii slovníku Benešovského - knihu samu tam nemají, ale vypůjčila si ji -, článku z Akordu a nakonec i ten komentář k Haftaroth.

Dostanete mikrofilmy, poněvadž knihovna nemá dostatečné zásoby papíru. Prozatím se jí ovšem nepodařilo sehnat nějakého člověka znalého hebrejštiny, ale pátrá po něm. Myslím, že je věc v dobrých rukou také vzhledem k tomu, že Universitní knihovna jako úřad bude mít výhody a dopravou těchto mikrofilmů na Vaši adresu.

Dále jsem poprosil ministerstvo informací, aby Vám předplatilo časopis, o které jste žádal a to: *ČČM, ČMF, LF* a *Slovo a slovesnost a Slovesnou vědu*. Doufám, že i to bude fungovat. I mě těší, že se Vaše rukopisy našly a dokonce jsou již ve Vašich rukou Horálek mi řekl, že ten nález je zásluhou Vaší žačky která mě prozatím ještě nenavštívila - která prý hned na ně přišla. Tak se máme co těšit na Vaše příští práce. Bibliografii Vašich prací, kterou jste mi poslal jsem dostal a přiřadil jsem ji ke sbírce Vašich knih a separátů, které pečlivě hlídám.

Bylo mi řečeno, o Vašem Igoru že bude psát Isačenko ve Slavii. Prozatím jsem našel stručnější referát, který napsal F. Svěrák v časopise *List orgánu sdruž. moravských spisovatelů*, roč.II.č.9/LO na str. 278-279.

Doufám, že jste mezitím dostal nebo dostanete v nejbližší době něco z knih, které jste objednal a že i nadále Vám budu moci pomáhat.

Přeji Vám již dnes pro příští rok příznivou pohodu

pro Vaši práci a jsem jako vždy přátelsky

Vám oddaný,

S. Mágr

**[9] Antonín Stanislav Mágr to Roman Jakobson 19/10/1949**

Praha, 19. X. 1949

Milý příteli,

představuji si, že jste berle již definitivně odhodil a že se pouštíte na novém působišti do nové a plodné práce. Děkuji Vám ještě za brožuru o slovanských jazycích a článek o ruském časování.

Se mnou to dopadlo v tomto roce poněkud divně. Sotva jsem se začínal zotavovat z infarktu dostal jsem thrombophlebitidu na pravé noze a ležel jsem, tentokrát doma znovu přes měsíc. Začal jsem pak zase chodit a přišla na mne žloutenka a šel jsem po druhé do nemocnice, zase na měsíc. Ještě dnes jsem rekonvalescentem a dovolenou jsem neměl. Nevím prozatím, jak to půjde, až opět začnu pracovat, myslím však že to valný nebude a že zůstanu mrzákem. Mám atheroma aortae a značné rozšíření a hypertrofii levé komory; recidiva infarktu je vždy možná a mohla by pak znamenat konec. Dívám se na to velmi klidně a udělal jsem již čáru pod svůj život. Vám přeji ještě hodně dlouhou řadu let a mnoho úspěchů ve Vaší činnosti.

Bud'te zdrav

Váš A. St. Mágr

**[10] Antonín Stanislav Mágr to Roman Jakobson 10/06/1951**

10. VI. 1951

Milý příteli,

děkuji Vám za separáty Vašich prací, které jste mi dal poslat. Těší mne, že jste zdrav a můžete pracovat jak jste zvyklý. Jako mrzák a pensista zabývám se hlavně tím, že sestavuji lístkový soupis slavíc z *Prager Presse* pro velký bibliografický podnik Slovanského ústavu, který pořizuje bibliografii veškerých českých a slovenských slavíc. Vedle toho se zabývám pokud síly stačí s reformací v Polsku a píše tu a tam recenzi -dvě budou v letošním ročníku *SLAVIE*, kde je asi spatříte.

Dověděl jsem se, že prof. v. Gronicka vydal Rilkeův překlad *Slova o polku Igoreve*. Jako objevitel toho překladu a první jeho editor bych rád poznal celý text a byl bych velmi povděčen, kdybyste mohl zařídit, abych dostal výtisk této edice.

Děkuji Vám předem za všechno, co v této věci uděláte, při čemž ovšem předpokládám, že s tím nebudete mít příliš mnoho trampot.

Srdečně Vás pozdravuje

Váš A. St. M Mágr

### A.5.3 Paul Eisner

#### [1] Paul Eisner to Roman Jakobson, 20/03/1946

Drahý příteli, vzácný pane profesore,

je tomu již věčnost, co jsem o Vás neslyšel.

Fotokopii Vaší epochální stati o bohemistech z pražského ghetta jsem použil na sensační pasus ve velké přednášce o podílu židů v české literatuře. Vyšlo to i tiskem. Mohu Vám to poslat, chcete-li.

Léta utíkají a já jsem dosud viděl ze světa tak málo, Taj rád bych někam podíval. Láká mě to tak, že bych přijal každou práci, jen abych mohlo bohatit své životní zkušenosti.

Prosím Vás pěkně, pamatujte na to. Mými osvědčenými přáteli jsou dr. Thomas Mann a skvělý spisovatel Hermann Broch, One Evelyn Palace, Princeton, N. J. Z. triumvirátu takových hlav by možná vzešlo nějaké řešení.

T. č. jsem v Praze v čestné předseda ústavu pro italskou kulturu / Istituto di cultura italiana /.

Od srdce Váš

Paul Eisner

20. března 1948

Praha XII, Moravska 43

#### [2] Paul Eisner to Roman Jakobson, 07/07/1946

Drahý pane profesore, vzácný příteli / dovolíte-li to slovo /, včera jsem dostal Vaši adresu od pí Laurinové a píšu Vám teď několik slov.

Jsem dávno už zpraven, co po zásluze znamená pro vědu USA a mám po každé znova radost, kdykoli o Vás slyším. Od první stati, kterou jsem četl od Romana Jakobsona, věřil jsem v genia Romana Jakobsona. Má víra nebyla zklamána, svět jí dá za pravdu víc a víc.

Melantrišské Listy přinesly úvod k Vaší Moudrosti starých Čechů, napsal jsem o něm článek, vyšel ve Svobodném zítřku. Hořím touhou po celku a po každé Vaší práci vůbec. Můžete tu

touhu ukojit? Můžete si napsat o svých vědeckých plánech a autorisovat mě, abych to vhodnou formou přednesl? A čím víc mi povíte o svém soukromí, tím milejší mi to bude.

Vyvázl jsem zázrakem – záměna osob, spletli si mě s jmenovcem, který jim ujel do USA. Psal jsem šest let v podzemí, teď to postupně vychází. Vznikly m.j.:

80 sonetů o češtině; velká kniha o češtině, 666 str.; kniha Čeština poklepem a poslechem/ pohledy na jednotlivá slova a rčení;/ kniha o češtině písně lidové; kniha 12 statí máchovských, v jedné z nich se mi podařil důkaz, že dlouhý úryvek z Máchově zápisníku o řečníku Broughamovi, který měl být modelem pro postavu M. J. Husi, je vypsán z Heinových Englische Fragmente. Je to důkaz exaktní, průkazný, vylučuje každou jinou možnost. Jsou v té knize i jiné věci pro Vás poutavé. Sonety a Mácha už vyšli, čekám na den, kdy Vám tu budu moci poslat.

Pak vzniklo mnoho překladů: Fabliaux / 420 str. /; Marie de France, Lais; výbor z Villona; obě hry Adama de la Halle; celý Michelangelo; dvojí velký výbor z Petrarkey; kniha staroitalské sonetistiky; velká kniha lidových písní z celého světa; Barrettová-Browningová, P. sonety; Whitman, velký výbor; Longfellow, Hiawatha; Puškin, Pohádky veršem; Mickiewicz, Krymské sonety; kniha provensálských trobadorů atd. atd., též šest knih převodů z Heina. Mám velké plány essayistické.

Chtěl bych se na nějaký čas podívat k Vám, ale to bude věc těžká, já alespoň nevím cestu. Leda tak, že bych dva semestry přednášel tady na vysoké škole politické a sociální, to bych dělal rád/ aplikovaná stylistika a translatura pro novináře, se seminářem/; ale zde je všechno tak zpolitsováno, že sotva mám naději. Kdybych totiž měl ty dva semestry, mohl bych jet jako lecturer.

Má dcera Dagmar, skvěle nadaná, má pozvání, abych učila na universitě v Richmondu / Virg. / ruštině je v ní mistryní a zároveň tam dostudovala. Má jet na podzim. Dojde-li k tomu, poprosím Vás o několik rad pro ni.

Nechci dnes psát víc, nevím, do jaké míry jsem Vám zajímavý. Prosím, pište mi a nezapomeňte zcela na člověka, který si Vás odedávna váží jako málokoho.

Jsem se stiskem ruky naprosto Váš. Pavel Eisner

7. července 1946.

### [3] Paul Eisner to Roman Jakobson, 17/10/1946

Vzácný a drahý pane profesore,

jsem šťasten, že mám Váš dopis. Ze soupisu Vašich prací přechází člověku zrak. To je výkon – v tom časovém úseku – než Hagičův. Budete, a to ještě za živa, legendární postavou v Svobodný zítřek.

Nevím ani, po které z Vašich prací toužím víc. Ale se specifického hlediska mě elektrisovala zpráva o těch pražských a českých židech. Jste prostě, jak zde už deset let říkám každému do očí, nejen ingenium se všemi atributy jednoznačné geniálnosti – jste také člověk šlechetný. V té své dálce ostatně netušíte, jak palčivě časové je to téma. Tady někteří hlupáci viní židy z činnosti germanisační, mnoho židů opouští navždy republiku, němčina jakožto řeč obcovačí stala se už pro mnohé příčinou, že mají fantastické potíže s vrácením majetku atd. atd. a je z

toho osobních a rodinných tragedií jako hub po dešti. Vaše objevné práce sem spadající jsou nejen důležitý vědecký přínos: jsou i senačně časové a přicházejí jako na zavolanou těm, kdo jsou tolik poučení, aby věděli, že Židé u nás stali se první obětí soustavné germanisace. Bude Vás zajímat, že historička umění Hana Volavková objevila a zpracovává středověké židovské matriky, v nichž se hemží pračeskými židovskými jmény, z nichž nejedno je pravou linguistickou pochoutkou. Kdyby Vás to zajímalo, napište, zjednal bych spojení, abyste ten materiál dostal. Vás však snažně prosím, abyste mi poslal a copy Vašich pojednání sem spadajících. Nemáte-li, dejte to opsat, náboženská obec Vám to rada uhradí.

Náleží k Vaší šlechtnosti, že jevíte zájem o mne, a to dokonce v perspektivách tak ideálních. Dovolte, abych Vám vyložil svůj "případ".

Nikdo mě nevyhání, mám zde to, čemu se říká opravdová posice, práce bych měl na dalších dvacet let. Ale posedl mě takový divný hlad po cizině, kterou jsem dosud nepoznal a musil zanedbávat. Takový divný hlad po katedře. Proto bych se rád na nějaký čas podíval ven. Je dost možné, že budu delegován jako smluvní profesor češtiny, slovenštiny a obou literatur na universitu v Neapoli. To by mě lákalo, protože jsem hodně pracoval v italské translaturě a essayistice a mám další obsáhlé plány. Dále mě kterýsi přítel v USA, musikolog dr. P. Nettl, nedávno vybídl, abych si podal žádost jakožto slavista pro Indianapolis. Možnost, kterou naznačujete Vy, je ovšem daleko krásnější. Nevím jen, nemám-li nejdřív na dva semestry do té Neapole a pak teprv do USA. Důvody: vyzkoušel bych na sobě aklimatisaci a osvojil bych si důležitou rutinu katedrovou. Smím se Vás zeptat, jak soudíte o takové kombinaci Vy?

A jak mám rozumět tomu případnému stipendiu z Vaší laskavé přímluvy? Znělo by na rok studia či by bylo spojeno s obligem přednášek? První možnost je, rozumí se, pro nováčka lepší. Prosím ještě o jednu laskavou informaci. Zabořil jsem se do dějin evropského sonetu, zejména slovanského. Zde je třeba obsáhlé moderní monografie. Mám pro ni některé specifické předpoklady, na př. svou translaturu ze 13 jazyků. V Itálii bych mohl solidně prostudovat materiál výchozí, t.j. sonetistiku italskou od duecenta, a v USA pak zpracovat materiál další. Soudíte, drahý příteli, že by tento monografický námět stačil na získání studijního stipendia? Zavázal bych se ke knize alespoň 40 archovéa po mnohé stránce objevné. Měl jsem právě především v Lit. hist. společnosti přednášku o zásadách, podle kterých by se měla zpracovat obrovská materie evropského sonetu. Přednáška měla jednoznačný úspěch, do debaty zasáhl i velkou výjimkou přítomný prof. Vočadlo a prof. Szykowski se co nejuvleji přidal k mému podnětu, aby byl zpracován sonet slovanský. Já tomu námětu přikládám dokonce nemalou časovost: těch 14 veršů je *ens commune* všech poesíí bílého plemene a jedním z neviditelných pojítek a význaků "bílého" umění.

Snad jsem v zajetí svých představ, právě proto o tom píšu tak podrobně, abyste mi to posoudil. Nemám ani tušení, co by takovému projektu řekli v USA; vím jen, že by vznikla kniha nikterak nudná, že by Americe pověděla velmi mnoho o Evropě a zejména o Slovanech. Byla by co nejbohatěji proložena citátovými doklady ze všech literatur, v nichž se sonet vyskytuje.

K tomu podotýkám, že mám téměř hotovou obsáhlou anthologii sonetistů duecenta, trecenta a quattrocenta. Pracuji dále o velkém výboru světové sonetistiky od začátků po dnešek. Chystám se vykopat pro nás skvělého sonetistu Cecca Angiolieriho, současníka Dantova, v jiné práci sonetistiku renesančních kurtyzán, zas v jiné onoho víc než kuriosního florentského bradýře Burchiella / XV. stol. /, o němž nevíme, byl-li to schzofrén anebo první surrealista, pět set let před surrealismem.

Před lety jste souhlasem pro mne nad jiné cenným odměnil mé *Volkslieder der Slawen*. Snad jsem Vám ještě nepsal, že hodlám celou tu práci podniknout znovu na zcela jiných základech. Najduli nakladatele, chci udělat dvousvazkovou anthologii českou, asi 1200 stránek, lidová píseň slovanská traktovaná jakožto poesie, a to velká poesie. Řadit chci materiál nikoli podle národů, nýbrž tematicky, což je daleko organičtější, a to asi takto: Dítě si hraje – O kráse a lásce – Bratr a sestra – Muž a žena / v manželství / – Díla a dnové – Náš bližní / písně škádlivé a posměšné / – Matka – Smrt – Pánbůh a všichni svatí.

Souhlasíte s tímto projektem? Máte nějaká přání? Rád je splním. Snad by se pak naskytla i možnost, aby skromnější výtah vyšel v překladu v USA, kde asi nic takového dosud nemají a kde by se takto mohli poučit o neznámém jim světě slovanské duše. Dosvědčíte mi přec, že na př. v ruské písni je opravdu celá ruská duše se všemi svými specifiky.

Hrozím se, jak Vás zabavím četbou tohoto lejstra, proto končím. Jen tolik ještě, že je mi od srdce vítáno každé Vaše slovo a neméně každý Váš tisk. Buďte ubezpečen, že bych jej ihned exploatoval pro tisk, t.h. *ad maiorem gloriam vestram*.

Se vřelým stiskem ruky

Váš

Pavel Eisner

17. října 1946.

#### [4] Paul Eisner to Roman Jakobson, 24/06/1947

Drahý a ze všech nejdražší pane profesore,

Váš laskavý dopis a stejně i fotokopie Vaší stati bloudila za mnou po Švýcarsku, kde jsem měl dvě přednášky a zdržel se tři neděle.

Děkuji Vám především za tu stat', Je to něco zcela úžasného. Vrátil jsem se teprv včera; ale mou první starostí, aby Lidovky měly v příštích dnech vydatný článek o ní. Jste jediný, naprosto jediný co do objevu takového dosahu.

Píší dnes pí Volavkové, aby se hnula s poskytnutím těch matrik. Buďte ubezpečen, že Vás nenechám déle čekat. Říkal jsem jí o to snad už dvacetkrát, ale ona he chudák jako my všichni zle zapřažena.

Jevíte napořád jedinečně laskavý zájem o tu americkou možnost pro mne. Jsem poněkud na rozpacích, s jakým návrhem bych měl přijít. Mám dávného koníčka – slovanské postavy v německé beletrii. Před lety jsem pomýšlel ne tlustopis, a to dost poutavý. Dnes je možné, že všechno slovanské je v USA tak nepopulární, že by takový studijní námět valně nenadchl. Ale dal by se rozšířit na téma obecné: německá duše a lidstvo v zrcadle německé krásné literatury.

Téma nikoli akademické. Spatřuji přímo psychickou konstantu německého člověka, že si nestačí, že hltá cizinu, proto i cizí lidi. Známý fakt heteroethické atrakce erotické je u Němců a proto i u jejich autorů vyhrocen do krajnosti. Podle toho, jak se jednotlivým národům staví německá ideologie, vznikají pak nejrůznější varianty citových vztahů. To soustavně prostu dovát a exaktně doložit na obrovitém objektu německé poesie a prózy bylo by nemalým

příspěvkem k poznání mnohoklanné [sic!] německé duše. Ovšem – za rok se téma tak gigantické dá zvládnout jen v kostře, jen v reprezentantech zvláště významných.

Posoudit můj nápad můžete ovšem jen a jen Vy. Myslím jen, že USA mají germanistů mnoho, ale sotva muže s nitrnou průpravou pro takový námět. I židovství emigranti bývají naprosto v zajetí německého mentálního ghetta – jak velmi, vyrozumívám nepřímo i z narážek Vaší geniální stati.

Dovolte mi ještě dotaz. Řídím český soubor Franze Kafky, jsem dobrých dvacet let kafkovským specialistou. Měl jsem 9. června t. r. na basilejské universitě přednášku o pražských kořenech Kafkových, byl to velký úspěch. Vycházím z toho, že všechny výklady Franze Kafky na západě jsou bez pokladu in realis; že Kafka není tragedie židovské diaspory, nýbrž tragedie pražského německého žida a jen německého; že Kafkovi bez Prahy nelze vůbec porozumět. Má přednáška byla pouhou kostrou zcela exaktního essaye, který přinese věci v kafkovské literatuře naprosto nové. Rozsah asi 4 tiskové archy. Má práce přihlédně též k Werfloví, Rilkoví a jiných zjevech symbiotických. České vydání je zajištěno, dojde patrně i k německému ve Švýcarsku. Šlo by mi velmi o edici americkou. Nezapírám, že i pro ty dolary. A to proto, že se člověk plně nezávislý dostane od nás do ciziny nejspíš tehdy, má-li tam nějaké peníze. A já bych potřeboval studijní pobyt hned např. některých evropských zemích, proto i transfer těch dolarů na místo pobytu. Byl bych Vám velmi povděčen za slovo, kam se v USA s tím tiskem obrátit. Nevím též, je-li možný tisk kombinovaný, tj. nejdřív v revui / na pokračování /, pak samostatná publikace. Předložil bych dokonalou verzi německou. A konečně nemám tušení, co lze za takovou práci čekat, žádat a dostat. Opakuji jen, že to je v moři literatury o Kafkovi hlas zcela nový, přitom exaktní, přesný a proto přesvědčující.

Děkuji Vám za všechno z toho srdce.

Váš Paul Eisner

24. VI. 47

#### **[5] Paul Eisner to Roman Jakobson, 03/09/1948**

Drahý pane profesore,

není tomu dlouho, co jste si na mne tak hezky vzpomněl. Děkuji Vám od srdce. Dnes dovolte, abych Vám podal tuto zprávu:

má dcera Dagmar měla letos jakožto vynikající anglistka od pražského ministerstva školství letní stipendium pro prázdnové kursy na londýnské universitě. Zatím co je ještě v Anglii, přišla věc, se kterou jsme ani už nepočítali na návrh pražského školství dostala Dagmar od Institute of International Education roční stipendium na Temple University ve Filadelfii. Má tam dovršit svou specialisaci pro americkou literaturu.

Sháním teď zuřivě všechna potřebná lejstra a razítka, neboť i min. školství soudí, že by to byl nesmysl, kdyby se Dagmar z Londýna vrátila do Prahy a hned zas jela nanovo. Pokoušíme se tedy, aby mohla do USA přímo z Londýna-Southamptonu. Času zbývá málo, ale ještě doufáme, že to stihneme. Pro Dagmar je totiž rezervováno místo na SS. Marine Jumper, odjezd Southampton 22. září t.r., příjezd Nový York 1. října t.r.

Prosím Vás snažně, abyste laskavě zařídil, aby ji někdo očekával u parníku a aby mohla u někoho přespat, než příštího dne nastoupí cestu do Filadelfie. Píšu v tomto smyslu také pí dceři

Gustava Sterna. Jeho adresu nemám zpravte s mými oddanými pozdravy i jeho. Prohlašuji, že Dagmar prosím, buďte tak skvělý a nebude po ten studijní rok nikoho hmotně potřebovat, má své stipendium a kromě toho jí bude pražská Národní banka povolovat 50 \$ kapesného měsíčně. Jde mi však nekonečně o to, aby lidé Jako Vy a Gustav věděli o její přítomnosti v zemi. Je to naše jediné dítě, a takové, že si zaslouží každé lásky; pochopíte, jak je člověku.

Popíšu Vám ji dokonale slušný a čistý člověk, dokonalé chování. Hezká. Jednoznačné velké nadání literární a literárně vědní. Superiorní dar kritický, detektorský zrak. Klasická dokonalost v ústním i písemném projevu českém a německém. Nejlepší anglistka Karlovy university od revoluce. Mluví sensačně rusky. Překládá krásně poesii ruskou a anglickou. Mluví velmi dobře francouzsky. Má pěkné základy italštiny a španělštiny. Shrnuji: čtyři jazyky má dokonale češtinu, němčinu, angličtinu, ruštinu. To prozatím. Byla hors concours favoritkou Edwina Muira a Vašeho prof. Mathiessena. Její úmysl je dokonalá specialisace na literaturu americkou. U člověka jako ona nelze však dohlédnout finální možnost, kdyby se jí dostalo vedení nějaké opravdu velké hlavy. Je nadmíru kritická k svým učitelům. Přál bych jí, aby se nějakými oklikami sto čila k Vám jako Vaše žačka. Nemějte to, prosím, za blábolení pošetilého táty: věřte, že jde o ingenium zcela neobyčejné. A prosím Vás snažně: dejte jí trochu svého zájmu!

Referuji: přednášel jsem o Vás na fakultě v Praze jako přednášečský host spolku židovských akademiků. Přednášel jsem o Vás před 14 dny v lázních Houštce mezinárodnímu letnímu táboru židovských akademiků z celé Evropy. Za to však: můj článek o Vás pro Lidovky byl bohemistou, kterého nechci jmenovat, seškrtán a oslaben tak, že jsem se vzdal otisku a odvolal jej.

Budete tak laskav a potvrdíte mi pro mé uklidnění tento dopis?

Tisknu Vám oddaně ruku.

Naprosto Váš

Pavel Eisner

3. září 1948.

Praha XII Moravská 43

#### [6] Paul Eisner to Roman Jakobson, 25/12/1948

Drahý pane profesore,

ihned, jakmile jsem dostal Váš dopis, požádal jsem naléhavě dr. Volavkovou, aby Vám ihned poslala ten jmenný matriční materiál. Paní dr. Volavková mi to slíbila napevno a bez výhrad; jak jsem spraven, opravdu odeslala zásilku prostřednictvím ministerstva informací.

Přál jste si dále, abych Vám poslal svou vlastní práci. Toto přání se zakládá na nedorozumění. Není žádné takové práce; vpojil jsem jen do stati o podílu židů na české literatuře nadšené zmínky o Vašich sensačních výzkumech. Z toho Vy však pro svou nynější práci nic nemáte mít nemůžete.

Díky za účast s Dagmařiným utrpením. Zatím se stalo něco nového: Dagmar dostala stipendium Rockefellerovy nadace – tedy ještě nad to dosavadní stipendium filadelfské, jež bylo od Institute for International Education. Začne teď boj o visum znova. Nevím dosud

podrobnosti, kdy má nastoupit atd-, ale je to věc takového dosahu, že Váš již nyní pěkně prosím, abyste vahou svého velkého jména přispěl k tomu, aby Dagmar to stipendium, jež je zároveň vyznamenáním – a to zaslouženým v jejím případě – mohla realizovat. Prosím Vaší laskavost, abyste o věci zpravil i drahého Gustava, jemuž – jako Vám a Vaší paní choti – přeji do nového roku mnoho úspěchu, mnoho radosti a trochu spokojenosti se světe trochu moudřejším a lidštějším.

Jsem, vzácný příteli, od srdce Váš

Paul Eisner

25. prosince 1948

**[7] Roman Jakobson to Paul Eisner, 06/12/1948**

V New Yorku 06.12.‘48

Dr. Pavel Eisner,

Praha XII.,

Moravská 33.

Drahý pane doktore,

čekali jsme na Vaši dcerušku a moje že jela do přístavu, ale nadarmo. Holi jsme pak od ní dopis, vysvětlující zdržení. Přijede-li, rádi ji tu pomůžeme. Na přání nakladatelství Sfinx, poslal jsem pro nové vydání sborníku “Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu” opravenou a doplněnou versi obou svých, totiž Olafa Jansena, článků z prvního vydání a nový článek “Řeč a písemnictví českých židů v době přemyslovské”, shrnující hlavní závěry mého výzkum na tomto poli. Rozhodl jsem se, že vydám zde anglicky svou zevrubnou monografii o této otázce; pro její detailní bibliografii potřebuji ovšem Vaši brožuru, která se mé práce dotýká o níž jste se zmínil ve svém dopisu skoro před rokem. Máte-li ji pošlete mi Ji laskavě prostřednictvím ministerstva informací. Můžete ji tam zaslat sl. J. Hankové pro mne. Nemáte-li žádný výtisk, napište mi aspoň přesný název, rok a místo vydání a ve dvou třech větách obsah. Pro kapitolu o slovanských osobních jménech u českých židů bych potřeboval jako sůl ty nově objevené staré matriky, o nichž jste mi několikrát psal anebo aspoň výtah jmen z nich, ovšem budu v práci jmenovat s náležitým vyzvednutím objevitelku. Může mi to býti zasláno rovněž prostřednictvím ministerstva informací. Věc spěchá, jelikož na knize pracuji a doufám, že přinese čtenářstvu dosti menších i větších překvapení. Vůbec jsem v literární horečce, nemoci, kterou dobře znáte. Rád bych o Vás slyšel. Ozvěte se laskavě!

Oddaně Váš,

Roman Jakobson

#### A.5.4 Georgij Vernadskij

##### [1] Roman Jakobson to Georgij Vernadskij, 23/02/1948

February 23, 1948

Dear G. V.,

In English I can dictate, so it goes much faster.

Struve's attitude is stupid: Fonvizins Ivanushka is eternal. Our Igor Tale will come from the printers this week, from the binder March 5<sup>th</sup>. Unfortunately, I overlooked Mazon's paper in the *Compte-rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, 1944, about Bantyš-Kamenskij as the presumable author of the Slovo. I think it is the most illiterate and scandalous academic article that I have ever read in my life. His basic argument is that Bantyš kept suspiciously silent at the discussion of the Slovo. As a matter of fact, he was dead at that time.

I will be very thankful to you if you write me to what historical journals our book can sent for review, and whether you know some scholars who could write for these journals. What about, for instance, the young Lossky?

As you probably know, Buck and I didn't agree about the program of Slavic studies at Harvard, and I definitely decided to stay at Columbia. Frankly speaking, I feel easier. The prospect of leaving New York for Cambridge scared both Svatja and myself. It is still unclear to me whether Simmons will stay or go there.

Columbia Library received many Polish books. Among them some new publications. One particularly may interest you. It is Zajanczkowski's book about the Khazars which makes a serious impression. He considers the Hebrew Khazar documents as a Jewish forgery of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, based on a number of genuine facts, but tendentiously arranging them. He mentions several interesting Iranian borrowings in the Western Karaims language, and the ethnic name Alan, which in the language means giant. When will your second volume appear? I hope to visit you in March when presenting a copy to Rostovtzeff. It is a pity that you are no longer in New York. it's true that I had no time to talk, but there was the agreeable feeling that it's possible.

With heartiest regards to both of you.

Yours, Roman Jakobson

##### [2] Georgij Vernadskij to Roman Jakobson, 01/04/1948

1 апреля 48

Дорогой Роман Осипович,

Только что получил Ваше письмо со вложения копии письма Форда-Seibold. Прямо похоже на первоапрельную штуку! Руками развожу – думал, что ты перечитал удивлятые такой логике и невежеству, но вот все еще приходится удивлятые.

Мне неудобно писать Форду, т. и. в сборнике есть и мои статья. Попросите Мозли и Робинсона – я уверен, что они поймут нелепость позиции Форда. Если же они почему-нибудь не захотели в это выведываться, попросите Карповича и Лабанова-Ростовенного.

Кроме того ведь остается еще возможность (на крайний случай) – Сергей Осипович может поместить не рецензию а “notice” в своем отделе.

Я думаю Андрей Лосский очень хорошо справится с рецензией. Лучше всего айте ему (если вообще это устроится).

Постараюсь найти покупателей среди своих студентов или вообще знакомых, но вряд ли многих найду.

Пока всего лучшего. Ваш ГВернадский

**[3] Roman Jakobson to Georgij Vernadskij, 05/05/1948**

May 5, 1948

Dear G. V.,

I heard that your second volume appeared and I am happy to congratulate you. As you saw from the departmental bibliography in Old Russian Literature, I included it on the list even before its appearance. I was terribly busy during the past few weeks: The placing of the Igor book, a responsible report for the Paris Congress, the end of the Academic year and so on. I would like to give you at least a short survey of the reactions to the book. Out success is indeed general and enormous, very spontaneous. Various European and American scholars emphasize the high tecnics of the philological edition at and of all comments and the definitive decisive character of the proof of authenticity. Mazon's authority is considered as seriously shattered. This is the unanimous opinion of such French slavists as Tesnière /who writes of the Slovo for the Bulletin of the Paris Linguistic Society/, Luciani, Pascal, Labry, and even Unbegaun who wrote me that we brilliantly gained the cause. Also outside France, the slavists are enthusiastic, particularly Barnwell in Ljubljana, Karcevski, Trypucko, etc. Likewise the scholars of neighboring disciplines as Minorsky, Dvorník, Vasiliev, the linguists Benveniste and Sommerfelt, and various French mediaevalists who particularly appreciate the collective character of the work and consider it as an ideal model for studies of mediaeval Romance epos. Grégoire was at the beginning at the height of enthusiasm and praised the excellent presentation of your cause, Szeftel's careful comments, and my discoveries of the Byzantine sources; but later he was influenced by Mazon's brother and friends who accused me of having attacked the poor Mazon too violently and mercilessly. And after having covered me with compliments now Grégoire reproaches me for a Russian vendetta. I stopped answering him and sent him only extracts from the many praising letters we received. His review appeared in Flambeau, let ich is not yet available here. It was extremely panegyric but I suspect he added some mustard in the proofs. The only opposition again our rehabilitation of the Slovo is presented by Struve, who sent me even a copy of an absurd letter which his father had written to Mazon insisting that Slovo was composed around the 17<sup>th</sup> century! I am glad that not Struve but Arsenev writes about our book for the London Slavonic Review. Lednicki seems to sympathize with Struve and grumbles apropos of your article. The last on the list of the representatives of the “opposition” are Whitfield and Coleman. I don t believe that there will be serious polemics against us, but somewhere I observe a tendency to keep silent about the book. The stubborn position of the editor of the American Historical Review seems to me to be rather symptomatic.

Simmons' refusal to accept Harvard stabilized the situation in our department and we are going forward in a new spurt. There are rumors that Struve and Lednicki are invited there as visitors. I am very happy that you will be in New York for the next Spring Session. I don't teach this Winter but for the Spring I already announced a research course in Old Russian Epics where we can examine some new problems of the Slovo and Zadonščina and a course in Old Church Slavonic Poetry. Finally, I will give a course in the history of the Russian Language. I hope our Epic Studies will be printed during this Summer. It must appear before the end of the year, as Bakhmetev insists with reason. Did you receive the edition of all the variants of Zadonščina which has been published by the Slovanský ústav in Prague. I was happy to hear from you about the British confirmation of your discovery. It would be nice to meet you in the near future and to discuss orally all our current questions.

Xristos voskrese!

Devotedly yours, Roman Jakobson

P.S. I received from V. P. Trubetzkoy's manuscript of his Old Church Slavonic Grammar and I hope to publish it here.

**[4] Roman Jakobson to Georgij Vernadskij, 14/05/1948**

May 14, 1948

Dear G. V.,

Thank you for your brilliant and remarkable book which will enter into the small series of fundamental books about Russia and Russian literature. It's true that I had already read the manuscript, but now seeing the whole picture, I only can realize how enormous an achievement it is. May I wish you health and energy to continue this work which no one else could do.

After I wrote you my last letter I received a lot of new appreciations of our common Igor volume. But after "a barrel of honey" there came the indispensable "spoon of tar", Grégoire's review in FLAMBEAU. I am including the first letter of Grégoire in abbreviated copy and my answer to his review, which I am not sending to him expecting your and Szeftel's reaction. I am writing at the same time to Szeftel. I am sending you the FLAMBEAU with Grégoire's review in it. Read it and send it immediately to Szeftel. I suggest that both you and Szeftel send me additional letters for Grégoire. I hope that our three protests together will impress him more. The first "spoon of tar" is not the last, believe me. Various types of fights against us for Mazon's thesis are a characteristic manifestation of a widespread campaign for a denial of the Russian cultural past. We will see many surprises, and we must be very vigilant, it's not an exaggeration. Unfortunately Mazon's friends are much more active than our friends. You cannot imagine how difficult it is to mobilize the reviewers. Today it's clear to everybody that Mazon's thesis of a forged monument is lost, but it will be replaced by the thesis of a rather spurious, suspect monument.

Anxious to have your reaction,

Devotedly yours, Roman Jakobson

**[5] Roman Jakobson to Georgij Vernadskij, 29/05/1948**

May 29, 1948

Dear G. V.,

Your answer to Gregoire is excellent, quite noble, calm and severe. I thank you heartily. The Igor struggle has to be unconditionally won. I just received the Prague edition of the Zadonscina variants. It is very important for a consistent analysis of this curious tale. This semester, for me, was very exhausting. I am tired but I hope to recover quickly for I have many literary plans for the coming month. Expression of approval for our Igor volume continue to come in. Arseniev sent a very nice review to the London Slavonic Review. When do you leave New Heaven? I stay in New York until June 18<sup>th</sup> and I almost decided not to go to Europe.

I am including Abatskij's letter. Send it back to me for my answer to him.

Devotedly yours, Roman Jakobson

**[6] Roman Jakobson to Georgij Vernadskij, 19/07/1949**

July 19, 1949

Professor G. V. Vernadsky  
3301 St. Paul Street  
Baltimore 18, Md.

Dear G. V.,

I will be happy to help as far as possible Puškarev. Unfortunately nothing can be done before the fall and I am rather sceptic as far as the Wasson Committee is concerned. Experience has shown that it is difficult to use it for some other purpose than support of publications. I would like very much to see you, and I will try to stop in New Heaven on one of my future trips between New York and Cambridge. The Russian Epic studies will appear in September. My recovery shows down my usual summer research work, and is slower than one would wish. I read some new Russian papers giving to official line to linguistics and literary scholarship, the most stupid and lamentable things I have saw. As far as stupidity is concerned, did you see Mazon's answer to our geste in the latest British Slavonic Review? Too illiterate even for Mazon. Please advise me, have I to answer, or is it superfluous? How does your other volume progress?

With heartiest wishes, to both of you from both of us.

Yours as ever, Roman Jakobson

**[7] Georgij Vernadskij to Roman Jakobson, 06/11/1948**

6 ноября 1948

Дорогой Роман Осипович,

Большое спасибо за список Ваших ученых трудов.

Приглашаю при сам оба письма ко мне от Елизаветы Эдуардовны Малер (вверните их мне пожалуйста по прочтении). Повидимому она собрала очень ценные материалы и нужно было бы их опубликовать. Но как это сделать? Не можете ли вы это как нибудь устроить через Columbia Press? В Yale's безнадежно не стоит даже с ними говорить.

Пока всего лучшего.

Ваш Вернадский

P.S. На всякий случай вот адрес Елизаветы Эдуардовны:  
Prof. Dr. E. Mahler  
Steinengraben, 10  
Basel, Switzerland

**[8] Roman Jakobson to Georgij Vernadskij, 22/11/1948**

November 22, 1948

Dear G.V.,

This is in answer to your three November letters. Nykl is a Czech polyglot with a lot of most varied but completely unsystematic knowledges. Both scholarly and politically, and as it seems personally, he is considered as very unreliable, liking cheap publicity and quite a bit crazy. I'm always very skeptical of his hypotheses for his extreme dilettantism.

The letters of Maler are interesting, touching, and sad. The anti-Russian mood will soon make Russian, and in general Slavic studies, extremely difficult. I have had a lot of proofs. I have now so tiring and arduous struggles in Columbia concerning the most different questions, as for instance the invitation of Cizevsky, the continued stay of Lotz, the publication of our Russian Spic Studies, the possibilities for my own research work, that I am thoroughly disgusted and begin to believe that there is no place for scholarship in the post-war, or maybe inter-war, period. I was obliged to come for these reasons repeatedly to New York, interrupting my leave and research work and losing a lot of time and energy, I must confess, still without appreciable results. The plan of raising a fund for serious Slavistic publications is still alive, thanks to the indefatigable optimism and energy of Wasson. And ever, it is becoming more concrete. Yesterday I had a conference with him about the possibilities of its realization and I myself was at the end rather optimistic but today I am confronting new obstacles. In any case, I believe that the coming few months will positively or negatively but definitely clear the situation, With this plan, with Cizevsky's arrival, and with my own pro- gram for the future. If Wasson's plan succeeds, I will immediately propose the publication of Maler's book. I will envisage also some other possibilities. Permit me to keep her letters for this purpose. I will return them to you in a few weeks.

As far as Arbatskij is concerned, I am sorry not to be able to help directly for reasons similar to yours, but I will ask informed people about some other concrete possibilities for him and I will write you.

In order not to finish my letter with such a despondent note, here are some of my new conjectures around the Slovo. Simeon's son, the magician and werewolf Bojan, according to Liudprand, is named Benjamin in the Bulgarian sources, but Benjamin in the Book of Genesis is characterized as a rapacious wolf, and the medieval Slavic Jews translated the name Benjamin into Slavic as simply 'vlk'. Secondly, as you know, the Saltani of the Slovo are maybe the Caspian rulers attacked in the 70's of the 12th century by the Russians according to Khaqani. Menges insists that the title Sultan is perfectly plausible in this case.

As ever yours, Roman Jakobson

**[9] Roman Jakobson to Georgij Vernadskij, 09/06/1953**

June 9, 1953

Professor George Vernadsky  
558 Orange Street  
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Georgij Vladimirovich,

Enthusiastic congratulations on your splendid third volume and many, many thanks. I prepare myself to study this great new achievement, but I already glanced through the chapters which particularly interest me and I was most impressed by their richness, clarity and newness of the pictures you give, and by the wide outlooks they open. The period with which you are dealing is now particularly close to me because I am working with ism my students on the analysis and reconstruction of the Zadonshchina. which appears as a highly interesting and in many respects unexpected monument and document. With Szeftel I am preparing for the Bollingen Series a 500 page exhaustive critical edit ion of the Slovo and Zadonshchina, with a new, beautiful English translation by Nabokov. I am ewer to see you again and to have a good talk with you. In the early Pall I hope to visit New Heaven.

With best wished to both of you for a relaxing and productive summer, and with expectations of the fourth Muscovite volume of your History.

Yours sincerely, Roman Jakobson

**[10] Roman Jakobson to Georgij Vernadskij, 21/06/1956**

June 21, 1956

Professor G. Vernadsky 558 Orange Street  
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Professor Vernadsky,

Recently I returned from my nine-day sojourn in Moscow where I took part in the meeting of the International Committee of Slavists, invited by the Russian Academy of Sciences. May I give you a brief report of my sojourn. The atmosphere in the Committee and in the Academy

was most friendly. Not the slightest political conflict arose. From the West there were present Mazon, Lo Gatto, Miss Hill, Vasmer, Stender-Petersen, Gunnarsson, and Jagoditsch. From the Slavic countries there were Belic, Lehr-Splawinski, Havranek and Georgiev.

I was entirely free in my movements and relations, and saw really hundreds of old friends, acquaintances and colleagues, as well as scholars and students whom I met for the first time. Everybody was happy to meet and talk, and most of them discussed everything very freely. One could characterize the mood as the honeymoon of a security and relative freedom after the incredible terror of the post-war years. I was strongly impressed by how the great majority of scholars, poets, etc., not only of our generation, but even the younger ones, remained, despite years of obligatory camouflage, actually the same people whom you and I knew during our student years. The attitude towards the administration is: *noli tangere*. There is a great feeling of self-dignity and pride in the academic caste, which has remained and even become more than earlier a real caste. The numerous intellectuals returning from banishment and concentration camps are accepted with honor by their colleagues. Those who perished are officially rehabilitated and have in the intellectual milieu a nimbus of martyrs, and their manuscripts are being published and their books reprinted. Names until recently condemned, as Veselovskij, are celebrated; subjects until recently prohibited become most popular, as for instance the Western influence on Russian literature.

Among Moscow scholars are high respect and friendly interest in the activities of their emigrant colleagues. People send greetings to you, Karpovich, Nikolaevsky, etc. Nobody is able to predict the further development, but everybody is convinced that there is no return to Stalin's times.

I was especially asked about you by the very brilliant young historian, Likhachov, and Professor Il'ja Nikolaevich Borozdin asked me to give you his best regards and to tell you that he would be most happy to have the last published volume of your Russian history because he is particularly concerned with the Tartar epoch. His address is Voronezh, Gosudarstvennyj universitet, Kafedra vseobshchej istorii. Experience shows that only registered mail reaches the addresses.

With best wishes to both of you

Your sincerely, Roman Jakobson

#### **A.5.5 Vladimir Nabokov**

##### **[1] Vladimir Nabokov to Roman Jakobson 23/12/1949**

23-XII-1949

Дорогой Роман Осипович,

Мне никак не удастся напечатать статью, которую я написал по поводу Вашей книги о «Слове». Нью Юркер и Партизан нашли, что вопрос слишком для них специальный. Антополог и Гурьян напечатали бы, если бы я ее сократил (в ней 12 страниц), но сократить статью значило бы ее испортить. Мореншильд написал, что у него уже есть “такая же” статья.

Круг моего журнального знакомства ограничивается изданиями литературными или энтомологическими. Нет ли у Вас каких-нибудь соображений в рассуждении подходящего для неё пристанища? Никогда еще не бывал бы таком глупом положении – под вечер осень ненастной, с плодом в руках, в местах довольно-таки пустынных.

Желаю Вам приятных праздников. Будьте здоровы.

Искренне Ваш

Владимир Набоков

**[2] Roman Jakobson to Vladimir Nabokov 09/01/1950**

20A Prescott Street  
January 9, 1950

Dear Professor Nabokov:

I am answering your letter in English because then I can use the typewriter. I hasten to inform you that I have discussed the matter with Harry Lovin. He shares with me the indignation in the lack of interest of the New Yorker etc., for the topics you treat and he suggested as the most convenient solution that you send it to Philip Blair Rico, now editor of the Konyon Review and mention that it was made on Harry's suggestion. He is quite sure that the paper will be accepted. When you do it, please inform Harry and he will drop a letter to Rico. This solution also seems best to me and I am looking forward to reading your paper.

I was happy to learn from Szeftel and Karpovich that you have completed your translation of the Slovo. If you agree, Karpovich and I will definitely put it in one of the first places in the list of the classical works of Slavic literatures which we intend to publish, primarily for the needs of students. It would be a little volume, including besides your translation the original text of the Slovo in the same shape as in our French edition but the footnotes will be reduced to only a brief indication of the necessary conjectures. A reconstructed text in the language of the 12th century will perhaps follow again and finally there will be a line by line commentary to the Slovo made by Szeftel and me together, condensing and completing the material we presented in our French book and offering the whole matter in a more readable and agreeable way. Please write me whether you are in accord and I will be grateful for suggestions.

By the way, in verse 160 larchik prosto otkryvalsja: river on which Putivl stands was called in Old Russia Dunaj.

I ordered a few copies of our book Russian Epic Studies, which just appeared and is devoted primarily to the Slovo and I will send you a copy as soon as I obtain them.

It would be nice to see you as our guest in Cambridge in the not too distant future. With best New Years wishes.

Yours as ever, Roman Jakobson

**[3] Vladimir Nabokov to Roman Jakobson, 16/01/1950**

16 January 1950

Dear Jakobson,

Many thanks for your kind letter. By a curious coincidence, I had just received from my friend John Ransom, Editor of the Kenyon Review, a letter asking for some contribution, and had promptly sent the article in question. Thanks all the same for Harry's offer of assistance.

As I recently wrote Szeftel, my translation of "Slovo" does not satisfy me yet. I can promise to complete it for you, only if no too rigid time limit is set. I have no objections to your including it in your list. You might also mention a prose translation of "Evgeniy Onegin" on which I am working, if this fits into your list.

Is the name of Musin-Pushkin's agent known? And from whom exactly did he acquire the "Slovo"? Nowhere can I find any answer to this.

Many thanks for the two papers you kindly sent me. I am looking forward to reading them during the February recess. I don't know the present whereabouts of Szeftel but if you are in touch with him, please thank him (and Czizhevsky) on my behalf.

I may be in Cambridge some time in spring and it would be nice to see you.

Cordially yours, Vladimir Nabokov

**[4] Roman Jakobson to Vladimir Nabokov, 18/01/1950**

20A Prescott Street  
January 18, 1950

Dear Professor Nabokov

I am very glad that your paper will appear in the Kenyon Review and that you agree to include in our series your translation of the Slovo. Of course there is no particular rush with the completing of this edition.

As far as I know, the name of Musin-Pushkin's agent who acquired the manuscript containing the Slovo is unknown. The only thing we know is that Musin-Pushkin used several commissioners whom he sent to buy manuscripts for his library. According to the official version, the manuscript was bought from the collection of the Jaroslavl arkhimandrit, Ioil', and there is a good paper about him by V. Danilov in the historical journal Dela i dni, 1920, I, page 389-391. However, as I mentioned in my introductory paper in La Geste, Polevoj, in Moskovskij Telegraf, 1833, page 423, affirms that Musin-Pushkin had this manuscript from the old Pantalejmons Monastery at Pskov and the late Ioil' was mentioned only because it was not decent to acknowledge that the collector acquired manuscripts from monastery libraries. If Polevoj is right, it would fit very well to the Pskov ortho- graphic features of the manuscript and to the specific character of the Pskov manuscript tradition in general.

It will be a pleasure to see you as our guest in Spring in Cambridge. Yours sincerely, Roman Jakobson

**[5] Vladimir Nabokov to Roman Jakobson, 05/05/1950**

5 May 1950

Dear Jakobson,

I would like to ask you something. It is absolutely confidential, as I would not like Cornell to hear of these “demarches” especially as nothing may come of them.

For several reasons I am not at all satisfied with my present position. One of these reasons is the very small student enrollment of the Russian Literature Department, the result of the poor preparation they receive at the very mediocre Russian Language Department. Moreover, this poor preparation does not allow me to organize my courses on the level than one would normally expect to exist at a firstclass university. A further reason is that I do not receive an adequate salary.

That I presume that you are the person who is likely to know most about existing openings in the Russian Departments of our larger universities. So -- very tentatively -- I stretch out my feelers and would very much appreciate any information coming from you about these matters.

Let me repeat that it means very much to me that this query should for the present remain strictly between you and me.

I am sorry to say my paper on “Slovo” is still going the rounds. Eventually I shall have to send you a copy, just because I like the article myself. Sincerely, Vladimir Nabokov

**[6] Vladimir Nabokov to Roman Jakobson 23/01/1952**

January 28, 1952

Dear Jakobson,

I shall be heading for Cambridge on Friday, and my address there will be 9 Maynard Place, telephone Kirkland 7-7026. I shall ring you up soon upon my arrival. It will be a pleasure to see you again.

The Bard is coming with me, in a rough but buoyant condition.

I have done a little spade work in connection with my English Onegin but it is clear to me that I shall never be able to tackle it properly unless the Guggenheims step in. I have taken the liberty to give your name to them as a reference on my application.

There is another matter on which I shall seek your advice. My boy, a Freshman at Harvard, is very anxious to take a course with you. His Russian is as fluent as his English but when he writes it his grammar is appalling) As he is very gifted for languages, he would make a good student in an advanced course, but I wonder if a course exists to meet this particular situation (in Cornell there is nothing of the kind).

I would appreciate an opportunity to discuss this matter with you before registration. Very sincerely yours, Vladimir Nabokov

**[7] Vladimir Nabokov to Roman Jakobson 23/10/1952**

October 23, 1952

Dear Jakobson,

I have adopted all your corrections -- many thanks for them.

On a separate page I list those passages for which you asked me to think up more exact versions. The rest of your suggestions you have, I presume, simply inserted into your copy. If you like, I can send you a second corrected copy.

Another thing. I have a bundle of notes that I jotted down while translating the Slovo. Most of them are, of course, superfluous; but I am sending you the whole bunch, so that you may select for footnotes to my translation those that would not clash with or overlap your notes or those of Szeftel. I think some are rather rich and racy.

In Cambridge the other day we had the pleasure of glimpsing your wife and were sorry to miss you.

Sincerely, Vladimir Nabokov

P.S. I have been asked to recommend a reliable young person to teach Russian (language and literature) at an Australian university. Could you suggest someone who would be really good?

**[8] Roman Jakobson to Vladimir Nabokov and Mark Szeftel 10/12/1952**

Professor Vladimir Nabokov and Professor Mare Szeftel  
Cornell University Ithaca, New York

Dear Friends,

I rush to inform both of you that I had a most pleasant and encouraging talk with John D. Barrett, the Vice-President of the Bollingen Foundation. I am sending you a copy of my letter to him where I sum up, according to his request, the results of our conversation. He said that he has no doubt that this volume, which he and Mr. Hartington Cairns are strongly recommending, will be accepted at the next meeting of the Foundation in early January. He emphasized that he is most happy to have in the publishing plan of the Foundation for the nearest future such an interesting and important publication, the more that it is closely linked thematically to books the Foundation has new in press, namely the English translation of Curtius' "European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages" and Ceznec's "The Survival of Ancient Gods".

When I receive the final information, I will immediately contact both of you to discuss the technicalities of our common work,

With best wishes,  
Yours sincerely, Roman Jakobson (signed in absence)

**[9] Roman Jakobson to Vladimir Nabokov and Mark Szeftel 23/01/1953**

Professor Vladimir Nabokov, and  
Professor Marc Szeftel  
Cornell University Ithaca, New York

Dear Friends

I am happy to send you the letter of the Vice-President of the Bollingen Foundation, informing us that our book is accepted, and a copy of my answer to Mr. Barrett. I think that both for the talking over of all the technicalities to be arranged with the publisher, and for the settling of the whole plan of our common publication, it is necessary for all three of us to meet together. Please suggest to me what will be the best place and the nearest date for such a meeting. I believe that Cambridge would be the most comfortable for such a discussion, since all the necessary material is at hand, either in my private book collection and in the Widener Library. Since you, Nabokov, have planned a longer visit here, and since, Szeftel, a modest support for your trip to Cambridge seems to me feasible, I propose to you to discuss this possibility. The other possibility would be for all three of us to meet in New York for our discussion of the whole matter, and for a subsequent common visit to Mr. Barrett. I ask you only not to postpone your decision, and to inform me at your earliest convenience. Superfluous to add that I am most happy to be now in the position to realize with both of you this publication, which promises to be fundamental.

Yours as ever, Roman Jakobson

**[10] Vladimir Nabokov to Roman Jakobson 29/05/1953**

May 29, 1953

Dear Jakobson,

We are leaving Portal on Monday, June 1. Our next address will be "General Delivery, Ashland, Oregon". The weather here is so distressing that there seems to be no point in trying to stay any longer in Arizona.

I wonder if you ever received my letter. I want to tell you quite frankly that my finances are in an extremely precarious state, and that I rather count upon Bollinger deal. I would very much appreciate, therefore, if you could write me as soon as possible (to Ashland) how the matter stands.

With the academic year over, I wish you a pleasant summer.

Best wishes from both of us to both of you. Vladimir Nabokov

**[11] Roman Jakobson to Vladimir Nabokov 08/06/1953**

June 8, 1953

Dear Nabokov,

In April I received from the Bellingin Foundation the draft of the contract to be sent to all three of us, and I returned it for a few corrections which I suggested in accordance with my previous

oral negotiation. When your first Arizona letter reached me, I had a long distance talk with Mr. Barrett, who fully agreed with the proposed corrections and promised me to send to all three of us at the end of May the copies of the definitive contract for signature, after which we will receive the first half of the payment supplementary to the royalties. This half would be \$500 for you and \$250 for each of the other two editors.

It seems to me that Brandeis' plan to have you as full professor may be interesting both financially and because life in Cambridge is more attractive than in Ithaca. Therefore I recommend to you to pay due attention to the initiative of Dean Cheskis.

With best summer wishes to both of you,

Yours as ever, Roman Jakobson

**[12] Vladimir Nabokov to Roman Jakobson 08/10/1954**

October 8, 1954

Dear Jakobson,

I am eagerly waiting for the ZADONSHCHINA material as I would like to do this work now.

I hope you have had a pleasant summer. There is just a chance that I may be in Cambridge for Thanksgiving but I am afraid there is little chance of finding you there at that time. I shall try to phone you, anyway, if I get there.

My wife joins me in sending you and Mrs. Jakobson our kindest regards.

Sincerely, Vladimir Nabokov

**[13] Roman Jakobson to Vladimir Nabokov 16/10/1954**

October 16, 1954

Dear Nabokov:

I am sorry to have delayed the Zadonshchina material but I have been in bad shape during the last month. You will have it, however, in the near future. I hope very much to welcome you in Cambridge at your promised visit.

With best wishes to both of you.

Yours sincerely, Roman Jakobson

**[14] Vladimir Nabokov to Roman Jakobson 01/12/1954**

Дорогой Роман Осипович,

Спасибо за Ваше милое письмо. Очень жаль, что мне не удалось приехать на индюшечий праздник. Хочу Вас крепко спросить. Вы как-то меня советовали обратиться к Болингеру насчет издания моего Онегина. Следуя Вашему совету, я хотел бы с кем-нибудь переговорить у них в изд-ве, если удастся побывать в Нью-Йорке (как

посчитываю) в середине декабря. Очень был бы Вам благодарен если бы посоветовали к кому мне обратиться. Как Вы поживаете? Надеюсь, что поправились.

Сердечный привет Вам и Вашей супруге от нас обоих,

Ваш ВНабоков.

**[15] Vladimir Nabokov to Roman Jakobson 30/03/1955**

Vladimir Nabokov  
700 Stewart Avenue  
Ithaca, N.Y.

30/05/1955

Dear Jakobson,

I was very sorry to hear of your illness and hope you have completely recovered from it. My plan to visit Cambridge during spring vacation had to be cancelled, so I have to write what I would have preferred to explain to you de vive voix.

If you still want the Zadonshchina translation for the book on Slovo, I would like to do it now. As a matter of fact have to do it within the coming three months because I have to be near a large library while I do it. In June I shall leave Ithaca for the summer, and which I shall probably spend in some wild spot, finishing my new novel and catching lepidoptera. I have a number of matters to attend to and to wind up in the course of the fall semester, and then, in February, I shall go away for eight months (I take a half-year sabbatic) and finish my "Evgeniy" and a book of literary criticism. So that unless I do the Zad. now, I don't know when I could attend to it.

The things I need in order to translate the Zadonshchina are: 1. a good text (Slavic and Russian), 2. your recension, and 3. whatever English translation there is. I would very much appreciate if you could have this material sent to me.

I would like to do the translation as soon as you can it all to me. I still hope to visit Cambridge sometime end of April or May, and I would welcome an opportunity to discuss the finished translation with you at that time.

Best wishes from both of us to both of you

Sincerely, Vladimir Nabokov

**[16] Roman Jakobson to Vladimir Nabokov 27/04/1955**

Dear Nabokov,

I'm still working on the reconstruction of the original text of the Zadonscina, and the microfilm of a manuscript of it which we received through the American ambassador Bohlen in Moscow is of superb help. Any work of scientific reconstruction requires, however, much time, the more so since the text of Zadonscina concocted hitherto by Soviet Russian scholars or by earlier students was far from thorough text criticism. I hope to be ready with this job in the coming summer and I hope very much that you will find time for the translation of this text during the fall semester. A. Grabar wrote me recently that the study on the kinship between the Slovo and Russian art of the 12<sup>th</sup> century which he is preparing for our volume will be ready in the coming

month. I am looking forward to seeing you soon in Cambridge and to discussing all our current problems.

Yours sincerely, Roman Jakobson

**[17] Vladimir Nabokov to Roman Jakobson 14/04/1957**

Vladimir Nabokov  
Goldwin Smith Hall  
Cornell University Ithaca, N.Y.

April 14, 1957

Professor Roman Jakobson  
Slavic Department  
Harvard University Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Professor Jakobson,

After a careful examination of my conscience, I have come to the conclusion that I cannot collaborate with you in the proposed English-language edition of the SLOVO. Frankly, I am unable to stomach your little trips to totalitarian countries even if these trips are prompted merely by scientific considerations.

I am asking the publisher to return to me my material I must also ask you not to use my manuscript translation of the SLOVO in your Harvard classes.

Do not worry about the financial aspect of the matter, I am taking it up directly with the publisher.

Very truly yours,

Vladimir Nabokov



## Abstract

The dissertation *Roman Jakobson's Collaboration with Interwar Czech Press* examines Roman Jakobson's activity in interwar Czechoslovakia, specifically focusing on the period between 1920 and 1939. The analysis centres on Jakobson's writings published in the Czech press and has developed with a philological approach and through consistent archival research. The term "Czech press" is used broadly to encompass a wide selection of newspapers and journals published in Czech, German, Russian, and French. The aim of this thesis is to investigate Jakobson's role in Czechoslovakia through the lens of "cultural transfer", a concept first theorised by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner. In addition to analysing his activity as a writer in the Czech Press, the thesis also considers Jakobson's relationships with other scholars and prominent international figures, such as André Mazon, Naděžda Melniková-Papoušková, or Jurij Sokolov.

The study is structured into five chapters. The first chapter outlines the methodology and the cultural-journalistic context in which Jakobson arrived after his departure from Russia. This chapter is divided into two sections: the first offers a general overview of Jakobson's evolving role within the Czech milieu, while the second presents a recognition of the periodical in which he published. The second chapter explores the various genres Jakobson employed, including obituary, report, translation, review, and polemic. Each genre is examined through a localistic selection of case studies, some of which illustrate Jakobson's role as a cultural transfer between the Russian and Czech context. These examples enable the author to identify the characteristics and the intentions of Jakobson's journalistic writing. The third chapter addresses three relevant themes in Jakobson's journalistic writings: poetry and folklore. They represented two dominants in Jakobson's activity. As in the previous chapter, these themes are contextualised within Jakobson's broader body of work and further elucidated through specific examples. Regarding poetry, the analysis concerns Aleksandr Puškin and Boris Pasternak. Folklore is investigated through a triangled perspective which considers Jakobson's collaboration with Petr Bogatyrev and their correspondence with the Russian folklorist Jurij Sokolov. The fourth chapter delves with another topic, film studies. The analysis of this topic has a different purpose, i.e., to show how a lack of relevant theoretical writings in Jakobson's opus represents a huge difference between him and the formalists in the late twenties. The fifth chapter focuses on Jakobson's correspondence, analysing unpublished documents from the *Slavische Rundschau's* collection held at the LA PNP.

The thesis also includes an appendix containing uncollected writings by or about Jakobson, a table listing the obituaries he wrote for *Slavische Rundschau*, and a selection of letters from the same collection.