If This Word Exists: Jolas' Lost Anthology and Multilingual Reflexivity

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Introduction

One post-war summer day in 1948, the poet Yvan Goll typed up a short note from his Paris hotel room. He wrote to another modernist veteran, Maria Jolas, to send her poems for publication. In the late 1920s, this would not have been a very extraordinary occurrence.[i] By 1948, however, the musketeers of modernism had mostly scattered from Paris. Maria's husband Eugene Jolas, the editor of the legendary little magazine *transition*, was in and out of German commissions as a journalist; Goll himself had been diagnosed with leukaemia and knew he did not have long to live. *Transition,* out of print for ten eventful years, already belonged to a different era. Maria and Yvan, who had lost touch after a falling out in 1940, had recently bumped into each other in a bus at St. Germain-des-Prés.

It comes as a surprise, then, to learn that in 1948 Eugene and Maria Jolas were collaborating on a new project: an anthology.[ii] "An anthology of multi-lingual poets," says Goll, and adds hesitantly: "does this word exist?" ("une anthologie des poètes multi-lingues (ce mot existe-t-il?)," Fig. 1). That little question sums up the *raison d'être* of this article.

FIG. 1

The proposed volume was to include selections in English, French and German (many previously unpublished) from poets such as Jolas himself, Samuel Beckett, Jean Wahl, Hans

Arp, Edouard Roditi, Yvan and Claire Goll; it was never published and has, until now, been unknown to modernist scholarship. Jolas enjoyed a year with his family in Paris in 1947-48 before accepting a senior post with the *Neue Zeitung* in Munich in April 1948.[iii] In Fall 1948, he was posted back to Paris for several months and presumably did most work on this project then. However, just as materials started to pour in, Jolas went back to Germany and the idea remained in suspension until two of the contributors died: Yvan Goll in 1950 followed by Jolas himself in 1952.

The growing role of literary multilingualism in the first half of the 20th century illuminates the significance of this unrealized project. Modernism, in particular, was a "notoriously polyglot" movement (Kenner 1987, 108). One need only think of Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*, Pound's *Cantos*, Rilke's French poetry, or Woolf's learning Russian (Protopopova 2019). Alongside the transnational and translational aspects of modernism, "a marked increase in multilingual literary experimentation" has received increasing critical attention in recent years (Taylor-Batty 2013, 4; cf. Mao and Walkowitz 2008, 738-742; Pasini 2019, 411; Miller 2011; Schmeling and Schmitz-Evans 2002, 51-136). While Taylor-Batty focuses on European writers, Miller showcases multilingual tendencies among American writers, and their dialectical opposition to xenophobic language policies and attitudes. While diverging in focus, both studies, like Walkowitz's *Cosmopolitan Style* and North's *The Dialect of Modernism*, present us with perceptive accounts of tensions inherent in what Yao sums up as the modernist call to "Make it Foreign" (2002, 6).

The importance of this "multilingual turn" in modernism (Taylor-Batty 2013, 4) must be appreciated against the backdrop of the largely monolingual norms against which it was reacting. Modernist multilingual experimentation emerges as a key aspect of the tectonic processes Yildiz

frames as part of the 'postmonolingual' condition in literature, "a field of tension in which the monolingual paradigm continues to assert itself and multilingual practices persist or reemerge" (2012, 5; cf. Gramling 2016). Eugene Jolas's flagship magazine, *transition*, was particularly influential. Alongside publishing multilingual texts—its very first issue featured Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* (then known as *Work in Progress*)—it offered a platform to a debate on what many contemporaries identified as language in crisis (with Hoffmansthal's *Brief des Lord Chandos* as a prime example; cf. Taylor-Batty 2013, 10) and Jolas aptly called the "malady of language."[iv] Jolas' intuition of literary multilingualism as a potential remedy, expressed in theoretical statements as well as editorial decisions, well deserves the recognition it has begun to receive (cf. Taylor-Batty 2019, 14; Spyra 2019; Monk 1999; Perloff 1998; Apter 2006, 112-119). [v] By 1933, *transition* announces a pioneering "new policy of tri-lingual publication" as a way to "retain the linguistic creative material intact, and to present constructive work, as much as possible, in the original" (22:177).

After a decade of relative silence, Jolas' planned multilingual anthology revives these debates. Manuscript notes to a contemporary project show that his appreciation of multilingualism had evolved from an avant-garde stance into a narrative of an emergent, albeit still inchoate, "tradition":[vi]

> "A changed attitude towards the problems of language in occidental letters has been developing both in Europe and America since World War I thanks, principally, to the efforts of a few individuals—James Joyce, Valery Larbaud, Henri Michaux, Kurt Schwitters, ~~Tristan Tzara~~, to mention some of the best known—and to such group experiments (as Expressionism and Dadaism) as were to be found on the pages of the

> Transatlantic Review, the pre-war Transition […] The trilingual review Botteghe Oscure, edited in Rome by an American-born woman, Margaret [sic] Caetani […] is today the most distinguished continuator of this tradition." (Box 4, Folder 83. n.d.)

This assessment of modernist multilingualism is significant; notably, another page, listing the same names, is explicitly entitled "Bilingual notes." The roots of "this tradition" are traceable to multiple 19th century precedents (Anokhina 2019), yet Jolas still attributes it to "a few individuals," and his crossing out Tzara's name shows that he takes care in making his claims. Joyce and Schwitters are to be expected in Jolas' eclectic list; Schwitters figures twice, by name and as part of "Dadaism," and no wonder: *Dada* included early instances of multilingual publication, with poems in Italian and German (issue 4/5) alongside French and sound poetry. Yet the fragile multilingual tradition Jolas identifies still revolves around linguistic innovators (hence sound poetry) rather than writers who work in multiple languages.

That Jolas simultaneously worked on a multilingual anthology project that featured very different names testifies to a related but distinct strand of multilingual reflexivity.[vii] Defined conceptually by its multilingualism—a notion that was, as Goll's question illustrates, still hardly articulable even for a trilingual poet—this anthology represents the first attempt to build on the tradition represented by Joyce, *transition*, Dada and the "few individuals" Jolas' notes identify. To such pre-existing forms of literary multilingualism as code-switching, linguistic innovation or even publishing texts in different languages side by side, it adds the acknowledgement of an individual writer's multilingual production as a valid *organizing principle* where poetics is concerned. The project's historical ambition in creating the *multilingual oeuvre* as a category, distinct from biographical or aesthetic happenstance.

This project thus constitutes a pivotal moment in modern literary consciousness: an initial gesture towards the modern conceptualization of multilingualism as not only a literary device but a literary *identity*.[viii] It makes a step towards the notion that an author's language background or practices bear on interpretation even (though not exclusively) when he or she writes a monolingual text. This simple but radical idea underlies much later conceptual formations such as minor and translingual (i.e. second-language, see Author 2015) literature as defined by critics from the 1970s onwards, often monolingual in form but shaped by a multilingual perspective or cognition (Deleuze and Guattari 1986; Forster 1970; Derrida 1996; Kellman 2000).[ix] In recent decades, this same basic axiom has been, further, behind a plethora of studies and collections that foregrounded multilingual identity in multilingual authors' work (see O'Sullivan 2014).

This theoretical ambition is partially prefigured by Jolas' own performative self-representation, notably, within the early debates around language featured in *transition*. A trilingual poet and journalist, Jolas was also a mystic and a philosopher of language who entitled his posthumous autobiography *Man from Babel* and styled himself an "homme migrateur presque symbolique" ("almost symbolic migratory man," Box 4, Folder 100, n.d.; translation 2002, 458). His anthology's specifically translingual undercurrents can be traced to Victor Llona's 1927 letter to *transition 2* entitled "Foreigners Writing in French" (169-174).[x] Llona contrasts Joyce, for whom no "*single* language" is sufficient, with "the effects of modern internationalization" within monolingual French literature (170). "In the year 1948 or thereabouts," begins Llona, himself a Peruvian who grew up in Paris, scholars of 1920s literature will find "that its most striking characteristic was a determined straining towards an interpenetration of languages […] such as had never before been attempted or even dreamed of" (169). He sees this "interpenetration of

languages" embodied not in macaronic experiments but in writers of foreign origins—he cites Rainer Maria Rilke, Panait Istrati, J. Kessel, Emmanuel Bove, Jules Supervielle, Jean Cassou and Julien Green—writing in French. Indeed, "the year 1948 or thereabouts" is precisely when the notion of multilingual authorship consolidates within Jolas' anthology. The folder that houses it within Eugene and Maria Jolas' collection at Yale's Beinecke Library is aptly entitled "Multilingual Poets Project."[xi]

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The surviving material includes letters from Goll and Roditi, as well as selected contributors' submissions. Three authors—Yvan Goll, Edouard Roditi, and Eugene Jolas—submitted selections in all their languages, making close analysis both possible and meaningful. Jean Wahl's English poems survive, and with the remaining four contributors—Beckett, Arp, Lydia Kerr and Claire Goll—we are condemned to the realm of more or less informed guesswork. Surviving submissions, together with a provisional typescript table of contents (*Fig. 2*), allow us to reconstruct the potential volume with some degree of accuracy as follows (*Table 1*):

FIG. 2

TABLE 1. Table of Contents (reconstructed and annotated)

An invaluable peephole into the kitchen of concept creation and its literary realization, this project surprises most, perhaps, by what it is *not*. Two aspects are particularly striking, one of which concerns the female presence in the anthology. Both names that are not associated with

specific poems happen to be those of the two potential women contributors. Having first typed in "Ivan Goll," Jolas then crossed out the surname, first on the typewriter and then, for added emphasis, in ink, and continued with "and Calire Goll" (sic). However, while Yvan submitted his selection and bio, Claire never did; her name may have been added as an afterthought after Yvan's selection came in. Their "German and French Poems" mentioned in the provisional table of contents are an unlikely item: all Ivan and Claire's collaborated publications are French.[xii] Claire, however, had published a German collection in addition to three collaborative French volumes with her husband (and prose and translations in both languages). It is unclear if her German poems were ever solicited, or whether she would have received a separate profile as a multilingual poet. The programmatic nature of the anthology would seem to call for her independent authorship rather than limiting her contribution to French collaborations with Yvan.

The second would-be contributor is a lesser-known figure, Lydia Kerr. A multilingual Swiss poet and a Jewish émigré from Kharkov, Kerr was chief of the translating and interpreting services of the International Labor Organization, a United Nations agency in Geneva. Roditi had met Kerr during a stint as a free-lance interpreter and later introduced her to Celan, whom she then engaged, for a period, as a translator (Roditi 1992, 17). Roditi recommends Kerr to the Jolases: "By the way, I know a woman who has published poems in English, French + German. I have never read them but she published a volume of them some years ago. She may interest you: Mrs Lydia Kerr, 40 Bureau International du Travail, Geneva, Switzerland. If you write to her, mention my name." The volume in question was *Lydian moods. Verses in German, French and English*, self-published in 1940. This was later followed by several other collections in French, German, English and Spanish that post-date Jolas' project. However, Roditi's letter, which calls Kerr not a poet but "a woman who has published poems," and refers to her married status in the

address, unwittingly undermines his recommendation. We cannot know if the editors contacted Kerr, or planned to; doing so would undoubtedly have added a voice that was both distinctive and grounded in the awareness of the poet's poetic identity as, first and foremost, a multilingual.

Roditi's sincere but backhanded endorsement is symptomatic. Wünsche depicts modernist artistic circles as an environment where talented women played a key part, but one often limited to that of the muse and faithful supporter.[xiii] A characteristic example is Sophie Taeuber-Arp whose contributions to his projects Arp exhibited blithely under his own name (2017, 58-60). Similarly, the anthology's primary precedent, *Poetes à l'ecart*, counts only two (monolingual) women poets among its thirty-one contributors. Yet the executive drive behind the conceptualisation of multilingualism in post-WWII modernist poetry seems to lie with highly educated bilingual women who did not write creatively themselves. Both *Poètes à l'écart* and the multilingual magazine *Botteghe Oscure* were helmed by women. No less significant is Maria Jolas' largely silent editorial presence in *transition*, which exceeded her roles as a secretary, translator and primary financial backer. Maria, comfortably influential in her position as Jolas' wife, is clearly a de facto co-editor of the multilingual anthology as well.[xiv]

The second defining gap in the anthology concerns, paradoxically, multilingualism. Very few contributions deal with multilingualism on a thematic level, or even—with a handful of exceptions—with language or migration. This strategy forms a powerful contrast with more recent representations of multilingual literature, where authors are often presented through the prism of their texts *about* their multilingualism (cf. O'Sullivan 2014, 23-58).

Jolas, whose many metamultilingual texts include "The sorrow of language becomes daemonic" and "Tous les mots étaient en guerre" ("all the words were at war") must have been hard put to avoid the tower of Babel (cf. Perloff 1998; Spyra 2019; Apter 2006, 112-119; Author 2015). Jolas' oeuvre includes macaronic poems and an entire range of ways to make a *single* text multilingual, from sound poetry to work in his invented language, Atlantica (Author 2013). His private definition of multilingualism encompasses such experimental work: in his papers, a separate "multilingual" folder is set aside alongside folders dedicated to English, French and German poems. This collection, however, excludes any dalliance with multilingualism within the texts themselves, even self-translation.

Jolas' aesthetic abstinence from both code-switching and the thematic treatment of multilingualism allows the texts to speak for themselves and safeguards the reader's acceptance of multilingual poets' uncanny ability to transgress language boundaries. This highly uncharacteristic strategy indirectly confirms the project's deliberate focus on *authorial* as opposed to *textual* multilingualism. It shapes the figure of the multilingual writer as someone whose language use cannot be dismissed as marginal, a form of rebellion, experiment or play. The collection demands, instead, a cosmopolitan reading wherein multilingual writers "suggest the possible contours of […] a multilingual paradigm" in a postmonolingual world (Yildiz 2012, 5), leading to an incipient awareness of the poet's multiple identities as a new *normal*.[xv]

The anthology represents, moreover, a microcosm of global modernism as each contributor's multilingual work invites the reader to compare the several ways to do modernism in French, German, or English (cf. Pasini 2019, 404). In this light, its focus on the three most widely read European languages is a limitation that balances out the lack of translations. On the one hand,

these widely read languages increase the chances of the reader appreciating the poetic profiles represented. Alongside three trilingual poets (Yvan Goll, Jolas and Kerr), the collection includes combinations of English and French (Beckett, Wahl) and French and German (Arp, Claire Goll), so that readers fluent in two languages out of three could (unless it were English and German) access some poets' work in its entirety. On the other hand, possible gaps in reading experience inform the collection's design, making readers tangibly sense that there is more to the multilingual poet than can be readily known. For all but trilingual readers, the volume's composition sends a message about a larger realm of possibility, putting aside potential illusions of idiosyncrasy or transparency implicit in code-switching and translation, respectively. Having full access to some poets' work but not to others' highlights the importance of such gaps.

A Multilingual Anthology

The anthology form reinforces the Multilingual Poets Project's function as a manifesto of multilingual authorship. Eugene and Maria Jolas participated wholeheartedly in the modernist anthology craze in 1928 with an *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie américaine* and a volume of Southern American spiritual songs (*Le nègre qui chante*); the same year, they attempted to sell another surrealist anthology in New York but failed to find a publisher (Maria Jolas 2004, 2). *Vertical: A Yearbook for Romantic-Mystical Ascensions* came out in 1941 and a *Transition Anthology* was prepared in 1947. These all tap into the modernist narrative of a "collecting aesthetic" traceable from the hugely successful *Georgian Poetry* and Pound's imagist anthologies, via *Others* and *The New Negro*, until the modernist occasional or interventionalist anthology became a "provisional institution" (Braddock 2012, 16, 27). "It was in this milieu," Braddock argues, "that new forms of collectivity would emerge […]; if the avant-garde could no

longer present itself as a minority culture, minority culture would in the following decade collect itself—or be collected—as an avant-garde" (70).

A multilingual anthology of this caliber could, in other words, give a phenomenon a shape, *make it happen*. Edouard Roditi later complained that his poetry could never be properly placed in anthologies: his survey of several editors revealed that Americans left him out as English, and English editors—as French (Roditi 1971, 113). Similarly, Jolas has been neglected "partly because his work combines and switches between languages in odd and unsettling ways" (Taylor-Batty 2019, 8). In this context, a stellar anthology such as Jolas' may have given multilingualism added visibility both in anthologizing practices and beyond.

Within this tradition of the modernist collected volume, we can isolate a number of precedents to Jolas' project, although it quickly becomes clear that their function is different.[xvi] Perhaps the first is *Commerce*, Princess Marguerite Caetani's pre-war precursor of *Botteghe Oscure* (Jolas' "Bilingual notes" refer to it through Valery Larbaud, its co-editor). Although not multilingual, *Commerce* had introduced French readers to translated fragments from *Ulysses* already in 1924. As early as 1925, it published translations not only from English, German, Spanish and Italian, but also Russian, and not only from Pushkin but also early Boris Pasternak and Osip Mandelstam, and featured bilingual publications, notably of Nietzsche's *Das griechische Musikdrama*.

The crucial role of Jolas' own *transition* in normalising the form of the multilingual anthology is evident from several prior studies (see Monk 1999; Taylor-Batty 2019; Spyra 2019; Kiefer in Schmeling and Schmitz-Evans 2002, 121-136).[xvii] After the prospect of war put an end to Jolas'

journal and its five-year-long experiment of publishing in original languages without translation, the baton was taken up by Marguerite Caetani's brainchild, *Botteghe Oscure*. Over 22 issues published between 1948 (when Jolas' anthology was also germinating) and 1960, it evolved considerably. The Italian-only Quaderno I was succeeded by an Italian-English volume, the only one to append Italian translations. Soon the journal became trilingual, hesitantly in 1949 and then systematically, with four distinct sections (French, Italian, UK and US English).[xviii] From 1954, an additional section, alternating German and Spanish, made the journal quintilingual. It had for its mission "by juxtaposing creative writing from different countries, to draw attention to their ideological and literary trends" (Quaderno IX, 1952, n.p.). In other words, unlike Jolas', Caetani's goal was neither language as such, nor the multilingual author, nor indeed the multilingual work. *Botteghe's* immense but altogether distinct achievement lies, rather, in representing contemporary modernism as a multilingual and transnational poetic environment.

Like *Botteghe*, Carola Giedion-Welcker's pioneering 1946 anthology *Poètes à l'écart/ Anthologie der Abseitigen* offers no translations and embraces the risk of putting off monolingual readers (some of Jolas' and Arp's contributions to Jolas' anthology were reprints from Giedion-Welcker's volume).[xix] *Poètes à l'écart* is purposefully bilingual with two versions of the introduction, one French and one German; the volume nonchalantly alternates between French and German poets. Yet this is an anthology of self-proclaimed outsiders, and the volume's multilingualism is part of that wider program. Its three bilingual authors—Arp, Jolas and Schwitters (with a single French poem)—are somewhat lost among the thirty-one contributors.

The statements Jolas' volume makes—or would have made—go further than these precedents, including even his own *transition's* "tri-lingual policy," and are presciently modern. Jolas' notes

aptly reference *Poètes à l'écart* as "Poètes Apart" (either a private nickname or a genuine bilingual Freudian slip). In contrast to the aims of this volume, whose multilingualism is an aspect of poets standing "apart," Jolas foregrounds the normality of his contributors. Writing in one language, it follows, may be recognized without thereby discrediting the poet as a serious artist in another, including their mother tongue.[xx] No language is seen as primary, and each poet's oeuvre is evidently incomplete unless its different language strands are considered side by side. There is, in short, not only such a thing as a multilingual poet but also such a thing as a *multilingual poetic oeuvre*. Finally, language choice is no longer incidental or primarily biographical: it *matters*, the symbolic value bestowed by a book's cover being the proof.

The project's conceptual maturity stems both from Eugene Jolas' literary soul-searching (Author 2013, 2015) and from his wife's École Bilingue de Neuilly. The only bilingual school in Paris, it opened with 8 students in 1932 and counted 150 (including Joyce's grandson Stephen) when the war brought about its closure; although half of the students came from monolingual French households, the school guaranteed perfect bilingualism in French and English for children enrolled before the age of 4. Even this, however, does not explain the Jolases' ground-breaking focus on *multi*lingualism. Goll was right: Google Ngrams date the first regular appearances of the word 'multilingue' in print from the early to late 1940s in both French and English.[xxi] Even this limited corpus shows that brandishing this concept (unlike polyglottism or even bilingualism) was a striking move in 1948; applying the multilingual principle to the author, and then making this a collective statement in the hallowed form of an anthology, seems nothing short of revolutionary.

Nowhere perhaps is the link between the poetry and the poet more tangible than in the sub-genre of the literary bio. Many modernist anthologies, including both *Poètes à l'écart* and, starting from 1957, *Botteghe Oscure*, feature bios, categorized by the authors' language, as a tacit acknowledgement of the poet's lived experience. *Poètes à l'écart* succeeds in portraying bilingualism as part of certain writers' identity by playfully switching two bios', Arp's and Jolas', half-way from one language to the other. Adhering to this trend adds to the impact of Jolas' project. Goll's "petit curriculum vitae" (*Fig. 3*) is strikingly different from, for example, his matter-of-fact 2-liner in *transition* 19-20, or the introspective bio in the expressionist *Menschheitsdämmerung* (1922, 300).[xxii] Goll discussed his plans with Jolas before submitting (his note mentions a meeting), which may explain this bio's length, level of detail and deliberately objective tone. Goll divides his career into five periods: Berlin, Switzerland, Paris, the US and a final return to France. The account of each period is structured around four pieces of information: the place, the language(s) of writing, the people he met, and the books published. The key to a poet's career lies, we are led to conclude, in places and the people he rubbed shoulders with. Language choice follows from these two circumstances.[xxiii]

FIG. 3

Bios complement the anthology's defiantly multilingual structure in shaping a novel kind of literary identity comprising life, work, and language choice. As Goll puts it in *Jean sans terre le double*, linking speech and personality also on a metaphorical level:

Homme aux deux lèvres je suis l'Homme

Aux deux profils : le saint et l'assassin

Mon poitrail de héros porte une nuque lâche

Mon flanc mâle obéit à mes seins féminins[xxiv]

Goll : un Homme aux trois profils

This anthology's theoretical impact is not only conceptual; it relies largely on the selections themselves. Crucially, these contrast in their monolingualism with the multilingualism of the collection, defying us to draw facile links between the volume's significance and its contents. In relying on *monolingual* texts, each poet's selection turns the logic of the monolingual paradigm against itself to reinforce the reader in the inevitable conclusion that a poet can be fully a poet in each of their languages, without either of them taking precedence. Yet the volume's organisation strongly prioritizes the systematic juxtaposition between each poet's output in different languages, and a complex notion of the multilingual author emerges as a result. This suggests two key questions to the reader: to what extent do poems by the same writer differ across languages, and to what extent does each language affect or shape poetics? What we find is that the anthology represents two kinds of multilingual authorship: some authors build distinct poetics in their separate languages, partly traceable to the different literary traditions and references involved, while others' selections present a homogenous lyrical voice.

Yvan Goll represents a paradigmatic example of the first scenario, i.e. of poetics inseparable from language choice, stylistically, poetically, and even graphically. His French poems are longer and evenly divided into stanzas, sometimes rhymed; his English and German work tends to free verse lines of defiantly contrasting length. Unlike his French and German work, his English poems compose cycles or longer structures. "Atom Elegy," for example, is a dynamic L2

English poem with a vocal speaker, full of verbs, parallelism, unadventurous but effective wordplay, and an existential message of revolt against familiar identities.[xxv] The poem relies on a tension between religious and cosmic references elevating the latter into a kind of mysticism (e.g. "The Tree of Science saturnblossoming/ Enhances the real trinity"). Free verse with discrepant line lengths, several missing articles and a reliance on possessives and general use of nouns make for a torn aesthetics that seconds the poem's focus on the atom.

Compare this to "Le chant de Raziel," a symbolist definition of *le Verbe* that, quoting Mallarmé, encircles the Word in a ring of metaphors until "Corbeau Verbe" feeds on itself. While "Atom Elegy" also revolves around an allegorized "Word," a Kabbalistic "element of elements/ Poured in the mental furnace," this text—not Goll's strongest but perhaps one of his most "French"—embodies a different kind of abstraction. The poetic function becomes the leitmotif, and language turns referential and self-referential. The vocabulary is exquisitely that of French symbolism (*lilas, champs de souvenir, hasard, l'huître de nuit*), the lines evenly matched if unrhymed. Goll's other French poems develop this tendency and similarly thrive on anaphora, oxymoron and parallel syntactical structures.

In contrast, the German Goll comes across as vulnerable, prone to wordplay ("Wasser wessen wir das Was/Weder wissen noch erwundern" in "Das Wasserjahr"). Unlike his anaphoric French poems and the headlong dynamism of his English, Goll's German poems gravitate toward circular structures that rely on a key image, announced in the title, which holds the poem together. "Rosentum" shares its rose imagery with "Atom Elegy," but in a quasi-Rilkean fashion of all-embracing definition enabled by the language (Author 2010, 212-215). Having taken Stein's English dictum to heart, perhaps ironically, Goll leads it to erupt in a narrative of

metaphors whereby "jähes Rosentum" infiltrates the poet and the world. This poem's structure recalls "Le Chant de Raziel" with its series of metaphors divided by the poet's consciousness into an uneasy opposition (*Verbe* vs *mon Verbe*, rose vs the rose within him). Yet the German rose is no abstraction but a living force than runs through an expressionistically physiological vision of the poet's brain, blood and hands.

Are these 'Golls', then, three distinct poets? Not really, as we see from the continuity of motifs across languages. Yet each voice comes as a facet of a single whole, not unlike meeting a person one knows professionally in a different context and attire. While this article focuses on the notion of the multilingual poet projected by Jolas' anthology, multiple voicing is characteristic of Goll's trilingual oeuvre as a whole. In "Le Chant de Raziel," *Verbe* develops a symbiotic relationship with the poet's personal *mon Verbe*; similarly, Goll's trilingualism exemplifies a complex correlation between individual poetics within each language and the sub-tradition and literary heritage that language represents within modernism.

Roditi: Method as a Voice

Edouard Roditi is another example of stark divergence between English and French, but in his case this becomes a matter of method. Roditi's languages included English (his native language), French (he grew up in Paris), Spanish and Ladino (learned from his grandmother), German (acquired in his twenties), Greek, Latin and some Turkish (his father was a Sephardic Jew from Constantinople). Like Goll, he rubbed shoulders, in his formative years, with the literary stars of the day, from Conrad—who first told him as a child he should write, and perhaps in a second language—to Surrealists like Desnos and Crevel. One of the youngest *transition* contributors,

Roditi moved to the US in 1937 to work, like Jolas and Goll, at the French desk of the Office of War Information; as a freelance translator and interpreter, he later covered both the Nuremberg trials and the first United Nations convention in 1945.

Roditi's French poems are marked by a song-like simplicity often characteristic of bilingual poets writing in French (cf. Author 2010, 2015, 2016). The vocabulary, not unlike Goll's, is reminiscent of the symbolists and deliberately repetitive, as in "Chanson":

tout est si beau et si lunaire
que je voudrais mourir
au pied d'un rocher
aux pieds de la mer

tout est si beau et si cruel
et le soleil chante et la flèche perce l'air
tout est si beau et si chantant
que je voudrais parler pour la dernière fois

tout est si cher et si lancinant
tout est si beau et si chantant
que parler est mourir

avant que la flèche ne s'arrête
avant que le soleil ne tombe en miettes

parler ou mourir

sinon, rester tranquille, ne pas bouger,

respirer,

se taire,

puis dire :

tout est si beau et si chantant

que je voudrais mourir[xxvi]

The alternation of basic elements works up to a meaningful development and a coda. The anaphora of "tout est si beau et si X" attenuates the variation on "chante/chantant," "je voudrais," "parler (pour la dernière fois)/dire", and "mourir." Defiantly straightforward, the poem comfortably reflects an artist's inner drama faced with the sublime. Silence is equivalent to death and sometimes easier or more alluring than speech, and the *mise en abîme* of the last two lines contains the poem in its entirety.

Anaphoric patterning channels these poems' charm and enables a peculiar play of philosophic astuteness and naivete. In "La Vallée des rois," Roditi's signature French poetics of simple, comfortably worn and colourful Lego blocks reaches its highpoint.[xxvii] It begins with:

le roi Ammon dans sa tombe

le chameau sous sa toison,

et moi, vivons en la même saison

crève qui peut qui peut rire dernier[xxviii]

The poem achieves a dreamy, haunting effect as a chorus of dead Egyptian kings echoes in the refrain. Its entire body is sewn through with an intricate pattern as the "rire" of line 4 and two further refrains ("dans la mort" and "c'est ici le désert") reverberate, tying closer together the seams made by a build-up of five further variations on "crève qui peut qui peut rire dernier." The choice of the animalistic *créver* over *mourir* makes the image visceral as well as lyrical, especially since "crèvera" (will die) is a homophonic alternative to "qui rira" (whoever laughs) and contains the word "rève" (dream). As the refrains interact (e.g. "crèvera mieux qui rira dernier," whoever laughs last will die better), the incantatory deictic effect involves the poet, and consequently the reader, into the poem's present, heavy as it is with the past's terrifying lessons, to make possible a future in which victory ("rira bien qui rira le dernier," whoever laughs last will laugh well) lies in an interplay of death and laughter. The kings' dream comes across as more vivid than the reality where "vivent les mort, meurent les vivants" (the dead live, the living die), and the last to laugh, and to die, will be the only one to have been truly alive.

Some of Roditi's English also thrives on an incantatory poetics. His poem to Lorca, for example, revolves around the leitmotif of liquid drunk and spilled as an equivocal metaphor of loss: from "Lorca, who drank and drugged and loved"[xxix] in the first stanza, to "stains of drinks that once he spilled" in the second, to "His blood has left no stain" in the third, to a reference to drowning in the fourth and "life-blood" in the fifth, the poem trickles down and culminates in the glorious ungrammaticality of the final line: "Send me to drink with Lorca day?" In "Avenue des Champs Elysees," this tactic results in an aphoristic quality:

For they no longer fear who know
That life was death and fear of death
Till death delivered them from fear.

However, unlike in Roditi's French work, repetition lacks a structural role. Mostly iambic, though unrhymed, these poems' word order is often inverted, leaving an impression of a stylisation, Romantic if not, at times, Elizabethan.

While the French poems are lyrical, abstract and written in the first person, the English overwhelmingly turn to a cultural or historical figure. This can be Oedipus, Cassandra or Caliban (sometimes in the first person). Even when the speaker is the poet, the setting is anchored in detail. For example, "Avenue des Champs Elysées" (1940) is a haunting reflection on the poet's friends who "must die of being Jews" in "these camps." The poet pictures his friends, living on "interned in timelessness" at the gunpoint of a tattooed camp guard, a kind of limbo. The title indicates both a physical place and Elysium; unlike Roditi, a mere "refugee from death," his friends successfully escaped life itself. This one poem reveals more about the living poet than all the French selection put together; other English poems also contrast with the French as exercises in psychologising, story-telling and detail.

Roditi's selection, like Goll's, showcases variance across languages; Roditi himself claims to be surprised by his French poems, after a break, "almost as if another poet had written them" (1949, 10). Unlike Goll's, it reflects a disparity due not as much to finding a voice within different poetic traditions as to individual method.

Jolas and Wahl: A Single-Faced Janus

The anthology, however, is not limited to poets whose multilingualism involves a multitude of voices and techniques. Jolas represents a counterexample to both Goll and Roditi with selections that are comparatively homogenous in method and spirit across three languages. "Patmos," a long apocalyptic poem, outlines the state of the world as the poet perceives it in abstract and metaphoric terms, calling to the reader:

> O tired men of the millenial dissension
> When will you look up at the stars again
> When will you cease yawning at the angelic language

Jolas' German and French selections share a similar mode of dramatic appeal full of apprehension and nostalgy for a reality where "Die Jahreszeiten tranken die Zeit/ Die schimmernde Ewigzeit/ Aus den Pokalen einer Himmelssehnsucht" (Planetarische Reise"; "seasons drank time/ shimmering eternity/ out of the glasses of a heaven-longing"). Finally, the French "Saturne et la montagne" is a quasi-biblical text, again, highly reminiscent of "Patmos."

The poet's presence is greater in Jolas' native languages, French and German, and that is perhaps the main difference. "Nach dem Traum" is a wistful reminiscence of childhood and "La Nuit Verticale" finishes with a personally nostalgic plea: "Je voudrais mythamorphoser le monde" (I would like to mythamorphize the world). Jolas' second language, English, appears more linguistically adventurous, with neologisms and words from Jolas' Atlantica dictionary. Some of this wordplay is both straightforward and ingenious, such as "All the fear-lorn women have

withdrawn/ Into a litany of supplications." The neologism "fear-lorn" is as effective (one can imagine the women vividly) and natural (in parallel to "lovelorn" and "forlorn") as it is economical, combining associations with fear, being lost, and lore acquired through both fear and being lost. Despite this characteristic variation, however, and in harmony with Jolas' lifelong search for a universal poetic language (Author 2013), a uniform voice comes across.

Another potential counterexample to Goll's Janus-like "homme à deux profils" is Jean Wahl. Wahl's L2 English poems (many, it seems, still unpublished) are miles away from Goll, Roditi, or Jolas. They are aphoristic, sometimes almost haiku-like in their brevity, concrete in vocabulary and abstract in meaning, simple, balanced and elegant. "The Tree" is a characteristic example:

> The Tree
>
> Your sweetness grinds my heart,
> And from this grinding
> I know a root grows
> That rends me,
> And the tree that grows is not the tree of your love
> But of love for all things and anybody.

The poem elegantly flirts with the cliché ("the tree of your love"), rejecting it ("not… but"). The metaphorical grinding of the first line becomes foreignized and thus semi-sexualised in the second. This morphs into the onomatopoeically raw use of "rends," which stands apart in its

short line as if to make space for its physical violence and the deep inner transformation implied (with overtones of the French *rendre*), leading into the free-flowing straightforwardness of the last two lines. This little gem demonstrates that writing in a second language need not be inferior to writing in one's own. It is in dialogue with "Essence de l'Amour," which we can imagine in the anthology (only Wahl's English selection survived):

> L'essence de l'amour
> Est dans le non-amour,
> Quand dans le grand silence
> S'exhale le plaisir.
> Ce n'est plus l'amour pour personne
> Et moi-même je suis parti.[xxx]

Characteristically more abstract than the English poem, it shares much with it: the philosophical message in the end, the literal rejection of a cliché ("ce n'est plus"), the metaphorical and sexual overtones in "s'exhale le plaisir," the general aesthetics of the succinct syllogism that is nevertheless intangibly poetic. Of course, not all Wahl's poems resemble these brief sketches, but the general impression is, like with Jolas, comparatively homogenous.

The anthology offers a dual perspective: on each poet across languages, and on modernist poetics in each language, across poets. On the one hand, it channels two contrasting notions of the multilingual author: one of expansion and the other of difference through multiple personae, akin to aliases as used by many modernists (including multilinguals such as Pessoa or Jolas). On the other hand, we note certain commonalities between languages, from the symbolist overtones of

Goll's, Roditi's and, to an extent, Beckett's minimalism in French to the apocalyptic cosmic imagery shared by Goll's "Atom Elegy," Jolas' "Patmos" and Wahl's "Fragment of a Pseudo-Prophetic Book." Here, generalisations must wait for another study, not least because factors other than linguistic relativity or pre-existing literary traditions are at play, notably each poet's history of language acquisition. For example, high-flown, sometimes archaic vocabulary seems especially characteristic of the three translingual contributors writing in L2 English (Goll's *fate* or *phosphorean verdict flash*; Jolas' *conjurations*, *the nether-earth*, or *conflagrations*; Wahl's less exalted English lexicon still includes words like *thee* and *amid*). Yet even a cursory analysis suggests the collection's potential to shed light not only on multilingual modernism but also on modernism's ability to span multiple idioms and literary traditions.

Beckett and Multilingual Modernism

Kenner, who pegs Beckett as the "Last Modernist," views the poet's translingualism as a key to this exalted title. Beckett's unidiomatic use of the French verb *germir* in *Fin de partie*—an "unlikely thing to be said in French, unless on an examination paper"—sums up, he claims, the essence of modernism: a "particularly cold eye to cast on Language, which by convention is something we cannot remember learning" (97). Indeed, Beckett's selection opens a wider perspective on the relationship of multilingual authorship to modernist aesthetics.

Beckett was the contributor most interested in self-translation, which may suggest cross-lingual homogeneity. Yet Jolas' selection of poems from *EBOP* and *Poèmes 38-39* (Table 1) appears to put Beckett firmly alongside Goll and Roditi. Lawlor and Pilling also intuitively juxtapose these collections, arguing that in French Beckett "adopt[s] a deliberate simplification and refinement

of means and method, reducing (if not wholly abandoning) allusions, exploring the self-sustaining subtleties of syntax without necessarily emphasising the verbal surface and without surrendering unexpected juxtapositions, and contenting himself for the most part with a single and singular focus" (2012, 373-4). However, Beckett goes beyond cross-lingual difference. The juxtaposition of his French and English work embodies the potential of bilingualism as an instrument of a writer's evolution in the quintessentially modernist matter of seeing language anew.

Consider, for example, representative erotic poems, "Alba" and "à elle l'acte calme." "Alba" is an aubade, a dawn song, represented graphically by an indented 'chorus.' The poem plays with the expectations it creates, however, chipping away at interpretation while adding associations. The reader's deictic and grammatical insecurity starts with "before morning," which can refer to the lover's arrival as well as (given the genre) impending departure. This initial uncertainty continues in the 'chorus', as alluring as it is opaque:

> grave suave singing silk
> stoop to the black firmament of areca
> rain on the bamboos flower of smoke alley of willows

What is "singing silk"? Is it the addressee of the imperative "stoop," and is it an imperative at all? What is the "black firmament of areca" (what is, even, areca? many readers may ask)? Is "rain" an imperative or a noun? Is it "bamboos flower," "flower of smoke" or "smoke alley of willows"?

In the midst of deliberate syntactic disorientation (variants of "Alba" had commas after "bamboos" and "smoke") and somehow enhanced by it, the semi-graphic, semi-biblical "stoop" of line 7 is caught on by the "stoop" of line 9. Not unlike the more vulgar "give us a wipe for the love of Jesus" of "Enueg II," Christ stooping over the fallen woman underscores the image of the lover's "fingers of compassion" descending on the poet's body (the "sheet" in lines 12 and 16 seems to refer both to the bedsheet and to paper), endorsing (in one variant "signing") its mortal dust. Then, the poem concludes turning the genre on itself: there will be no dawn in this dawn song, and no host (which here implies a multitude of intruders as well as the Eucharist), but only the poet, the sheet and "bulk dead."

The last line consolidates the poet's intent to break grammatical ties and use the energy released to drive the poem's many meanings. Compare this to "Malacoda" where missing punctuation is easy enough to surmise until all syntactical ties rupture, channelling the fear of death it recounts. Eventually, the poem breaks down from narrative to a Lucky-like sequence of utterances:

to cover

to be sure cover cover all over

your targe allow me hold your sulphur

divine dogday glass set fair

stay Scarmilion stay stay

lay this Huysum on the box

etc.

Listing, parallelism, and missing punctuation exemplify a turncoat similarity across languages, since both Beckett's English and his French rely on these central tropes. Compare "Alba" and "à elle l'acte calme":

> à elle l'acte calme
> les pores savants le sexe bon enfant
> l'attente pas trop lente les regrets pas trop longs l'absence
> au service de la présence
> les quelques haillons d'azur dans la tête les points enfin morts
> du cœur
> toute la tardive grâce d'une pluie cessant
> au tomber d'une nuit
> d'août
>
> à elle vide
> lui pur
> d'amour[xxxi]

The poems do have much in common: the erotic subtext, the reference to night and (implicitly, in the Mallarméan *azur*) morning, the play on absence, presence (of both lover and, in the case of the French poem, love) and the spaces in-between, the natural references as metaphors for love or beauty. However, "à elle l'acte calme" flows seamlessly from image to image; its very reliance on listing invites, almost compels, the reader, to insert the missing punctuation. At least three further French poems begin with listing and are structured around it:

musique de l'indifférence

cœur temps air feu sable

bois seul

bouffe brûle fornique crève seul

ainsi a-t-on beau

par le beau temps et par le mauvais

enfermé chez soi enfermé chez eux[xxxii]

Each text gains its momentum from the building of a series, which implies and demands punctuation.[xxxiii] Here, none of the cathartic meaning-making rupture of Beckett's English poetry; we may wonder if we should put a colon or a comma after "musique de l'indifférence" but we know something is there, and this knowledge, along with the uncertainty, propels our reading like so many dots of Braille. If the English use of lists and repetition tends to result in a gradual emotional build-up ("must it be it must be it must be" in "Malacoda"), in the French it has the opposite effect.

Four years before *Godot*, the "Last Modernist" was prepared to make himself vulnerable publishing his English and French poems side by side. While (and perhaps because) this decision opened his work to comparison and therefore possible criticism, it suggests that self-analysis as a multilingual poet was part of his transition to the bilingual Beckett we know. In English, Beckett works with the reader's aversion, even distaste ("give us a wipe for the love of Jesus"), but

unlike Baudelaire, who first made the disgusting mesmerising, this semantic quality is a corollary to habitual language structures being undone. Beckett's French would soon develop its own ways to undo linguistic ties, but these poems, the first he published in French, undermine the more visceral aspects of his essentially modernist relationship to language: a foreign language, like Maria Jolas' guest beds, offers softer ways to satisfy the "scélérats de guerre lasse."[xxxiv]

Beckett refers to writing in French as "violat[ing] a foreign language"[xxxv]—not because writing in a foreign language is a violation of it, but because writing is violating language. The difference between his English and his French lies in the extent and quality of language violation, in going beyond the existing resources of any language to change the rules of what is acceptable, beautiful, or capable of carrying meaning. This stark contrast, which lies deeper than what we see in Roditi or Goll, puts a new perspective on Jolas' alleged tradition of "a changed attitude towards the problems of language in occidental letters," as well as Kenner's definition of modernism as "a generation's alertness to a problematic of words" (101).

Conclusion

This article's contribution to current debates on literary multilingualism is to reassess multilingual modernism as a decisive stage in the formation of modern multilingual aesthetics. In 1949, Roditi sums up this stage as follows: "nations no longer being what they used to be, I am nobody's national bard" (1949, 12). Modernism emerges as characterized by a potential for language border-crossing, and often enhanced by it. The theoretical narrative behind the aesthetic potential of multilingual literature has come into its own in recent years under the

multifaceted guises of translingualism, "born translated" literature, the "translation zone," untranslatability, etc. Its complex beginnings can be traced, I argue, to such moments as Eugene and Maria Jolas' attempt to unite multilingual poets under a single cover at a time when a paradigmatic contributor, himself trilingual, wondered if the very word to describe him existed. Complementing the history of multilingual experimentation modernist scholars have already begun to chart, I therefore propose Jolas' anthology as a pivotal point in a parallel history of multilingual reflexivity and authorship.

The modernists' well-documented openness to multilingual experimentation does not necessarily imply theoretical self-awareness. In this, Jolas stands apart from his generation of writers. Contemporary attitudes to poetic multilingualism included a definite strand of cautious scepticism exemplified in four poets' unanimous advice to the 22-year-old Roditi to stop writing bilingually. Roditi relates this story twice, in 1949 and in 1971. In both versions, this advice comes from four poets: Eliot and Spender (who suggested he focus on French) and Valéry and Breton (who advised him to stick to English). T.S. Eliot was especially eloquent; indeed, many years later he would try to dissuade Marguerite Caetani from dispensing with translations in *Botteghe Oscure*, foreseeing only an "artificial existence" for a multilingual review (the idea similarly "frightened" Paulhan, Dennett 2016, 244; cf. Virginia Woolf's 1929 essay "On Not Knowing French," 2009, 6).[xxxvi] As for Roditi, in 1949 he claims to have chosen English: "I have now written, since 1931, no more poems in French" (1949, 10). His 1971 account, however, tells a different story. Citing the multilingualism of Milton and Pessoa as precedents, Roditi assures his interviewer that he: "went on writing in both languages and, some fifteen years later, started writing in German too. […] There is no reason why one shouldn't write in two languages, or even in three, if one manages to keep all these different languages very live in one's mind"

(Roditi 1971, 101). The evolution in Roditi's attitude to his own multilingualism, from being swayed by Eliot's arguments to defiant affirmation of multilingual authorship, exemplifies the change in his generation's thinking on the subject. With Jolas' typical barometer highly attuned to the *air du temps*, his anthology points to an emerging multilingual group identity among modernist poets as early as 1948.

An anthology of multilingual poets such as Jolas planned is, even now, long overdue. While Beckett, Nabokov and Conrad, among others, have ensured that multilingualism and especially translingualism have become acceptable in prose, "no major anthology has yet grouped all of these writers together" (Spahr 2014, 1136). In some ways, its being unfinished adds to the project's allure. It allows us to reconstruct this unusual volume but also to fantasize what other authors it ought to have included, or what such a project would, or should, look like today. Shell and Sollors' *The Multilingual Anthology of American Literature*, while designed to change the public's perception of literary multilingualism, is otherwise vastly different, and focuses on prose. In the few existing attempts to anthologize multilingualism in poetry (Mir Hazar 2014; Cho and Barkan 2013; the anthologies of *The Americas Poetry Festival of New York*; translated volumes like Boase-Beier's recent *Poetry of the Holocaust*; cf. Spahr 2014 for further examples), individual poets' separate identities are seen as distinct both by the poets and their readers.

In contrast, Jolas' unpublished anthology presents a holistic image of the multilingual poet. Taking up where the celebrated "Revolution of the Word" manifesto left off, it makes a theoretical statement by its very existence. Its strength, unmatched even today, lies largely in its show-don't-tell message of a balanced multilingual oeuvre, a multifaceted pattern of similarity and difference between languages integral to a poet's identity. Post-*transition*, the Multilingual

Poets Project captures a moment of transition from modernism to a literary constellation where the various forms of literary multilingualism became not only accepted, but valued. Symbolically, it is a moment that never quite happened. Hence Roditi's telling take in 1983 on the normalization of multilingual writing:

> INTERVIEWER: Do the French consider Beckett their own, or do they perceive him as an Irish exile?
>
> RODITI: Beckett is a major French writer as far as they're concerned. He's written everything in French. When I was young […], the French Academy was extremely nationalistic and would never elect as members Jews or foreign-born writers. They made a great exception in the case of Bergson […] [a]nd André Maurois. […] Now, about ten percent of the French Academy are foreign born or Jewish, for lack of any other candidates (Roditi 1983/1984, 44).[xxxvii]

Even the French Academy one day caught up with the march of time. Jolas and his multilingual contributors anticipated this process by at least some thirty-five years.

Acknowledgements

[Redacted for anonymity.]

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[i] Poetry by Ivan and Claire Goll features in Eugene J olas' little magazine *transition* (see issues 10 & 19-20).

[ii] Goll's letter to Maria Jolas implies a collaboration, but the exact distribution of roles is unclear; I therefore refer to the project as "Jolas'," implying both spouses. Maria was not always credited in her collaborations with her husband. Jolas confirms that the anthology *Le nègre qui chante* was co-translated (1998, 83) and Maria states that it was co-edited as well; similarly, some of her contributions to *transition* were credited, but her role as co-translator of Kafka's *Metamorphosis* in *transition* 25, 26 and 27 was not, nor were her contributions as co-founder and primary sponsor of the magazine, and her ongoing responsibility for "correspondence, typing, proof-reading, etc." Box 1, Folder 2, n.d.).

[iii] In 1947, Jolas tried, with George Duthuit, to revive *transition* and completed his autobiography, *Man from Babel*.

[iv] Jolas' "Inquiry About the Malady of Language" (*transition 23*, 1935, 144) collected numerous responses, which differed in solutions offered but hardly questioned the premise. See *Critical Writings* 460.

[v] Taylor-Batty convincingly argues that translation practices in *transition* similarly anticipate today's arguments around untranslatability (forthcoming).

[vi] These are drafts for Jolas' literary column "Across Frontiers," dating from 1949-1950.

[vii] In another draft, Jolas adds three names and explains: "the names are well-known: James Joyce, Henry Michaux, Valery Larbaud, Hugo Ball, Gertrude Stein and others. Work in Progress (as it was called until 1939) or Finnegans Wake later on created a new concept of fiction, and language which is continuing to influence the work of the new writers. Kurt Schwitters, the German dadaist,

introduced the sonorist form of verse and writing which can be seen in Henri Pichette's "stereophonie" in his last play "Nuclea," for absolute sound has doubtless an inter-frontier sense of communication."

[viii] Cf. *Modernist Cultures*' special issue on "Global Modernism" (2018).

[ix] Not coincidentally, one of Jolas' contributors, Roditi, anticipates the concept of the minor literature by almost four decades in his 1944 essay on Svevo (1953, 580-582).

[x] For focused analyses of poetic translingualism, see Forster's classic study, as well as Author 2010, 2015, 2016.

[xi] This is presumably how the spouses referred to the project, though it may have been a later label Maria chose when organising their archives.

[xii] We can cautiously assume that Yvan and Claire never collaborated in German or English, though there may have been exceptions. *Love Poems* (1947) and *Die Antirose* (published after Yvan's death, in, 1967) are signed by both names. Both collections correspond to earlier French volumes, but it is unclear if all the individual poems are (self-)translated (Vilain, correspondence from 11.06.2020).

[xiii] See Micir 2019 for a recent complementary angle on the marginalization of women in modernism.

[xiv] See Footnote 2.

[xv] Some contributors had already presented their work to readers as 'multilingual': Roditi and Kerr with multilingual volumes of poetry, and Goll with, notably, his poem "Paris brennt" which incorporated sections by other poets in French, Russian and Spanish (Robertson 2019, 3).

[xvi] Yugoslav *Zenit* and Moscow-based *Literature of World Revolution* with its successor *International Literature* (Ostrovskaya and Zemskova) are examples of contemporary periodicals with foreign language contributions outside of the realm of the anthology's three languages. Non-literary publications included scholarly journals (e.g. Acta comparationis litterarum universarum, 1877-1888) or the Sephardic *Kol Sefarad*, which featured five or six languages (Roditi, 1969).

[xvii] The journals overlapped for five years, though *Commerce* started its publication three years earlier.

[xviii] Later, translations only added to *Botteghe*'s international character with Réné Char, Musil, English translations of Philippine poets and French of Hölderlin etc. In 1955, the journal published a selection of Dutch poetry translated into English by James Stratton Holmes, later known as the author of the seminal paper "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (Verstegen).

[xix] Giedion-Welcker's approach to the "linguistic revitalisation" of English through colonial interactions with other idioms, overlaps with Jolas'; cf. her essay on *Finnegans Wake*, translated by Jolas for *transition* 19, 174-183.

[xx] See Author (forthcoming) for a detailed analysis of Jolas' anthology as a largely translingual phenomenon, as opposed to only *multi*lingual.

[xxi] Jolas and Goll may be influenced by interference from other languages: compared to French, the word 'multilingual' was around three times more frequent in both American English and German in late 1940s (German 'mehrsprachig' entered general use as early as the 1880s), and 'polyglot' around twice more frequent in English.

[xxii] French, Goll's mother tongue, comes before German, even though Goll first wrote in German; see Vilain.

[xxiii] The importance of literary influences as CV lines was well understood by Goll's generation. *The Minotaur* (1933, 3-4, 101-16) features vignettes on meaningful encounters by, notably, Marc Chagall, Max Jacob, Carl Jung, Kandinsky, Ezra Pound and two anthology contributors, Jean Wahl and Hans Arp (both avoided names with philosophical answers).

[xxiv] Literal translation: With two lips, I am the Man/ With two profiles: saint and assassin/ My hero's pectorals support a loose nape/ My male side obeys my feminine breasts. (Here and elsewhere, the versions submitted to Jolas are quoted, where available.)

[xxv] Grass refers to this poem as an allegory of exile; it does, at any rate, describe rebirth, up to the closing existential image of "man alone alone".

[xxvi] Literal translation: "all is so beautiful and so lunar/ that I wish to die/ at the foot of a rock/ at the feet of the sea// all is so beautiful and so cruel/ and the sun sings and the arrow pierces the air/ all is so beautiful and so singing/ that I wish to speak for the last time// all is so dear and so haunting/ all is so beautiful and so singing/ that speaking is dying// before the arrow stops/ before the sun falls in pieces/ to speak or to die// or else, to stay calm, not move/ breathe/ be quiet/ then say:// all is so beautiful and so singing/ that I wish to die"

[xxvii] Roditi seems to second this opinion as this is the only French poem in Roditi's selection included in *Poems 1928-48*; for the anthology, however, he separates it into two parts.

[xxviii] Literal translation: king Amun in his tomb/ the camel under its fleece,/ and me, we live in the same season./ let them die whoever can whoever can laugh last. (An ironic reversal of "sauve qui peut.")

[xxix] A reference to Roditi's night of love with the poet and another artist in 1929 which, Roditi claimed, involved the other two men conspiring to get him drunk (Morris 2009).

[xxx] Literal translation: The essence of love/ Is in non-love,/ When in the great silence/ Pleasure is exhaled./ It is no longer love for anyone/ And I myself is gone.

[xxxi] For Philip Nikolayev's English translation, see *Poetry* 191(5): 385

[xxxii] Literal translation: music of indifference/ heart time air fire sand; drink alone/ guzzle burn fornicate die alone; so it is no good/ in good and bad weather/ locked in at home locked in at theirs

[xxxiii] *Arènes de Lutèce* is another example of a longer poem built around a clear logical narrative and implied, sometimes ambiguous, but spectrally present punctuation, unthinkable in *EBOP*.

[xxxiv] See Beckett's short poem addressed to Maria Jolas (Beckett 677-67).

[xxxv] Letter to Alex Kaun, 9.7.37, qtd. in Lawlor and Pilling 372.

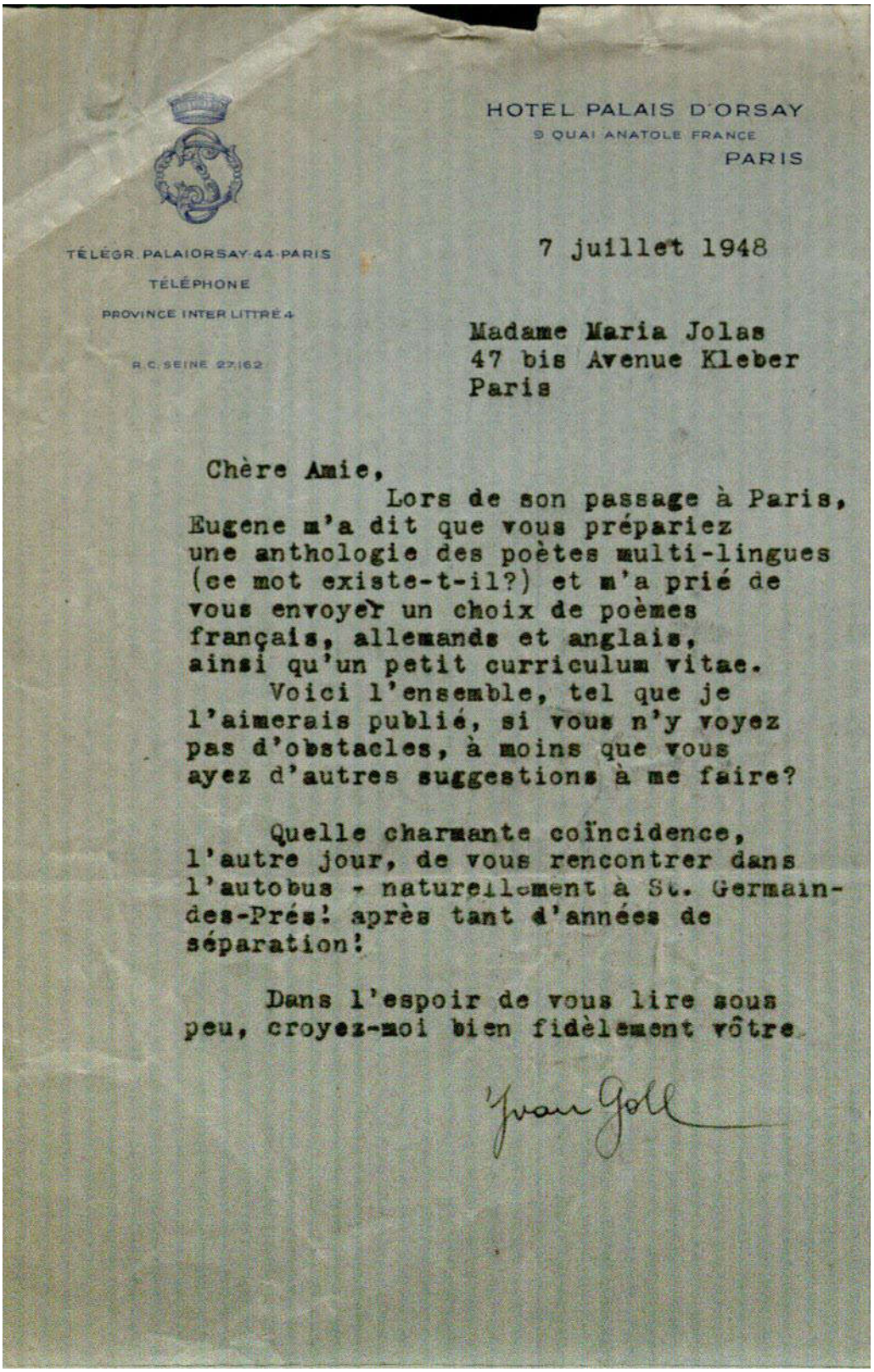
[xxxvi] T.S. Eliot's strong views were evidently based on own brush with multilingualism: while he kept republishing the four French poems he wrote in 1917 up to his *Collected Works 1909-1962*, he "half-apologized" for them in later years (Turner 2016, 110).

[xxxvii] Later elections of Assia Djébar, François Cheng and Andreï Makine confirm the trend identified by Roditi as a new normal.

Contributor	Likely contribution	Comments
Samuel Beckett	English: selection from *Echo's Bones* French: from *Poèmes 38-39*	Three poems ("Enueg II," "Dortmunder" and "Malacoda") were published in *transition* 24 in 1936. This makes them a likely choice for the anthology. The choice in French consists of ten poems (*Dieppe* was not included in *Poèmes 38-39* as featured in *Les Temps Modernes* in 1946). Beckett's exact selection may be lost rather than unsubmitted. The original finding aid refers to a "printer's proof with corrections and additional handwritten poem—now in M.J.'s collection of Beckett's letters." (Box 1, Folder 1, n.d.). However, it is absent from the project folder, or from Maria's correspondence with Beckett.
Eugene Jolas	"Planetarische Reise" "Metamorphose" "Nach dem Traum" "La nuit verticale" "Saturne et la montagne" "Patmos"	Potentially, also "Foire planétaire."
Yvan Goll	Selection in English, French and German submitted	The English poems are from *Fruit from Saturn*, notably "Atom Elegy." Most French and German poems were unpublished but later appeared, with

		some changes, in *Masques de Cendre* and *Das Traumkraut*, respectively.
Claire Goll	German and French	A collaborative French poem (where Claire's voice was distinct from Yvan's) may have been complemented by her individually authored German work.
Hans Arp	German: "Das Tagesgerippe" (translated by Eugene Jolas for *transition* 26) French: from *Siège en l'air*	The editors mention Arp's "French book: L'air du ciel." No book of this title exists, and, given that the words 'siège' and 'ciel' share three sounds out of four, the editors may have meant *Siège en l'air.* The mistake seems less unlikely given that Jolas' list, clearly composed from memory, includes similar slips: *Poètes à l'écart* written as "Poètes Apart" and very approximate referencing for Wahl.
Jean Wahl	English: selection submitted French: a handwritten note "Jean Wahl's poems in French are missing—ask him for copies."	The notes mention a French book of poems published by Arche in 1947 (no such book exists), and French poems in *Mesures* ("~~194x~~ 1936"). Wahl published in *Mesures* but in different years (5 English poems with (self-?)translations in 1935, not in his selection, and *Sans autel* in 1939). Wahl's 1945 book of poetry, *Poèmes*, is our most likely indication for what his French selection may have included.

Edouard Roditi	Selection submitted (seven French and twelve English poems)	As Roditi asks Jolas to return any remaining texts (cf. 1949, 9), this may be Jolas' final selection but, given the number of poems, the papers seem to contain Roditi's full submission.
Lydia Kerr	French, English and German poems from *Lydian Moods* or, more likely, what later became *Petits poèmes*	Kerr published *Lydian Moods* in 1949. *Petits poèmes* (also trilingual, 1955), includes reprints from *Lydian Moods* alongside new poems, presumably written after 1939. This is a good approximation of up-do-date work, unpublished at the time Jolas' project was germinating, that Kerr was likely to submit.



HOTEL PALAIS D'ORSAY
9 QUAI ANATOLE FRANCE
PARIS

TÉLÉGR. PALAIORSAY 44 PARIS
TÉLÉPHONE
PROVINCE INTER LITTRÉ 4
R.C. SEINE 27.162

7 juillet 1948

Madame Maria Jolas
47 bis Avenue Kleber
Paris

Chère Amie,

Lors de son passage à Paris, Eugene m'a dit que vous prépariez une anthologie des poètes multi-lingues (ce mot existe-t-il?) et m'a prié de vous envoyer un choix de poèmes français, allemands et anglais, ainsi qu'un petit curriculum vitae.

Voici l'ensemble, tel que je l'aimerais publié, si vous n'y voyez pas d'obstacles, à moins que vous ayez d'autres suggestions à me faire?

Quelle charmante coïncidence, l'autre jour, de vous rencontrer dans l'autobus - naturellement à St. Germain-des-Prés! après tant d'années de séparation!

Dans l'espoir de vous lire sous peu, croyez-moi bien fidèlement vôtre.

Yvan Goll

MULTILINGUAL POETS

Samuel Beckett, Poems from " Echo's Bones " in English

Poemes from " Les Temps Modernes"Poèmes 38-39"

Eugene Jolas, Poems in Three Languages

a) Planetarische Reise (Transition 26 page 17)

b° La nuit verticale } From "Poètes Apart"

Saturne et la montagne }

~~Faire~~ Planétaire ~~———~~ from ~~Mots Déluge~~ (page 49

Patmos (from Vertical : 2 page 80)

Jean Wahl , French and English Poems (see Arche 1947 and Mesures ~~194x~~ 1936- at La Tour (Rebais) may have to ask Leirisfor it--

Hans Arp, French and German Poems

German: Transition 21 : Das Tagesgerippe

His French book : L'air du ciel

Ivan ~~Goll~~ and Celire Goll

German and French Poems
Ivan Goll, English Poems : from : Fruit from Saturn

YVAN GOLL

Né le 29 Mars 1891 à Saint-Dié (Vosges).
Son père, Alsacien, de Ribeauvillers, mort en 1897.
Sa mère, Lorraine, ramène son fils à Metz, d'où elle est orginaire.
Lycée allemand. Baccalauréat. Etudes de Droit et de Lettres à Strasbourg, Fribourg, Munich, Lausanne.

Première période littéraire à Berlin, où Yvan Goll fréquente le "Café des Westens" et rencontre Else Lasker-Schüler, Alfred Wolfenstein, Franz Werfel et tous les Expressionnistes. Il collabore à "Die Aktion", "Die Weissen Blätter" et publie sa première plaquette: "Der Panama-Kanal", en 1913.

Deuxième période, en Suisse, 1914 à 1919. A Lausanne, premiers vers français: "Elegies Internationales". Il fréquente Romain Rolland, qui est à Villeneuve et le groupe de "Demain" à Genève: Pierre-Jean Jouve, Frans Masereel, Henri Guilbeaux, Lunatscharsky.
Il continue aussi à écrire en allemand et se rend souvent à Zurich, où il fait la connaissance de James Joyce et se trouve en contact étroit avec les Expressionistes qui préparent la révolution allemande: Ludwig Rubiner, Ernst Toller, ainsi que Stefan Zweig, Leonhard Frank, Albert Ehrenstein etc.
Il publie des recueils de vers: "Die Unterwelt", chez S.Fischer, "Der Torso", au Roland-Verlag. Il collabore à de nombreuses revues allemandes, mais aussi à "Sic" de Pierre Albert-Birot, à Paris.

Rencontre de Claire en Suisse. Rentrée à Paris fin 1919.

Des poésies d'Yvan Goll figurent dans l'anthologie allemande "Menschheitsdämmerung" et dans l'anthologie de Kra "La Nouvelle Poésie Française", qui résument à peu près à la même époque l'état de la poésie en Allemagne et en France.

Troisième période: Paris. 1919 à 1939. Grande activité littéraire, d'abord dans le groupe de Henri Barbusse, ensuite dans les batailles abstraites et poétiques.

Oeuvres: Le Nouvel Orphée, contenant des poèmes et des drames: Methusalem et La Chaplinade. (1923, Edit. de La Sirène).

Poèmes d'Amour, en collaboration avec Claire Goll, illustrés par Marc Chagall. (Fourcade)

Chansons Malaises".

Jean sans Terre.

Le Microbe de l'Or (roman).

Lucifer Vieillissant, essai poétique.

Quatrième période: Séjour en Amérique, 1939 à 1947. Fondation de la revue franco-américaine de poésie Hemispheres. Publication d'un volume de vers ~~xxxfrançaix~~ écrits en anglais: Fruit from Saturn.

Cinquième période: retour en France, 1947. Publication du "Mythe de la Roche Perçée".