

n.º 10

Pessoa plural

Pessoa Plural

A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies

The Student of Salamanca.

Part the First.

ENGLISH POEMS



How many masks
Upon our faces
If we

Twice more than the hour of midnight,
As is told by ancient stories,
When all his sleep and in silence
Enwrapped in earth and gloomy
Then the

Alexander Search.

A. Search.

Alexander Search.

mask our soul's
the unmasking.

GUEST EDITOR

Patricio Ferrari

Onésimo Almeida
Paulo de Medeiros
Jeronimo Pizarro

EDITORS-IN-CHIEF

Special Issue

Inside the Mask:

The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa

issn: 2212-4179

Table of Contents
Número 10, outono de 2016
(Número especial: Dentro da Máscara —
A Poesia Inglesa de Fernando Pessoa)
Issue 10, Fall 2016
(Special Issue: Inside the Mask —
The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa)

[PART 1: Inside the Mask]

Introductory Note 1

[Nota Introdutória]

Patricio Ferrari

I. Pessoa's English Poetry: an Overview / A Poesia Inglesa de Pessoa: uma Visão Geral

Pessoa's Voluptuous Skepticism 16

[O Ceticismo Voluptuoso de Pessoa]

Kenneth David Jackson

II. Pessoa's Fictitious English Poets / Os Poetas Ingleses Fictícios de Pessoa

Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkin 34

—and the political Pessoa

[Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkin

— e um Pessoa político]

Carlos Pittella

Pessoa's Wyatt 66

[O Wyatt de Pessoa]

Stephen Merriam Foley

III. On *The Mad Fiddler* / Sobre *The Mad Fiddler*

***The Mad Fiddler* in the context of Pessoa's Correspondence** 76

[Fontes Poéticas em *The Mad Fiddler*]

Susan Margaret Brown

Fernando Pessoa's <i>The Mad Fiddler</i>:	89
--	----

Sensationism in English

[*The Mad Fiddler* de Fernando Pessoa:

Sensacionismo em Inglês]

Patrícia Silva

IV. The Classical World in Pessoa's English Chapbooks / O Mundo Clássico dos Livros Ingleses de Pessoa

Pessoa's <i>Antinous</i>	106
---------------------------------------	-----

[O Antínoo de Pessoa]

J.D. Reed

Notes on Pessoa, <i>Inscriptions</i>, and the <i>Greek Anthology</i>	120
---	-----

apontamentos de Pessoa sobre Teosofia e espiritualidades da Índia

[Notas sobre Pessoa, *Inscriptions* e a *Antologia Grega*]

Kenneth Haynes

V. On the 35 Sonnets / Sobre os 35 Sonnets

Blindfolded Eyes and the Eyable Being:	135
---	-----

Pessoa, the senses, and the 35 Sonnets

[Olhos Vendados e Ser Visível:

Pessoa, os sentidos e os 35 Sonnets]

M. Irene Ramalho-Santos

Metrical Complexity in Pessoa's 35 Sonnets	151
---	-----

[Complexidade Métrica nos 35 Sonnets de Pessoa]

Geoffrey Russom

Putting Your Heart to Sleep with Pentameters	173
---	-----

A Prosodic, Lexical, and Syntactic Analysis of Pessoa's "Sonnet X"

[Pondo o Coração para Dormir em Pentâmetros:

Uma análise prosódica, sintática e lexical do "Sonnet X" de Pessoa]

Manuel Portela

VI. Pessoa as Translator / Pessoa como Tradutor

On Pessoa's <i>The Student of Salamanca</i>	193
--	-----

[O Estudante de Salamanca de Pessoa]

Jorge Wiese

VII. Ever-widening Pessoa / Pessoa sempre-crescente

The Enduring Presence of Pessoa	219
[A Persistente Presença de Pessoa]	
George Monteiro	

VIII. Documents / Documentos

The Poems of Frederick Wyatt	226
[Os Poemas de Frederick Wyatt]	
Patricio Ferrari & Carlos Pittella	

<i>The Mad Fiddler: Unpublished Documents</i>	302
[<i>The Mad Fiddler</i> : Poemas Inéditos]	
Kenneth David Jackson	

<i>The Student of Salamanca: an English translation</i>	318
[<i>O Estudante de Salamanca</i> : uma tradução em inglês]	
Nicolás Barbosa López	

IX. Reviews / Resenhas

Searching for the Corpus of Alexander	552
[Em Busca do Corpus de Alexander]	
Nicolás Barbosa López	

<i>The Mad Fiddler: The Critical Edition</i>	558
[<i>The Mad Fiddler</i> : a Edição Crítica]	
Kenneth David Jackson	

The Incomplete English Poems of Fernando Pessoa	568
[Os Poemas Ingleses Incompletos de Fernando Pessoa]	
Cary Stough	

Connections and Transformations:.....	575
Fernando Pessoa Reads and Writes in English	
[Conexões e Transformações:	
Fernando Pessoa Lê e Escreve em Inglês]	
David Mittelman	

[PART 2]

Nietzsche's and Pessoa's Psychological Fictionalism..... 578

[O Ficcionalismo Psicológico de Nietzsche e Pessoa]

Antonio Cardillo & Pietro Gori

Octavio Paz, leitor de Fernando Pessoa: 606

crítica, tradução e poesia

[Octavio Paz, reader of Fernando Pessoa:

criticism, translation and poetry]

Daiane Walker Araujo

Os destinatários dos panfletos pessoanos de 1923..... 628

[The addressees of the Pessoaan pamphlets of 1923]

José Barreto

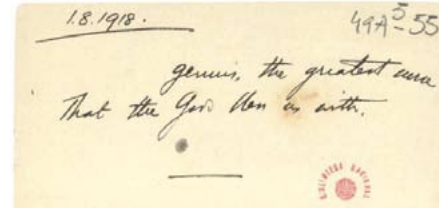
Pessoa na língua de Baudelaire 704

[Pessoa in the language of Baudelaire]

Fernando Carmino Marques

Introductory Note

Patricio Ferrari*



Genius, the greatest curse
That the Gods bless us with.¹

In October of 1977 Brown University had the honor to host the first International Symposium on Fernando Pessoa.² At that time, referring to Pessoa's English output, Edwin Honig pointed out that much remained to be said about the poet's bilingualism.³ No one more than George Monteiro has committed himself to

* University of Lisbon, Center for Comparative Studies (Postdoctoral Research Fellowship funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia [the Portuguese national funding agency for science, research, and technology] between 2013-2015). Currently in the MFA program at Brown University.

¹ Fernando Pessoa. Detail from unpublished manuscript dated 1 August 1918 (BNP/E3, 49A⁵-55; see Key to abbreviations). We find the slightly different lines ("Genius the greatest curse | That the gods gave men on earth," p. 184) in Hubert Jennings' selection of poems by Pessoa. The selection of Portuguese and English poems closes the "The Poet with Many Faces," an unpublished study datable from c. 1974 and currently edited by Carlos Pittella. This work is part of the Jennings literary estate, recently donated to Brown University by his son and daughter, Christopher Jennings and Bridget Winstanley. (See <https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:706076/>). The lines transcribed by Jennings may or may not be a direct transcription of the document reproduced above. During his lifetime, Jennings published two books on Pessoa (actually, two versions of the same book), one in Portuguese and one in English (JENNINGS, 1984 and 1986). Prior to 1974, the most significant contribution to Pessoa studies in English was the selection and translation by Edwin Honig (PESSOA, 1971). For a recent special number on the contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoa studies see (PITTELLA, 2016).

² The essays of this Symposium were collected in *The Man Who Never Was* (MONTEIRO, 1982). Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935) lived in Durban, South Africa, from February 1896 to August 1905. In August 1901 he returned to Portugal where he remained until September of the following year, embarking once again for Durban. In December 1904 he completed his studies at Durban High School (Form VI). For detailed information regarding his British education see (SEVERINO ([1969/1970] 1983 and JENNINGS, 1984 and 1986).

³ Poet, translator, critic, and professor of English and Comparative Literature at Brown University from 1957 until his retirement in 1982, Edwin Honig (1919-2011) is responsible for the first US translation of a *Selected Poems of Fernando Pessoa* (PESSOA, 1971). In an interview given to *Fall River*, a Rhode Island newspaper, later quoted in *Diário de Notícias* in 1978, Honig stated: "Para se poder avaliar a universalidade de Pessoa é preciso distinguir o que nele é português, o que nele é bilinguismo, e o que nele é internacional. O bilinguismo de Pessoa está praticamente por estudar."

exploring this largely ignored aspect of one of the greatest Modernist poets. Almost two decades ago, in his ground breaking *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature* (MONTEIRO, 2000), he discussed at length the complex web of implications regarding Pessoa's role as a voracious reader and writer of English.

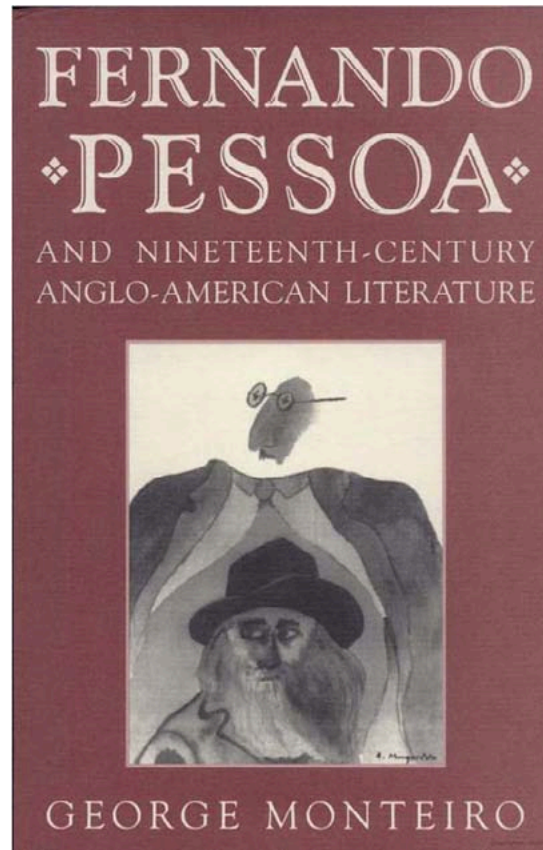


Fig. 2. George Monteiro, *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature*, 2000.

The publication of *Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa*, conceived and organized in that same pioneering spirit and coming full-circle almost forty years later, wishes to celebrate George Monteiro⁴—the renaissance scholar, the man—who at the outset of his seminal work stated,

["In order to assess Pessoa's universality it is necessary to distinguish what in him is Portuguese, what in him is bilingualism, and what in him is international. Pessoa's bilingualism is yet to be studied."] (*Diário de Notícias*, 1978). Among Honig's papers held at The John Hay Library of Brown University figure unpublished material regarding the preparation of the *Selected Poems of Fernando Pessoa* and other writings on the Portuguese poet.

⁴ George Monteiro is a critic, translator, poet, Professor Emeritus of English, and of the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies. In 1975 he founded the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies with Onésimo Almeida and Nelson H. Viera. Some of his books on Portuguese subjects are *The Presence of Camões: Influences on the Literature of England, America, and Southern Africa* (1996), *The Presence of Pessoa: English, American, and Southern African Literary Responses* (1998), and

as recognized by Pessoa [...] writers influence other writers and that, by implication, the specific consequences of such influence are worth study [...]. Inquiry of this nature is especially rewarding in the case of Pessoa and nineteenth-century literature written in English, for Pessoa was both bilingual and bicultural.

(MONTEIRO, 2000: 1)

Reading Pessoa's English production alongside the English Romantics (Wordsworth, Keats, Byron), Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and Edgar Allan Poe, among others, Monteiro did not fail to highlight Pessoa's unparalleled expression of self-othering in comparison to predecessors (e.g., Robert Browning) and contemporaries (e.g., Ezra Pound and W. B. Yeats) (see, among others, RODITTI, 1963: 373 and 385; MONTEIRO, 2000: 58-66 and 157, n. 9; and MCNEILL, 2010: 107-133 [123]).

For this poetic scheme Pessoa coined the literary term "heteronymismo" ["heteronymism"], a concept that was formalized by Pessoa in 1928 (PIZARRO, 2012: 73-98) and that distinguishes Fernando Pessoa's works from that of the main fictional authors other than himself, who came into being around 1914 (Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, and Álvaro de Campos), each with his own literary and philosophical idiosyncrasies, personal traits (e.g., occupation, calligraphy, and horoscope), languages, diction, and individual practice of poetic meter and poetic rhythm. A recent study counted 136 distinct fictitious authors—with more than 40 of them having an Anglophone background and/or name.⁵

A precocious literary invention without precedent in the history of literature, a unique literary creation that the young Portuguese poet would begin in English—a language he had learned while living outside of Portugal. From an early age, while still a high-school student in the British-governed town of Durban, South Africa, Pessoa began publishing poetry in English under different names. The first English-speaking figure to make it to print was Karl P. Effield, originally

Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century AngloAmerican Literature (2000). Among his translations from the Portuguese are *In Crete with the Minotaur and other Poems* by Jorge de Sena, *Self-Analysis and Thirty Other Poems* by Fernando Pessoa, *A Man Smiles at Death with Half a Face* by José Rodrigues Miguéis, *Iberian Poems* by Miguel Torga, and *Poems in Absentia* by Pedro da Silveira. Included among his recent books are two works of literary criticism – *Elizabeth Bishop in Brazil and After: A Poetic Career Transformed* (2012) and *As Paixões de Pessoa* (2013) – an anthology (co-edited with Alice R. Clemente), *The Gavea-Brown Book of Portuguese-American Poetry* – and a book of poems, *The Pessoa Chronicles: Poems, 1980-2016* (2016).

⁵ See *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios* edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari (PESSOA, [2013] 2016). When not quoting from a first edition I shall provide the year in which the work was first published: ([first publication] publication I use). This will only be done in the first occurrence.

from Boston, Massachusetts.⁶ On 11 July 1903 his poem “The Miner’s Song” appeared in *The Natal Mercury*, a weekly newspaper from Durban (PESSOA, 2016: 109-118). Interestingly, Pessoa submitted another poem in this newspaper under the name of Charles Robert Anon, name under which he attempted without success to publish three political sonnets about the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 (PESSOA, 2016: 141).⁷

Since most readers and critics would agree that Pessoa wrote his finest poetry in Portuguese, it is noteworthy that the first book he submitted for publication was *The Mad Fiddler*, a collection of English poems that the London publisher Constable & Company Ltd. turned down in 1917. Although disappointed, he was not deterred from publishing some English works he had written during that decade: *Antinous*, a long poem that celebrates the homoerotic love between Antinous and the Emperor Hadrian, and *35 Sonnets*, inspired by Shakespeare’s sonnet series. Both chapbooks were self-published in Lisbon in 1918. Three years later, in 1921, he published *English Poems I-II*, which included a revised version of *Antinous* and *Inscriptions*, a series of epitaphs likely motivated by his reading of *The Greek Anthology*, translated into English by R. W. Paton and *English Poems III (Epithalamium)*, twenty-one poems infused with explicit scenes of heterosexual love set in Rome). These two slim volumes were published by Olisipo, a commercial agency and publishing house that Pessoa had founded that same year.

Literary fame came posthumously. During his lifetime Pessoa only managed to have one poem published in England. It appeared in *The Athenæum*,⁸ a literary magazine published in London (1828-1921) with contributors that included Thomas Hardy, Edmund Gosse, T. S. Eliot, Robert Graves, Aldous Huxley, and Edmund Blunden—all of whom are extant in his private library, a collection largely comprised of English books.⁹

⁶ The origin of Karl P. Effield is likely connected to Edgar Allan Poe; the American writer, editor, and literary critic best known for his tales of mystery and the macabre was born in Boston in 1809. *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe: poems, stories, essays* was among the books Pessoa chose upon winning the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize in 1903. Although the Prize was intended for 1903, it was awarded on 24 February 1904. As a matter of fact, one of the books chosen, JOHNSON (1890), is dated 1904. The other two books chosen were KEATS (1898) and TENNYSON (1902).

⁷ For the early English political poetry of Pessoa see the contribution by Carlos Pittella in the present Issue.

⁸ In the Index to the publications from January to June 1920 Pessoa’s name is given as “Pessoa, Ferdinand.” This is likely a mistake for his name appears correctly on p. 136. The poem Pessoa published in *The Athenæum* on 30 January 1920 was “Meantime,” entitled “Far Away” in *The Mad Fiddler*. See PESSOA (1999: 25 and 56).

⁹ For an introduction and full catalogue of Pessoa’s private library see PIZARRO, FERRARI, and CARDIELLO (2010).

For some time he seems to have entertained the idea of establishing contact with some of these Anglophone authors, poets, scholars, and literary critics. The first two appear in an unpublished list datable to the end of the 1910s.¹⁰

"Eng[lish] Poems"

Gilbert Murray.
 Thomas Hardy.
 Edmund Gosse.
 Alfred Noyes.
 Rudyard Kipling.
 (Edward Carpenter).
 J. C. Squire ("Mercury").
 /Cambridge Literary Agency/.
 Prof. Saintsbury.
 Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch.
 (Lord Riddell.)
 /Classical Scholars./

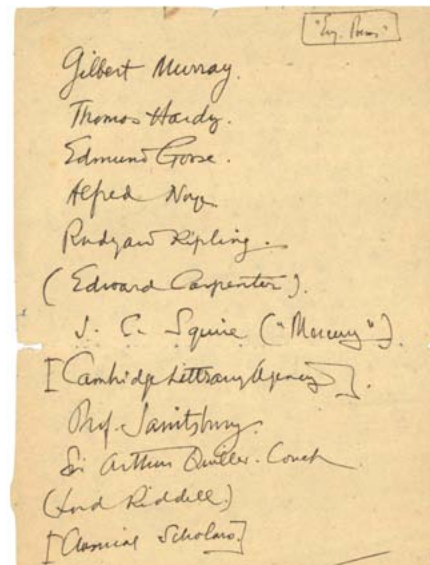


Fig. 3. Ms. datable to c. 1917 (BNP/E3, 64-99^v). Detail.

Although there are no traces of correspondence between Pessoa and the men of letters in this list, the truth is that he would continue to write English poetry until the year of his death, as attested by the following lines that open an unpublished poem datable 20 October 1935:

When I knew I was dead,
 I got up from my bed
 And I wondered what happened to me.

(BNP / E3, 49A⁷-15)

*

A month following the second Symposium on Fernando Pessoa at Brown University, in April 2015, Onésimo T. Almeida wrote:

Quando Pessoa/Search/Wyatt/Pessoa for(em) devidamente internacionalizado(s), sempre que se referir o bilinguismo literário e se mencionar Nabokov, Semprun, Cioran e Conrad,

¹⁰ George Edward Bateman Saintsbury, whose names also appears in this list, is one of the critics that Pessoa seems to have intended to contact the most. His name is listed in 92W-69^v, 144P-82^r, 114¹-116^r, and 48G-9^r. No correspondence is known between the two men. The latter two references were given by João Dionísio in his introduction to PESSOA (1993:11-12) and again by Angioni and Gomes in PESSOA (1999: 14-15).

haverá que fazê-lo(s) figurar nesse grupo. Não há paridade absoluta, mas as diferenças entre eles serão intrigantes e instrutivas.

(ALMEIDA, 2015: 33)

[When Pessoa/Search/Wyatt/Pessoa become internationally recognized as they should be, whenever the topic of literary bilingualism arises and Nabokov, Semprun, Cioran, and Conrad are mentioned they will have to be mentioned as well as part of that group. There is no absolute equality, but the differences between them will be fascinating and instructive]

Focusing on a body of poetry that continues to grow due to discoveries still being made in the Pessoa Archive, this Special Issue also celebrates the fifth year of *Pessoa Plural*.

The Issue is divided into three sections: (I) Articles: Pessoa's English poetry—an overview; Pessoa's fictitious English poets; on *The Mad Fiddler*; the classical world in Pessoa's English chapbooks; on the 35 *Sonnets*; Pessoa as Translator; the ever-widening presence of Pessoa in English-language writers; (II) Documents from Pessoa's Archive; (III) Reviews of editions of and about Pessoa.

The series opens with David K. Jackson's study of Pessoa's English poetry. He discusses some English influences pertaining to the poet's formative years. In the next chapter, with the political poetry as a focal point, Carlos Pittella examines published and unpublished writings between 1905 and 1907. Stephen Foley's brief account evaluates the figure of Thomas Wyatt and the possible connections with Pessoa's Frederick Wyatt. The third chapter is devoted to *The Mad Fiddler*. While Susan M. Brown traces connections in Pessoa's correspondence, Patrícia Oliveira Silva pays particular attention to the impact of romantic poets from the pantheist lineage of Shelley and Blake. In the chapter on Pessoa's classical chapbooks, J. D. Reed looks at *Antinous* from a tradition of poems on mythological dying-god figures mourned by their divine lovers. There follows an unprecedented study of Pessoa's *Inscriptions*. Kenneth Haynes shows not only how Pessoa participated in a widespread Victorian and Edwardian practice, but also reveals which poems Pessoa was particularly drawn to in *The Greek Anthology*. The chapter on the 35 *Sonnets* contains three contributions. While Maria Irene Ramalho concentrates on the role of the senses, Geoffrey Russom and Manuel Portela undertake a formal analysis. The former sheds important light on Pessoa's metrical patterns, enjambments, and grammatical constructions not used by Shakespeare; the latter analyses Pessoa's "Sonnet X" as a modernist parody of the Shakespearean sonnet. On the chapter on Pessoa as Translator, Jorge Wiese studies the meter and rhythm of Pessoa's translation of Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* [*The Student of Salamanca*]. George Monteiro closes the section of articles by offering accounts of how a number of significant English-language writers have reacted to the work of Pessoa.

The following section presents previous unpublished writings from Pessoa's Archive. Carlos Pittella and I revisit previously attributed material by Pessoa to Alexander Search and publish "The Poems of Frederick Wyatt," both poems and paratexts. David K. Jackson transcribes and compares the newly-found typescript of 47 pages of *The Mad Fiddler* belonging to Pessoa's niece, Manuela Nogueira, to two other typescripts in the Pessoa Archive. Nicolás Barbosa transcribes in full and for the first time Pessoa's partial translation of *The Student of Salamanca*.

The review section closes the Issue. Reviewing two different editions, one of Alexander Search's poetry and the other of English poems by Pessoa himself—Barbosa argues for a re-edition of Alexander Search's complete writings and Cary Stough calls for a complete edition of Pessoa's English poems. Jackson reviews the critical edition of *The Mad Fiddler* in the light of the new findings in Nogueira's private collection. David Mittelman assesses the first book-length publication focusing on the study of Pessoa as reader and writer of English, which appeared in 2015.

Fernando Pessoa's multiple work has had its effect on literature, including the way we look at literature. He established his poetic reputation only towards the end of his life (only in Portugal). Posterity was much kinder to him than life had been. Today he is one of the most celebrated poets of the past century. It was in Portuguese that Pessoa was an innovator, bringing to that language poetic rhythms absorbed in his beloved English tongue. Yet, as the essays in this Special Issue intend to show, his English poetry merits more attention than has been paid it to date.

Although Pessoa wrote more than 2,000 poems in all three languages combined (English, Portuguese, and French), he only published a small fraction during his short life. Today, eighty years after his death, with the preparation of the complete works still under way, some of his poetic output remains to be published. While the complete French poetry appeared in France in 2014 and the publication of the complete Portuguese poetry is forthcoming,¹¹ the editorial status of the English poetry has lagged behind. With hundreds of poems still to be deciphered and annotated, the posthumous publication of English poetry remains a vast *terra incognita* (see PIZARRO, 2012: 158; FERRARI and PITTELLA-LEITE, 2015: 228-229). It is my sincere hope that further studies bridging English, comparative literature, and linguistics will be carried out.

¹¹ For Portuguese, see the critical edition directed by Ivo Castro (PESSOA, *Poemas de Fernando Pessoa*, volume I, tomes II-IV). The critical edition still has one tome of posthumous Portuguese poetry under way: poetry written until 1914 (tome I). The *Poesia 1902-1917*, edited by Manuela Parreira da Silva, Ana Maria Freitas, and Madalena Dine, and published in 2005 by Assírio & Alvim, does not include all the non-attributed, dated Portuguese poems written by Pessoa during 1902-1917. For the French poetry, see PESSOA (2014).

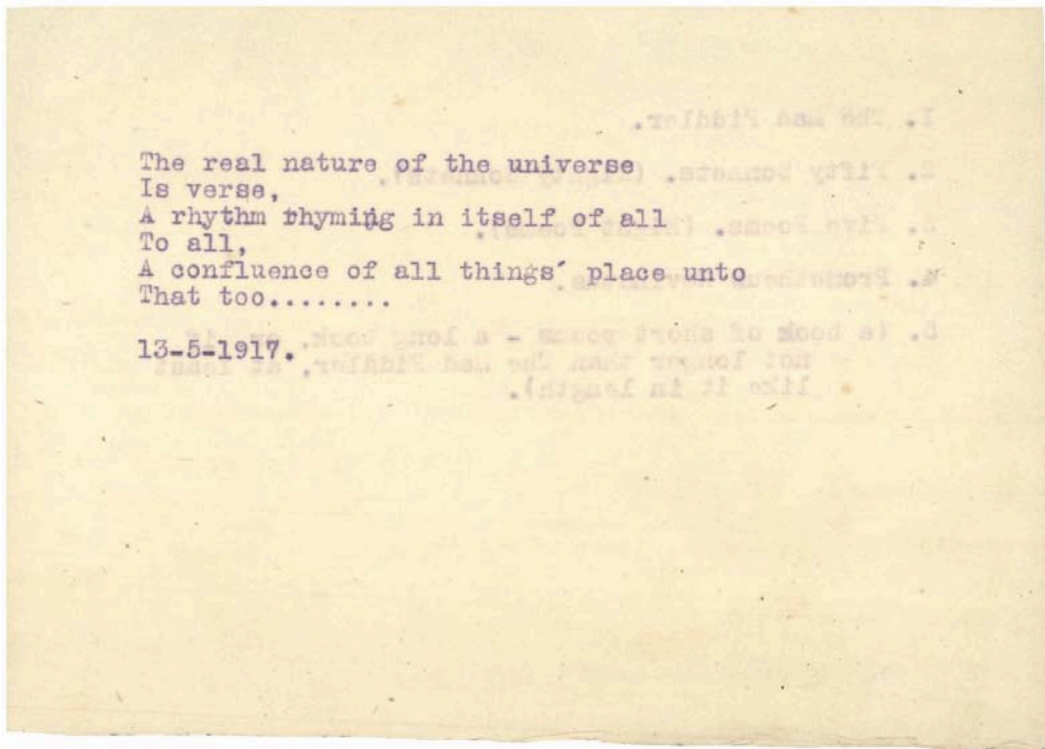


Fig. 4. Typescript dated 13 May 1917 (BNP/E3, 31-94v; in PESSOA [2014] 2015: 78).

The real nature of the universe
 Is verse,
 A rhythm rhyming in itself of all
 To all,
 A confluence of all things' place unto
 That too.....

Key to Symbols Used in Transcriptions

In the transcription of unpublished documents by Fernando Pessoa, we employ the following symbols:

□	blank space in line/phrase by author
[]	line of verse left blank or incomplete
*	conjectural reading by the editor
/ /	word/passage doubted by the author
†	illegible word
< >	enclosed words were crossed out
< > / \	submission by overwriting (<phrase replaced>/replacement \)
[↑]	interlinear addition in line above
[↓]	interlinear addition in line below
[→]	addition in the same line on the right
[←]	addition in the same line on the left
	new verse or new paragraph
[word]	word or part of word supplied by the editor

Words underlined by Pessoa are reproduced in italics. In the case of verse, marginal line numbers in italics and in bold refer to genetic notes to the poem.

Key to abbreviations

BNP / E3	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal / Espólio 3 [National Library of Portugal / Archive 3]
ed.	editor
ms.	manuscript
typ.	typescript

Bibliography

- ALMEIDA, Onésimo Teotónio (2015). "Pessoa, poeta inglês (de direito)." *Jornal de Letras*, Lisbon, 13-26 May, p. 33.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELA-LEITE (2015). "Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa's English Poetry." *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28, *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*. Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts, Tagus Press, spring, pp. 227-246.
- HONIG, Edwin. "Fernando Pessoa nos Estados Unidos." *Diário de Notícias*, Lisbon, 1978.
- JENNINGS, Hubert D. (1986). *Fernando Pessoa in Durban*. Durban: Durban Corporation.
- (1984). *Os Dois Exílios: Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul*. Oporto: Centro de Estudos Pessoaanos & Fundação Eng.º António de Almeida.

- JOHNSON, Samuel (1890). *Johnson's Lives of the Poets*. Edited, with notes, by Alexander Napier. Introduction by John W. Hales. London: George Bell and Sons. 3 vols. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 9-37].
- KEATS, John (1898). *The Poetical Works of John Keats*. With Memoir, Explanatory Notes. With portrait and illustrations. London, New York: Frederick Warne and Co. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-294].
- MCNEILL, Patrícia Silva (2010). *Yeats and Pessoa. Parallel Poetic Styles*. London: Legenda.
- MONTEIRO, George (2000). *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- ____ (ed.) (1982). *The Man Who Never Was*. Providence: Gávea-Brown.
- PITTELLA, Carlos (Guest ed.) (2016). *People of the Archive: the contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoa studies*. Carlos Pittella, guest editor. Providence: Gávea-Brown. [A printed edition of *Pessoa Plural*—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies, n.º 8].
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa*. Collection of the Fernando Pessoa House. Bilingual edition. Lisbon: D. Quixote.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo (2012). *Pessoa Existe?* Preface by Miguel Real. Lisbon: Ática. Collection Ensaística Pessoaana.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-China. Fernando Pessoa "Collection." 2nd edition. [First Edition 2013].
- ____ (2014). *Poèmes français*. Edition established and annotated by Patricio Ferrari with the collaboration of Patrick Quillier. Preface by Patrick Quillier. Paris: Éditions de la Différence. Clepsydre Collection.
- ____ (2015). *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems*. Edited and selected by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Tell-a-story. 2nd edition. [First edition 2014].
- ____ (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume V, tome III.
- ____ (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Inscriptions, Epitalamium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume V, tome I.
- ____ (1971). *Selected Poems by Fernando Pessoa. Including poems by his heteronyms Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, Alvaro de Campos as well as some of his English sonnets and selections from his letters*. Translated by Edwin Honig. With an introduction by Octavio Paz. Bilingual edition. Chicago: The Swallow Press.
- POE, Edgar Allan (1902). *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe: poems, stories, essays*. With an introduction by Charles Baudelaire. A new edition. London: Chatto & Windus. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-442].
- RODITI, Edouard (1963). "Fernando Pessoa, Outsider Among English Poets." *The Literary Review*, vol. 6, n.º 3, spring, pp. 372-385.
- SEVERINO, Alexandrino (1983). *Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul*. Lisbon: D. Quixote. [First published in 1969/1970].
- TENNYSON, Alfred (1902). *The Works of Alfred Tennyson*. London: Macmill and Co. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-541].

Acknowledgements

It is with pleasure and deep gratitude that I wish to acknowledge the generosity of several Departments at Brown University and various Portuguese Institutions that have made possible two International Symposiums devoted to Fernando Pessoa as an English poet—the first one held at the Fernando Pessoa House in Lisbon on 3 July 2014 and the second on 17 and 18 April 2015 at Brown University—and the subsequent publication of this Special Issue. Besides the sponsorship of the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies with the participation of the Literary Arts Program, the Department of English, the Department of Comparative Literature, and the Music Department at Brown University, the following institutions, all of which are located in Lisbon, Portugal, have contributed to these events: the Fernando Pessoa House, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Luso-American Foundation, and the Foundation for Science and Technology.

For the realization of both Symposiums and the publication of this Special Issue I am deeply indebted to numerous people of different generations, backgrounds, and fields:

to Professors George Monteiro, Elena Buescu, and Jerónimo Pizarro for their professionalism and guidance during my post-doctoral years between 2013 and 2015,

to Professors George Monteiro, Onésimo T. Almeida, and Nelson Vieira for their generosity, expertise, and constant support during my last post-doctoral year at Brown University in 2014-2015 and beyond,

to editors-in-chief Onésimo T. Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro for the invitation, trust, and assistance during the preparation of this Special Issue,

to Jerónimo Pizarro for his editorial aid and the revision of all the transcriptions of Pessoa's documents published here for the first time,

to Carlos Pittella for the editorial aid on every single contribution in this Special Issue as well as for the translation of most Portuguese texts,

to Kailin Beall for her committed production of the *Pessoa Plural* for the last three years,

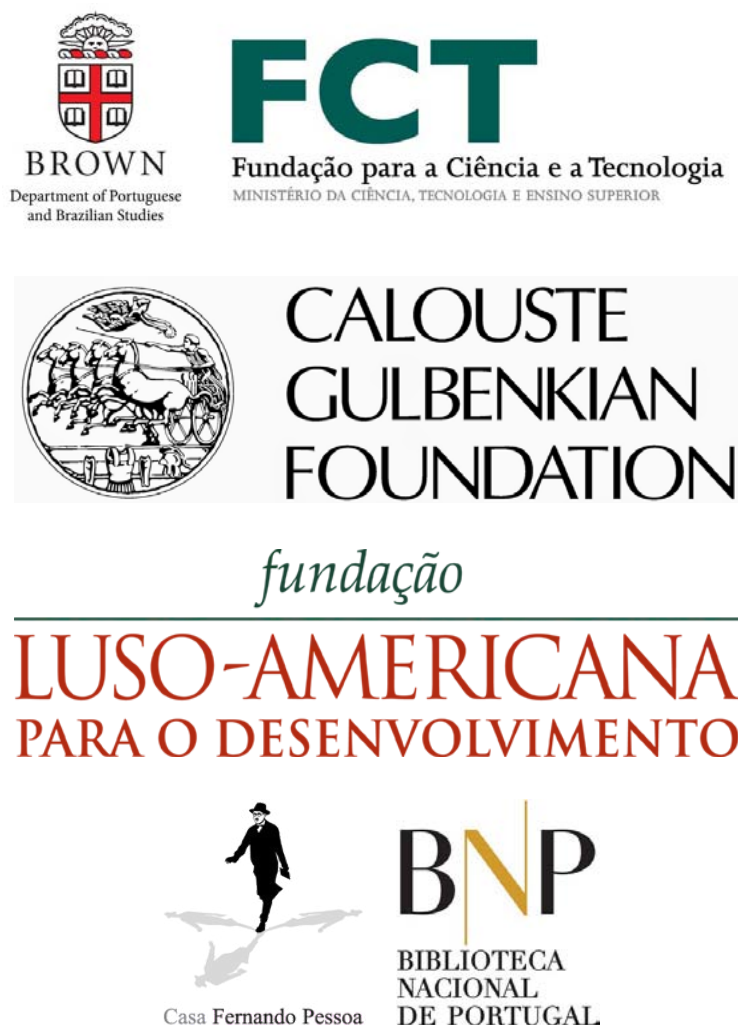
to Mark Streeter for his careful editorial revisions of some of the essays in this Special Issue,

to Consuelo Sherba, Katherine Winterstein, Emmanuel Feldman, and Nigel Gore for the memorable concert that closed the Symposium at Brown University,

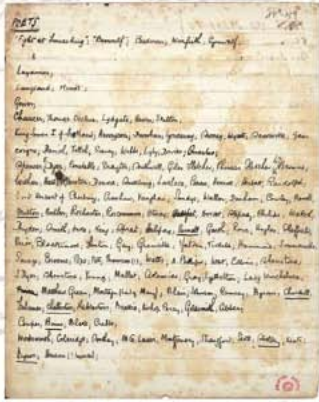
to José Pires Correia at the Fernando Pessoa House and to Lúcia Maria de Azevedo Martins and Fátima Lopes at the National Library of Portugal,

I would like to extend my warmest thanks to the following people who, in different ways and most kindly, have contributed on the Lisbon Symposium (Carmo Mota, Christian Kjelstrup, Stefan Helgesson, Antonio Cardiello, and José Barreto) and at the Brown Symposium (Onésimo T. Almeida, Nelson H. Vieira, Armanda Silva, Claudia J. Fischer, Forrest Gander, Cole Swensen, Gale Nelson, and Stuart Blazer).

Last but not least, I am grateful to all the participants, especially to those whose contribution appears in this Special Issue.



Annex I. Program of Symposium at the Fernando Pessoa House



Fernando Pessoa's English Poetry

A tribute to Georg Rudolf Lind
Casa Fernando Pessoa / Organized by Patricio Ferrari*

3 July 2014

Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), one of the foremost poets of the twentieth-century, wrote English verse from May, 1901 until the last month of his life in November, 1935. Intended as a tribute to Georg Rudolf Lind, pioneer editor of Pessoa's English poetry, this one-day conference gathers the voices of scholars from different parts of the globe. This international event held at the Pessoa House is the first one entirely devoted to a poetic corpus still largely unexplored.

PROGRAM

15hs-17hs30

Patricio Ferrari. On Pessoa's English Poetry Output: published, about to be published, still to be transcribed

Richard Zenith. Pessoa, Shelley and the Spirit of Prometheus

Susan Margaret Brown. The poetry of Alexander Search: searching for what?

Manuel Portela. "As to a child, I talked my heart asleep": a lexical, syntactic and prosodic analysis

Patricio Ferrari in conversation with **Christian Kjelstrup**

Coffee break

18hs-20hs45

Stefan Helgesson. Pessoa, Anon and Durban: Reconstructing a forgotten Context

Carlos Pittella. Kropotkin, Kitchener, Chamberlain – and the political Pessoa

Mariana de Castro. Romantic Modernists: Pessoa & Lord Byron

Patricia McNeill. Pessoa's *The Mad Fiddler*: sensationism in English

João Dionísio. Fernando Pessoa's English Poems and Poetry in English

Book launch – Fernando Pessoa, *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems*, ed. by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisbon: Tell-a-Story, 2014. **Presentation by Susan Margaret Brown.**

*FCT Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Universidade de Lisboa (Centre for Comparative Studies), Stockholm's universitet (Department of English), and Brown University (Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies).

O evento decorrerá nas duas línguas.

EGEAC



Entrada livre no limite dos lugares disponíveis.
Programa sujeito a alterações.

O acesso ao auditório por elevador é vedado após o início das sessões.

Rua Coelho da Rocha, 16 | 1250-088 Lisboa Autocarros 709, 713, 720, 738 e 774
Tel.: 21 391 32 70 | info@casafernandopessoa.pt Eléctricos 25 e 28
www.casafernandopessoa.pt Metro Rato

Annex II. Program of Symposium at Brown University (Conference)

Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa

How many masks wear we, and undermasks,
Upon our countenance of soul, and when,
If for self-sport the soul itself unmasks,
Knows it the last mask off and the face plain?
The true mask feels no inside to the mask
But looks out of the mask by co-masked eyes.
Whatever consciousness begins the task
The task's accepted use to sleepness ties.
Like a child frightened by its mirrored faces,
Our souls, that children are, being thought-losing,
Poist otherness upon their seen grimaces
And get a whole world on their forgot causing;



And, when a thought would unmask our soul's masking,
Itself goes not unmasked to the unmasking.

Fernando Pessoa

s y m p o s i u m

17-18 April 2015

McCormack Family Theater/MacMillan Hall



Brown University

Saturday 18 April 2015

MacMillan Hall (167 Thayer St.), Room 115

9:00am Coffee

9:30am Panel 2: Pessoa's Major English Fictitious Poets
K. David Jackson "Pessoa's Voluptuous Skepticism"
Stephen Foley and Patricio Ferrari "Pessoa's Wyatt"

10:45am Panel 3: Multilingual Translator

Jorge Wiese "Pessoa's English Rendering of
Espronceda's *El Estudiante de Salamanca*"
Claudia J. Fischer and Forrest Gander "Pessoa as Self-
translator: *Naval Ode* and *Opiary*"

12:15pm Lunch

1:30pm Panel 4: Two Chapbooks and an Unpublished Typescript
Susan M. Brown "Thoughts on *The Mad Fiddler*"
Joseph Reed "Pessoa's *Antimus*"
Kenneth Haynes "Pessoa and *The Greek Anthology*"

3:15pm Panel 5: Shakespeare, Pessoa and the Art of the Sonnet
Geoffrey Russom "How Do We Apprehend Pessoa's
Rhythmical Effects?"
John Casey "A Bad Orator/An Unperfect Actor: Pessoa
Reading Shakespeare"
Peter K. Saval "A Reader of Shakespeare turns to
Pessoa's *Sonnets*"

Coffee Break

5:00pm Closing Keynote Address
George Monteiro "And What Now, Fernando?"

6:00pm Aurea Performance: *The Mad Fiddler*
Consuelo Sherba, Katherine Winterstein, Emmanuel
Feldman and Nigel Gore, featuring the music of
Francaix, Purcell, Ravel and others



Organized by Patricio Ferrari

On April 17th-18th, 2015, voices from five different departments at Brown University will join with local poets, musicians, actors and scholars in a two-day celebration of Fernando Pessoa, a major twentieth-century writer known primarily for his Portuguese works (*The Book of Disquiet* and the heteronymic poetry).

Two things make this event unique. In October of 1977 Brown hosted the first international symposium on Pessoa. At that time Edwin Honig pointed out that much remained to be said about the poet's bilingualism, referring to his English output. No one more than George Monteiro has committed himself to exploring this largely ignored aspect of Pessoa, and his *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature* (2000) breaks new ground in its discussion of the vast implications of Pessoa's role as a voracious reader/writer of English.

This conference, conceived and organized in that same pioneering spirit and coming full-circle almost forty years later, will focus on a body of poetry that continues to grow due to discoveries still being made in the Pessoa Archive. Open to faculty, students, writers and lovers of poetry.

Friday

17 April 2015

McCormack Family Theater (70 Brown St.)

4:00pm Opening Remarks

Opening Keynote Address

Maria Irene Ramalho de Sousa Santos
"Seeing Nothing – Being Nothing – Being a Poet."
Emily Dickinson Reads Fernando Pessoa

5:00pm Panel 1: Poets Reading a Selection of Pessoa's English Poetry

Rosmarie Waldrop, Cole Swensen, Gale Nelson and
Stuart Blazer

6:30pm Reception

Location: Dept. of Literary Arts
(68 ½ Brown St.)

Sponsored by the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies

with the participation of Literary Arts | English | Comparative Literature | Music

Charles Robert Anon

Alexander Search.

William Alexander Search.

How many masks wear we, and undermasks,

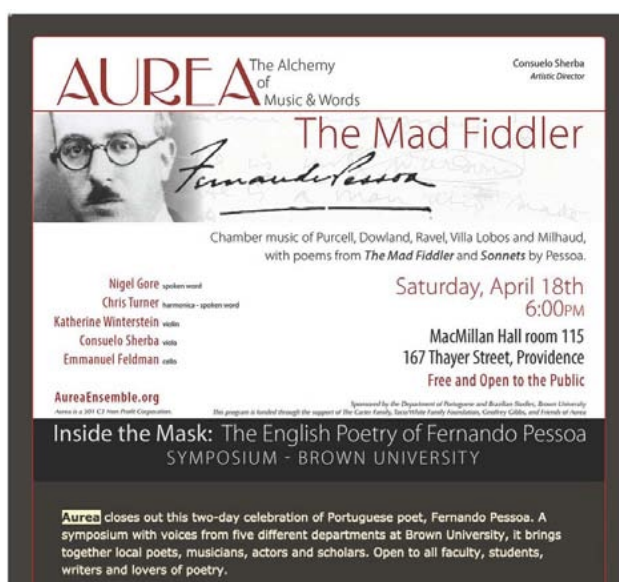
Chas. James Search

Frederick Wyatt
Frederick Wyatt
Frederick Wyatt

Thomas Gore

Design by Kate Beall

Annex III. Program of Symposium at Brown University (Concert)



AUREA The Alchemy of Music & Words
Consuelo Sherba
Artistic Director

The Mad Fiddler
Fernando Pessoa

Chamber music of Purcell, Dowland, Ravel, Villa Lobos and Milhaud,
with poems from *The Mad Fiddler* and *Sonnets* by Pessoa.

Nigel Gore spoken word
Chris Turner harmonica - spoken word
Katherine Winterstein viola
Consuelo Sherba viola
Emmanuel Feldman cello

Saturday, April 18th
6:00PM
MacMillan Hall room 115
167 Thayer Street, Providence
Free and Open to the Public

AureaEnsemble.org

Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa
SYMPOSIUM - BROWN UNIVERSITY

Aurea closes out this two-day celebration of Portuguese poet, Fernando Pessoa. A symposium with voices from five different departments at Brown University, it brings together local poets, musicians, actors and scholars. Open to all faculty, students, writers and lovers of poetry.

PROGRAM

Readings

Music

	Sonata for violin and cello, I. Allegro <i>Maurice Ravel 1875 - 1937</i>
Mad Fiddler	Harmonica Improvisation <i>Chris Turner</i>
Sonnet VIII How many masks wear we?	String trio no.2 in A minor <i>Henry Purcell 1659 - 1695</i>
The Island, <i>Mad Fiddler</i>	String Trio no.1 in G minor <i>Henry Purcell</i>
Sonnet XI Like a ship	Duo for violin and viola, I. Allegro <i>Heitor Villa-Lobos 1887 - 1959</i>
Elf dance, <i>Mad Fiddler</i>	Sonatina for violin and viola, III. Fugue <i>Darius Milhaud 1892 - 1974</i>
Sonnet XIV We are born at Nightfall	Burst forth my tears Songs in Three Parts, <i>John Dowland 1563 - 1626</i>
Her fingers toyed, <i>Mad Fiddler</i>	Whoever thinks or hopes of love Songs in Three Parts, <i>John Dowland</i>
Sonnet XV Like a Bad suitor	All ye whom love or fortune Songs in Three Parts, <i>John Dowland</i>
Sonnet XVII My love and not I is the egoist	Rest a while you cruel cares Songs in Three Parts, <i>John Dowland</i>
The Poem, <i>Mad Fiddler</i>	Harmonica Improvisation
Sonnet XX When in the widening circle of rebirth	Duo for violin and viola, II. slow <i>Heitor Villa-Lobos</i>
The Hours, <i>Mad Fiddler</i>	Harmonica Improvisation
Sonnet XXXV Good. I have done	Sonatina for violin and viola, II. Lent <i>Darius Milhaud</i>

Pessoa's Voluptuous Skepticism

Kenneth David Jackson*

Keywords

Alexander Search, Imitation, Pessoa, Skepticism, Solitude, "The Mad Fiddler," English Poetry.

Abstract

Fernando Pessoa devoured English literature in his early education in South Africa, and his early fictitious author Alexander Search wrote around 115 poems in imitation of poets from Wyatt to Byron, before and after Pessoa's return to Lisbon in 1905. Search's reading of English poetry across time, his imitation of variable styles in English, and his search for an aesthetic ideal characterize a youthful period of voluptuous reading and skeptical despair that may be compared to FitzGerald's pursuit of classical translation through poetic imagination.

Resumo

Fernando Pessoa estudou avidamente a literatura inglesa durante a sua formação na África do Sul, e o seu autor fictício Alexander Search escreveu cerca de 115 poemas, imitando o estilo de poetas ingleses — de Wyatt a Byron —, antes e depois da volta de Pessoa a Lisboa em 1905. A relação de Search com a poesia inglesa, a sua imitação de estilos variados e a busca do jovem Pessoa por um ideal estético caracterizam um período juvenil, de intensa leitura e de desespero cético, comparável à busca de FitzGerald por uma tradução clássica através da imaginação poética.

Palavras-chave

Alexander Search, Ceticismo, Imitação, Pessoa, Solidão, "The Mad Fiddler", Poesia Inglesa.

* Yale University, Department of Spanish & Portuguese.

In an essay on literary translation, the Brazilian poet Haroldo de Campos examined the case of Edward FitzGerald's (1809-1883) translation of Omar Khayyám's (1048-1131) *Rubáiyát*, a text in a language for which the translator had only an amateur interest, and imagined that, at the moment of translation of the Persian text, Fitzgerald would find the work archaic, part of a poetic tradition that one would have to know by heart to feel its meaning fully (CAMPOS, 1983: 62). Fitzgerald worked on the *Rubáiyát* from a French translation, according to his own resourcefulness and his particular distance, filtered through a classical ideal. Campos perceives that Fitzgerald translates Khayyám "in the light of Greek Epicureanism, which reflects as much of his classical education as a certain 'mood' of the time, which tends to voluptuous skepticism."¹ The phrase seems appropriate to describe the young Pessoa's relationship with English poetry, which he read voraciously as the language of his education and imagination,² and it captures Bernardo Soares' comment on Fitzgerald's work in the *Livro do Desassossego* [*The Book of Disquiet*]:³ "Charity for all, intimacy with none" (PESSOA, 2003: 367).⁴ Khayyám's poetry comes from an unknown place, and for a moment, in his clerk's ledger lines, Soares sees exotic unrhymed quatrains: "In the very act of entering the name of an unfamiliar cloth, the doors of the Indus and of Samarkand open up,

¹ Cf. "à luz do epicurismo grego, e que responde tanto à sua formação clássica, quanto a um certo 'mood' do tempo, propenso ao ceticismo voluptuário" (CAMPOS, 1983: 63).

² Bernardo Soares' appraisal of Khayyám suggests that the Pessoa's reading of the *Rubáiyát* around 1910 was central to the origin of Ricardo Reis: "A philosophia practica de Khayyam reduz-se pois a um epicurismo suave, esbatido até ao mínimo do desejo de prazer. Basta-lhe ver rosas e beber vinho. Uma brisa leve, uma conversa sem intuito nem proposito, um pucaro de vinho, flores, em isso, e em não mais do que isso, põe o sabia persa o seu desejo maximo. O amor agita e cansa, a acção dispersa e falha, ninguém sabe saber e pensar embacia tudo. Mais vale pois cessar em nós de desejar ou de esperar, de ter a pretensão futil de explicar o mundo, ou o proposito estulto de o emendar ou governar. Tudo é nada, ou, como se diz na Anthologia Grega, 'tudo vem da sem-razão', e é um grego, e portanto um racional, que o diz" (PESSOA, 2008: 78) ["Khayyam's practical philosophy can be reduced to a smooth Epicureanism, with the desire for pleasure reduced to a minimum. It is enough for him to see roses and drink wine. A light breeze, a conversation without a purpose, a pitcher of wine, flowers, that and no more than that is the maximum that the Persian sage desires. Love agitates and tires, its action weakens and fails, no one knows how to think and thinking obscures everything. It is best to stop desiring or hoping, of having the futile pretension of explaining the world, or the foolish aim of changing or governing it"] (PESSOA, 2002: 366-367). Pessoa's copy also contains extensive draft translations of quatrains of the poem, published in *Rubaiyat* (Pessoa, 2008). Editor's note: Following Pizarro's critical edition (PESSOA, 2010: II, 534) this text along with others on the Persian poet are no longer considered part of the corpus that make the *Livro do Desassossego* [*The Book of Disquiet*].

³ On Pessoa and Khayyám, see PIZARRO (2013) and BOSCAGLIA (2016).

⁴ "Caridade para com todos, intimidade com nenhum. Assim interpreta Fitzgerald em um passo de uma sua nota, qualquer coisa da etihca de Khayyam" (PESSOA, 2008: 77). Editor's note: Following Pizarro's critical edition (PESSOA, 2010: II, 534) this text along with others on the Persian poet are no longer considered part of the corpus that make the *Livro do Desassossego* [*The Book of Disquiet*].

and Persian poetry (which is yet from another place), with its quatrains whose third lines don't rhyme, is a distant anchor for me in my disquiet" (PESSOA, 2003: 18).⁵ The *Rubáiyát* opens a vision of the voluptuous orientalist dream of empire and domination: "Nearly all men dream, deep down, of their own mighty imperialism: the subjection of all men, the surrender of all women, the adoration of all peoples and – for the noblest dreamers – of all eras" (PESSOA, 2002: 53).⁶ Soares acknowledges the imperialist orientalism of his failure to be: "I know I've failed. I enjoy the vague voluptuosity of failure like one who, in his exhaustion, appreciates the fever that laid him up" (PESSOA, 2003: 270).⁷

Contact with English literature formed Pessoa's early intellectual foundation with Milton, Shakespeare, the Elizabethans, Romantics and the Victorians, read in the colonial setting of Durban High School in British South Africa, where a literary education was considered essential for the development of a Victorian gentleman. English poetry was the first of Pessoa's "adverse genres," by which I mean imitation of form filled with incongruent content, and it was adverse in multiple dimensions. Pessoa assigned this first large body of creative work in English to the fictitious author Alexander Search,⁸ and much of Search's poetry was written in the first four years after Pessoa had returned to Lisbon in August of 1905. In notes concerning Alexander Search, Pessoa assigns him the same birthdate as his own (13 June 1888) and produces short biographical sketches in which Search analyzes his own childhood, character, and personality. Search tells of early readings of novels of mystery and adventure; an inclination towards the spiritual, mysterious, and obscure; his loneliness; a loving and kind soul hindered by selfishness; a fear of insanity and criminal impulses; and an unbalanced susceptibility to suffering and pain (see PESSOA, 2016a: 227-248). In her study of Pessoa as a bilingual poet, scholar Anne Terlinden concludes that Pessoa wanted Search to be a complete heteronym:

⁵ "No proprio registro de um tecido que não sei o que seja se me abrem as portas do Indo e de Samarcanda, e a poesia da Persia, que não é de um lugar nem de outro, faz das suas quadras, desrimadas no terceiro verso, um apoio longinquo para o meu desasocego" (PESSOA, 2010: I, 191).

⁶ "Quasi todos os homens sonham, nos secretos do seu ser, um grande imperialismo seu, a sujeição de todos os homens, a entrega de todas as mulheres, a adoração dos povos, e, nos mais pobres, de todas [as] eras..." (PESSOA, 2010: I, 191).

⁷ "Sei que falhei. Goso a volupia indeterminada da fallencia como quem dá um apreço exausto a uma febre que o enclausura" (PESSOA, 2010: I, 84).

⁸ Editor's note: From approximately 1903 to 1906 Charles Robert Anon was the young Pessoa's most prolific literary figure in English, who wrote critical essays, short stories, sonnets, epitaphs, satires odes and elegies. Anon published in *The Natal Mercury* in 1904, and his name appears in Pessoa's personal library in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton* (1885), *The Philosophy of Herbert Spenser* (1904), and *A Practical Introduction to Latin Prose Composition* (1899) (see PESSOA, 2016a: 139-156). In 1906 Pessoa passes over some of Anon's poetry to Alexander Search (see PESSOA, 2016a: 227-248). For a complete list of Search's private library, see FERRARI (2009: 193-197).

He [Pessoa] builds his own library [...] including Byron, Coleridge, Shelley, and Whitman; collaborates in an intersectionist review with Pessoa, Sá-Carneiro, Guisado and Côrtes-Rodrigues; reads Portuguese, French, and Spanish; possesses a wide cultural background; and is influenced in his early poetry by the style and theme of the English Romantics

(TERLINDEN, 1990: 134-137)

Search's strange, uneven use of English often has the sense of a translation from multiple authors, perhaps a compilation of all the poets he had read, admired, and emulated in verse. Search's English was thus both synthetic and archaic, compiled and synthesized in his imagination through authors from Wyatt to Keats,⁹ from whose voices Pessoa drew to create his first major literary persona. At the same time, the English verses of Alexander Search explore and predict traces of his author's character, introducing themes that will continue to be prominent in the later work, for which Search can be thought of as the first major fictitious author before the creation of the heteronyms in 1914.¹⁰ Search's anguished personal and philosophical quest leads directly to Pessoa's later poems in English.

There is intensely dramatic self-analysis in this poetry with a voluptuous tone in the persona of a romantic wanderer on a quest for knowledge. Its skepticism lies in doubts about the impossibility of knowing anything about the nature of existence and reality, accompanied by self-doubts whether the author will ever fulfill his frightening literary potential under the burden of an almost perverse and hyperactive imagination. On surveying the poems attributed to Search, which at the time of her study were available only in Pessoa's literary archive,¹¹ Terlinden considered them to express the anguished thoughts of the young poet, even though the poems are often obsessive imitations of his most admired writers. She gives credence to the importance of thematic continuity and affirms "[...] the young poet A[lexander] Search might well be considered as a coarse melting-pot of the essential ontological intuitions of the later poetic genius [...] [and] could serve as the foundation of the mature heteronymic work of Pessoa" (1990: 91). Although Pessoa's English poems have been treated as a separate category,¹² represented mainly in the three chapbooks self-published in Lisbon in 1918 and 1921, the large body of work by Alexander Search now available supports the thesis of continuity in the bilingual poet and argues against the separation of poems in English from the poetry in Portuguese. Jorge de Sena and Terlinden were among the first scholars to view the English and Portuguese

⁹ Editor's note: for the presence of Thomas Wyatt, see Stephen M. Foley's article in this issue.

¹⁰ Search could be said to rest on revisiting the diaspora and dilution found among Victorian writers and artists of classical ideals, depicted aesthetically in paintings from the Pre-Raphaelites to the noble decorative figures of the English classical revivalist artist Frederick Leighton (1830-1896).

¹¹ Editor's note: Held at the National Library of Portugal since 1979. The first critical edition of Alexander Search's poetry was published by João Dionísio in 1997.

¹² For an overview of Pessoa's English poetry see FERRARI and PITTELLA (2015).

works as a unified whole, even at a time when the only English poetry available was what Pessoa had subsequently published more than a decade after Search's poems had been penned.¹³

In his essay "Alexander Search, entre o Sono e o Sonho," Yale scholar Stephen Reckert notices the artificiality of verses that he finds "excessively literary and even archaic," written for psychological, ideological, or esoteric purposes, worked through the antitheses inside/outside, self/others, light/darkness, madness/normalcy (1978: 81-102). Reckert analyzes the poem "In the Street," discovered in 1978 by Yvette K. Centeno, with its theme of the passer-by who unrolls a searching self-analysis of the artist and a critique of his powers as he is passing down a residential street in the evening. The poet is cold and alone, distant from the shadows of families he glimpses in the houses. He carries the burdens of the world and the curse of his restless imagination: "Happy were I but to have then | The usual life of men. || But oh! I have within my heart | Things that cannot keep still." He is the eternally excluded and condemned, calling himself "[a] wearied Sysyphus [...] | Against the world's ironic stone." (1997: 112).

As much as the wandering poet may wish to live the normal joys glimpsed in one of the homes, he exults at the same time in his difference: "For aught like madness is in me. [...] I dread to think my life might pass | Like that of men." (1997: 113-114). Being condemned to be forever a ceaseless wanderer against all norms, never to know the normal desires of men ("I know not to what I aspire | Yet know *this* I cannot desire") (1997: 114). Search nevertheless exults in his "delirious smart [...] restlessness" (1997: 112), and in the power of his mind to "perceive | Something none other can conceive" (1997: 115). Through the figure of the pensive, introspective passer-by, the poet revisits the interior of the self, passing not only through the street but also through the whole of life as a dramatic allegory. The allegorical structure of the intellectual journey of "In the Street" will be refigured in much of the later poetry, for which Caeiro's *O Guardador de Rebanhos* [*The Keeper of Sheep*] (PESSOA, 2016b) serves as a principal example.

The epigraph preceding the poem "In the Street" taken from Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* ("But I, mein Werther, sit above it all; I am alone with the stars")¹⁴ references Goethe's romantic hero, Werther from whose tragic destiny Pessoa is

¹³ Jorge de Sena had previously suggested in his preface to *Poemas Ingleses* (1974) that the English poems were a mask through which Pessoa revealed more about himself than he later did in Portuguese—although, speaking of the eroticism and obscenity of *Antinous* and *Epithalamium*, Pessoa demurs in a letter to João Gaspar Simões dated 18 November 1930: "Não sei porque escrevi qualquer dos poemas em inglez" ["I don't know why I wrote any of those poems in English"] (PESSOA, 1998: 137-139).

¹⁴ Pessoa's heavily annotated copy of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1903) is dated "February, 1904, Durban High School." Among the noted phrases (p. 36) is "Which of your Philosophical Systems is other than a dream-theorem [...]." For other marginalia in this book, see *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura* (PESSOA, 2006: II, 690-691).

protected by the force of his quest for the absolute, by humor and detachment, and by externalizing himself in his use of persona.

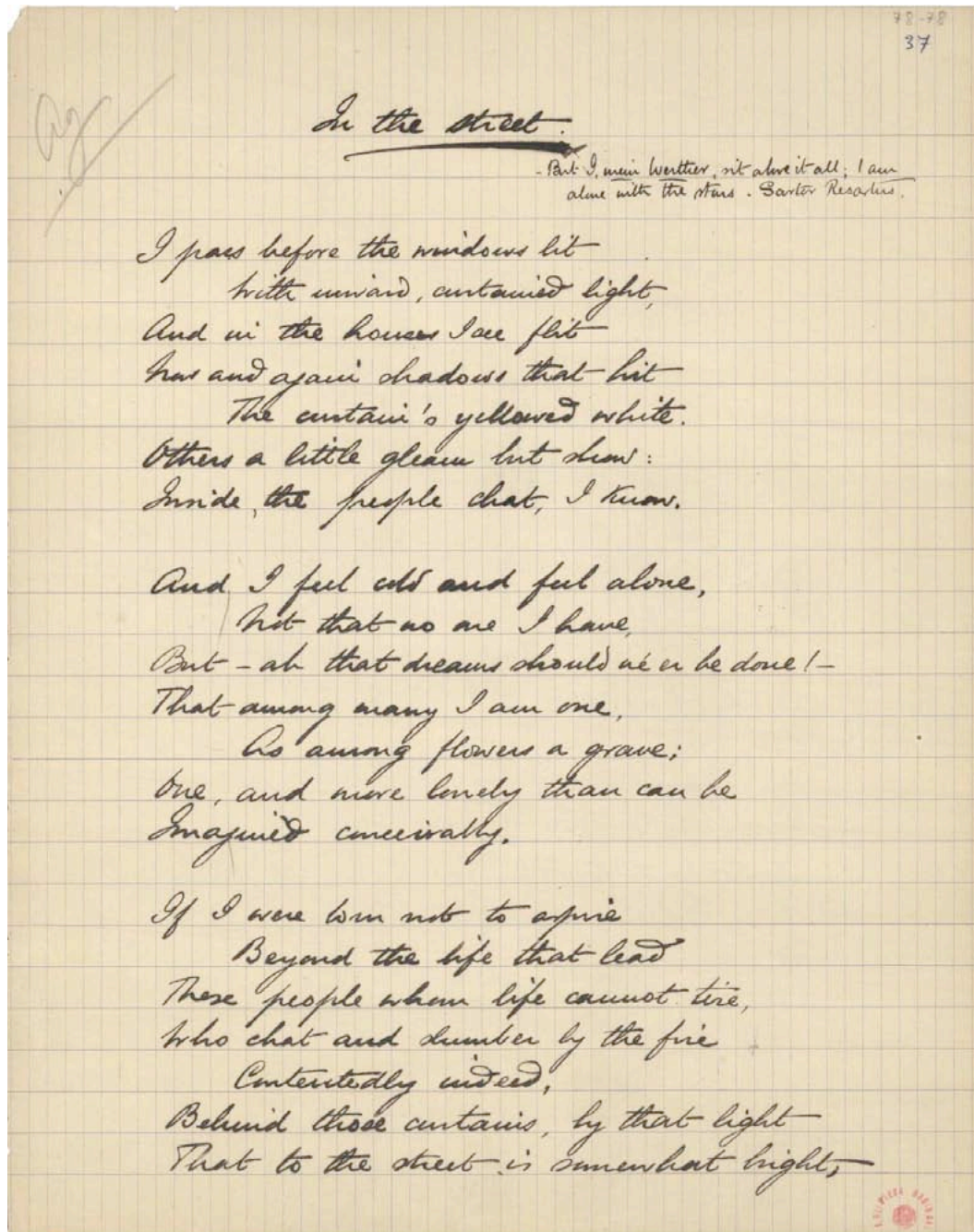


Fig. 1. Opening ms. page of "In the Street." (BNP / E3, 78-78).

The distance that protected Pessoa from Search's despair and solitude can be felt in his dismissive critique of Frederick Wyatt, one of the fictitious authors dating from 1913 (see PESSOA, 2016a: 359-370). The madness that Search feared in himself is cynically recommended to improve the image and reception of Wyatt: "It is a pity he is not mad; it would have been better like that. It is perhaps the best casual word-portrait of him, in all its indirectness. It stung him, as I easily perceived,

because it hit his character off so justly and yet showed how terribly evident even to casual & uninterested dreamers was the suffering he thought he hid in himself from all eyes" (PESSOA, 2016a: 365).¹⁵ Pessoa's penetrating self-objectification by an almost omniscient and external consciousness also served to separate pure intellect from emotion.

In the bilingual volume *Poesia Inglesa* (PESSOA, 1995) editor Luísa Freire publishes 115 poems by Search written in the period 1904-1909 (sixteen written before his return to Portugal in 1905) plus "The Mad Fiddler" complete, followed by 31 dispersed poems, in the first full publication of texts by Alexander Search, which anticipated João Dionísio's critical edition (PESSOA, 1997). In the early poetry one finds a recapitulation of the reflections of the passer-by of "In the Street," expressed in diverse poetic forms and styles. University scholars may identify with the initial quatrain of "Death in Life":

Another day is past, and while it past,
What have I pondered or conceived or read?
Nothing! Another day has gone to waste.
Nothing! Each hour as it is born is dead.

(PESSOA, 1997: 127)

Search writes as a Wordsworth in "Regret" ("I would that I were again a child | And a child you sweet and pure" (1997: 125); delivers a Shakespearean soliloquy in "Resolution" (I'll to my work then, so God make me strong | To bring the Demons of mine own self to | Their knees, and take the Devil by the throat") (1997: 127); floats in the clouds with Shelley in "Thought" ("How great a thing is thought! as through the gloom | Of stormy skies the sudden lightning curls, | As slow the storm in patience grim unfurls | Its mighty volume of resounding boom") (1997: 145); a Byron in "Perfection" ("Perfection comes to me in fevered dreams, | Beauty diving by earthly senses bound, | And lulls mine ear with slow, forgetful sound [...] Then day invades, and all is gone away; | I to myself return, and feel such woe | As when a ship-wrecked sailor waked from sleep –") (1997: 289-290); a Coleridge in "The Maiden" ("Then I asked a madman who had no home, | And he said: 'Alas for thee who dost roam! | Thou must become as I am now | For her thou seekest none can know") (1997: 139); and a Marvell in "Epigram" ("Ah, foolish girl, with many a fancy fraught, | Seek not the dreary path of solemn thought. | The man who thinks is he that suffers worst, | By nature blest, by everything accurst.") (1997: 308).¹⁶

¹⁵ Editor's note: twenty of the twenty-one poems that make up Frederick Wyatt's book of poetry had been originally attributed to Alexander Search. For a full transcription of all the documents in *The Poems of Frederick Wyatt* project, see the Documents section in this issue.

¹⁶ Pessoa's library contained *The Complete Poetical Works of Shelley* (1904), *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron* (1905), *The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* [n.d.], *Poems of Robert Browning* (1907),

Self-analysis is often indistinguishable from autobiography: "My tale is simple, sad and brief – [...] Too soon I learned to see too clear, [...] I was not born to joy or love. [...] Like a tremendous, mystic sea | In lands where dreams alone can be" ("The Woman in Black") (1997: 99-102). The theme of madness figures prominently: "Oh God, let me not fall insane! | I know that half-mad I am now;" he exclaims in "Prayer," (1997: 119) and he surveys his life before 1907 in "My Life" ("Youth? Life? Twelve years I had of happiness; [...] Twelve years of sleep and seven of distress") (1997: 118). His constant old friends, companions, and colleagues are disappointment, despair, and solitude ("Familiar Conversation") (1997: 75). Venturing into the street once more in "A Winter Day" the poet finds it a crucible of the painful emptiness of his existence: "How deep my thoughts in pain and sadness are! | How wreck'd my soul in its intense despair! [...] As if life or the world were anything!" (1997: 77-80).

Currents of self-analysis are dominated by the skepticism and fatalism of one who laments his alienation from the normal lives he observes on the street in passing: "Oh joy! oh height of happiness! | To wish no more than life, | To feel of pleasure, of distress, | A normal more, a normal less" (1997: 113). The poet is by his nature "eternally excluded," (1997: 112) and complains in "Sonnet of a Sceptic": "When I in pain my troubled eyelids close | And look upon the world that in me lies. [...] I am like the night, | And yet in me no star, serenely bright, | The clouds of mind and soul so purely clears. [...] Unheard, unseen, I sit in heatless cold, | Enwrapped in my doubts and in my fears" (1997: 143-144). Constant disturbing questioning on "the sense of the sense of the universe" or "the sense of the mystery of all" ("Horror") (1997: 76) takes over his mind in "Mania of Doubt": "All things unto me are queries | That from normalness depart [...] Things are and seem, and nothing bears | The secret of the life it wears" (1997: 67). The poet by his compulsive nature must live the mystery of the unknown or empty nature of things: "A curtain hides the mystery | That in the world is known to be [...] From eyes unsensual that would see [...] That Nothingness pains more the heart" (1997: 68); and feel, in "Rage", perhaps with Burns, "[...] a rage – ay a rage! [...] A thirst of life nought can assuage [...] A cynic before dirt, | A revolt before God" (1997: 126-127).

The plaintive portrait of the poet's condition can turn from melancholic to stoic to euphoric pride in his superior mind as he continues on his allegorical road: "On an infinite road, at an unknown pace, | With endless and free commotion, | [...] | A freshness whose soul is motion! ("On the Road") (1997: 210). The poet divines that his journey promises to lead his errant thoughts to "traverse impossible infinities" ("To a Hand") (1997: 64) in verses that foreshadow the revelatory "Ascensão de Vasco da Gama" ["Ascension of Vasco da Gama"] in

The Works of Alfred Tennyson (1902), *The Poetical Works of John Keats* (1898), and Edward Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* (1910).

Mensagem (1934), the only full-length book Pessoa published during his lifetime: "By a sudden portal in the Visible | I have a glimpse of the Absolute" ("To a Hand") (1997: 63). His esoteric quest for mystical and divine truths both condemns and elevates the poet to an interminable search beyond the everyday world and firmly establishes the theme of mystery and the absolute in his poetry.

The early poems contain glimpses of subsequent works that have been observed by many readers. Reckert asks if it would not seem too fanciful to see in references to solitude, dream, and shipwreck in the poetry of Alexander Search the origin of the 1913 play, *O Marinheiro* [*The Sailor*]:¹⁷ "Then day invades, and all is gone away; [...] As when a ship-wrecked sailor waked from sleep—" ("Perfection") (1997: 290); "It is an island out of human track, | Mysterious, old within the sea and full | Of caves and grottoes unexplored and black [...] Woven in a labyrinth and scarce of light" ("Soul-Symbols") (1997: 121-122). Could the failure of Pessoa's love letters to Ophelia be predicted by the anguished decision posed to the reader in the poem "A Question"? In the opening stanza we read: "If you had to choose between seeing dead— | Your wife whom you do love so well— | And the loss complete, irreparable, | Of your verses all, instead—" (1997: 73).

Humorous and even apparently meaningless poems¹⁸ in Search bring to mind short poems by Álvaro de Campos or Pessoa, as in "The World Offended": "I said unto the World one day: 'I suspect thee of existence!'" (1997: 72). Or play with language in "The Lip": "I saw in a dream, by no light's gleam, | A man with only one lip – | Absolutely, absolutely, absolutely, | Absolutely with only one lip!" (1997: 93) or in "The Story of Solomon Waste": "[...] two clear facts, he lived and died | This is *all* the story of Solomon Waste" (1997: 211). Playful eroticism with a baroque tone makes a brief appearance in the satirical poem "On An Ankle: A Sonnet Bearing the Imprimatur of the Inquisitor-General and of Other People of Distinction and of Decency":

I had a revelation not from high
But from below, when thy skirt awhile lifted
Betrayed such *promise* that I am not gifted
With words that may that view well signify.

And even if my verse that thing would try,
Hard were it, if my task came to be sifted,
To find a word that rude would not have shifted
Therefrom the cold hand of Morality.

¹⁷ On the origins of *O Marinheiro* [*The Sailor*] see K. David JACKSON (2010: 37-58) and Claudia J. FISCHER (2012).

¹⁸ Editor's note: This category could include poems in English that were left unpublished/unattributed. See previously unpublished English poem "Envoi" included in *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems* (PESSOA, 2015).

To gaze is nought; mere sight no mind hath wrecked.
 But oh, sweet lady, beyond what is seen
 What things may guess or hint at Disrespect!

Sacred is not the beauty of a queen...
 I from thine ankle did as much suspect
 As you from this may suspect what I mean.

(PESSOA, 1997: 53)

By August of 1907, however, Pessoa has exhausted the poetic and psychological possibilities of Alexander Search, who becomes a victim of the heteronymic game.¹⁹ That year Search penned a "Farewell" ("Farewell, farewell for ever! | 'Tis time this thing were done") (1997: 40), before the two epitaphs that would put an end to this phase of his life and writing and cast out the suffering Search to make a place for the major heteronyms.²⁰ The first epitaph critiques his madness, powerless egotism, disorder, grief and fears, and his weak and execrable mind: "[L]et him lie in peace for ever [...] || [...] to the sin of having lived | He joined the crime of having thought" (1997: 110). In the second, it is Pessoa who expels the poet who aspired to last beyond his time: "Here the accursèd poet lies, | Hid far from the pure blue skies; [...] Vain was his thought. | He would be loved and he was not. [...] Down to him no light can go. | Damn'd be he for ever! (1997: 74). The final end, separating Pessoa definitively from Search, comes in an irreverent and theatrical epitaph composed after the definitive demise of the persona: "Here lieth Alexander Search | Whom God & man left in the lurch [...] He believed not in state or church | Nor in God, woman, man or love [...] This was his last sentiment: | Accurst be Nature, Man and God" (1997: 37-38).

¹⁹ Editor's note: Pessoa did not employ the term "heteronímia" ["heteronymy"]. He explained the difference between "duas categorias de obras" (i.e., "orthónymas" and "heterónymas") in his "Tábua bibliográfica" ["Bibliographical Table"] published in the Coimbra-based magazine *presença* in December 1928. These categories as such only appeared in 1928.

²⁰ "Farewell" is dated 23 August 1907.

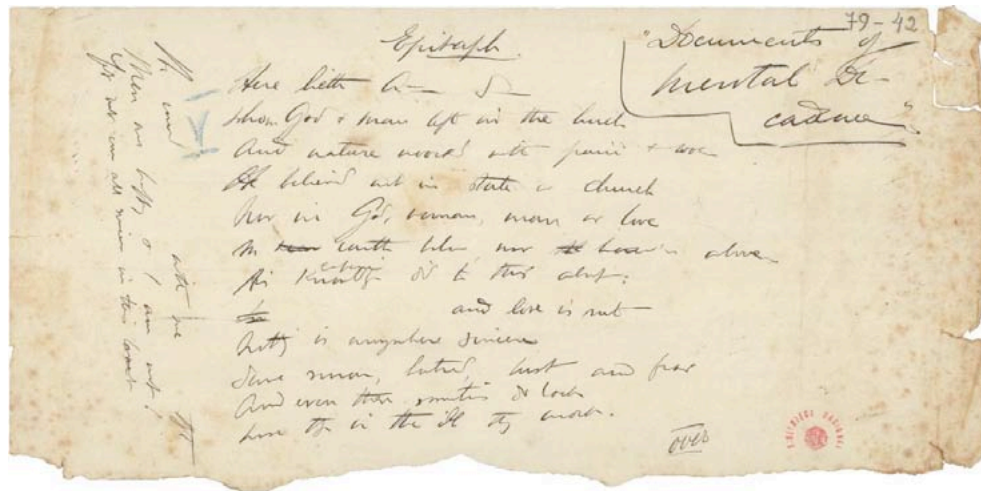


Fig. 2. Front of "Epigraph." (BNP / E3, 79-42r).

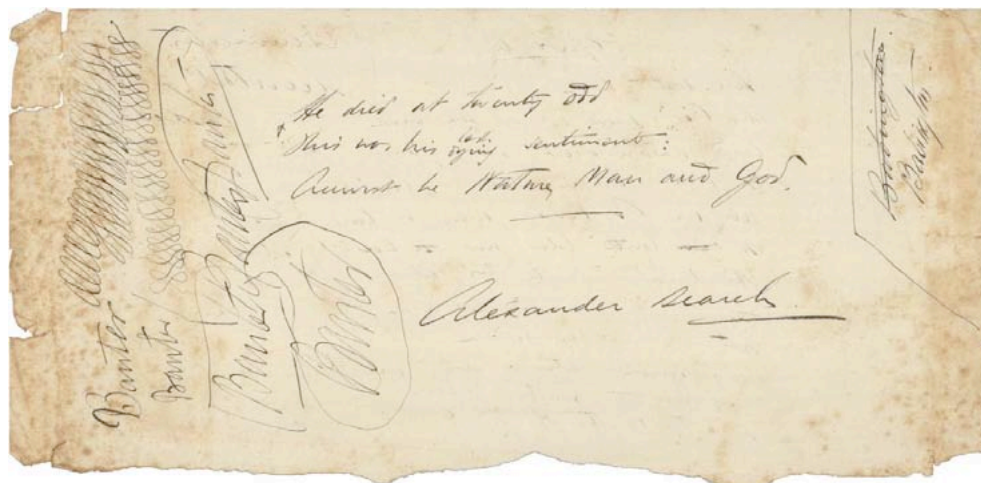


Fig. 3. Verso of "Epigraph." (BNP / E3, 79-42v).

English poems that Pessoa chose to translate into Portuguese may be useful to explain the development of the English poetry after Alexander Search. In 1990 the Brazilian researcher José Luiz Garaldi discovered previously unknown translations of English language poets into Portuguese by Fernando Pessoa that closely followed the poetry of Search, whose last poems were dated 1909 (see CAMPOS, 2015). In 1910-1911 the English editor Warren F. Kellogg was in Lisbon to organize a massive anthology in Portuguese language of the world's great poets, the *Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres*, published in 24 volumes, for which Pessoa translated at least five poems: "Godiva" by Alfred Tennyson (1819-1891), "On a portrait of Dante by Giotto" by James Russell Lowell (1819-1891), "Lucy" by William Wordsworth (1770-1850), "The last rose of summer" by Thomas Moore (1779-1852), and "Barbara Frietchie" by John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892).²¹ Although these translations were taken as commercial employment, they

²¹ Published respectively in VI (pp. 2807-2809), VII (pp. 3534-3535), XVII (pp. 8272-8273 and 8330) and XX (pp. 10215-10218).

attest to Pessoa's broad reading of English poetry and mirror the variety of imitative styles found in Search's poems in the preceding years.²² Brazilian poet Augusto de Campos finds common stylistic features in Pessoa's translations—comparable to other celebrated Pessoa translations from the 1920s, including Elizabeth Barrett Browning's (1806-1861) "Catarina to Camões" and Edgar Allan Poe's (1809-1849) "The Raven," "Ulalume," and "Annabel Lee"—to extend to subsequent poetry of the heteronyms (CAMPOS, 2015). Campos finds similarities in rhythm, stress-syllabic stress meters, colloquial alliteration, interrupted lines, and semantic patterns. He compares the diction and rhythm of the translation of Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie" to "O Mostrengo" of *Mensagem* [Message], the alliterations of Tennyson's "Godiva" with the "Autopsychographia" ["Autopsychography"], and the short verses of Moore's "The Last Rose of Summer" to Pessoa's "Leve, Breve, Suave" ["Lightly, Shortly, Softly"].²³ Pessoa's heightened attention to the original produces some striking solutions that Campos considers to reveal a preference for concision through short and simple verses. Diction and rhythm are paramount, as Pessoa merges attention to the original with creative freedom in his solutions.²⁴ In a prose fragment that amounts to a brief theory of translation, "A poem is an intellectualized impression" (PESSOA, 1967: 74), Pessoa posits a double rhythm, verbal or musical and visual or imagistic, as a guide for translators, where the verbal rhythm is the more essential to be observed and maintained.²⁵ The translations discovered in the *Biblioteca Internacional* are further testimony of the technical role of English language poetry of the 19th century on the rhythm, imagery, and themes to be developed by Pessoa after 1910.

²² Portuguese scholar Arnaldo Saraiva identified other non-signed translations as by Pessoa, including Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "Caterina to Camões," Shelley's "To a Skylark" and Robert Browning's "Love Among the Ruins" for the *Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres*. See SARAIVA (1996). For other translations of English poetry by Pessoa, see FISCHER (2015).

²³ Claudia J. Fischer documents the importance of translation in Pessoa's literary (2015). Fischer reveals fragments prepared by Pessoa for João Castro Osório, for whom Pessoa proposed a massive plan of translation in June 1923. The manuscript translations include lines from Dryden's "The Hind and the Panther," Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn," Tennyson's "Break, Break, Break," and Browning's "The Pied Piper of Hamelin: A Child's Story."

²⁴ For Pessoa's metrics, see FERRARI (2012).

²⁵ In the essay "A arte de traduzir poesia" ["The art of translating poetry"] Pessoa explains double rhythm as encompassing the concave and the convex: "A tradução de um poema deve, portanto, conformar-se absolutamente (1) à idéia ou emoção que o constitui, (2) ao ritmo verbal em que essa idéia ou emoção é expressa; deve conformar-se em relação ao ritmo interno ou visual, aderindo às próprias imagens quando possa mas aderindo sempre ao tipo de imagem" ["The translation of a poem should, therefore, conform totally to (1) the idea of emotion that constitutes it, (2) to the verbal rhythm in which this idea or emotion is expressed; it should conform to the relation of the internal or visual rhythm, adhering to the images whenever possible but always to the type of image"]. He offers as an example his translations of Poe's "Annabel Lee" and "Ulalume" (PESSOA, 1967: 74).

The influence of Fitzgerald's translation can also be documented through Pessoa's translations to Portuguese of multiple stanzas of the *Rubiáyát* written in the margins of his edition.

Pessoa's work for Kellogg allowed him to continue Search's excursion through English poetry. The announced demise of Search was perhaps not the end but rather a transfiguration of Pessoa's English poetry leading to "The Mad Fiddler," a second large collection of English verse and the first major complete, organic work that Pessoa considered ready for publication. A dramatic allegory, the 83 typewritten pages of "The Mad Fiddler" were signed "Fernando Pessoa" on the title page, with relatively few corrections or variant texts. In this sequence of 53 poems written from 1911-1917, a wandering poet embarks on a symbolic quest for the absolute that revisits some themes found in Search's poems. The narrator's quest for knowledge in "The Mad Fiddler" is more purely philosophical and abstract than Search's, yet continues the wandering motif found in Search, as if to suggest this collection to be a continuation or culmination of the earlier aimless, solitary, and dreamlike journey. Pessoa elaborates on themes first broached by Search. While Search's poem "In the Street" took the strolling poet on an anguished although linear course, for example ("I pass before the windows lit") (1997: 111), "The Mad Fiddler" leads the poet into a circular labyrinth of incantation. The poet's wandering is a "Great river so | Quiet and true," a metaphor of nature that he seeks to emulate, "Teach me to go | Through life like you!" ("Summer Moments") (1999: 92).

Terlinden notes the continuity between Search and Pessoa's "The Mad Fiddler" by locating similar themes, while considering "The Mad Fiddler" to be a more mature work poetically (1990: 138). Panic in facing death is a main theme that Terlinden documents in the two works. In Search's poetry the fear of death is prominent in the poems "On Death" (1904), "Flashes of Madness" (1905), "What Death Doth Take for Wife Is" (1906), "The Story of Solomon Waste" (1907), "My Life II" (1908), and "To my Dearest Friend" (1909) (TERLINDEN, 1990: 90-91). If in these poems death is a final departure from life, in Pessoa's "Mad Fiddler," since "everything has Another Meaning" (1999: 67), there is a suggestion that death can be set aside: "Cold unfelt hand in cold dead hand, | Let us set out for mere Somewhere" (1990: 67-68). In "When the Lamp is Broken" (1906), Search observes sadly that one remembers its breaking more than the its light: "When the lamp is broken and the shaking | Light is for ever fled, | There is more memory of its breaking | Than of the light it shed" (PESSOA, 1997: 301); while in "The Broken Window" from "The Mad Fiddler," the home and heart where the poet dwelled is like the window broken forever: "The whole room is buried alive" (1999: 61).

The anguish and loneliness felt by Search is intensified in "The Mad Fiddler." In the interior sections of the "Mad Fiddler," the poet continues the

wanderings of Search, yet in a forest of estrangement in a state of imagined bliss between sleep and dream ("The Poem"):

There sleeps a poem in my mind
That shall my entire soul express.
I feel it vague as sound and wind
Yet sculptured in full definiteness.

(PESSOA, 1999: 41)

The fiddler is possessed by undreamed dreams, by ghosts of dead selves (1999: 43), and like the three watchers in *O Marinheiro* [*The Sailor*] imagines returning to a time that never was: "[...] I could return to that | Happy time that was never mine"; "And false bliss, although false, is bliss" (1999: 49 and 41). Finally he arrives at the great river that will be his guide: "Great river so | Quiet and true | Teach me to go | Through life like you!" (1999: 92); and a mirror for reflecting his many existential questions: "Where is my home?"... "What should have been"... "Why made I dreams | My only life?" (1999: 93-94). The mad fiddler first appears because the villagers call to him; his strange music replied to their "Lost sense belonging | To forgotten quests" (1999: 31). The sounds of violin, viol, flute, and bassoon transport them to a magical island, perhaps that of the absent Mariner in Pessoa's 1913 play ("That isle that knows no hours | Nor needeth hours to know") (1999: 33), which is like a dream where their whole lives enter a musical, sensual state of veiled spirituality: "O dream-pressed spirit-wine!" (1999: 35). The villagers are transformed into other beings, "the elusive selves | We never can obtain" (1999: 37). They wish the music to play on, as it soothes the "[...] ache somehow of living" (1999: 38).

"The Foreself" reminds the poet that he "had a self and life | Before this life and self" (1999: 42), and that there exist "mazes of I" (1999: 73). His very consciousness of being inhibits any individual agency: "Between me and my consciousness | Is an abyss" ("The Abyss") (1999: 77). Meaning is invisible, unknown, abstract, and hollow. The idea of deep identity of all things, the mysterious presence of God in all matter, however, leads the poet to affirm the infinite circularity and variety of existence: "One day, Time having ceased, | Our lives shall meet again" (1999: 85); "All is more strange than that | Small glimpse of it we get" (1999: 87). The poet enters a transcendent trance of prescience and presentiment: "A trembling sense of being | More than my sense can hold | A bird of feeling seeing | The great earth-hidden gold [...] Of the approaching dawn"; "I faint, I fade. I seem | Myself to be my dream" (1999: 88). And unwilling to give up his own conceit, he makes a final effort to force it into being: "And if this be not so, | Oh, God, make it now be!" (1999: 88). Yet he will reaffirm that life does not fit with living, and humanity requires soothing by the mad fiddler's tunes.

Terlinden further notes thematic similarities connecting “The Mad Fiddler” to the major heteronyms, positing a connection with both Reis and Caeiro as poets of existence and destiny, identifiable in the stoic inner freedom of the former and the natural process of seeing of the latter. These poems evidence a strong similarity in structure and design with later collections in the use of the poetic sequence, a recurring pattern that ties the 53 poems of “The Mad Fiddler” to the 35 *Sonnets* (written from 1910-12), the 49 poems of *O Guardador de Rebanhos*, and the 44 poems of *Mensagem*. These are each allegorical, intellectual journeys that dramatize philosophical concepts in symbolic scenarios in poems of diverse rhyme and meter. Terlinden specifies the themes as the suffering of living, solitude, the mystery of existence, the *além* [beyond], and poetic knowledge.

The poem’s anticipation of the metaphysics of Alberto Caeiro is unmistakable in claiming pre-existence of matter over form and positing the fundamental unity of all phenomena: “Before light was, light’s bright idea lit | God’s thought of it, | And, because through God’s thought light’s thought did pass, | Light ever was” (1999: 102). As will Caeiro, “The Mad Fiddler” presents these perceptions as challenges to common currents of Western metaphysics. Looking at a sunflower (“The Sunflower”), as would Caeiro, he sees a metaphysical synesthesia:

All things that shine are God’s eyes.
 All things that move are God’s speech.
 Every thing has all to teach
 To our awakening surmise.

Green are God’s thoughts when they are leaves,
 Yellow when sunflowers they are.

(PESSOA, 1999: 66)

The poet-philosopher can immediately perceive depth of being in the natural world without the need of inner meaning:

There was no difference between a tree
 And an idea. Seeing a river be
 And the exterior river were one thing.
 The bird’s soul and the motion of its wing
 Were an inextricable oneness made.

(PESSOA, 1999: 79)

Just as Caeiro wrote “Pensar em Deus é desobedecer a Deus” [“To think of God is to disobey God”] (PESSOA, 2016b: 40), the fiddler reduces theological defiance to tautology: “I shall not come when thou wilt call, | For when thou call’st I am with thee. | When I think of thee, within me | Thyself art, and thy thought self’s all” (1999: 75). The fiddler’s naturalist philosophy is more than an insight capable of

changing his ideas and place in the world; it is for the poet a revelation that is atemporal and transformational, a flash of greater understanding of the nature of things that exalts the mind and spirit. Caeiro is a teacher, whereas the fiddler exults in the eternal moment of the transforming idea. Entering into an ecstatic vision whereby "I was borne | To see, through mysteries, | How God everything is" (1999: 81) the fiddler is pure music, "[...] a lost tune, a mood | Of the finger-tips of God" (1999: 82). His moment of perception is both sufficient and divine for human limitations: "An hour in God shall be | Enough eternity" (1999: 88).

Pessoa's voluptuous reading of English poetry across time as an aesthetic ideal, his translation of its poetic language to give voice to the disappointment, despair, and solitude felt by Alexander Search are consonant with the highest aesthetic ideals of the love lyric that Fitzgerald imagined to exist in the impenetrable Persian of the *Rubáiyát*. In the case of Search, not one writer or style but multiple authors contributed to the adverse genre of his composite and variable English poetry. This variability is what scholars have called "immature."²⁶ One could say rather that the variable styles and forms of Search's early poetry are a dress rehearsal for Pessoa's heteronymism. The voluptuous decadence of the English poems as genre lies both in Search's translation into his own sentiments of diverse Englishes, for which the author had only an amateur interest at the time, and in his skepticism that anything could be known, that any perception of an absolute or ultimate reality could have a place in this world. Pessoa's "The Mad Fiddler" extends for another decade the esthetic and philosophic decadence of Search's existential quest ("The End"): "God knows. And an He knew not | And were not, what of it?" (1999: 88).

²⁶ Terlinden, for example, states that Search's poems "might be not as good as anything the mature poet wrote in Portuguese" and describes his English as overly influenced by the Romantics in its "dated rhetoric" and "stylistic and thematic imitation of the English Romantics" (1990: 137).

Bibliography

- BOSCAGLIA, Fabrizio (2016). "Fernando Pessoa and Islam: an introductory overview with a critical edition of twelve documents." *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 9 (Special Issue: Orient and Orientalism), Fabrizio Boscaglia and Duarte Drumond Braga, guest eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Spring, pp. 151-190.
- CAMPOS, Augusto de (2015). "Uma descoberta: traduções de Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 7, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Spring, pp. 1-22.
- CAMPOS, Haroldo (1983). "Tradução, Ideologia e História." *Cadernos do MAM*, n.º 1, Rio de Janeiro, December, pp. 58-64.
- FERRARI, Patricio (2012). "Meter and Rhythm in the Poetry of Fernando Pessoa." Linguistics Department. University of Lisbon. Unpublished doctoral thesis.
- (2009). "A Biblioteca de Fernando Pessoa na génese dos heterónimos: (Dispersão e catalogação 1935-2008); A arte da leitura (1898-1907)." *O Guardador de Papéis*, Jerónimo Pizarro, org. Second edition. Alfragide: Texto Editores, pp. 155-218.
- FERRARI, Patricio; PITTELLA-LEITE, Carlos (2015). "Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa's English Poetry)." *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer), Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., pp. 227-246.
- FISCHER, Claudia J. (2015). "Dryden, Keats, Tennyson, and Browning: Unpublished Translations by Fernando Pessoa." *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer), Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., pp. 297-314.
- (2012). "Auto-tradução e experimentação interlinguística na génese d'O *Marinheiro* de Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural – A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 1, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Spring, pp. 1-69.
- FITZGERALD, Edward (1977). *Edward FitzGerald, Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám: a critical edition*. Edited by Christopher Decker. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- JACKSON, K. David (2010). *Adverse Genres in Fernando Pessoa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016a). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 Autores Fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da China. Collection "Pessoa."
- (2016b). *Obra Completa de Alberto Caeiro*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- (2015). *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems*. Edited and selected by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro. Second edition. Lisbon: Tell-a-story. Second edition.
- (2010). *Livro do Desasocego*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume XII.
- (2008). *Rubaiyat*. Edited by Maria Aliete Galhoz. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume I.
- (2006). *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume VII.
- (2002). *The Book of Disquiet*. Edited and Translated by Richard Zenith. London: Penguin. "Modern Classics."
- (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Major Series, volume V, tome III.
- (1998). *Cartas entre Fernando Pessoa e os directores da presença*. Edition and Study by Enriço Martins. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional- Casa da Moeda. Collection "Estudos," volume II.

- ____ (1997). *Poemas Ingleses II. Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume V, tome II.
- ____ (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Organized, translated, and annotated by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- ____ (1982). *Livro do Desassossego*. Edited by Maria Aliete Galhoz and Teresa Sobral Cunha; organized by Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- ____ (1974). *Poemas Ingleses*. Bilingual edition with a preface, translation, variants and notes by Jorge de Sena. Translations also by Adolfo Casais Monteiro and José Blanc de Portugal. Lisbon: Ática.
- ____ (1967). *Páginas de Estética e de Teoria e Crítica Literárias*. Edited by Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo (2013). "From FitzGerald's *Omar* to Pessoa's *Rubaiyat*." *Fernando Pessoa's Modernity Without Frontiers: Influences, Dialogues and Responses*, edited by Mariana Gray de Castro. Woodbridge [Suffolk]: Tamesis, pp. 87-100.
- RECKERT, Stephen (1978). *Fernando Pessoa: Tempo, Solidão, Hermetismo*. Lisbon: Moraes.
- SARAIVA, Arnaldo (1996). *Fernando Pessoa, Poeta-Tradutor de Poetas: os poemas traduzidos e o respectivo original*. Porto: Lello.
- TERLINDEN, Anne (1990). *Fernando Pessoa, The Bilingual Portuguese poet: a critical study of "The Mad Fiddler"*. Brussels: Publications des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis.

Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine —and the political Pessoa

Carlos Pittella*

Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Political poetry, English sonnets, Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine, Hobhouse, Concentration camps, Anglo-Boer wars, Port Arthur, Tsushima, Anarchism, Conquest of Bread, 1905 Russian Revolution, Duma, Search, Anon, Milton.

Abstract

Though Fernando Pessoa is not widely known as a political poet, we may be familiar with the political commentary explicit in some of his works. In four political sonnets dating from 1905 (but only fully published in 1995), the poet criticizes the mockery of Russia by British journalists, calls the colonization of Ireland and the Transvaal “a shame on England,” and lays a curse upon Joseph Chamberlain’s head for his involvement in the Anglo-Boer wars. Among Pessoa’s unpublished English poetry, there are drafts (in various stages of completion) of other political poems, written between 1905 and 1907, featuring Chamberlain and two other historical figures of the beginning of the 20th century: Kitchener and Kropotkine. By presenting the early political poems by Pessoa—both published and unpublished—this essay argues that they form a coherent *corpus*, which may be defined by the relationship between a political event and Pessoa’s reaction to it through a poem.

Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, poesia política, sonetos ingleses, Chamberlain, Kitchener, Kropotkine, Hobhouse, campos de concentração, Guerra dos Bôeres, Port Arthur, Tsushima, Anarquismo, Conquista do Pão, Revolução Russa de 1905, Duma, Search, Anon, Milton.

Resumo

Embora Fernando Pessoa não seja largamente conhecido como um poeta político, seus leitores talvez estejam familiarizados com o comentário político explícito em alguns dos seus escritos. Em quatro sonetos políticos escritos em 1905 (mas só publicados por completo em 1995), o poeta critica o escárnio da Rússia feito por jornalistas britânicos, chama a colonização da Irlanda e do Transvaal “a shame on England” (uma vergonha para a Inglaterra) e amaldiçoa Joseph Chamberlain por seu envolvimento nas Guerras dos Bôeres. Entre a poesia inglesa inédita de Pessoa, encontram-se rascunhos (em vários estágios de acabamento) de outros poemas políticos, escritos entre 1905 e 1907, referindo Chamberlain e outras duas personagens históricas do princípio do século XX: Kitchener e Kropotkine. Ao apresentar esses primeiros poemas políticos de Pessoa—tanto publicados como inéditos—este ensaio defende que tais textos formam um *corpus* coerente, definível pela relação entre um evento político e a reação de Pessoa a ele através de um poema.

* Postdoctoral Research Associate at Brown University; affiliated with the Center for Theatre Studies at the University of Lisbon.

1. A Political Pessoa?

Fernando Pessoa is not widely known as a political poet.¹ This may be primarily due to the fact that a significant part of Pessoa's political works was only recently edited: though a handful of Pessoa's political writings were published during his lifetime² and two volumes edited in 1979 (PESSOA, 1979a & 1979b), the first critical editions³ came out in 2011 and 2015, when José Barreto compiled Pessoa's texts on Freemasonry (PESSOA, 2011a), European fascism and the military dictatorship in Portugal (PESSOA, 2015a).

In one article, Barreto assessed the full scope of the political thought in Pessoa's poetry and prose, suggesting that even his own comprehensive editions didn't exhaust Pessoa's political writings:

Atento observador e pensador político que também foi, Fernando Pessoa legou à posteridade milhares de páginas inéditas contendo apontamentos, observações, ensaios e projectos de ensaios sobre a política do seu tempo, principalmente a portuguesa, ou sobre temas mais universais de "sociologia política" (assim lhe chamava).

(BARRETO, 2015: 189)

[A keen observer and political thinker, among other things, Fernando Pessoa bequeathed to posterity thousands of unpublished pages containing notes, observations, essays and projects of essays on the politics of his time, especially the Portuguese [politics], or about universal themes of "political sociology" (as he used to call it).]⁴

¹ This text is based on a chapter of my doctoral thesis (PITTELLA, 2012) and on a communication (with the same title as this article) presented at the colloquium *A Poesia Inglesa de Fernando Pessoa—Tributo a Georg Rudolf Lind*, at the Fernando Pessoa House (3 July 2014). I thank Jerónimo Pizarro, José Barreto, Stephanie Leite and Patricio Ferrari for their advice in the preparation of this text.

² In 1917 Pessoa published "Ultimatum" under the heteronym Álvaro de Campos; half poetry, half prose, it couldn't be more explicitly political. Nevertheless, Campos is not primarily known as a political (fictitious) author. During his lifetime, Pessoa engaged in polemics that became politicized, such as defending homoeroticism in 1923 (cf. BARRETO, 2012a) and Freemasonry in 1935 (cf. BARRETO, 2011a), or attacking Mussolini in 1926 (cf. BARRETO, 2012b). Still, those writings were in prose, and, save for two exceptions, Pessoa's political poetry would only be known after his death. Exceptionally, Pessoa published the monarchic poem "À Memória do Presidente-Rei Sidónio Paes" [In Memory of the President-King Sidónio Paes] (PESSOA, 1920), and tried to publish the anti-Salazarist "Liberdade" [Freedom] in 1935, though it was initially censored and only published posthumously in 1937 (cf. PITTELLA and PIZARRO, 2016: 212-216).

³ Barreto's 2015 critical edition includes mostly prose writings by Pessoa: 121 texts in Portuguese, 22 in English, and 7 in French; it also includes 22 poems (some fragmentary) in Portuguese (cf. PESSOA, 2015a). Depending on how one defines "political text," *Ibéria* and *A Língua Portuguesa* (PESSOA, 2012 & 1997b), among other Pessoaan works, could also be considered political.

⁴ Unless mentioned otherwise, all translations are my own.

Among these unpublished pages, one may also find Pessoa's political English poems, still virtually unknown.⁵ These writings are sometimes signed with the pen names Charles Robert Anon and Alexander Search; other times, they remained unattributed to any fictitious personalities, and could be attributed to the oronym, that is, Pessoa himself.

Even if we define "political poetry" in the strictest sense of verses directly and explicitly connected to propaganda for or against a political system,⁶ numerous poems by Pessoa could be placed on both sides of the definition: on one hand, the poetry of *Mensagem* may very well be interpreted as patriotic-nationalistic, and a few of its poems were included in textbooks promoted by the Portuguese military dictatorship⁷; on the other hand, Pessoa wrote extensively against this same dictatorship, as attested by the compilation *Sobre o Fascismo* (PESSOA, 2015a), and left scattered poems directed to political figures of his time, such as Teófilo Braga⁸ (PESSOA, 2013b: 105).

I intend to show that numerous English poems by Pessoa, written between 1905 and 1907, may be read as reactions to specific political events. At this point I recall T.S. Eliot's admonition to readers regarding political poetry:

But before proceeding I want to dismiss one objection that may be raised. People sometimes are suspicious of any poetry that has a particular purpose: poetry in which the poet is advocating social, moral, political or religious views. And they are much more inclined to say that it isn't poetry when they dislike the particular views [...]. I should say that the question of whether the poet is using his poetry to advocate or attack a social attitude does not matter.

(ELIOT, 2009 [1943]: 6)

Why doesn't it matter? For Eliot, because poetry survives changes in popular opinion. For Pessoa studies, because a better knowledge of Pessoa's English poetry—including his political poems—would contribute to our understanding of his oeuvre as a whole.

⁵ For the current state of Pessoa's English poetry as a whole see FERRARI and PITTELLA (2014).

⁶ It is not a simple matter to define "political poetry"; David Orr's search for a definition is emblematic: "Is a political poem simply a poem with 'political' words in it, like 'Congress,' 'Dachau' or 'egalitarianism'? Or is it a poem that discusses the way people relate (or might relate) to each other? If that's the case, are love poems political? What about poems in dialect? Should we draw a firm line, and say that a political poem has to have some actual political effect? Should it attempt to persuade us in the way most normal political speeches do?" (ORR, 2012: 48-49).

⁷ I thank José Barreto for informing me that the poems "Mar Português" and "O Mostrengo," both from *Mensagem*, have been used in textbooks during the Portuguese military dictatorship. As far as I know, the appropriation of *Mensagem* for the purposes of political propaganda is yet to be studied.

⁸ Teófilo Braga (1843-1924) became the leader of the Provisional Government of Portugal on 6 October 1910, after the 5 October revolution, which saw the abdication of King Manuel II. Pessoa mocks Braga in the "Soneto de mal-dizer" attributed to Joaquim Moura Costa (PESSOA, 2013b: 105).

2. State of the Art

What are the known English political poems by Pessoa?⁹ In 1972, Georg Rudolf Lind revealed two long poems Pessoa wrote about the First World War: “Now are no Janus’ temple-doors thrown wide” and “Salute to the Sun’s Entry into Aries,” respectively dated 7 January 1915 and 9 March 1917 (LIND, 1972: 449-458). Pessoa would hardly refrain from commenting on a war that involved the entire Europe. This was not the first time, though, that the poet would react to political events in his English verses. In 1984, Hubert Jennings presented four sonnets that the young Pessoa, under the name of Charles Robert Anon, submitted to the *Natal Mercury*, a daily newspaper founded in 1852 and still published in Durban, South Africa.¹⁰

Igualmente reveladores do seu envolvimento são os poemas que Pessoa escreveu sobre temas políticos. Estes destinavam-se ainda ao *Natal Mercury*, mas não foram aceites por aquele prudente jornal. São quatro sonetos: Joseph Chamberlain (Fevereiro de 1905); To England, I & II (19 de Junho de 1905); Liberty (20 de Junho de 1905).

(JENNINGS, 1984: 95)

[Equally revealing of his involvement are the poems that Pessoa wrote about political themes. These were intended to the *Natal Mercury*, but were not accepted by that prudent newspaper. These are four sonnets: Joseph Chamberlain (February 1905); To England, I & II (19 June 1905); Liberty (20 June 1905).]

Those four sonnets are crucial to the understanding of Pessoa’s political poetry—and the influence of John Milton (1608-1674) is noteworthy:

The idea of expressing political views in sonnet form had not been done before Milton, and it was only with his example that such a precedent was set. In the thirty-three sonnets he [Milton] published in his lifetime, his comments on state policy as well as problems he personally underwent during Cromwell’s Commonwealth found a place in this poetic form for the first time [...]. One could say that the sonnets [Pessoa] sent to the South African review were Miltonic for Anon, both by virtue of the form adhered to (Italian sonnet: an octave followed by a sestet), and the reference to current political events. Pessoa/Anon explored the sonnet as a weapon, as a way of taking a political stance. It is likely that he used the pseudonym of Charles Robert Anon (an English name) in order to protect himself within a tightly knit community at a time when criticism of British interests would not have been welcome.

(FERRARI, 2015: 11-12)¹¹

⁹ Henceforth referred to as the *corpus*.

¹⁰ Pessoa’s father died when the poet was five years old, and his mother remarried the Portuguese consul in Durban. For biographical information of Pessoa in Durban, see JENNINGS (1984 and 1986).

¹¹ Ferrari also notes that, while living in Durban, Pessoa studied *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, and first read Robert Bridges’s *Milton’s Prosody* in 1904, during his last year of high school (cf. FERRARI, 2015: 7); both books are extant in Pessoa’s private library (for a full reference see the bibliography at the end of this article).

Jennings was the first to edit “To England II” (he also published two verses from “Liberty” and three from “Joseph Chamberlain”). After the *Natal Mercury* rejected the sonnets, Pessoa would copy the four pieces in neat handwriting and attribute them, not to Anon, but to Alexander Search—a fictitious author who would dominate Pessoa’s English literary production from 1906 to 1910 (cf. PESSOA, 2014: 227-248).

Jennings worked on Pessoa’s papers alongside Lind in Lisbon, in 1968 (cf. JENNINGS, 1979: 20 and BROWN, 2016: 151).¹² Lind’s transcriptions are now part of Pessoa’s literary estate at the National Library of Portugal (NLP), comprising a dossier with the call number¹³ BNP/E3 “77-78B Annex.” Though Lind published multiple poems by Search as early as 1966, he never edited the four aforementioned sonnets. Thus, apart from the efforts by Jennings, these poems remained virtually unknown until the publication of Luísa Freire’s edition of Alexander Search’s poetry (PESSOA, 1995), shortly followed by the one prepared by João Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a).

Perhaps the biggest contribution of Dionísio to our *corpus* lies in his meticulous transcription of several lists prepared by the poet. Some of these lists include titles naming political figures prominent in the beginning of the 20th century: alongside “Joseph Chamberlain,” who merited the sonnet divulged by Lind & Jennings, we find “Kitchener” and “Kropotkine”—titles of two poems that remained unpublished. These lists offer, thus, a map to roam through Pessoa’s labyrinthine archive in search of manuscripts that would fit the intriguing titles enumerated: sometimes a list presents a clue, such as part of an *incipit*, or the mark “S” indicating a sonnet—narrowing the query.

In 2009, Jerónimo Pizarro edited a number of Pessoa’s notebooks, which included another relevant list featuring some titles of the same political poems (cf. PESSOA, 2009: 152-155). In 2015, Patricio Ferrari brought to my attention two more unpublished lists, one of them attributed to Charles Robert Anon [See ANNEX I]. Also in 2015, the poem “Steal, Steal!”—named on some of the lists—was published by Stefan Helgesson, transcribed by Ferrari (HELGESSION, 2015: 36-37).

Based on these publications and lists, what emerges is a coherent group of early English political poems, spanning from February 1905 to August 1907 (note that the World War I English poems by Pessoa are not included here, as their sociopolitical context would require a separate study).

¹² Jennings himself acknowledges the debt to Lind “for the transcription of the works of Alexander Search” (JENNINGS, 1986: 72).

¹³ Pessoa’s estate was designated “Espólio 3” [Archive 3] at the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* [National Library of Portugal]. Hence any call numbers from the archive will begin with the abbreviation BNP/E3.

TABLE A¹⁴ presents this *corpus* of poems, in chronological order, together with the attributions by Pessoa (unpublished titles appear in bold).

[TABLE A]

POEM TITLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTION
Joseph Chamberlain	February 1905	Charles Robert Anon, later Alexander Search
To England I & II	19 June 1905	
Liberty	20 June 1905	
Vicar of Bar	c. 1905-1906	Charles Robert Anon
Steal, Steal!	July 1906	Unattributed (Fernando Pessoa)
Kitchener	July 1906	
Vae Fortibus! (Woe to the Strong)	July 1906	
Kropotkine	19 May 1907	
Oh Miserable Slaves	20 May 1907	

Pessoa's fictitious authors are usually studied as separate literary entities; nevertheless, considering our *corpus*, one must ask: why would some poems transit from Anon to Search, while one ("Vicar of Bar") remained with Anon? Why would other poems not be attributed at all and thus, by default, go to Pessoa himself?

One could hypothesize further: would the unattributed poems have also been given to Search, had Pessoa revised them, as he did with many early fragments? From reading these writings as a group, we encounter a legitimate corpus, in which Pessoa's poetic personae were not totally independent or clearly defined.

Besides their floating authorship (among Pessoaan personae), these poems also share a thematic coherence, bringing to light—and commenting upon—a definite historic period. By focusing on the first decade of the 20th century (half spent by Pessoa in South Africa, half in Portugal), I will highlight references to Joseph Chamberlain, Herbert Kitchener, Piotr Kropotkine [Пётр Кропоткин], and to historical events connected to these personalities. By attempting to briefly recreate the sociopolitical context in which Pessoa's texts were written, I intend to pinpoint events to which the poet could be reacting.

3. "Joseph Chamberlain" and "Vicar of Bar"

In our *corpus*, the earliest poem is "Joseph Chamberlain." Written in February 1905, it is a malediction Pessoa directed at Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914)—a very influential British politician at the time. Appointed Secretary of State for the

¹⁴ Call numbers from Pessoa's archive pertaining to the *corpus*, together with references to the publications made to-date, are presented in TABLE B of ANNEX II; known lists naming those poems, together with publications that first edited them, are presented in TABLE C of ANNEX II.

Colonies in 1895, Chamberlain was implicated in the botched Jameson Raid (1895) and in the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902).

Joseph Chamberlain

Their blood on thy head, whom the Afric waste
Saw struggling, puppets with unwilful hand,
Brother and brother: their bought souls shall brand
Thine own with horrors. Be thy name erased

5 From the full mouth of men; nor be there traced
To thee one glory to thy parent land;
But 'fore us, as 'fore God e'er do thou stand
In that thy deed forevermore disgraced.

10 Where lie the sons and husbands, where those dear
That thy curst craft hath lost? Their drops of blood,
One by one fallen, and many a cadenced tear,

With triple justice weighted trebly dread,
Shall each, rolled onward in a burning flood,
Crush thy dark soul. Their blood be on thy head!

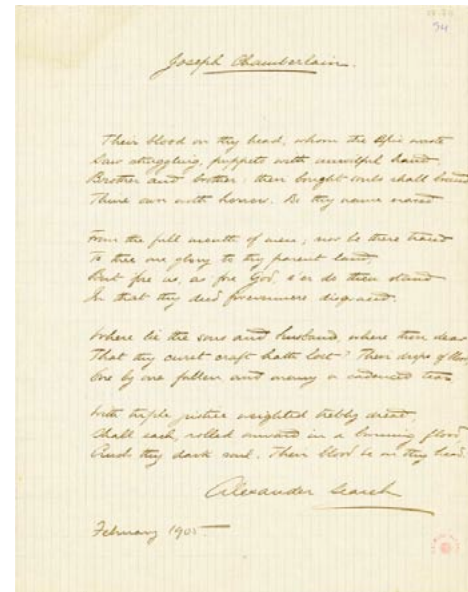


Fig. 1. "Joseph Chamberlain" [BNP/E3, 77-75]

Pessoa reveals a political preoccupation and insight surprising for a sixteen-year-old—a foreigner, living in South Africa and witnessing the development and aftermath of the Second Anglo-Boer War. The Boers were the descendants of Calvinist settlers who established themselves in South Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries. Though officially a conflict between Boers and Englishmen, the war involved the entire country, killing more than 75,000 people.

Incidentally, the conflict united—against the British—both Boers and native South Africans, but it was so destructive to the local economy, that it ended up accentuating a segregation system that would give rise to *apartheid* in the 1940s. The conflict is infamously remembered as the first case of concentration camps in the 20th century, preceding the ones the Nazi regime would employ.

The British army adopted a scorched-earth strategy. Thousands of Boer farms were burned to ashes to destroy the food supply. The herds were led away or slaughtered on the spot. The military objective was to cripple the fighting men in the field. But the strategy fell hardest on the defenceless—the women and children whose homes the soldiers destroyed. [...] To house this impoverished horde, the British built a system of concentration camps. They were awful places: filthy, badly provisioned, and with only rudimentary medical facilities. Disease spread through the packed and weakened people, and took a dreadful toll. Some twenty-eight thousand Boer women and children, and at least twenty thousand black people, died in the camps.

(HART, 2016: 41)

In February 1905, when Pessoa's sonnet was first written, the concentration camps set up and operated by the British had already been exposed. Having visited several camps in 1901, British activist Emily Hobhouse¹⁵ (1860-1926) wrote a report drawing attention to the humanitarian crisis in South Africa (HOBHOUSE, 1902)—a crisis so horrific, that the report would face general disbelief, as the activist would recount later in life:

My work in the Concentration Camps in South Africa made almost all my people look down upon me with scorn and derision. The press abused me, branded me a rebel, a liar, an enemy of my people, called me hysterical and even worse.

(HOBHOUSE, 1 May 1926; in RAATH, 1999: 33)

Hobhouse would return to South Africa in 1903 and 1905, promoting reconciliation and being attacked by the media—thus in the public sight at the time when Pessoa cursed Chamberlain as the master-puppeteer behind the bloodshed.

Pessoa's sonnet functions as a spell.¹⁶ By employing incantatory repetition, it throws the weight of thousands of deaths upon the colonial policies of Joseph Chamberlain, a character generally respected in English history. Line 12 invokes the "triple" return of all ill-effects of Chamberlain's actions;¹⁷ the first and last lines form a circle, with the sonnet concluding in the same way as it began. On his sonnet "On the Late Massacher in Piemont," Milton had also proffered a malediction, asking the "Lord" to "avenge thy slaughter'd Saints," the Waldensian Protestants of Piedmont, who were massacred in 1673. Milton employs an escalation of words with numerical roots ("redoubl'd," "triple" and "hunder'd-fold"), with a might that must have impressed the young Pessoa¹⁸: "Their moans |

¹⁵ Emily's brother was Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse (1864-1929), political theorist, sociologist and author of *Liberalism* (1911), a book extant in the library of Fernando Pessoa (CFP 3-32).

¹⁶ One may find traces of the magical incantations of Keats and Poe in the poetry Pessoa attributed to Alexander Search. Note that, in 1903, when Pessoa won the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize, *The Poetic Works of John Keats* and *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe* were among the books the young Portuguese poet chose—and cherished—as part of his prize (cf. JENNINGS, 1984: 39).

¹⁷ One could perhaps call this poem a "karmic" curse, for it invokes the law of inevitable reactions that would befall the doer of ill-intended actions. Pessoa would become acquainted with the law of *karma* through his Theosophical readings, which reclaimed the principle from Hinduism and Buddhism; in 1916, Pessoa would translate the book *Light on the Path and Karma* (COLLINS, 1912). While in Durban, the poet studied the works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, which included references to Eastern thought and the following passage about Plato, expounding a concept reminiscent of *karma*: "his [Plato's] clear vision of the laws of return, or reaction, which secure instant justice throughout the universe, instanced everywhere" (EMERSON, 1902: 163). I thank Duarte Drumond Braga for helping me trace the influence of the concept of *karma* on Pessoa's writings.

¹⁸ Pessoa wrote elsewhere: "When Milton wrote a sonnet, he wrote as if he were to live or die by that sole sonnet. No sonnet should be written in any other spirit" (PESSOA, 1966: 204).

The Vales redoubl 'd to the Hills, and they | To Heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow | O're all th'*Italian* fields where still doth sway | The triple Tyrant: that from these may grow | A hunder'd-fold, who having learnt thy way | Early may fly the *Babylonian* wo" (MILTON, 1983 [1673]: 31).¹⁹

In multiple lists prepared by Pessoa (see TABLE C, ANNEX II), there appears the title "Vicar of Bar," a humorous incomplete poem in which Joseph Chamberlain is compared to a flea.

[Vicar of Bar]

Right in the middle of the back
The flea had found a place whence to distract
The vicar's body with a subtle pain
It seemed, if we compare small things with great
5 Like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain
When []
The Afric nation's evitable Fate
And made his name pass into story
A figure hateful & [] hate.
10 But let me on: I deal not here with those fleas
That suck the body of poor humankind
And like a foul and harsh disease
They bodies frail and weak do bind.
Their too great horror our laugh doth mar
15 I was referring to the Vicar of Bar.

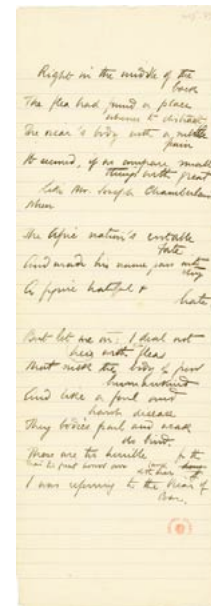


Fig. 2. "Vicar of Bar" [BNP/E3, 49D1-75:]

Pessoa never names the Vicar of Bar, whose anonymity contrasts with Chamberlain's utmost fame.²⁰ This very opposition seems to be intended by the poet: to "compare small things with great," that is, the little flea (on the unknown vicar in a little known place) with Chamberlain (the powerful English "flea" bound to the African continent).

4. "To England" and "Liberty"

Four months after cursing Chamberlain, Pessoa wrote a diptych of sonnets, training his political zeal on British journalists who had mocked the disasters faced by Russia in the beginning of the 20th century.

¹⁹ The twenty-three sonnets of Milton first appeared as three groups of poems: ten and nine sonnets published in the 1645 and 1673 editions of the *Minor Poems*, respectively, and the last four sonnets revealed by Edward Phillips, together with his memoir of Milton, in 1694 (cf. STEVENS, 1919: 25).

²⁰ I thank José Barreto for assisting me in trying to locate the village of "Bar" and interpreting this unpublished poem by Pessoa.

To England.

(When English journalists joked on Russia's disasters)

I.

How long, oh Lord, shall war and strife be rolled
On the God-breathing breast of slumbering man,
Horrible nightmares in the doubtful span
Of his sleep blind to heaven? As of old,

5 Shall we, more wise, in frantic joy behold
The bloody fall of nation and of clan,
And ever others' woes with rough glee scan,
And war's dark names in Glory's charts inscribed?

10 We now that in vile joy our egoist fears
Behold dispelled, one day shall mourn the more
That blood of men erased them—bitter tears

Of desolated woe, as wept of yore
(Yet not for the short space of ten long years)
The Grecian archer on the Lemnian shore.

II.

Our enemies are fallen; other hands
Than ours have struck them, and our joy is great
To know that now at length our fears abate
From hurt and menace on great Eastern lands.

5 Bardling, scribbler and artist, servile bands,
From covert sneer outstare their trembling hate,
Laughing at misery, and woe, and fallen state,
Armies of men whole-crushed on desolate strands.

10 The fallen lion every ass can kick,
That in his life, shamed to unmotioned fright,
His every move with eyes askance did trace.

Ill scorn beseems us, men for war and trick,
Whose groaning nation poured her fullest might
To take the freedom of a farmer race.

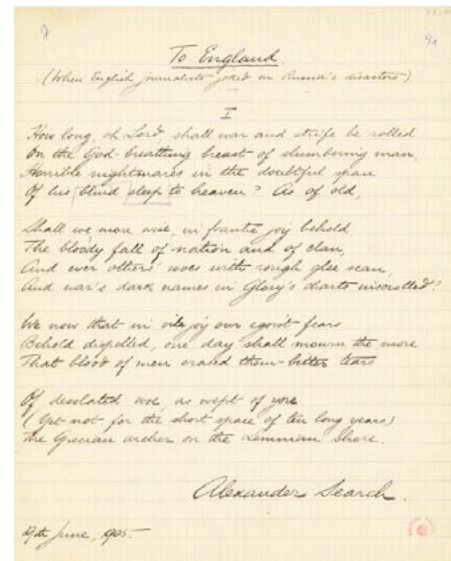


Fig. 3. "To England I" [BNP/E3, 77-79]

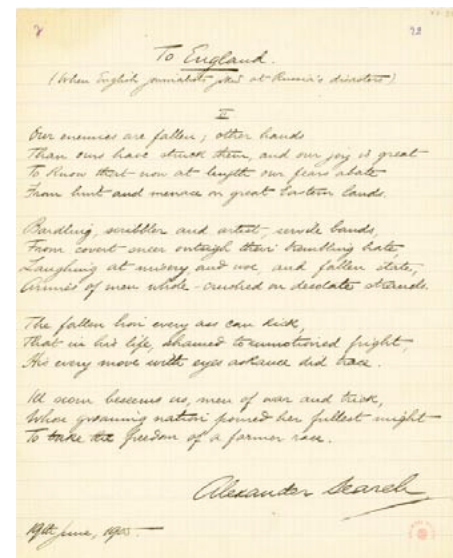


Fig. 4. "To England II" [BNP/E3, 77-80]

Since December 1904, Russia was in social turmoil, enduring a war with Japan (1904-1905) and a series of protests quashed by the forces of tsar Nicholas II—a period that would culminate in the Revolution of 1917. "The fallen lion" which "every ass can kick" evokes some of Aesop's fables (eg., "The Sick Lion"), with the animals symbolizing Russian dormancy and English boastfulness. The "farmer race," whose freedom was taken by England, stands for the Boers, whose name means, literally, "farmers" both in Dutch and in Afrikaans.

The Russo-Japanese War was declared on 10 February 1904, one day after the Battle of Port Arthur (8-9 February); though the Russians drove the Japanese forces from the battlefield and no warships were lost, there were 150 casualties on the Russian side (compared to 90 Japanese casualties), and the surprise attack in Port Arthur would later be compared to the 1941 assault on Pearl Harbor. This war would end with the infamous Battle of Tsushima, on 27-28 May 1905, a massacre in which Russia lost all its battleships and more than 4,000 men. Pessoa's two poems "To England" are written three weeks after the Russian humiliation.

The first sonnet ends with another malediction; differently from the spell directed to Chamberlain, this one proves to be prophetic, taking ten years to be fulfilled ("Yet not for the short space of ten long years"). Verily, a decade after the 1905 poem, Europe would be facing the first of two World Wars, soon having to swallow the necessity of an alliance with the Russians in order to defeat Nazism.

Closing the cycle of poems submitted to the *Natal Mercury*, "Liberty" is dated one day after the two sonnets "To England."

Liberty

(To G. N.)

- Oh, sacred Liberty, dear mother of Fame!
What are men here that they should expel thee?
What right of theirs, save power, makes others be
The pawns, as if unfeeling, in their game?
- 5 Ireland and the Transvaal, ye are a shame
On England and a blot! Oh, shall we see
For ever crushed and held who should be free
By human creatures without human name?
- Wonder not then, dear friend, that here where men
Are far away I can well rest, and far
10 From where in lawful bodies, Christian-wise,
Beings of earth their fellows fold and pen;
Glad that the winds not yet enchainèd are
And billows yet are free to fall and rise.

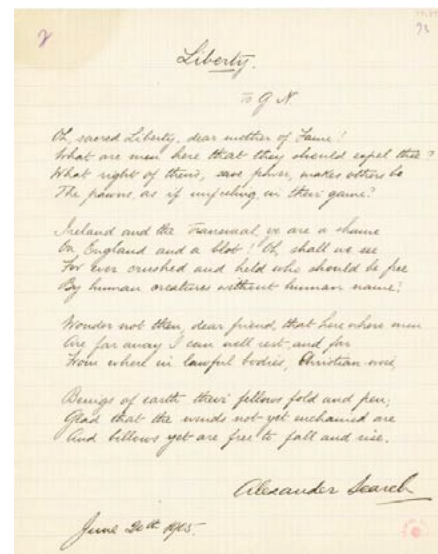


Fig. 5. "Liberty" [BNP/E3, 77-81']

Helgesson noted that, during the Anglo-Boer wars, "Irish volunteers had fought on the Boer side, identifying [...] with the nationalist David struggling against the imperialist British Goliath" and that "the lines 'Ireland and the Transvaal, ye are a shame | On England and a blot!' convey thereby the damage wrought by the war on the image of the British Empire" (HELGESSION, 2015: 38).

"Liberty" is dedicated "To G.N.," the initials of Gaudencio Nabos, the director of *O Palrador* (*The Conversationalist*), a journal created by Pessoa and staffed exclusively by his fictitious authors (cf. PESSOA, 2013a: 180-181). According

to Pessoa, Nabos was bilingual and resided, primarily, in England; he suddenly started writing in Portuguese in 1908, after Pessoa returned to Portugal, carrying Nabos with him (cf. PESSOA, 2013a: 182). “Liberty,” therefore, is a sonnet-report from a foreign correspondent in South Africa (Pessoa/Anon/Search) directed to two publications: the real *Natal Mercury* and the fictional *O Palrador*.

5. “Kitchener” and “the Strong” who “Steal”

In November 1901, Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener, British local general in South Africa since December 1900, received a complaint cosigned by the State President and the State Secretary of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, who repeated “the request already made [...] that a Commission from our side, of whom at least one member will be a medical man, shall be allowed to visit the women’s camps to render a report” (in HOBHOUSE, 1902: 109). In his response, Kitchener places the responsibility for the camps with the State—not with himself, despite his status and the fact that the complain had been directed to him:

I observe from your Honour’s communication, which you have asked me to forward to Lord Salisbury, and which I have so forwarded, that you complain of the treatment of your women and children, and the camps which we have established for their reception.

Everything has been done which the conditions of a state of war allowed to provide for the well-being of the women and children, but as your Honour complains of that treatment, and must therefore be in a position to provide for them, I have the honour to inform you that all women and children at present in our camps who are willing to leave will be sent to the care of your Honour, and I shall be happy to be informed where you desire they shall be handed over to you.

(KITCHENER, 1 December 1901; in HOBHOUSE, 1902: 110)

Emily Hobhouse didn’t think that everything had “been done which the conditions of a state of war allowed.” Neither did Fernando Pessoa. Among the poet’s unpublished manuscripts, we find a draft titled “Kitchener.” Though incomplete, we know it to be a sonnet, because Pessoa includes the poem in two lists of sonnets he prepared (BNP/E3, 48C-8^r and 153-63^v); moreover, the list 48B-101^r indicates that this poem should have “14” verses (as a traditional sonnet).

The poem “Kitchener” is preceded by an epigraph that echoes the theme of Émile Zola’s *Germinal*, which had been published in 1885. Though possibly inspired by Zola²¹, Pessoa was more likely reacting to the Bambatha Rebellion,²² a

²¹ Tough one-sided, *The Natal Rebellion of 1906* (BOSMAN, 1907) is a source of important information.

²² Pessoa mentions Zola in a text that Lind & Prado Coelho conjectured to be from 1907: “How do we explain the taste of so many authors for subjects which are coarse, unpleasant, repugnant? How are we to explain the □ of Zola; how the ‘Black Cat’ of Edgar Allan Poe?” (PESSOA, 1966: 26).

Zulu revolt against British rule and taxation in Natal, which saw a series of guerilla attacks from February to April 1906, resulting in 4,000 Zulu dead, 7,000 imprisoned and 4,000 flogged. From the list 48B-101^r, we know Pessoa dated his poem from "July 1906," just after the revolt was quelled by the British.

If we equalized strength[,] would they not
tyrannyse, overdo strength. Yes, as they are men
rough, uncultivated (you yourselves made them so).
Remember the Revolution!

Kitchener

Oh hireling son of tyranny & hate
Salaried salesman of distress and death,
[]
[]
5 []
[]
[]
[]
[]
Hadst thou no mother? Never sawst thou love?
10 []
[]
[] the power [] fell
Thou layest faith in []
God and revenge and punishment and hell.

Fig. 6. "Kitchener" [BNP/E3, 49B¹-100^v]

The derogatory term "hireling," with which Pessoa opens this poem, is rather telling: it is the same word used by Milton to belittle ministers at the end of his sonnet "To the Lord Generall Cromwell": "Helpe us to save free Conscience from the paw | Of hireling wolves whose Gospell is their maw" (MILTON, 1983 [1694]: 30).

Kitchener was born in Ireland in 1850. He became Chief of Staff to Commander in Chief in 1899 and, in 1900, was quickly promoted from overall commander to local general in South Africa. Therefore, he was as involved as Chamberlain in the Anglo-Boer conflict. In 1902, Kitchener was appointed Commander in Chief in India. In June 1916, on the way to Russia to attend World War I negotiations, the cruiser HMS Hampshire, carrying Kitchener, sank in the Northern Sea after striking a German mine. Pessoa would react to Kitchener's demise through Alvaro de Campos's "Ultimatum," dated November 1917.

Tu organização britânica, com Kitchener no fundo
do mar mesmo desde o principio da guerra!
(It's a long, long way to Tipperary, and a jolly sight
longer way to Berlin!)

Fig. 7. Detail of "Ultimatum" [PESSOA, 1917: 3.]

[Thou, British organization, with Kitchener at the bottom of the sea ever since the beginning of the war! | (*It's a long, long way to Tipperary, and a jolly sight longer way to Berlin!*)]²³

Pessoa also made an astrological chart for Kitchener (see ANNEX III). On the verso of the “Kitchener” manuscript, there is another incomplete sonnet, which begins with the cautionary exclamation “Woe to the strong!”—an English rendition of the opening of verse 22, chapter V, of prophet Isaiah’s book in the Old Testament (“Woe to the strong ones of you that drink wine”).

Though “Woe to the Strong!” doesn’t appear in the known lists made by Pessoa, the equivalent Latin expression “Vae Fortibus!” does, being alongside “Kitchener” in three documents.²⁴ The current *Vulgate* Bible displays the Latin phrase as “Vae qui potentes”; nevertheless, “Vae fortibus” is a more concise translation, present in 18th century editions of Isaiah’s book (cf. VITRINGA, 1715).

The epigraph to “Kitchener” seems to equally apply to this sonnet—and its opening warning may be seen as another malediction professed by Pessoa, this time directed, not to an individual, but to the entire England as a colonizer.

[*Vae Fortibus!*]

Woe to the strong! For when the weak shall make
 Their frailty strength [] fire
 Of their tremendous & unspoken ire
 Not only [] thrones and altars shake
 5 [] mire
 Grew coarse and beast-like so when they shall wake
 Beast-like shall be their vengeance [] they slake
 Their thirst of blood in rape in torture dire
 In myriad tortures. The more far ye leave
 10 [] sink into the beast
 The greater horror for yourselves ye weave
 Force begets force & wrong is paid with wrong
 Horrid the day that shall behold the feast
 Of murder & of lust – Woe, to the strong.

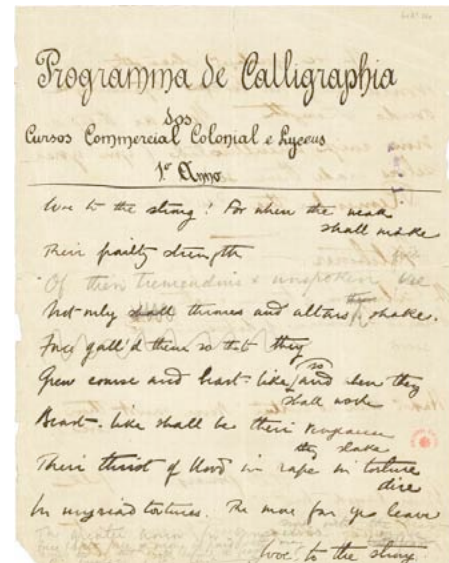


Fig. 8. “Vae Fortibus” [BNP/E3, 49B¹-100¹]

Also with an exclamation in its title, “Steal, Steal!” is a third political poem written in July 1906. If, in “Liberty,” Pessoa claimed “Ireland and Transvaal” were “a shame on England,” here the poet adds “Scotland” to the equation:

²³ This passage of the “Ultimatum” combines the 1912 British war song “It’s a Long Way to Tipperary” (by Jack Judge and Henry James “Harry” Williams) with the 1917 World War I song “It’s a Long Way to Berlin” (by Arthur Fields and Leon Flatow).

²⁴ These documents are NLP/A3, 48B-101^r, 48C-8^r and 153-63^v—the last two listing only sonnets, and the first giving the date “July 1906” for “Vae Fortibus.”

[*Steal, Steal!*]

Steal, steal, steal
Wherefore are ye strong
Steal, steal, steal
The weak are ever wrong

- 5 Englishmen remember all
The example your nation doth deal
Scotland, Ireland, the Transvaal
Many a land []
So steal, steal, steal!
- 10 Wherefore strength if not to oppress
Wherefore might if not to make distress
Wherefore []
So, men of England, continue your work
And steal, steal, steal!

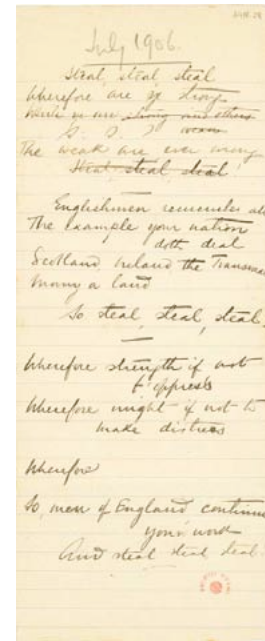


Fig. 9. “Steal, Steal!” [BNP/E3, 49A¹-28¹]

Helgesson, who first studied this poem, provides insightful commentary:

There was indeed little doubt, even on the British side, that the annexation of Transvaal had to do with anything other than economic interest. The conflict had been preceded by the infamous Jameson raid, a failed attempt in 1895 to take control of Johannesburg and the Transvaal. It had not directly involved British troops, but the scheme had been devised by a group of influential British politicians and capitalists (most prominent among them Cecil Rhodes) and was aimed at provoking an interstate conflict. We know today, of course, that not only was the raid carried out with the tacit blessing of Joseph Chamberlain—then British secretary of state for the colonies—but its ultimate outcome would be the outbreak of the war in October 1899.

(HELGESSION, 2015: 38)

6. “Kropotkin” and “Miserable Slaves”

Besides the pair “Kitchener” and “Vae Fortibus,” another duo of political sonnets appears in lists prepared by Pessoa: “Oh Miserable Slaves” and “Kropotkin,” written on two consecutive days (the manuscripts of these poems are dated 19 and 20 May 1907, though the lists curiously put both dates one day later, that is, 20 and 21 May 1907).

Piotr Kropotkin (1842-1921), born a Russian prince, was a geographer who explored glaciers in Siberia, Finland and Sweden, and a very influential philosopher of anarchism. Due to his activism, he spent several years in prison in Russia and then in France, eventually returning to Russia after the 1917 Revolution. One of Kropotkin’s most influential books, *The Conquest of Bread*, was

first published in French, in 1892, as *La Conquête du pain*; after being partially serialized in the London journal *Freedom* (between 1892 and 1894), it received an English edition in 1906, the year before Pessoa wrote his sonnet “Kropotkine,” adding the subtitle “C[onquista] del Pan”—which suggests that the poet got acquainted with Kropotkine’s book via one of the many Spanish editions published as early as 1893.²⁵

Kropotkine C[onquista] del Pan

Dreams, idle dreams! yet happy who can have
Such things existence’ things to substitute!
Who sums not life into a flowering grave
Nor locks his good in fame & in repute.
5 Happy so firm to dream & to believe
That on the soil of earth good can take root
Nor know that joys or pains can make to grieve
And Venus’ self was born a prostitute.
Happy incognisant to dream progress
10 Nor know in life a fermentation huge
Whose *psychis is volition feeling thought
A vision changing like its shadowy bliss
That doth the sight with many forms deluge:
A plant a cell a leaf a body rot.

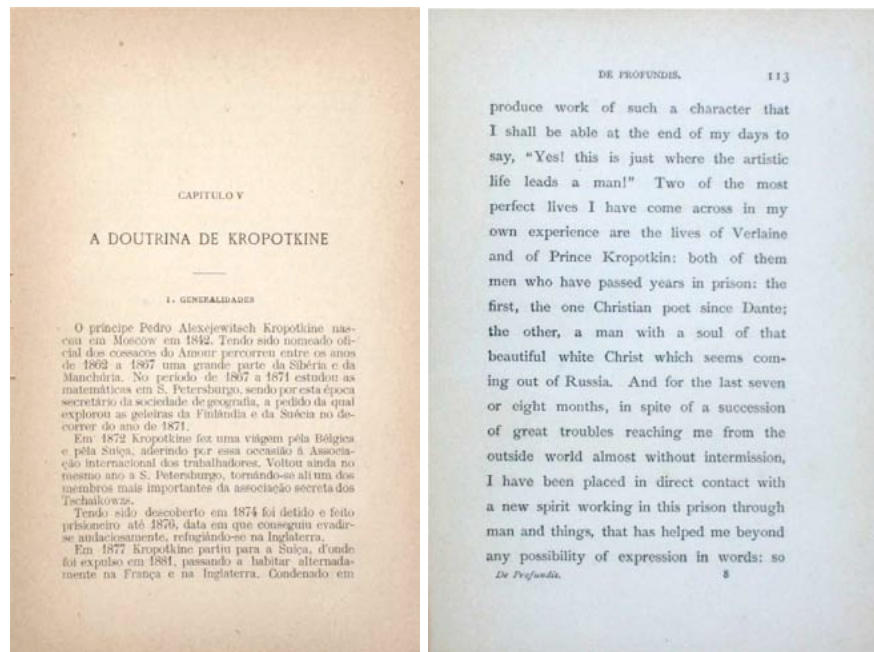
Kropotkine C[onquista] del Pan 49A-37
Dreams, idle dreams! yet happy who can have
Such things existence' things to substitute!
Who sums not life into a flowering grave
Nor locks his good in fame & in repute.
Happy so firm to dream & to believe
That on the soil of earth good can take root
Nor know that joys or pains can make to grieve
And Venus' self is born a prostitute.

Happy incognisant to dream progress 49B-38
Nor know in life a fermentation huge
Whose psychis is volition feeling thought
A vision changing like its shadowy bliss
That doth the sight with many forms deluge.
A plant a cell a leaf a body rot.
20 Merry 1907.

Figs. 10 & 11. “Kropotkine” [BNP/E3, 49A¹-37^r & 38^r]

Notwithstanding some editorial challenges (see *genetic notes on ANNEX IV*), here we have a complete unpublished sonnet by Pessoa, dedicated to the Russian anarchist. Kropotkine also appears in two books extant in Pessoa’s private library (though both volumes were published in 1908, and, thus, could not have influenced the 1907 sonnet): a whole chapter is dedicated to the anarchist doctrine of Kropotkine in *As Doutrinas Anarquistas* (ELTZBACHER, 1908: 85-118), and Oscar Wilde refers to “Prince Kropotkine” in *De Profundis* (WILDE, 1908: 113).

²⁵ In the beginnings of the twentieth century, “La Conquista del Pan” was among the five most read books by the Spanish proletariat. In a letter to Miguel de Unamuno, the editor Francisco Sempere mentions a total of 58,000 copies of the book already sold by 9 March 1909 (not counting three previous editions by publishing houses in Barcelona [Manucci, Presa, and Atlante]); cf. MINTZ, 2003: 8.



Figs. 12 & 13: References to Kropotkin in Pessoa's private library
(ELTZBACHER, 1908: 85; WILDE, 1908: 113)

"Kropotkin" hints at a biblical passage: the formula "Happy" *plus designation* ("happy who can have," "Happy so firm," and "Happy incognisant") evokes the language of the "Beatitudes" from Jesus' "Sermon on the Mount"; thus, the poet equates the messages of salvation of Anarchism and Christianity.

In spite of concluding with the verb *to rot*, "Kropotkin" seems to paint an overall positive image of the Russian anarchist—even more so if we compare this sonnet with Pessoa's invectives targeting Kitchener and Chamberlain. This budding positivity is not sustained, though, in the incomplete poem "Oh Miserable Slaves," drafted on the verso of the document with the quartets of "Kropotkin."

[*Oh Miserable Slaves*]

Oh miserable slaves that no revolt
Can kindle or impel to any use,
Slaves that we are, that cannot will nor choose
With mind & conscience under lock & bolt.

5 Slaves that no [] can redeem
From this eternal tyranny divine
Freemen & freedmen that a drop of wine
Can make to sleep or injure in a dream!

So wholly slaves, so miserable slaves!

□

Fig. 14. "Oh Miserable Slaves" [BNP/E3, 49A¹-37^v]

Being written on the verso of the same paper, it is reasonable to read “Oh Miserable Slaves” as a pessimistic response to Kropotkine’s dreams. There is, however, a contemporary political event to which Pessoa could be reacting: the process of dissolution of the Second State Duma of the Russian Empire. Merriam-Webster defines “duma” as “the principal legislative assembly in Russia from 1906 to 1917 and since 1993,” with the word meaning “council, thought.”

Initiated as a result of the 1905 revolution, the Duma was established by Tsar Nicholas II in his October Manifesto (Oct. 30, 1905), which promised that it would be a representative assembly and that its approval would be necessary for the enactment of legislation. [...]

Four Dumas met [...] They rarely enjoyed the confidence or the cooperation of the ministers or the emperor, who retained the right to rule by decree when the Duma was not in session.
(ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA)

Aimed at restricting the rule of Tsar Nicholas II through the creation of a legislative assembly, the Duma faced serious limitations from the outset. If, on one hand, the creation of the Duma was seen as a major victory of the 1905 Russian Revolution, on the other hand its powers were always constrained, with the Tsar maintaining his sole authority to appoint/dismiss ministers.

The inauspicious beginnings of the Second Duma, in March 1907, included the collapse of the Duma chamber’s ceiling. Fortunately, the assembly was not in session at the time. The friction between government and the Second Duma quickly increased, with the first trying to dissolve the assembly at the first opportunity, which eventually happened in June—marking the end of the 1905-1907 Russian Revolution—shortly after Pessoa drafted this poem.

While I can only suggest (and not prove) that the failures of the 1905 Russian Revolution were on Pessoa’s mind when he drafted “Oh Miserable Slaves,” this is the fourth sonnet in our *corpus* touching on Russia’s challenges (besides “To England I & II” and “Kropotkine”). Moreover, though the “miserable slaves” are not specified in the poem, Pessoa does equate the Russian people with slaves in an different (undated) text (the same Pessoa who had criticized English journalists for mocking Russia in the sonnets “To England”): “No caso da Rússia, povo passivo e com hábitos de escravo” [*In the case of Russia, a people which is passive and has the habits of a slave*] (PESSOA, 1979b: 112).

7. Final Note

The ten poems presented as our *corpus* should be taken as a mere sample of Pessoa’s English political poems, for at least two reasons: (1) Pessoa’s English poetic corpus has not been fully transcribed; what is more, there may well be poems still to be located in the archive (including texts which have been listed by

the poet, but which have not been found to date); (2) one can always expand the strict definition of *political poetry* used in this article, in order to include many more writings by Pessoa.

One example of published political piece not included here is “Napoleon” (BNP/E3, 79¹-7^r; PESSOA, 1997a: 293). The poem is titled after one more historical giant who, between 1905 and 1907, merited a sonnet by Pessoa—besides Chamberlain, Kitchener and Kropotkine. Differently from the other three, though, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) was not alive when his dedicated poem was written; therefore, Pessoa could not have been reacting to contemporary events involving the French ruler (although he could well have been using Napoleon as a symbol to comment upon a current event, or reacting to a meaningful date, such as the anniversary of a battle—two hypotheses which could be investigated and perhaps defended given new evidence).

Moreover, Pessoa attributed “Napoleon” directly to Alexander Search (i.e., it was neither initially signed by Charles Robert Anon, nor remained unattributed); this last point suggests the transition to a different phase in Pessoa’s English poetry, which would soon be dominated by the signature of Search.

Before Search, there was Charles Robert Anon and, behind him, Fernando Pessoa—sometimes using a pseudonym²⁶ to protect himself when cursing political figures, other times leaving a text unsigned, as if the young poet were still unsure about his voice. Either way, by studying these early English political poems as a group, one recognizes a poet attentive to the world around him; a poet keenly reacting to current events through his preferred means of action; a political poet.

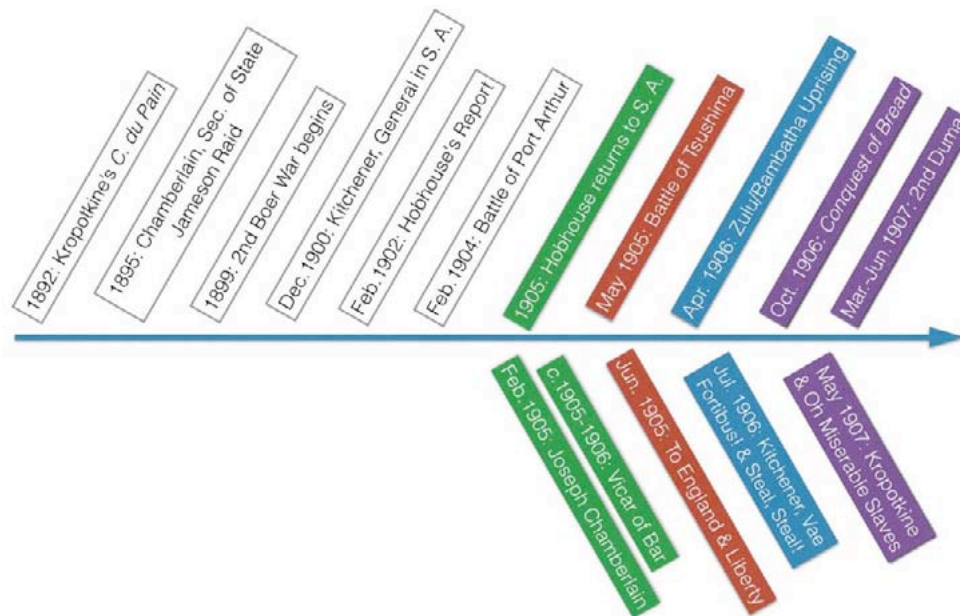
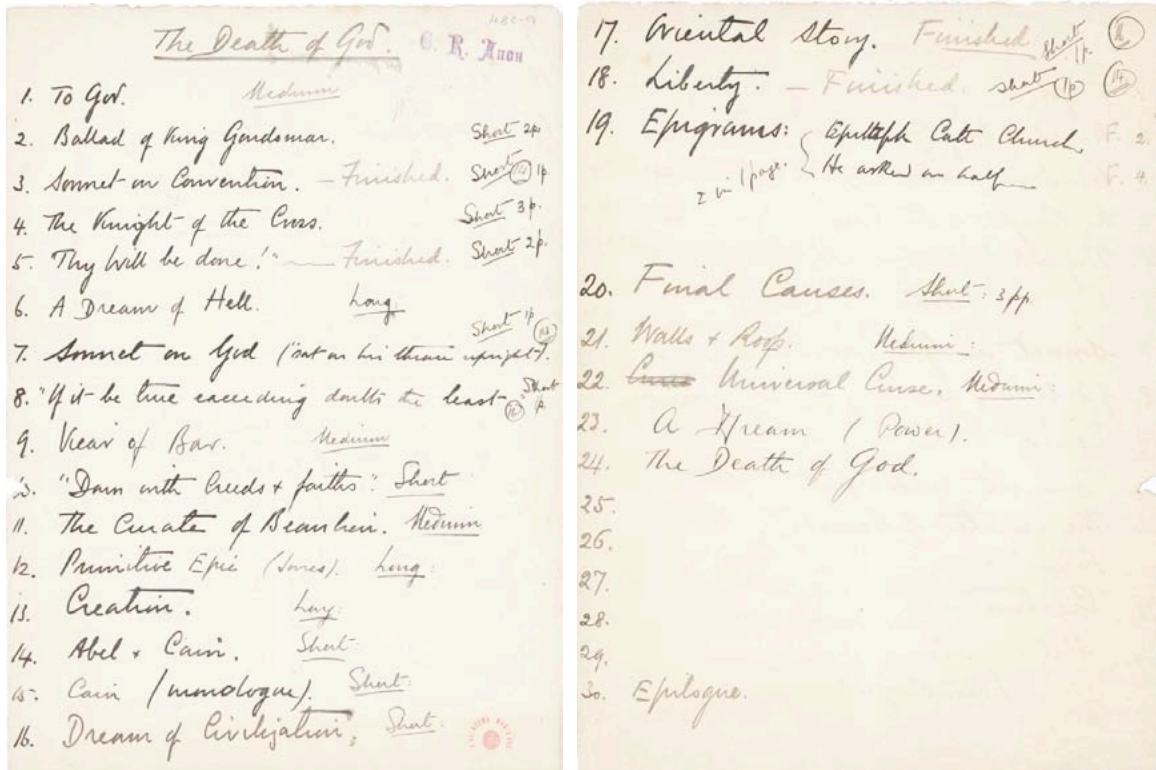


Fig. 15. Chronology of political events and Pessoa's poems (not to scale)

²⁶ Pessoa used the term pseudonym until at least 1913. See the contribution by FERRARI and PITTELLA on Frederick Wyatt in this issue.

Annex I: Unpublished Lists

List I [NLP/E3, 48C-9] “The Death of God.” Unpublished. Written in black ink, with notes and the title in pencil. On the upper right side, in purple ink, there is the seal of “C. R. Anon.” Datable to 3 April 1906 or later, for “Thy Will be done” is the poem in this list with the latest verified date (it appears on the 48C-10v, followed by the date “3 April 1906”). I thank Patricio Ferrari for the initial transcription of this list. This document is not mentioned in PESSOA, 1997a.



Figs. 16 & 17 [BNP/E3, 48C-9^r & 48C-9^v]

[48C-9^r]*The Death of God.*

6. R. Anon

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| 1. To God. <i>Medium</i> | |
| 2. Ballad of King Gondomar. | Short 2 p[ages] |
| 3. Sonnet on Convention. – Finished. | Short ⑭ 1 p[age] |
| 4. The knight of the Cross. | Short 3 p[ages] |
| 5. “Thy Will be done!” _____ Finished. | Short 2 p[ages] |
| 6. A Dream of Hell. <i>Long:</i> | |
| 7. Sonnet on God (“sat on his throne upright”). | Short 1 p[age] ⑭ |
| 8. “If it be true exceeding doubts the least” | Short 1 p[age] ⑮ |
| 9. Vicar of Bar. <i>Medium</i> | |
| 10. “Down with Creeds & Faiths.” <i>Short</i> | |
| 11. The Curate of Beaulieu. <i>Medium</i> | |
| 12. Primitive Epic (Jones). <i>Long:</i> | |
| 13. Creation. <i>Long:</i> | |
| 14. Abel & Cain. <i>Short:</i> | |
| 15. Cain (monologue). | Short: |
| 16. Dream of Civilization. | Short: |

[9^v]

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 17. Oriental Story. <i>Finished</i> | Short 1 p[age] ⑮ |
| 18. Liberty. – Finished. | Short ⑮ 1 p[age] ⑮ |
| 19. Epigrams: { Epitaph Cath[olic] Church | F[inished] |
| 2 in 1 page. { He asked me half... F[inished] | 4. |
| 20. Final Causes. <i>Short: 3 p[ages]</i> | |
| 21. Walls & Roofs. | <i>Medium:</i> |
| 22. Universal Curse. | <i>Medium:</i> |
| 23. A Dream (Power). | |
| 24. The Death of God. | |
| 25. □ | |
| 26. □ | |
| 27. □ | |
| 28. □ | |
| 29. □ | |
| 30. Epilogue. | |

NOTES

22 <Cures> Universal Curse.

List II [BNP/E3, 48C-10] "Death of God." Unpublished. Written in black ink, with some dates added in pencil. Datable to 13 January 1907 or later, for "The Vultures" is the poem on this list with the latest indicated date. I thank Patricio Ferrari for pointing out this list to me. This document is not mentioned in PESSOA, 1997a.

-
- "Death of God."
1. "Death of God."
 2. "The Cell."
 3. "Power" (a dream).
 4. "Kiss of Bar"
 5. "Curate of Beaulieu."
 6. "Universal Curse."
 7. "Mahomet's Coffin."
 8. "History of Creation."
 9. "A Dream of Hell."
 10. "Fragment of an Epic."
 11. "Apology" (Epilogue).
- II. (1)
1. "Ballad of King Gondomar." [21 March 1907]
 2. "Thy Will be Done." [3 April 1906]
 3. "Down w. Creeds & faiths."
 4. "God's work."
 5. "The Knight of the Cross."
 6. "Nonnemon of Pope's Letter."
 7. "Final Causes."
 8. "In the Train." [26 May 1906]
 9. "A Dream of Civilization."
 10. "Abel & Cain"
 11. "In the Luminous Anglum."
 12. "If it be true even, doubt the least."
 13. "Supposition." (narr. & song)
 14. "A Virgin's Heart."
 15. "Oriental Story." [February 1906]
 16. Epitaphs: 2. Cather. Church - 24
 17. - II. God - 14
 18. The Vultures. [13 January 1907] - 16

Figs. 18 & 19 [BNP/E3, 48C-10^r & 48C-10^v]

[48C-10^v]*"Death of God."*

I.

1. "Death of God."
2. "The Cell."
3. "Power" (a dream).
4. "Vicar of Bar"
5. "Curate of Beaulieu."
6. "Universal Curse."
7. "Mahomet's Coffin."
8. "History of Creation."
9. "A Dream of Hell."
10. "Fragment of an Epic."
11. "Apology" (Epilogue).

[10^v]

II. (1)

1. "Ballad of King Gondomar." [21 March 1906]
2. "Thy Will be Done." [3 April 1906]
3. "Down w[ith] creeds & faiths."
4. "God's Work." ----- 8.
5. "The Knight of the Cross."
6. "Noumenon of Pope's Letter."
7. "Final Causes."
8. "In the Train." [26 May 1906]
9. "A Dream of Civilization."
10. "Abel & Cain"
11. "In the Lunatic Asylum."
12. "If it be true exceeding doubts the least..."
13. "Supposition." (walls & roofs)
14. "A Virgin's Heart."
15. "Oriental Story." [February 1906]
16. Epitaphs: I. Cath[olic] Church - 2. -
17. [Epitaphs:] II. God - 4. -
18. The Vultures. [13 January 1907] - 16 -

NOTES

16 [← - 2. -] <*4>

17 - <2>/4.\ -

Annex II: Tables

[TABLE B] Poems transcribed, original manuscripts and publications.

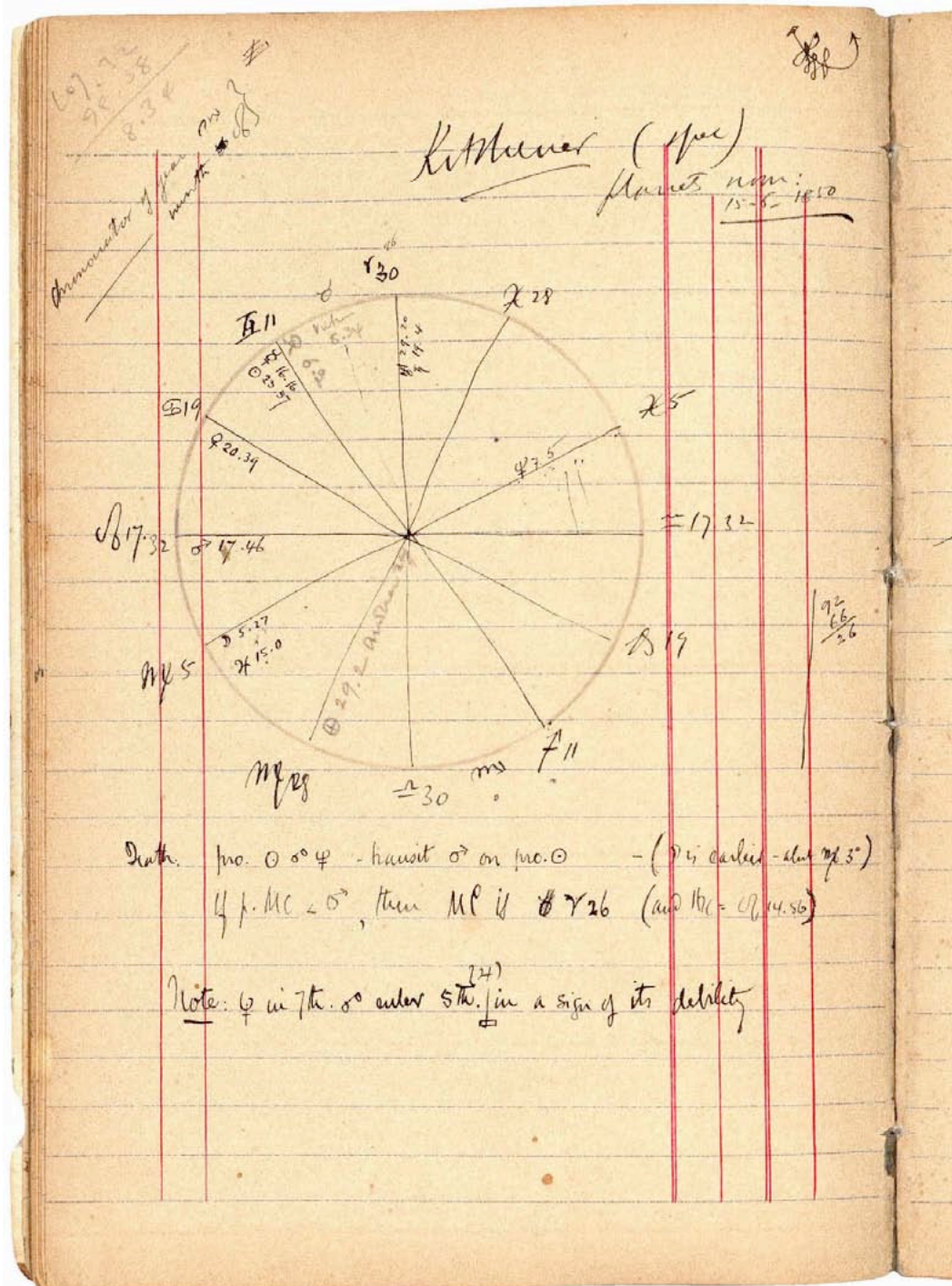
POEM TITLE	DOCUMENTS [BNP/E3]	PUBLICATIONS
Joseph Chamberlain	49B ³ -77 ^v , 77-75, 144N-7 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 48-50 & 1997a: 304
To England I & II	77-79 ^r , 77-80 ^r	JENNINGS, 1984: 95 (sonnet II); PESSOA, 1995: 52-54 & 1997a: 302-303
Liberty	77-81 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 54 & 1997a: 301
Vicar of Bar	49D ¹ -75 ^v	Unpublished
Steal, Steal!	49A ¹ -28 ^r , 49A ¹ -28a ^r	HELGESSON, 2015: 36-37
Kitchener	49B ¹ -100 ^v	Unpublished
Vae Fortibus!	49B ¹ -100 ^r	Unpublished
Kropotkine	49A ¹ -37 ^r , 49A ¹ -38 ^r	Unpublished
Oh Miserable Slaves	49A ¹ -37 ^v	Unpublished

[TABLE C] Poems transcribed, lists including them and publications of said lists.

POEM TITLE	LISTS INCLUDING POEMS [BNP/E3]	PUBLICATIONS OF LISTS (PESSOA)
Joseph Chamberlain	48B-101 ^r , 153-63 ^v	1997a: 298; 2009: 152
To England I & II	48B-100 ^r , 153-63 ^r	1997a: 298; 2009: 152
Liberty	48B-94 ^r , 48B-146 ^r , 153-63 ^r 48C-9 ^v	1997a: 294, 305; 2009: 152; Unpublished
Vicar of Bar	48C-11 ^r , 48B-96 ^r , 48B-147 ^r , 153-66 ^r ; 48C-9 ^r , 48C-10 ^r	1997a: 249, 295, 306; 2009: 155; both unpublished
Steal, Steal!	48C-11 ^r , 48B-100 ^r	1997a: 250, 298;
Kitchener	48C-8 ^r , 48B-101 ^r , 153-63 ^v	1997a: 257, 299; 2009: 152
Vae Fortibus!	48C-8 ^r , 48B-101 ^r , 153-63 ^v	1997a: 257, 299; 2009: 152
Kropotkine	48C-8 ^r , 48B-100 ^r , 153-63 ^r	1997a: 256, 298; 2009: 152
Oh Miserable Slaves	48C-8 ^r , 48B-100 ^r , 153-63 ^r	1997a: 256, 298; 2009: 152

Annex III: Astrological Chart for Kitchener

[BNP/E3, 144Y-16v] "Kitchener." Astrological chart published digitally by the National Library of Portugal, available at <http://purl.pt/13899> (accessed on 2 December 2016). Lined page of a notebook with two vertical red lines on the left margin and four on the right. Written in black ink, with the central circle drawn in pencil. Datable to 1917. I thank Patricio Ferrari for pointing out this chart to me, and Jerónimo Pizarro for dating it. This document was not included in PESSOA, 2011b.

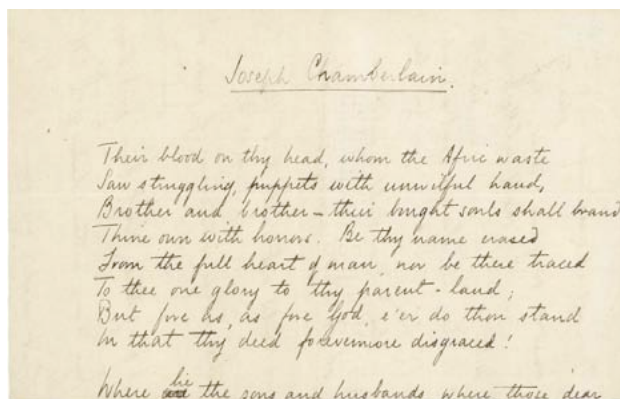
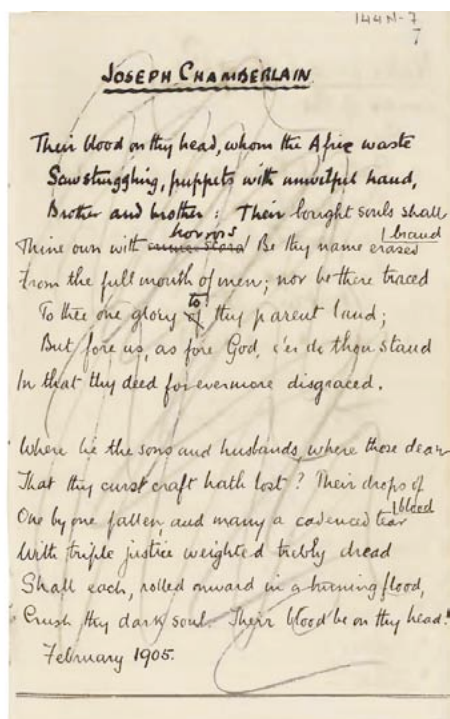


Annex IV: Genetic Notes of Poems Transcribed²⁷

Poem I [BNP/E3, 144N-7^r, 49B³-77^v & 77-75^r] “Joseph Chamberlain.” Three manuscripts, 144N-7 (A), 49B³-77^v (B) and 77-75^r (C), both dated “February 1905”; A is unsigned, written with two different types of black ink, with a few amendments and completely crossed out in pencil (with a letter “C” at the bottom of the document indicating “Copied”); B is a partial manuscript, presenting only the first nine lines of the poem (the other side of the document presents the poem of *incipit* “Thou askest sometimes in perplexity”); C is written with black ink on grid paper, with no amendments and bearing the signature of “Alexander Search”; although featuring the same sonnet, A is organized in one octet and one sestet, and B in two quartets and two tercets. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 304, 525-527).

NOTES

- 1 A Afric B Afric C <a>/A\fric
- 2 A : Their B —their C : their
- 4 A <crime-scars!> [↑ horrors] B horrors C horrors
- 5 A full mouth of men; B full heart of men, C full mouth of men;
- 6 A glory <of> [↑ to] thy parent land B glory to thy parent-land C glory to thy parent land
- 8 A disgraced. B disgraced! C disgraced.
- 9 A Where lie B Where <are> [↑ lie] C lie
- 10 A blood B nonexistent verse C blood,
- 11 A tear B nonexistent verse C tear,
- 12 A dread B nonexistent verse C dread,



Figs. 21 & 22. First two drafts (A & B) of “Joseph Chamberlain” [BNP/E3, 144N-7^r & 49B³-77^v]

²⁷ See ANNEX II for all lists from Pessoa’s archive including the poems transcribed, and for a complete list of previous publications of both poems and lists of our studied *corpus*.

Poem II [BNP/E3, 49D¹-75^r] “Vicar of Bar.” Unpublished manuscript. Datable to 1905-1906. Lined paper written in black ink. Unsigned. In five different lists (BNP/E3, 48B-96^r, 48B-147^{r&v}, 48C-10^r, 48C-11^r and 153-66^r), this poem appears alongside the title “Curate of Beaulieu” (for which I could not locate a draft in Pessoa’s archive); the analogous construction of these two designations (clerical title + city) suggests two little known clergymen in small villages in England.

NOTES

- 2 *distrac(t)] the parentheses seem to indicate that the “t” should be muted, perhaps in an comical attempt to rhyme with “back” at the end of the first verse.*
- 3 *sub<l>/tl\ e*
- 10 *with [↑ those] fleas*
- 14 *These are too horrible □ for the <day> [↓ Their too great horror our □ laugh [↓ doth mar] the space initially left between “our” and “laugh” seems to have been filled by the addition of “doth mar” at the end of the verse.*

Poem III [BNP/E3, 77-79^r] “To England I.” Manuscript. Dated “19th June, 1905.” Grid paper written in black ink, with one intervention in purple pencil, bearing the signature of “Alexander Search.” On the upper left corner, there is a note in purple pencil—perhaps “*F”—indicative of a grouping of poems planned by the poet. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 302-303, 525).

NOTE

- 4 Of his [blind] ⇄ [sleep] “*this*” instead of “*his*” in Dionísio’s edition (PESSOA, 1997a: 302).

Poem IV [BNP/E3, 77-80^r] “To England II.” Manuscript. Dated “19th June, 1905.” Grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature of “Alexander Search.” On the upper left corner, there is a note in purple pencil—perhaps “*F”—indicative of a grouping of poems planned by the poet. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 303, 525).

Poem V [BNP/E3, 77-81^r] “Liberty”. Manuscript. Dated “June 20th 1905.” Grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature of “Alexander Search.” On the upper left corner, there is a note in purple pencil—perhaps “*F”—indicative of a grouping of poems planned by the poet. This transcription is based on the edition prepared by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997a: 302, 524).

Poem VI [BNP/E3, 49B¹-100^v] “Kitchener.” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “July 1906” on list 48B-101^r. Though incomplete, the draft of a sonnet, for its title appears on documents 48C-8^r and 153-63^v (both lists of sonnets) and on 48B-101^r (with the indication that it should have 14 verses). Loose piece of paper, written in both black ink and pencil, not being clear which writing utensil was used first; if, at first sight, the pencil inscriptions could be seen as additions, upon further inspection they do not satisfactorily complete the blank spaces left among the fragmentary lines in black ink—thus raising the question of the writings in ink and pencil perhaps belonging to different texts (the pencil could have already been on the paper when the black ink was used). In pencil, we read:

Nor even have strength *with t<h>/h\ee []
That such *as [↑ &] those have made for mankind’s fear

On the right side of the title “Kitchener,” there are two illegible words—possibly the title of a separate poem which Pessoa didn’t get to draft (note the author draws a line as if creating two columns: on the left one, the draft of “Kitchener”; on the right, just the blank space in which the second poem could be written).

NOTES

- [*epig.*] Would they not <*the equ> tyrannise,
 2 Salaried salesman of distress and woe [↑ death],
 9 sawst] *obsolete form of “sawest,” generally spelled “saw’st,” though Pessoa doesn’t use the apostrophe here.*

Poem VII [BNP/E3, 49B¹-100^r] “Woe to the Strong! [Vae Fortibus!]” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “July 1906” on list 48B-101^r. Loose piece of paper with the handwritten header “Programma de Calligraphia | dos | Cursos Commercial Colonial e Lyceus | 1.º Anno”; a horizontal line separates the header from the poem. Written in black ink and in pencil, with some words also crossed-out in pencil. Though “Woe to the Strong!” doesn’t appear as a title in known lists made by Pessoa, the equivalent Latin expression “Vae Fortibus!” does, being alongside “Kitchener” in three documents: BNP/E3, 48B-101^r, 48C-8^r and 153-63^v—the last two of them listing only sonnets.

NOTES

- 2 <fire>/fire\
 3 <ire>/ire\
 4 Not only <shall> thrones and altars [↑ <then>] shake
 5 <Force of all’d them so that they> □ mire
 6 Grew course and beast-like and [↑ so] when they shall wake
 12 Horrid the day that shall behold the feast [→ <brutal feast>]

Poem VIII [BNP/E3, 49A¹-28^r] “Steal! Steal!” Manuscript. Dated “July 1906.” Lined paper written in black ink, with the title in pencil. On the contiguous document 49A¹-28a^r, there are three lines that, according to Helgesson, “could be either the continuation of this poem or the beginning of yet another unfinished piece” (HELGESESSON, 2015: 44):

Murder and rapine hallows
 How many a hero, were there no wars
 Had ended in the gallows.

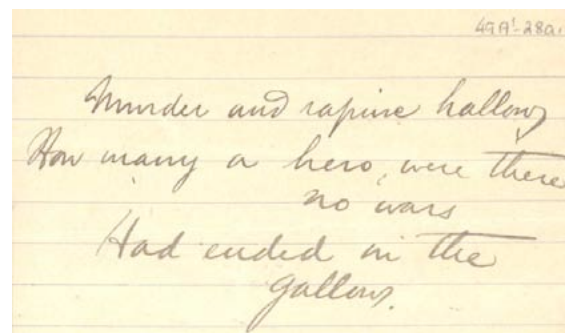


Fig. 23. [BNP/E3, 49A¹-28a^r; detail]

Poem IX [BNP/E3, 49A¹-37^r & 49A¹-38^r] “Kropotkine, C[onquista] del Pan.” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “20 May 1907” (though the list 153-63^r dates it “21 May 1907”). Two loose pieces of paper written in black ink with additions in pencil in verse 12. The poem was written on two papers of similar size (A and B). The title “Kropotkine” and the two first stanzas appear on document A (49A¹-37^r), and the tercets, followed by the date “20 May 1907,” on document B (49A¹-

38^r). On the verso of document A, one finds a text beginning with the words “Oh Miserable Slaves,” which I consider to be a different poem (with a different date). Two critical questions may be raised: (1) why not consider the verso of document A as the continuation of “Kropotkine”? and (2) why consider document B as the continuation of “Kropotkine,” instead of the continuation of the poem drafted on the verso of A? (1) Regarding the first question, the verso of A presents quartets. Following the eight initial verses of “Kropotkine” on the recto, one should look for six more verses (either two tercets, or one quartet and one couplet) to complete the poem (for we know it to be a sonnet, based on the lists left by Pessoa). (2) As to the second question, the verso of A seems to present nine complete lines, which, if supplemented by the six lines of B, would sum too many for a Miltonic sonnet; moreover, the first line on the verso of A is the incipit of a different poem listed by Pessoa in different documents, i.e., “Oh Miserable Slaves” (see call numbers of lists on ANNEX II); lastly, the tercets on B seem to complement the recto of A both in form (by reiterating formulae such as “Nor know” and “Happy” as verse-openings) and in content (by developing the idea of fermentation, which is connected to the “Pan/Bread” of Kropotkine’s book).

NOTES

- 2 *Pessoa places an apostrophe at the end of the word “existence,” thus creating the possessive expression “existence’ things” (i.e., things of existence); note it is acceptable to omit “s” following an apostrophe in constructions such as “for conscience’ sake” (STRUNK and WHITE, 2005: 1) and that the word “existence” (as “conscience”) already ends in a phonetic “s.”*
- 7 Nor know [↑ that] joys
- 8 is turned [↓ was born]
- 9 to <think life> [↓ dream]
- 11 <feeling & will> [↑ volition feeling] thought] *save for a transcription error, the poet seems to have employed, in this verse, the word “psychis,” which is the Latin ablative or dative plural of psyche, a curious choice, since English does not distinguish those declinations.*
- 13 That doth <eyes> [↑ the sight]
- 14 A plant, a worm, a brain, a body, rot. [↓ /a plant a cell a leaf a body rot/] *though the first variant presented commas, I opted to edit the final verse without commas, as it appears in the second variant; nevertheless, I capitalized the initial article of the last verse, following the standard used by Pessoa.*

Poem X [BNP/E3, 49A¹-37^v] “Oh Miserable Slaves.” Unpublished manuscript. Dated “19 May 1907” (though the list 153-63^r dates it “20 May 1907”). Loose piece of paper, written in black ink, except by the last verse, which was added in purple pencil.

Bibliography

- AESOP (1997). "The Sick Lion" in *Aesop's Fables—Online Collection*. Edited by John R. Long. Web: aesopfables.com/cgi/aesop1.cgi?srch&fabl/TheSickLion (accessed 14 November 2016).
- BARRETO, José (2015). "A Poesia Política de Fernando Pessoa" in *Abril—Journal of the Nucleus of Portuguese and African Literature Studies at UFF*, vol. 7, n.º 14, pp. 189-209.
- ____ (2013). "O nacionalismo liberal de Fernando Pessoa." *III Congresso Internacional Fernando Pessoa*. Lisbon, 28-30 November. Web: www.congressointernacionalfernandopessoa.com/comunicacoes/jose_barreto.pdf (accessed 30 Nov. 2016).
- ____ (2012a). "Fernando Pessoa e Raul Leal contra a campanha moralizadora dos estudantes em 1923" in *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 2, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Fall, pp. 240-270.
- ____ (2012b). "Mussolini é um louco: uma entrevista desconhecida de Fernando Pessoa com um antifascista italiano" in *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 1, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of the Andes, Spring, pp. 225-252.
- ____ (2011a). "Fernando Pessoa em defesa da Maçonaria: A história do artigo que rompeu com o Estado Novo" in *Fernando Pessoa, Associações Secretas e outros escritos*. Lisbon: Ática, pp. 239-288.
- ____ (2011b). "Fernando Pessoa e Salazar: Sobre o pensamento político do escritor e a sua ruptura com o salazarismo" in *Pessoa—Revista de Ideias*, n.º 3, Lisbon, June, pp. 17-34.
- BOSMAN, Walter (1907). *The Natal Rebellion of 1906*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.; Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Johannesburg, East London, Stellenbosch, and Durban [Natal]: J. C. Juta and Co.
- BRIDGES, Robert (1901). *Milton's Prosody and Classical Metres in English Verse by William Johnson Stone*. Oxford: Henry Frowde [1st ed. of Bridges: 1889; 1st ed. of Stone: 1898] [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-641].
- BROWN, Susan (2016). "From Michael and Teca: two unpublished letters to Hubert Jennings" in *People of the Archive: the contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoaan studies* (a printed edition of *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8, Special Jennings Issue). Edited by Carlos Pittella. Providence: Gávea-Brown, pp. 149-163.
- COLLINS, Mabel (1916). *Luz sobre o Caminho (e o Karma)*. Translated by Fernando Pessoa. Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora.
- ____ (1912). *Light on the Path (and Karma)*. London: Theosophical Publishing Society [Fernando Pessoa House, 1-30].
- ELIOT, T. S. (2009). *On Poetry and Poets*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux [1st UK edition: Faber and Faber, 1943; 1st USA edition: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957].
- ELTZBACHER, Paul (1908). *As doutrinas anarquistas*. Translated Manoel Ribeiro. Lisbon: Guimarães & C.^a [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 3-21].
- EMERSON, Ralph Waldo (1902). *Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Essays, first and second series; Representative men; Society and solitude; English traits; The conduct of life; Letters and social aims; Poems; Miscellanies; Embracing nature; Addresses, and lectures*. London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-172].
- ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, THE EDITORS OF (1999) "Duma" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Web: www.britannica.com/topic/Duma-Russian-assembly (accessed 21 November 2016).
- FERRARI, Patricio (2015). "Pessoa and Borges: In the Margins of Milton" in *Variaciones Borges*, Daniel Balderston, ed., n.º 40, University of Pittsburgh, pp. 3-21.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2015). "Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa's English Poetry)" in *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando

- Pessoa as English Reader and Writer), Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest eds. North Dartmouth: Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 227-246.
- HELGESESSON, Stefan (2015). "Pessoa, Anon, and the Natal Colony—Retracing an Imperial Matrix" in *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer), Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest eds. North Dartmouth: Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 30-46.
- HOBHOUSE, Emily (1902). *The Brunt of the War—and where it fell*. London: Methuen & Co.
- HOBHOUSE, Leonard Trelawney (1911). *Liberalism*. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Henry Holt & Co.; Toronto: WM. Briggs; India: R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 3-32].
- JENNINGS, Hubert Dudley (1986). *Fernando Pessoa in Durban*. Durban: Durban Corporation.
- ____ (1984). *Os Dois Exílios. Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul*. Oporto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida / Centro de Estudos Pessoaanos.
- KEATS, John (1898). *The Poetical Works of John Keats*. London, New York: Frederic Warne and Co. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-294].
- LIND, Georg Rudolf (1972). "Fernando Pessoa perante a Primeira Guerra Mundial" in *Ocidente—Revista Portuguesa de Cultura*, vol. LXXXII, n.º 405, Lisbon, January, pp. 425-458.
- ____ (c. 1966) Dossier "BNP/E3, 77-78B Anexo" [unpublished dossier at Pessoa's literary estate at the National Library of Portugal, created c. 1966 but catalogued c. 1970]. Lisbon: National Library of Portugal.
- ____ (1966). "Die englische Jugenddichtung Fernando Pessoa's" in *Aufsätze zur portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, compiled by Hans Flasche, vol. 6, Westfalen, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, pp. 130-163.
- MERRIAM-WEBSTER (n/d). "Duma." *Merriam-Webster.com*. Web: www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/duma (accessed 21 November 2016).
- MILTON, John (1983). *Samson Agonistes and Shorter Poems*. Ed. A. E. Barker. Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson (Crofts Classics) [reprint of the 1950 edition, with added bibliography].
- ____ (n/d) [pref. 1853]. *The Poetical Works of John Milton*. London: George Routledge and Sons [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-359].
- MINTZ, Frank (2003). "Vida y Obra de Kropotkin" in Piotr Kropotkin, *La Moral Anarquista*. Edited by Frank Mintz. Madrid: Catarata, pp. 7-92.
- ORR, David (2012). *Beautiful & Pointless: a Guide to Modern Poetry*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- PARES, Bernard (1907). *Russia and Reform*. London: Archibald Constable & Co.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2015a). *Sobre o Fascismo, a Ditadura Militar e Salazar*. Edited by José Barreto. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china.
- ____ (2015b). *Álvaro de Campos—Obra Completa*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Antonio Cardiello; collaboration of Jorge Uribe and Filipa Freitas. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- ____ (2013a). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- ____ (2013b). "Como se 'Eu' fluísse..." [eight sonnets by Fernando Pessoa]. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Carlos Pittella. *Granta Portugal*, n.º 1 (*O Eu*). Lisbon, Tinta-da-China, June, pp. 95-117.
- ____ (2012). *Íbéria—introdução a um imperialismo futuro*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Pablo Javier Pérez López. Lisbon: Ática.
- ____ (2011a). *Associações Secretas e Outros Escritos*. Edited by José Barreto. Lisbon: Ática.
- ____ (2011b). *Cartas Astrológicas*. Edited by Paulo Cardoso with the collaboration of Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Bertrand.
- ____ (2009). *Cadernos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (1998). *Obra em Prosa*. Organized by Cleonice Berardinelli. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar.

- _____. (1997a). *Poemas Ingleses. Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa, Vol. V, tome 2.
- _____. (1997b) *A Língua Portuguesa*. Edited by Luísa Medeiros. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- _____. (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Organized and translated by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- _____. (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Incriptions, Epithalamium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- _____. (1979a). *Sobre Portugal. Introdução ao Problema Nacional*. Edited by Joel Serrão, Isabel Rocheta, and Paula Morão. Lisbon: Ática.
- _____. (1979b). *Da República (1910-1935)*. Edited by Joel Serrão, Isabel Rocheta, and Paula Morão. Lisbon: Ática.
- _____. (1966). *Páginas de Estética e de Teoria Literárias*. Edited by Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- _____. (1920). “À Memoria do Presidente[-Rei] Sidonio Paes” in *Acção*, n.º 4, year 2, Lisbon, 27 February, pp. 2-3.
- _____. (1917). “Ultimatum de Alvaro de Campos—Sensacionista” in *Portugal Futurista*, n.º 1 (*separata*). Edited by Fernando Pessoa. Lisbon: Tipografia P. Monteiro.
- PITTELLA, Carlos [editor] (2016). *People of the Archive: the contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoa studies* (a printed edition of *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8, Special Jennings Issue). Providence: Gávea-Brown.
- _____. (2012). *Pequenos Infinitos em Pessoa: uma aventura filológica-literária pelos sonetos de Fernando Pessoa* [doctoral thesis]. Rio de Janeiro: PUC-Rio. Web: www2.dbd.puc-rio.br/pergamum/biblioteca/php/mostrateses.php?open=1&arqtese=0813690_2012_Indice.html (accessed 17 October 2016).
- PITTELLA, Carlos and Jerónimo PIZARRO (2016). *Como Fernando Pessoa Pode Mudar a Sua Vida*. Rio de Janeiro: Tinta-da-china Brasil.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa / Fernando Pessoa's Private Library*. Bilingual edition. Alfragide: D. Quixote.
- POE, Edgar Allan (1902). *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe: poems, stories, essays*. London: Chatto & Windus. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-442].
- RAATH, Andries W. G. (1999). *The British Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902: Reports on the Camps*. Bloemfontein: War Museum of the Boer Republics.
- STEVENS, David Harrison (1919). “The Order of Milton's Sonnets” in *Modern Philology*, vol. 17, n.º 1, The University of Chicago Press, May, pp. 25-33.
- STRUNK Jr., William and E. B. WHITE (2005). *The Elements of Style*. Illustrated by Maira Kalman. New York: The Penguin Press.
- VITRINGA, Campegius (1715). *Commentarius in Librum Prophetiarum Jesaiæ*, vol. I. Herbornæ Nassavorum [Herborn]: Johan. Nicolai Andreæ.
- WILDE, Oscar (1908). *De Profundis and The Ballad of Reading Gaol*. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-583].

Pessoa's Wyatt

Stephen Merriam Foley*

Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Frederick Wyatt, English Poetry, Richard Tottel, Sonnets, Thomas Wyatt.

Abstract

Pessoa's use of the early pseudonym Frederick Wyatt is a slant allusion to the English poet Sir Thomas Wyatt. In this brief study I review the figure of Thomas Wyatt, who occupies an uneasy place at the beginning of English poetry, and discuss possible connections with Pessoa's fictitious author.

Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Frederick Wyatt, Poesia Inglesa, Richard Tottel, Sonetos, Thomas Wyatt.

Abstract

O uso do pseudônimo Frederick Wyatt por Fernando Pessoa é uma alusão oblíqua ao poeta inglês Sir Thomas Wyatt. Neste breve estudo, revejo a importância de Thomas Wyatt, que ocupa um lugar instável nos princípios da poesia Inglesa, e discuto as possíveis conexões com o autor fictício de Pessoa.

* Department of English, Brown University.

Pessoa's use of the early pseudonym Frederick Wyatt is a slant allusion to the English poet Sir Thomas Wyatt,¹ who with Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, introduced Italianate and neoclassical forms into circulation in England and who thus occupies a position similar to Sá de Miranda, Garsilaso, and Boscán, poets of Wyatt's universe of experience: he was Henry VIII's preferred ambassador to Charles V, whom he followed on two embassies through France and the Iberian peninsula.²

Apart from being lyrics in a loose collection, from sharing some mundane markers like refrains, quatrains, the occasional reference to a beloved lady, a goddess, or the use of "thy" and "dost," the poetry of Frederick Wyatt and the poetry of Thomas Wyatt show little in common—except the surname, and the poet's surname is precisely what the preface to Pessoa's volume lays claims to: "He preferred the pseudonym ∴ [because] (he used to say) there was already a Wyatt at the beginning of English poetry" (PESSOA, 2016: 359).

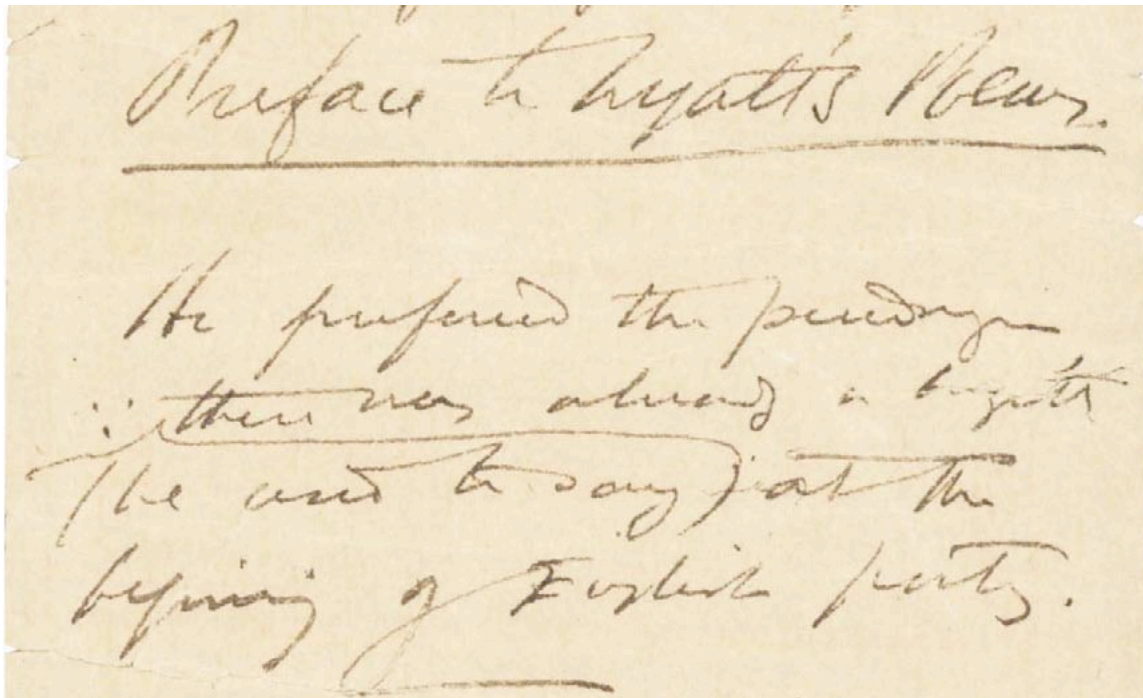


Fig. 1. "Preface to Wyatt's Poems." (BNP/E3, 14E-96; PESSOA, 2016: 359). Detail.

But the surname Wyatt occupies an uneasy place at the beginning of English poetry. Wyatt's poetry circulated in the risky venue of courtly manuscript

¹ Editor's note: Pessoa created this fictitious English poet around 1913, a year before the invention of Alberto Caeiro, Álvaro de Campos, and Ricardo Reis—the heteronyms of the "drama-em-gente" [drama in people] as Pessoa himself referred to his imagined coterie in 1928 (PESSOA, 1928: 10). For a complete transcription of the writings attributed to Frederick Wyatt, see the contribution by Ferrari and Pittella in this issue. See also the introduction of Wyatt in PESSOA (2016: 359-370).

² For further biographical details of Thomas Wyatt, see FOLEY (1990).

exchange, where the occulting and exposure of identity was part of a guessing game of courtly intrigue. At the court of a royal monster, not even names rang true, and name-dropping had a way of catching up with the people. Of his Anna Boleyn—he would later almost lose his own life in the Tower, accused of being her lover—he composes the following anagram as a compliment:

What word is that, that changeth not,
Though it be turned and made in twaine:
It is mine Anna god it wot.
The only causer of my paine:

(in TOTTELL, 1557: 295)

Wyatt won a reputation as a poet and wit at the court of Henry VIII. Wyatt's own codex of poetry, now known as the Egerton manuscript, is the first personal manuscript collection to survive with the hand of an English author in it. But the conditions of courtly authorship were so open, collective, dialogic, shared, and contested, that then as now we are uncertain whether many of the poems attributed to him were "by" him.

The print miscellany of published by Richard Tottel in 1557—the *Songes and Sonettes* that brought this courtly oeuvres to young men on the make like Spenser and Shakespeare, mixes Wyatt's poetry with the poetry of Surrey, Grimald, Vaux, Norton, and even Chaucer, and it withholds Wyatt's names from the title page:

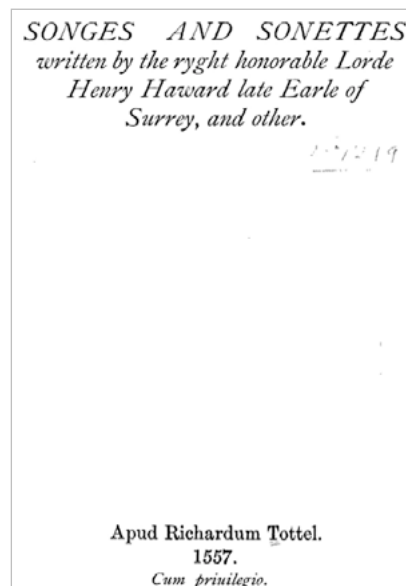


Fig. 2. Title page of Tottel's first edition. *Songes and Sonettes written by the right honorable Lord Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other*, 1557.

The motive for suppressing Wyatt's name is not hard to surmise. Tottel published his anthology in 1557,³ in the middle of the reign of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary. Wyatt himself was identified with the protestant cause, the Howard family with the conservative Catholics, and, scandalously, Wyatt's son, Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, in the early months of 1554, just following the execution of Lady Jane Grey and the official accession of Mary, led rebel forces of some 4,000 men against the Crown in as part of a protestant conspiracy to prevent the Queen from marrying Philip of Spain. He was beheaded at the Tower in March 1554, and his family lost their land and titles—to be restored after Mary's death in 1558, when the new queen, Elizabeth, who had surely been party to Wyatt's rebellion, restored them.

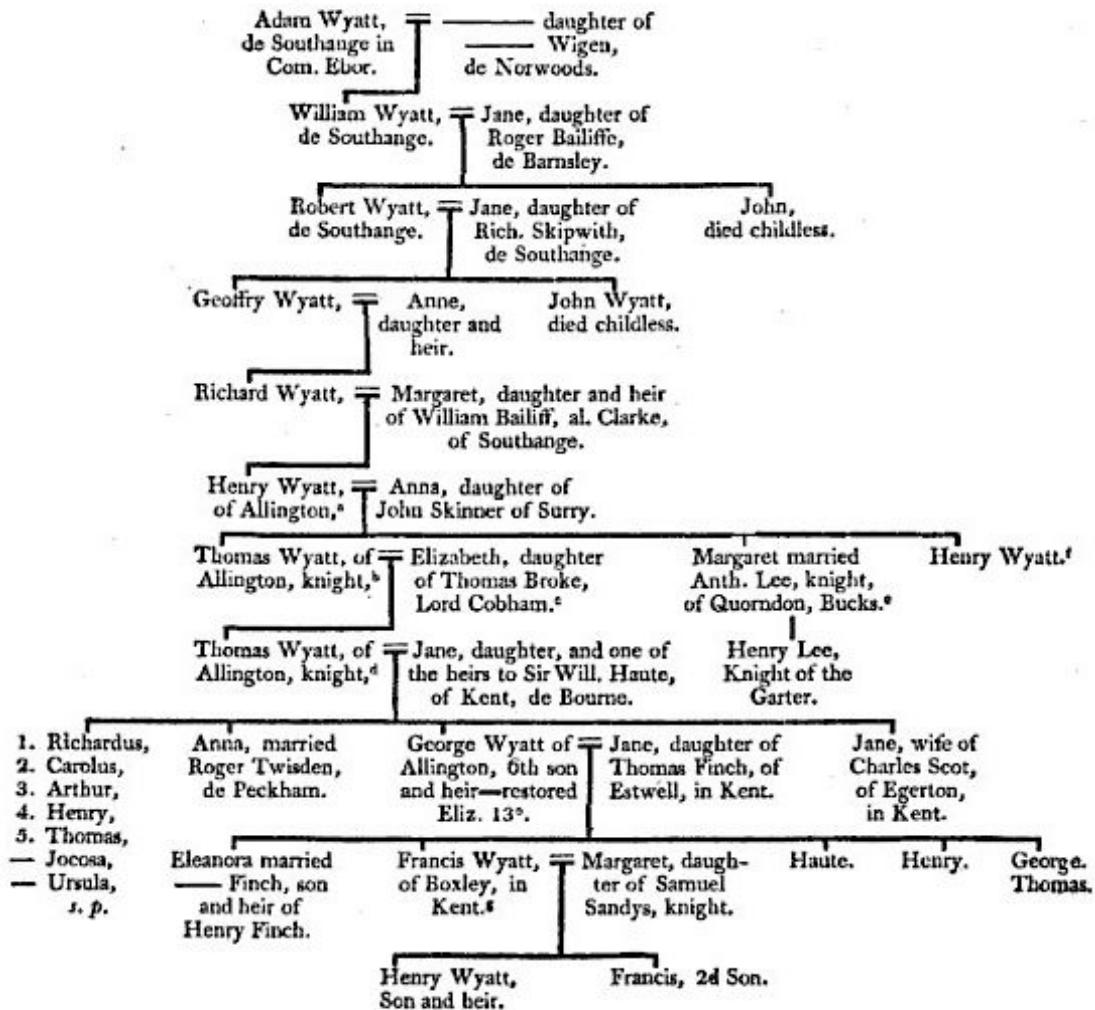
Tottel's Miscellany not only suppresses historical names; it supplies factitious literary lives. In titles given by the editor, Wyatt's and Surrey's occasional verses are inserted into Petrarchan narratives of courtly love: "The lover for shamefastnesse hideth his desire within his faithfull hart" (1557: 44); "The lover confesseth him in love with Phillis" (1557: 48); "To his love from whom he hadd her gloves," (1557: 55) or take another case involving names, "The lovers sorrowfull state maketh him write sorrowfull songes, but Souch his love may change the same," (1557: 66) a poem in which the word "Souch" stands for the surname Zouche. For Surrey, it takes a single poem of compliment to a young cousin, Elizabeth Fitzgerald, and constructs a whole narrative of Petrarchan love based upon the pseudonym Surrey gives her, the faire Geraldine.

Name play is thus part of the literary story of Thomas Wyatt. Consider, for example, the scholarship reflected in the work of John and G.F. Nott in the 1812/1816 edition, which gives full play to the politics of the Wyatt names in its highly political "memoirs" and which includes a full genealogy, a tradition Pessoa parodies in chart of Wyatt family members (cf. PESSOA, 2016: 368-370) [Fig. 3].

³ This anthology consisted of 271 poems, none of which had ever been printed before.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF WYATT.

Vincent, Kent, 116. p. 73.



^a Knighted in the Tower, by Hen. VIII. at his Coronation.

^b Knighted at Westminster, xxvith. Hen. VIII.

^c She married, after Sir Thomas Wyatt's death, Edward Warner, knight.

^d Knighted before the 1st of Edward VI: attainted A. 1st. M. and P.

^e Ancestor of the Earls of Litchfield.

^f This branch of the family settled afterwards in Essex.

^g Knighted at Windsor, 7th July, 1618.

To be placed before the Memoirs.

Fig 3. Pedigree of the Wyatt family in *Songs and Sonnets of the Earl of Surrey* (of Sir T. Wyatt, the elder, of uncertain authors, of N. Grimoald), 1812.

Another staple item of nineteenth century edition is the search for codes or cyphers. This is recalled in the reference to a cypher in one of the fragments Fernando Pessoa likely intended for the preface of "The Poems of Frederick Wyatt," and perhaps also in the vertical inscriptions on the manuscript title page, which recalls the anagrams favored in renaissance poetry (PESSOA, 2016: 359 and 363).⁴

Or, to take as an example of a text even closer to the moment of Frederick Wyatt, consider the widely circulated popular edition in Edward Arber's English Poets of 1900.

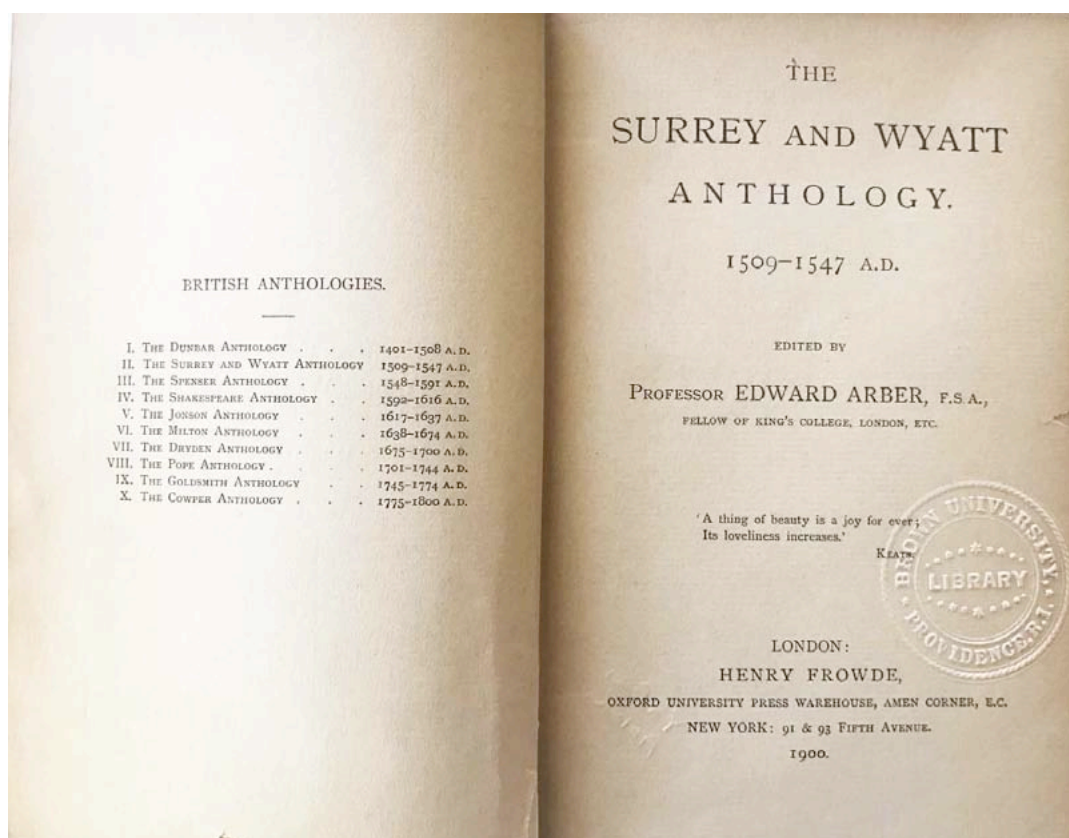


Fig 4. Title page of *The Surrey and Wyatt Anthology*, 1900.

Arber says of his own title to this "people's edition":

Strictly speaking, this Collection of our Poetry during the reign of HENRY VIII should be called *The WYATT and SURREY Anthology*, for Sir THOMAS WYATT the Elder was not only the nobler man and the nobler poet of the two: but it was he that brought the Sonnet Stanza, together with *Terza Rima* and Blank Verse, into England from Italy. It is however customary to say *SURREY and WYATT*, simply because the former was a Peer.

(ARBER, 1900: 1)

⁴ For a complete transcription and reproduction of the reference and inscription, see "The Poems of Frederick Wyatt" presented by FERRARI and PITTELLA in the Document Section of this issue.

Arber is reflecting a change in taste, as English literature emerges as a canon, and he is drawing upon the work of a German scholar Edwal Flügel, teaching at the new Leland Stanford Junior University, to reflect a preference for the rugged lines of Wyatt over Surrey's polished verses, in part through restoring Wyatt's text from a study of the manuscripts in the context of courtly circulation.⁵ We see the same modern Wyatt story in the work of a young American scholar, Frederick Morgan Padelford, which reached popular publication in *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics* included in Flügel's *Belles-Lettres* series by D.C. Heath in Boston and London in 1907.

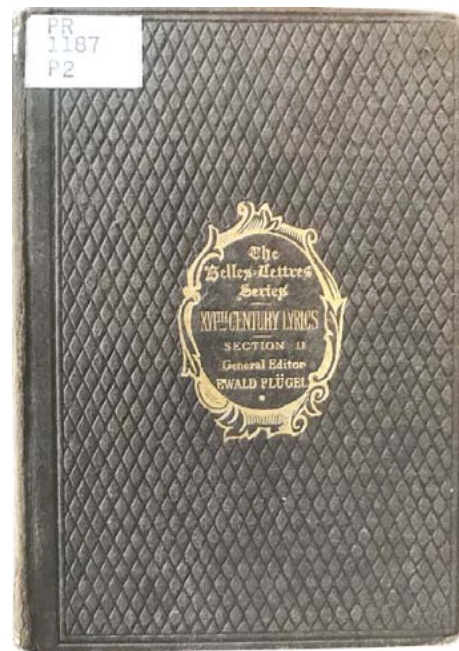


Fig 5. Front cover of the *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, 1907.

These popular volumes in the emerging history of English literature are Pessoa's Wyatt. Here Wyatt is reborn as a modern:

These poems are like monologues snatched from intense situations [...] and it is as if we were to enter the theatre at a moment when a situation is critical, and passionate utterance is at its height [...]. The language is direct, familiar, and unadorned; a case left to stand or fall by the bare truth of it [...]. He [Wyatt] has left a score or more of poems that, in real imagination, imagination in the sense in which Ruskin defined it, surpasses anything that Petrarch and his Italian imitators ever wrote.

(PADELFORD, 1907: xlv-xlvi)

Such original modern verse is clearly not represented in the corpus left to us by

⁵ Editor's note: for a detailed metrical analysis of Wyatt's and Surrey's realization of the line we term iambic pentameter, see DUFFELL (2008: 116-125 and 135-136).

Pessoa's Frederick Wyatt. As the fragment headed "Frederick Wyatt Cypher" above referred claims:

He was extraordinarily ignorant of modern English literature and especially of modern English poets. He never read anything by O[scar] Wilde, B[ernard] Shaw □ Even of the French poets he did not know the more recent ones. He knew Baudelaire, Rollinat ("Les Névroses") certainly. I do not think he had any knowledge of Verlaine.

(PESSOA, 2016: 363)

But Pessoa's introduction also perversely claims a paradoxical literary originality that is belied by his slavish sartorial imitation: "The more deeply original his style became, the more he consciously modelled his □, his manner of dressing, his habits... on Goethe, on Shelley, on □ on innumerable literary people, not all great." (BNP / E3, 14E-96^r).⁶

As to the Christian name Frederick, no god fearing pope hating Spaniard fearing English aristocrat bears this name in at the court of Henry VIII. But it is the first name of the young American editor I just mentioned, Frederick Morgan Padelford.

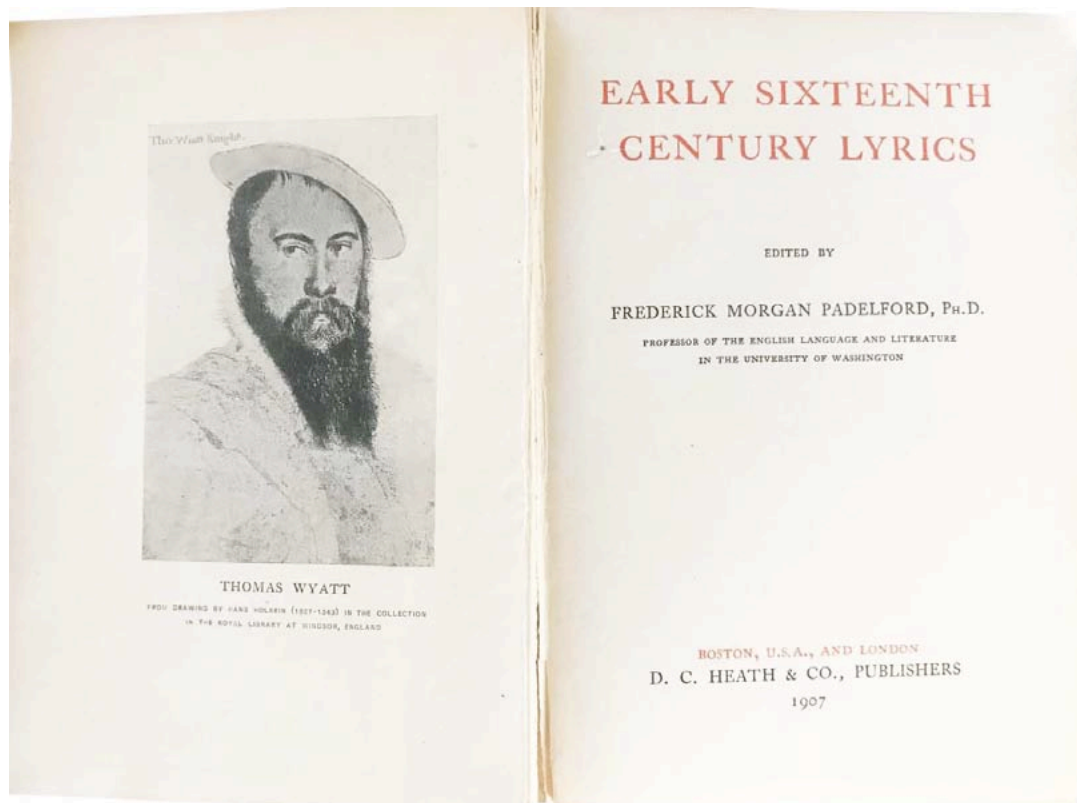


Fig 6. Title page of the *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, 1907.

Of the many other Wyatt family members whose signatures Pessoa forges (PESSOA,

⁶ See note 4.

2016: 368-370), one, to my knowledge, has an historical persona: Sir Francis Wyatt,⁷ Thomas Wyatt's great grandson, who served as the first governor of the Virginia colony in 1621 and as governor under royal charter granted to him in 1624 and again starting in 1639.

Just like with Thomas Wyatt, whose poems first appeared posthumously in Tottel's Miscellany, none of the poems attributed to Frederick Wyatt were published during Pessoa's lifetime.

⁷ Editor's note: Pessoa's Francis Wyatt did not evolve into a fictitious author. In Pessoa's archive there exists one single signature trial bearing this name (PESSOA, 2016: 370).

Bibliography

- ARBER, Edward (1900). *The Surrey and Wyatt Anthology, 1509-1547 A.D.* London, New York: H. Frowde.
- DUFFELL, Martin J. (2008). *A New History of English Metre*. London: Legenda.
- FOLEY, Stephen (1990). *Sir Thomas Wyatt*. Boston: Twayne Publishers.
- PADEFORD, Frederick Morgan (ed.) (1907). *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*. Boston and London: D. C. Heath & Co., publishers.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. 2nd edition. Lisbon: Tinta-da-China. Fernando Pessoa "Collection." [1st edition 2013].
- _____. (1928). "Tabua Bibliográfica." *Presença*, Lisbon, n.º 17, p. 10.
- TOTTEL, Richard (ed.) (1557). *Songes and Sonettes Written By the Ryght Honorable Lord Henry Howard, late Earle of Surrey, Thomas Wyatt the Elder and others*. London.
- WYATT, Thomas et al. (1812). *Songs and Sonnets of the Earl of Surrey (of Sir T. Wyatt, the elder, of uncertain authors, of N. Grimoald)*. Edited by J. Nott. Bristol.

The Mad Fiddler in the context of Pessoa's Correspondence

Susan Margaret Brown*

Keywords

English Poetry, Fernando Pessoa, Literary Tradition, Modernism, *The Mad Fiddler*.

Abstract

Among the hundreds of English poems written by Fernando Pessoa during his lifetime, the collection entitled *The Mad Fiddler* plays a vital role. In a manner unique to the circumstances of this particular body of poems, *The Mad Fiddler* sheds light on its own value while refracting light as well on various aspects of Pessoa's practice at the earliest stages of an emergent modernism. It is the surprising significance of these English poems for Pessoa himself in the light of his correspondence to British publishers and editors during the period 1912-1917 that will be the focus of this paper.

Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Modernismo, Poesia Inglesa, *The Mad Fiddler*, Tradição Literária.

Resumo

Entre as centenas de poemas ingleses escritos por Fernando Pessoa durante a sua vida, a coleção intitulada *The Mad Fiddler* tem um papel crucial. De uma maneira única, relacionada às circunstâncias deste grupo particular de poemas, *The Mad Fiddler* lança luz sobre a sua própria importância, ao mesmo tempo em que refrata a luz sobre vários aspectos da escrita de Pessoa – tanto heteronímica em Português, quanto ortonímica em Inglês, nos estágios preliminares de um modernismo emergente nas primeiras duas décadas do século XX. Este ensaio enfoca a surpreendente significância destes poemas ingleses.

* Community College of Rhode Island.

In a not so subtle allusion to Wallace Stevens, my first thought for a title was "Thirteen Ways of Looking at *The Mad Fiddler*." Unquestionably there are many ways of engaging with its fifty-three poems, organized into eight sections, the title of each section referring to a stage in the quest for a mystical experience of Nothingness. Yet my goal here is emphatically not to study the poems themselves but rather to explore the nature of the significance that this extremely elusive and complex body of English poems held for Pessoa. In this pursuit, his English correspondence to editors and critics from 1912 to 1917 is an invaluable source, offering a surprisingly rich vantage point for apprehending his desire to be recognized as an English-Language poet.

To discern (and comment on) indications of that desire within the context of each letter under discussion will be the central focus of this paper. It is hoped that this closer look at the letters provides new insight into the evolution of Pessoa's thinking about *The Mad Fiddler*, his initial persistent belief in it and the slow corrosive process that ultimately left him with a sense of defeat. The letters that I wish to examine are: (1) Letter to the Poetry Society (26 December 1912); (2) Letter to an English critic (Autumn, 1915); (3) Letter to John Lane (23 October 1915); (4) Letter to Harold Monroe (August or September, possibly 1916); (5) Letter to an English editor (possibly 1916); (6) Letter to an English critic (possibly end 1916).

My starting point is Pessoa's 1912 letter to the Poetry Society in London.¹ Even though Harold Monroe is not mentioned by name, it is very likely that he would have been the one to receive it. I will comment on (1) 1912 (date of letter) as a crucial year for Pessoa; (2) reasons for writing the letter; (3) the allusion to "1898, more or less" (PESSOA, 2007: 54) as the originating moment of the present poetic movement in Portugal and the unstated reference to two works by Guerra Junqueiro—"Pátria" [Country] and "Oração à Luz" [Prayer to Light]; (4) the self-referencing in a long paragraph essentially paraphrasing his 1912 essay on the new Portuguese poetry; (5) his offer to send some of his English poems, along with an emphatic insistence that it is only for his "personal appreciation"; (6) passages of ambivalence and complexity in Pessoa's tone of voice.

The importance of the letter's date cannot be overstated, nor can its significance for an understanding of *The Mad Fiddler*. The 1912 publication in *Águia* of Pessoa's three essays on the new Portuguese poetry in April, May,

¹ By 1912 what had originally been known as the Poetry Recital Society (founded in February 1909 by Galway Kyle) had been renamed the Poetry Society and Harold Monroe was one of its members. By late 1911 the Society had accepted Monroe's proposal to publish a monthly *Poetry Review*. Monroe was editor of that review until sometime in 1913. At that point he went on to found a new journal, *Poetry and Drama*, which lasted less than two years (1913-1914). It was around this time that Monroe set up his famous shop, The Poetry Bookshop, which lasted (died) in 1935, just as did Pessoa. See A. WALTON LITZ ET ALT. (2000: 60-61). For more on The Poetry Review, see GRANT (1967: 39-52); on the Poetry Recital Society, see GRANT (1967: 69-74).

September, November, and December marked his literary debut among the Iberian intellectuals and literati of the time.

Furthermore, Teixeira Pascoaes, editor of the journal (which was the mouthpiece, in turn, for the Portuguese Renaissance movement) was himself a well-respected poet known primarily for his leadership role within the mystical saudosista movement. In his essays on the newly emerging modernism in Portugal, Pessoa refers more than once to Pascoaes, particularly towards the end of his final essay where he seems to translate his mystical ideas and the saudosistas into self-aggrandizing and logical terms. Pascoaes' prediction, for example, of the imminent arrival of a messianic poetic figure capable of lifting Portugal to a higher, more ethereal level of civilization becomes, in Pessoa's system, the looming figure of (himself) the Supra-Camões. A subtle but important connection, in this sense, can be made with the overall direction of the poems as one organic whole within *The Mad Fiddler*. Even though the idea of a "mad fiddler" had not yet visibly surfaced in 1912—the first draft of a poem with that title is 18 August 1915—these "purely metaphysical and therefore religious ideas," inextricably woven into the very fabric of the fifty-three poems, were already evolving from the irrational notion (that Pessoa would attempt to define in rational terms) that spirit and matter must merge for there to be a real reality. In terms of significance for *The Mad Fiddler*, the last essay, "A nova poesia portuguesa no seu aspecto psicológico" [The new Portuguese Poetry from a Psychological Point of View] is crucial reading for an understanding of the new Portuguese poetry in terms of its "new religiosity," its characteristic ability to "seek an elsewhere in every thing," its transcendental pantheism, its origins in Spinoza and its capacity to see that "matter and spirit are unreal manifestations of God, [...] of the Transcended [...] of the illusion [...] of the dream of itself" (PESSOA, 2000: 36-67 [p. 59]).

The first stanza of the following poem, "Spell," one of *The Mad Fiddler* poems that already existed by 1912, may illustrate the new aesthetic, alluded to above, in the way it rises through the merging of opposites to build a new state, a new emotion:

O angel born too late
 For fallen man to meet!
 In what new sensual state
 Could our twined lives feel sweet?

What new emotion must
 I dream, to think thee mine?
 What purity of lust?
 O tendrilled as a vine
 Around my caressed trust!
 O dream-pressed spirit-wine!

(PESSOA, 1999: 35)

This poem, one of only two English poems to be published in Pessoa's lifetime, appeared in the May 1923 issue of *Contemporânea*. George Monteiro calls it Pessoa's "gesture of farewell to an English audience he never had" (MONTEIRO, 2000: 8).²

Pessoa writes to the Poetry Society in order to learn the "precise scope and purpose" of their organization, including the date of its foundation, any publications it has issued, the date since which the *Poetry Review* has existed, its "Manifesto" or "declaration of faith and works." (PESSOA, 2007: 52-53). His "special purpose" is to "obtain a nearer knowledge of such currents as must exist in the contemporary English poetry, and which are thrown out of daily evidence and, newspaper fame by the very extensive, very characteristic and very inferior novel-production of the international movement." His hope is to "obtain a channel of some sort through which to carry into some approach to internationality the extremely important and totally ignored movement represented, exclusively as yet, by contemporary Portuguese poetry." His allusion to Portuguese poetry creates a segue to a discussion of the new literary movement in Portugal, beginning with a reference to "1898, more or less" as the moment when the "totally ignored movement" was born. The movement is exceedingly productive, of the highest quality, and "astonishingly new," making a reference to "Pátria" and "Oração à Luz" by Guerra Junqueiro without ever mentioning his name or the works themselves. From time to time he reveals ever so slightly the complex web of ambivalent feelings roiling around inside of him and seemingly associated with feeling victimized as an "ununderstood" Portuguese poet who is part of a "totally ignored movement," writing with hopes of gaining some recognition from a major figure within the publishing world in London:

This may seem to you a calm and harmless species of insanity; but you will excuse the impertinence of all this explanation, considering that it is the irrepressible outburst of a man whose country, though at present standing foremost in the foremost activity of the mind (though perhaps in nothing else), is constantly, not only ignored, which were tolerable, but insulted and insultingly ununderstood by the totality of such people as constitute international literary, and other, opinion. I cannot expect you to attribute to anything but to enthusiasm and to a kind of literary Jingoism the position stated as being that of the two works mentioned above. But I can do no more than no more.

(PESSOA, 2007: 54-55)

We will hear this same tone of voice in other letters, each time giving the impression of an Álvaro de Campos whose flywheel is beginning to spin out of

² "Spell" (though its title was simply the first line of the poem at that time: "From the moonlight brink [...]") was written on 22 November 1912, a little less than a month before Pessoa would write his letter to the Poetry Society. In addition to "Spell," there are seven other poems that had been written by the end of 1912, and that would eventually become part of *The Mad Fiddler*: the first draft of "Monotony," 1910; "Suspense," 1911; "La Chercheuse," 1912; "To One Singing," 1912; "The Bridge," 1912; "A Summer Ecstasy," 1912; "The End," 1912.

control and will self-explode at any moment. His self-description echoes much of what he had previously written in his essay on the new Portuguese poet, the Supra-Camões. He states:

The state of mind of what is high and poetic in contemporary Portuguese souls being precisely similar to the Elizabethan state of mind [...], it is clear that a contemporary Portuguese, not altogether a foreigner to more than the vestibule of the house of the Muses, who should possess in an equal degree the English and the Portuguese languages, will, naturally, spontaneously and unforcedly, lapse, if he writes in English, into a style not very far removed from the Elizabethan, though, of course, with certain marked and essential differences. I am, as far as I can confess, in this position, and should you be in any way interested in having at your critical disposal the only tolerably sure element for an appreciation, not of the nature, but of the intensity and the quality of the contemporary poetic movement in Portugal, I could submit to you (not in any way for publishing, but for your personal appreciation) such English poems I may have written as can be more aptly held to be representative in the way mentioned.

(PESSOA, 2007:55-56)

This passage reminds us what Pessoa was trying to do in his more serious English work, like the sonnets, like *Antinuous*, and certainly like *The Mad Fiddler*. He was putting into practice what many of the moderns would be doing roughly ten years later;³ namely, to revive the great metaphysical tradition of John Donne, Richard Crashaw, George Herbert, Andrew Marvell, George Vaughn and, to quote Pound out of context, to “make it new.” Viewing the poet in *The Mad Fiddler* as “a Donne raised to the Shelleyth power” (PESSOA, 1999: 12) implies that Pessoa had a metaphysical poet in mind, even if he wanted to merge that voice with the sensibility of a high romantic poet like Shelley.

The first thing to note in the letter to an English critic, dated October 1915⁴ is its mention of *The Mad Fiddler*. It is not known how many poems were sent to this critic, but the letter he sent John Lane (very likely soon after this letter) contained sixteen poems, fifteen from *The Mad Fiddler* and the other a poem that begins, “Her fingers toyed absently with her rings” (PESSOA, 2007: 133-134). We can conjecture therefore that Pessoa may have sent the same sixteen poems in this letter of October 1915. The second paragraph is poignant in its description of his situation, his need for feedback. The tone has changed, the mask is off. It is worth quoting in full:

I am a Portuguese—thoroughly a Portuguese—but educated in an English Colony so that the two languages are equally familiar to me. I write in both, though I have only published,

³ George Monteiro refers to Jorge de Sena’s comments on this matter (MONTEIRO, 2000: 9).

⁴ Zenith tells us that the date of this letter is not absolutely certain, and that it could be 1914 or even as late as 1916 (PESSOA, 2007: 455).

and very little, in the less known one. For my Portuguese work I can find critics, though I am still persuaded I am the best one. In reference, however, to my English work, I do not see why I should not avail myself of the circumstance that competent critics exist to inflict upon [them] the request whose consequence I am making you undergo.

(PESSOA, 2007: 133-134)⁵

Pessoa stipulates the kind of criticism he needs in the next paragraph. His specific concern is: (1) do the poems possess originality; (2) can one ascribe quality to them; (3) what kind of acceptance would the poems have "at the hands of the English public" (PESSOA, 2007: 134). Seemingly simple questions yet they indicate a certain degree of uncertainty about his work in English. The sense of isolation and the need for feedback only increase over the next few years. Pessoa asks that he keep their communication confidential and ends his letter with his typical brand of absurdist humor: "I am quite aware that I have no right to intrude on your time which, as I am glad to be aware, is valuable. But our times are these passing times and I am casual enough to be brash enough to identify myself in this respect with the spirit of our epoch" (PESSOA, 2007: 134).

The letter to John Lane is dated 23 October 1915.⁶ As said before, it is very likely that the poems sent to Lane are, with one exception, poems belonging to *The Mad Fiddler*. Pessoa's tone throughout this letter seems markedly different. No (heteronymic) urge to play a role takes over the writing. He wants nothing more than to adequately describe the fifteen poems (out of a total of thirty-four at this point) so that Lane can "rightly measure what probabilities attach to a publication of them" (PESSOA, 2007: 135). As in the other letters, however, the need for an outside opinion is paramount, and it is the first thing he broaches. He states that he

⁵ In terms of *The Mad Fiddler* he has produced a corpus of thirty-four poems at this point, including the eight poems already mentioned. Here is a breakdown of what he wrote during the course of these three years, 1913-1914 and 1915. In 1913: "Fierce Dreams of Something Else"; "Sunset"; "The Butterfly"; "The Foreself"; "Ennui"; "The Lost Key"; "Inversion"; "Sonnet"; "The King of Gaps"; "Rivers"; "The Ruined Cloister." In 1914: "Nothing" (first version of "Emptiness"); "The Abyss" (sometime after 4 October 1914). Finally, in 1915, his most productive year of all: "Isis"; "Summer Moments"; "Elevation" (first version entitled "Fiat Lux"); "The Mad Fiddler"; "The Shining Pool"; "The Labyrinth"; "Song After Slumber" (other versions later the same year); "Mood"; "Awakening"; "Fever Garden"; "The Poem"; "Lycanthropy"; "The Loophole" (first version is found in the Isis poem).

⁶ John Lane (1854-1925). Along with Charles Elkin Mathews, he founded The Bodley Head, a firm that originally dealt with antiquarian books in 1887. He later became known as a publisher of controversial texts. Interesting to ponder is whether Pessoa would have known that Lane published audacious, controversial material and, if so, whether he might have considered showing him his *Epithalamium* or *Antinous*. I say this because at one point in the letter he mentions, in a seemingly offhanded manner, that he has some longer poems in English but they are unprintable in a country with "an active morality." He assumes they could not be of interest "so I do not think of mentioning them in this respect—that is to say, in respect of a possibility of their being published in England." Yet he is asking!

cannot have any idea, objective or temporal, as to the value of the poems and he cannot therefore judge them properly. "You will be best judge of this," he begins, in the third paragraph, "and, seeing that you have extensively published modern English poetry, I send you these poems as a sort of inquiry whether you would be disposed to publish a book the substance of which is precisely on the lines which these poems represent." He refers to the short-lived late nineteenth century poet Ernest Dowson (1867-1900)⁷ as a way of suggesting that his book would cover, like his, about 200 pages.

He assures Lane that the book would include no poem longer than the enclosed "Fiat Lux." Here is the first stanza of that poem:

Before light was, light's bright idea lit
 God's thought of it,
 And, because through God's thought light's thought did pass,
 Light ever was,
 And from beyond eternity became
 The living flame
 That trembles into life and reddens with
 Our life's soul-width.

(PESSOA, 1999: 102; cf. 218)

This one eight-line stanza, with its rhyme scheme of AABBCDD and alternating short- and long-line stanzas gives some idea of the kind of poems Pessoa also included in *The Mad Fiddler*. His poems were increasingly abstract in content and experimental in terms of form. On one of the manuscripts of one of the many extant Table of Contents of *The Mad Fiddler* Pessoa had scribbled: "A Donne raised to the Shelleyeth power," referred above. This is, indeed, the poetic voice that Pessoa painstakingly worked to create for the poems—particularly the poems in the last few sections which, to a large extent, were poems written in 1915.

One section of the letter strikes me as particularly significant. Pessoa claims that "the chief merit" of his poems is their not belonging to any movement other than the sensationist movement (PESSOA, 2007: 136). He goes on to say that:

[...] these poems contain, here and there, certain eccentricities and peculiarities of expression: do not attribute these to the circumstances of my being a foreigner, nor indeed consider me a foreigner in your judgment of these poems. I practice the same thing, to a far higher degree, in Portuguese. If, however, you prefer to consider these modes of strangeness as the wild cats of the imagination, I hope you will let me lay claim to sowing them consciously.

(PESSOA, 2007: 136)

⁷ Not to be confused with Edward Dowden, who appears on some of Pessoa's lists of people to send *The Mad Fiddler* to. See, for example (PESSOA, 1999: 15). Dowden's book on Shelley is in Pessoa's private library.

He then explains what these “modes of strangeness” are:

The fact is that these are forms of expression necessarily created by an extreme pantheistic attitude, which, as it breaks the limits of definite thought, so must violate the rules of logical meaning. The poems I am sending you (and others I have referred to) are, however, the mildest in this sense; I'll spare you reference to the poems which properly represent what I call the “sensationist attitude,” save that, to give you one idea of the thing meant, I add to the fifteen poems a sensations poem in English. This, as stated, does not belong to the book.

(PESSOA, 2007: 136-137)

It is significant that he calls it a book. And his explanation of how the pantheistic attitude effects the language and the forms of expression as it breaks the limits of definite thought and so, of necessity, must violate the rules of logic is highly significant—indeed, it is essential as a basis for judging *The Mad Fiddler*. This is the aesthetic behind the fifty-three poems and Pessoa seems correct in stating all this, as Master Caeiro might have stated it, had he been interested in trying to get his work published.

Unlike so often with Pessoa's letters—which either never get completed, never get sent or get sent but never get a response—the letter to John Lane elicited a response. In a diary entry 3 November 1915 Pessoa wrote “Rather good day; began w[ith] reception of J[ohn] Lanes's card (insignificant but agreeable)” (PESSOA, 2009: 328).

Three things stand out in the short letter to Harold Monroe (most likely written in August or September of 1916). Pessoa makes it very clear at the outset of the letter that he will incur the cost of publication if Monroe decides to publish it. In discussing what the book would entail, he refers to Richard Adlington's *Images* and F.S. Flint's *Cadences*, both small books of thirty-one pages. This alone shows a shift in Pessoa's thinking about his book of poems. Rather than suggest Ernest Dowson's two-hundred-page book, his thinking seems to be changing in terms of what a book of poems should entail, and he seems to be aligning himself more with the early modernist aesthetic of small publications. Clearly, Pessoa's choice of Flint and Adlington may have been influenced by Monroe's just having published both *Images* and *Cadences*.⁸

In a notebook annotation datable to January 1917 we read

⁸ Pessoa owned copies of the two books of poems, each published in 1915. Pessoa wrote this note to himself a little after the time of his letter to Monroe, after he had seen the two books of poems and begun to rethink the organization of his own book of poems.

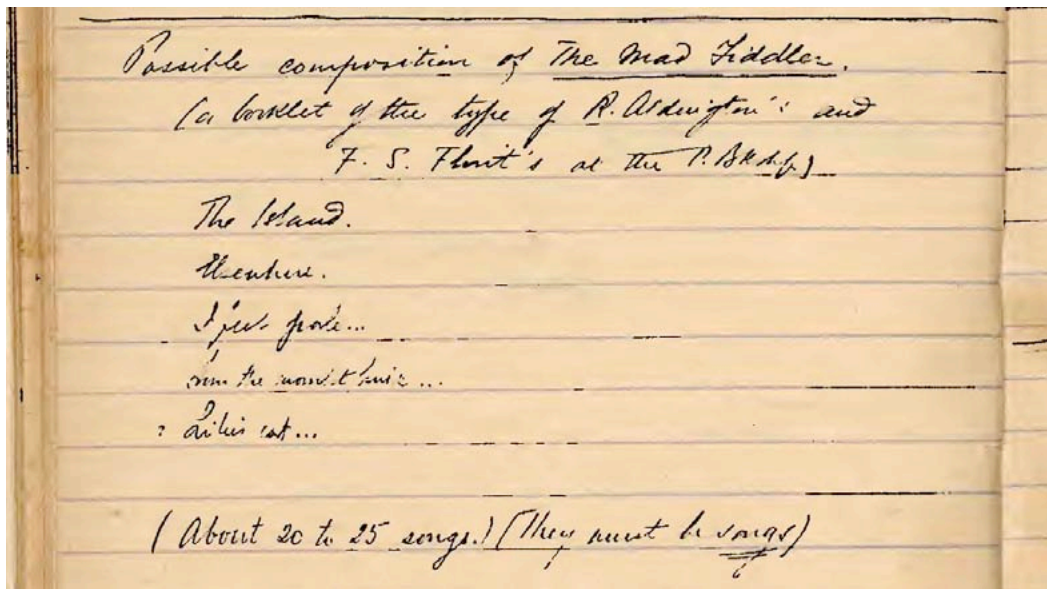


Fig. 1. Unpublished notebook annotations datable to January 1917
(BNP/E3, 144Y-32^v). Detail.

Possible composition of *The Mad Fiddler*.

(a booklet of the type of R. Aldington's and F. S. Flint's at the P[oetry] B[oo]kshop)

The Island.⁹

Elsewhere.

I feel pale...

From the moonlit brink...

? Lilies cast...

(About 20 to 25 songs.) (They must be songs)

The last word "songs" is underlined two times. What these five poems have in common with each other is this: they show a range of meter and rhyme scheme, all contain a musical image, with the exception of "Spell," at that time still referred to

⁹ Although it is not in Pessoa's private library, it is possible (I would argue very likely) that Pessoa was aware of the *Collected Poems* of Edmund Gosse, published in London by William Heinemann in 1911. This would explain a few things: (1) their great similarities in terms of an unusual range of poetic techniques and rhyme schemes and (2) the slightly disguised but nevertheless reappearance of the phrase "On viol and flute" (title of Gosse's first collection of poems) in the first two lines of "Island," the second poem in *The Mad Fiddler*: "Weep, violin and viol, | Low flute and fine bassoon" (PESSOA, 1999: 33). Edmund Gosse figures in one of the lists of authors and scholars Pessoa intended to send his English poems to. See list included in the Introductory Note to this Special Issue. There is a draft of a letter headed "Sir" that opens "I am sending you, with this letter, several typewritten pages of poems from which I should appreciate an opinion altogether frank and sincere" (BNP/E3, 114^v-46^v; doc. referred in PESSOA, 2007: 455). On the top right corner of this document, Pessoa scribbles the names of the following men of letters: "[George] Saintsbury; [Edward] Dowden; [Theodore] Watts-Dunton; Stopford Brooke; Sir W[alter Alexander] Raleigh; Edmund Gosse."

as "From the moonlit brink [...]." A comparative study of *The Mad Fiddler* with these two Imagist books of poems would be well worth doing.

Pessoa's interest in writing Monro goes beyond his desire to see his *Mad Fiddler* book in print. He is hopeful as well that Monro will show an interest in the uniquely Portuguese form of modernism called Sensationism, and he therefore asks him "whether the public you have would be at all interested in a small anthology." (PESSOA, 2007: 150). He promises to send him a copy of the second issue of *Orpheu* along with a translation of his poem, "Slanting Rain" ("Chuva Obliqua" appeared in the second issue) so that he can get an idea of the movement.

It seems probable that the letter to an English Editor, dated as most likely 1916, is addressed to Harold Monro again, since Monro was known for being interested in "new" movements and that is what Pessoa intends to discuss with him. The most stunning part of the letter occurs in the description of transcendental pantheism, where the concept of the new poet is defined as a "William Blake inside the soul of Shelley" (PESSOA, 2007: 160). As he had previously done in his letter to the Poetry Society, he refers to "Prayer to Light" and "Pátria," this time attributing them to Guerra Junqueiro. He also mentions the "Elegy" of Pascoaes. He makes these references, as before, in order to identify the Portuguese roots of this uniquely Portuguese movement called Sensationsim. It is a long, highly theoretical and rationally presented account in which the main attitude of Sensationism is broken down into four separate principles, and the fourth of those principles is further broken down into the three principles of art. The letter ends on a very different note, a poetic note. Perhaps it was Pessoa's way of suggesting that a Portuguese sensationist, a genuine one, would always see the world in a poetic manner regardless of the particular medium.

Sadly, there is no evidence of a response from Monro. What we do have in the letter to an English critic, dated most likely the end of 1916,¹⁰ is Pessoa's complaint that the typescript he is sending had just been rejected even though he, Pessoa, had offered to pay for the cost of publication. This letter, more than any other, reveals Pessoa's desperate need for feedback. I will quote one section to give a sense of his despondency:

The summary kind of rejection which the poems thus offered received, has led me to a very hesitating attitude towards them. Though I never conceived them to be good, I have never thought they would have been so deserving of an absolute contempt [...]. I am secluded and deprived of all kinds of relationships that might exert some criticism on what I write. I am neither so proud as to despise altogether an opinion other than my own, nor so humble as to accept it altogether [...]. I have no one on whom I can depend for an impartial criticism of what I write. It is difficult enough to obtain it for what I write in Portuguese,

¹⁰ Zenith dates the letter end of 1916; Manuela Parreira da Silva dates it 1915.

and I live in Portugal; it is far more difficult to obtain it for anything written in English. Will you do me the favor of giving me your opinion?

(PESSOA, 2007: 166-167)

Months later the letter of 6 June 1917 arrives from Constable & Company Limited:

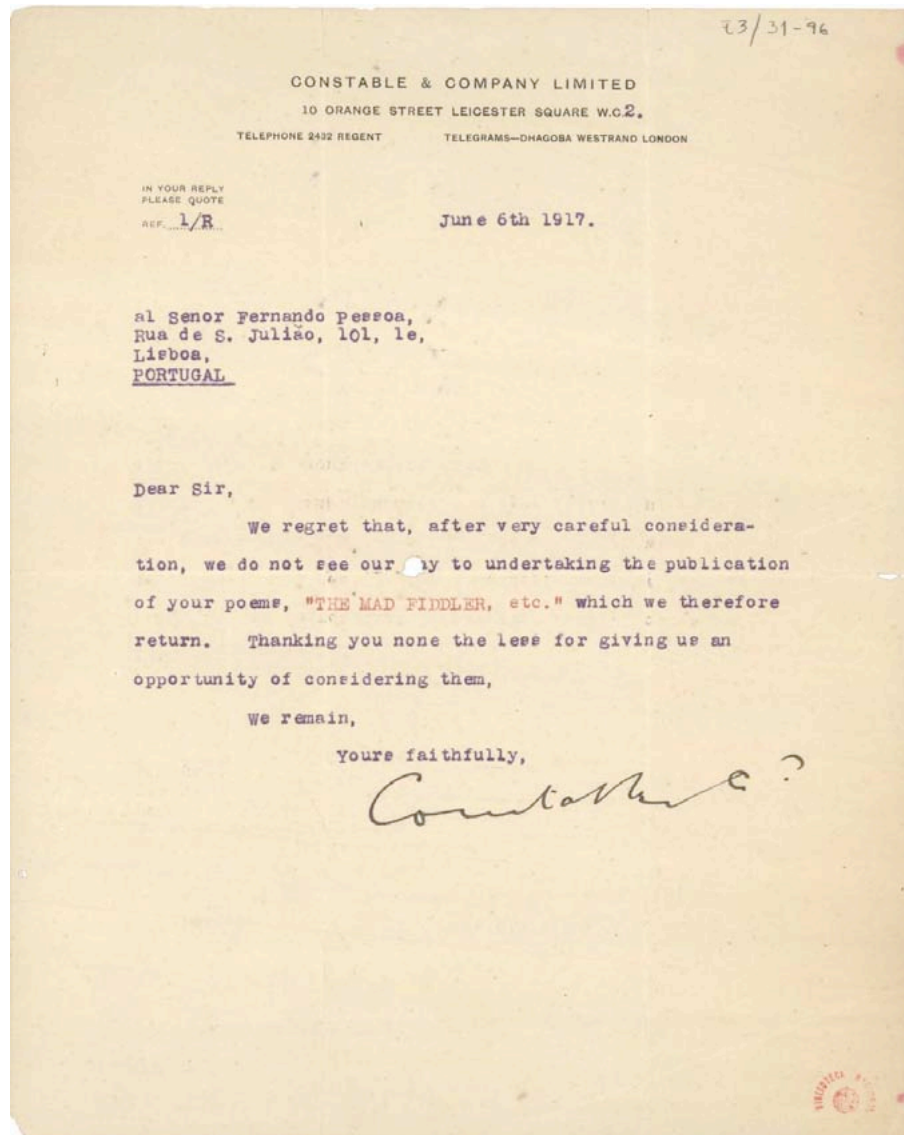


Fig. 2. Typescript rejection letter dated 6 June 1917.
(BNP/E3, 31-96; PESSOA, 1999: 16).

In the summer of 1935 Pessoa's half-brother Luís Miguel and his wife visited Portugal on their honeymoon. During that visit they spent time with Pessoa. Later, after they had returned to England, Pessoa sent "Lhi" (Luís Miguel's nickname) a copy of his alcoholic or post-alcoholic poem called "D.T." In their ensuing correspondence Luís Miguel made himself available as a literary agent for his brother in the hopes of being able to help him become better known in England. In

one of his letters to Pessoa, he wrote: "The English market is tremendous and once you have become at all established you will find it immensely profitable." And he urged Pessoa to come visit him and his wife Eva. Apparently the idea pleased him, he thought about it, even thought seriously about such a trip a few times. But it didn't happen, and he died soon after, in the same year (MARTINS, 2008: 740-741).¹¹

¹¹ This is a rough translation of part of the entry on Luís Miguel Rosa.

Bibliography

- ALDINGTON, Richard (1915). *Images (1910-1915)*. London: The Poetry Book-shop. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-4].
- DOWDEN, Edward (1896). *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. London: Regan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 9-24].
- FLINT, Frank Stewart (1915). *Cadences*. London: The Poetry Book-shop. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-194].
- GOSSE, Edmund (1925). *Sir Edmund Gosse*. London: Ernest Benn Ltd. "The Augustan Books of Poetry edited by Edward Thompson." [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-230].
- PESSOA, Fernando (2009). *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, volume X.
- ____ (2007). *Cartas*. Edited by Richard Zenith. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores. Essential Works of Fernando Pessoa.
- ____ (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Fernando Pessoa Critical Edition, Major Series, volume V, tome III.
- ____ (2000). *Crítica: Ensaios, Artigos, e Entrevistas*. Edited by Fernando Cabral Martins. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- GRANT, Joy (1967). *Harold Monro and the Poetry Bookshop*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- MARTINS, Fernando Cabral (ed.) (2008). *Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo Português*. Lisbon: Caminho.
- MIRAGLIA, Gianluca (2007). "«É um dos pontos negros da biografia que não tive»: Reflexões acerca de um texto autobiográfico de Fernando Pessoa com uma digressão sobre um erro na *Ode Marítima* que as edições críticas não emendaram" in *Estudios Italianos Portugueses*, 2, 2007, pp. 325-339.
- MONTEIRO, George (2000). *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature*. Lexington [Kentucky]: University of Kentucky Press.
- WALTON LITZ A., Louis MENAND, and Lawrence RAINEY (eds.) (2000). *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, volume 7, Modernism and the New Criticism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fernando Pessoa's *The Mad Fiddler*: Sensationism in English

Patrícia Oliveira Silva*

Keywords

Blake, Neo-Paganism, Romanticism, Sensationism, (Transcendental) Pantheism, Shelley, Yeats.

Abstract

Emphasizing Pessoa's dual cultural heritage, this essay traces the poet's exposure to English literature and culture from a young age, notably through schooling and directed readings during his formative years. Particular attention is paid to the impact of romantic poets from the pantheist lineage of Shelley and Blake on Pessoa's emergent poetics and poetry, as well as to the hitherto little-known details of his reception of Blake's poetry mediated through Yeats. These facets of their works surface in the transcendental pantheism expressed in the poems collected in *The Mad Fiddler*, an unpublished collection of English poems written between 1910 and 1917. A laboratory of the maturing process in Pessoa's poetry, I contend that this collection rehearses analogous aesthetic and philosophical ideas in his poetry in English to those he was developing in Portuguese, namely Sensationism and the Portuguese Neopaganism with which the heteronyms were associated, arguing through close readings of illustrative poems.

Palavras-chave

Blake, Neo-Paganismo, Panteísmo (Transcendental), Romantismo, Sensacionismo, Shelley, Yeats.

Resumo

Enfatizando a dupla herança cultural de Pessoa, este ensaio delinea a exposição do poeta à cultura e literatura inglesas desde uma tenra idade, nomeadamente por meio da escolaridade e leituras direccionadas nos seus anos formativos. Particular atenção será dada ao impacto de poetas românticos da linhagem panteísta de Shelley e Blake sobre a poesia e poética emergentes de Pessoa, bem como aos detalhes da sua até à data pouco conhecida receção da poesia de Blake por intermédio de Yeats. Estas facetas das suas obras estão patentes no panteísmo transcendental expresso nos poemas de *The Mad Fiddler*, uma coleção inédita de poemas ingleses escrita entre 1910 e 1917. Enquanto laboratório do processo de amadurecimento na poesia de Pessoa, defendo que esta coleção ensaia ideias estéticas e filosóficas na sua poesia em inglês que são análogas às que estava a desenvolver em português, nomeadamente o Sensacionismo e o Neopaganismo português ao qual os heterónimos estavam associados, argumentando por meio da análise de poemas ilustrativos.

* Center of Social Studies, University of Coimbra & ILAS, Queen Mary, University of London (funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology under the POPH/FSE QREN programme).

Portuguese, unlike what is commonly held, “não era a pátria de Pessoa” [was not Pessoa’s homeland], claims Carlos Reis in “Espaços da Língua Portuguesa ou os perigos da imagináutica” (REIS, 2014: 10). The subtext to his remark is the famous statement “A minha pátria é a língua portuguesa” [My homeland is the Portuguese language], the truth value of which, as Reis notes, is circumscribed to the specific context of its enunciation by the semi-heteronym Bernardo Soares, the Lisbon bookkeeper, in *Livro do Desassossego* [*The Book of Disquiet*]. Conversely, the author Fernando Pessoa had a dual linguistic homeland, which encompassed both Portuguese and English, having lived in South Africa from school age and having had a formal education in the latter language. Therefore, Pessoa’s English cultural heritage needs to be taken into account when considering his works comprehensively, particularly the aspects of that heritage imparted by the Victorian education he received in the Durban High School. The English classics, which featured heavily in the syllabus, significantly influenced Pessoa’s English poetry, inspiring such works as *35 Sonnets* (1918), a collection of pseudo-Shakespearian sonnets, *Antinous* (1918, 1921), an elegy evocative of Milton’s “Lycidas,” and *Epithalamium* (1921), a celebratory piece in the manner of Donne’s “Epithalamions.” The fact that Pessoa self-published these works as chapbooks—the latter two as part of a series issued by Olisipo, the publishing house he founded in 1921—shows that (at that time, at least) he regarded himself as an Anglophone poet and, by inscribing it in an English lineage, sought to have his poetry acknowledged by the British publishing and cultural milieu.

Influences and Sources

The Romantics were a particularly strong influence during Pessoa’s formative period both in the final years of his schooling in Durban, as he prepared for university-entry exams in English, and in the years immediately following his return to Lisbon in 1905, during which his reading diaries attest to voracious incursions into the sizeable private library of books in English he had brought with him from South Africa and which he continued to stock by placing regular orders with several British publishing houses.¹ The impact of writers like Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Wordsworth—identified as “Influences” in a bibliographical note Pessoa drafted in 1914 (PESSOA, 2003: 150)²—is most apparent in his early poems in

¹ Some of the books in English in Pessoa’s private library were part of the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize for best paper in English, which he received in the Matriculation Examination held by the University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1903, attesting to his excellence in written English. For an introduction and full catalogue of Pessoa’s private library see PIZARRO, FERRARI and CARDIELLO (2010).

² The information in the bibliographical note is corroborated by Pessoa’s reading diaries from 1905 to 1907 (PESSOA, 2003: 22-54), in which the names of these authors and some of their works feature,

English, notably those written between 1904 and 1909 and attributed to Alexander Search, which were also indebted to Poe likewise mentioned in the note. The influence of the Romantics is also ostensible in *The Mad Fiddler*, a collection of poems written between 1910 and 1917, which attests to Pessoa's reception of Victorian poets, like Tennyson, and the impact of influential readings of Symbolist and post-Symbolist poetry.³ Yeats was the main English-language symbolist with whose works Pessoa became acquainted while he was writing *The Mad Fiddler*, through *A Selection from the Poetry of W.B. Yeats*, published by Tauchnitz in 1913 and extant in his library. Elsewhere, I argue that the fairy lore, incantatory rhythms, and dream-like quality of Yeats's 'Celtic Twilight' poetry collected in this anthology are emulated by some of the poems in *The Mad Fiddler*.⁴ More importantly perhaps for the purposes of this essay, Yeats also mediated Pessoa's reception of Blake, as editor of the volume of his collected poems owned by Pessoa.⁵

Referring to Blake's first work, *Poetical Sketches*, in the introduction, Yeats claims that his "poems mark an epoch in English literature, for they were *the first opening of the long-sealed well of romantic poetry*," describing them as "*the true heralds of our modern poetry of nature and enthusiasm*" (BLAKE, 1905: xxiii). Explaining his momentous assertion, he argues that "[t]here is in them no trace of mysticism, but phrases and figures of speech which were soon to pass from the metaphorical to the symbolic stage, and put on mystical significance, are very common" (BLAKE, 1905: xxiii). The key word here is "symbolic," the epithet used to describe the transfiguring power of Blake's poetic language, capable of assigning "mystical significance" to its referents. The fact that Pessoa underlined the italicised statements in his copy of the book, jotting a line down the side of this passage and writing the abbreviation for *Nota Bene* alongside it, shows that they raised his interest. In effect, the introduction displays numerous reading marks—mostly underlined sentences and lines alongside the text—which suggest that Pessoa

as well as the fact that he had editions of their books dating from this period in his private library. Some of the authors listed by Pessoa are discussed in relation to his works by MONTEIRO (2000).

³ In the aforementioned bibliographical note from 1914, Pessoa lists Baudelaire, the French Symbolists and Camilo Pessanha as significant influences he received between 1909 and 1911, and, subsequently, the Portuguese post-Symbolist Saudosistas between the years 1912-1913 (PESSOA, 2003: 150). Tennyson appears repeatedly in his reading diaries, alongside the Romantics.

⁴ The hypothesis about Yeats's potential influence on Pessoa's *The Mad Fiddler* is discussed in Chapter I of SILVA MCNEILL (2010).

⁵ Pessoa's copy of the book, still housed in his private library, dates from 1905, which suggests that he acquired it before the Tauchnitz anthology of Yeats's poetry. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of an edition of Blake letters with a biographical sketch dated from 1906 in Pessoa's private library (also with reading marks), which attests to his interest in the poet around that time as part of a more generalised interest in the English Romantics. Pessoa's acquaintance with Yeats as editor of Blake likely instigated him to purchase a volume of his collected poetry.

found Yeats's impressionistic exposition of significant episodes in Blake's life and central concerns of his works engaging.

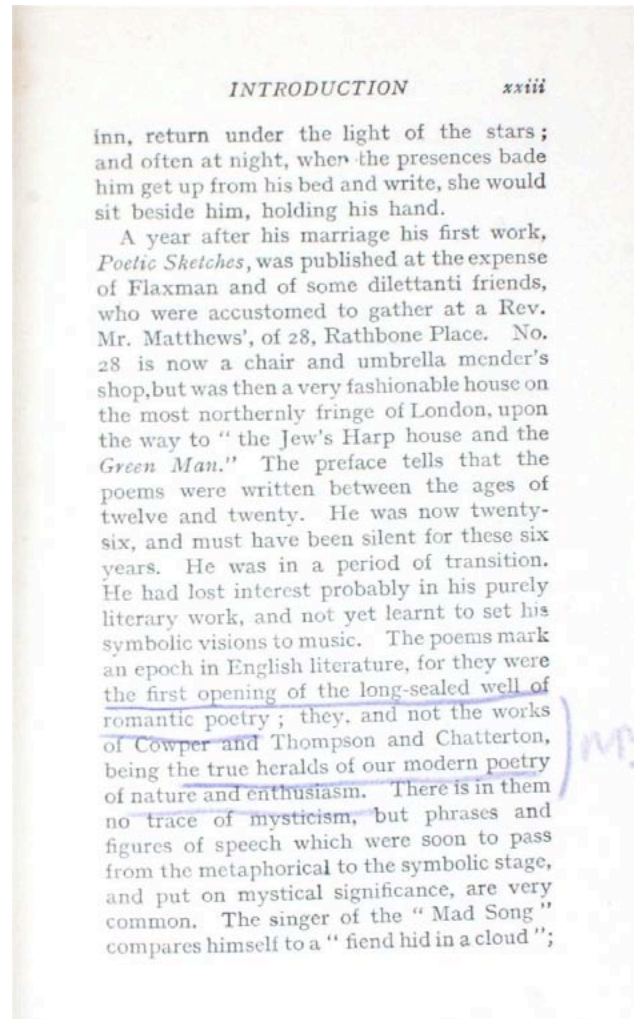


Fig. 1. Markings on p. xxiii of copy of *Poems of William Blake* in Pessoa's library.

As the excerpts quoted above show, Yeats presents Blake as a precursor of a romantic poetry of the symbolic imagination, carried on by the later romantics and leading up to what he calls the "modern poetry of nature and enthusiasm," including his own poetic output under this denomination. Much of the introduction is concerned with tracing the visionary quality of Blake's imagination—emphasizing the ability of the romantic poet to perceive the divine in the natural world and to convey its substance artistically—and with identifying some of the sources from which he drew inspiration for the mythological system of his Prophetic Books. In earlier essays published in *Ideas of Good and Evil* in 1900, Yeats uses the terms "symbolism" ("The Symbolism of Poetry") or "symbolic art" ("Symbolism in Painting") to describe the poetic and artistic works produced by Blake, drawing a poetic lineage from him to the Symbolists, who likewise "dwell upon the element of evocation, of suggestion" (YEATS, 1961: 146 and 155). In

"William Blake and the Imagination," also from the same volume, Yeats claims that Blake "learned from Jacob Boehme and from old alchemist writers that imagination was the first emanation of divinity," and from this concluded "that the imaginative arts were therefore the greatest of Divine revelations," for their ability to awaken 'the sympathy with all living things' (YEATS, 1961: 112). In "The Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," also from *Ideas of Good and Evil*, Yeats presents Shelley along similar lines, describing him as a "poet of essences," who expresses "the abundance and depth of Nature" by resorting to "ancient symbols," likewise derived from "the traditions of magic and of the magical philosophy" (YEATS, 1961: 78). Yeats's interpretation of the poetry of Blake and Shelley has close affinities with Pessoa's views put forward in the following passage from a drafted letter to an English publisher, enquiring about the potential interest in publishing and anthology of Portuguese 'sensationist' poetry:

Suppose English Romanticism had, instead of retrograding to the Tennysonian-Rossetti-Browning level, progressed right onward from Shelley, spiritualising his already spiritualistic pantheism. You would arrive at the conception of Nature (our transcendentalist pantheists are essentially poets of Nature) in which flesh and spirit are entirely mingled in something which transcends both. If you can conceive a William Blake put into the soul of Shelley and writing through that, you will perhaps have a nearer idea of what I mean.

(PESSOA, 1999a: I, 233)

In attempting to explain Portuguese "transcendentalist pantheism," to which the "sensationists" owe "the fact that in our poetry spirit and matter are interpenetrated and inter-transcended" (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 233), Pessoa traces the origins of the movement to a Romantic tradition that fused Shelley's "spiritualistic pantheism" with Blake's philosophical positioning.⁶ Pessoa's genealogical reasoning resembles Yeats's in the introduction to his edition of Blake's poems, and his claims about Blake and Shelley are remarkably similar to Yeats's essays from *Ideas of Good and Evil* which—unless Pessoa had access to them through some as yet unidentified source—reveals strong affinities in their understanding of romantic poetry, undoubtedly originating in a shared literary heritage.⁷ In effect, both poets display an analogous urgency to position their poetry within a long lasting, distinguish, and distinctive poetic lineage and seem to find just that in the "well of romantic poetry," as Yeats calls it in his introduction (BLAKE, 1905: xxiii). Pessoa's reference to Blake in this context shows that he was aware, through the auspices of Yeats, of this poet's importance as a forerunner of a trend in modern

⁶ Pessoa doesn't specify Blake's positioning in this passage, but elsewhere he calls it "espiritualismo simbólico" [symbolic spiritualism] (PESSOA, 2013: 19).

⁷ In *Yeats and Pessoa: Parallel Poetic Styles* (2010), I argue that the poets' shared English literary heritage, particularly from the Romantics, accounts for many of the parallelisms between their poetry and poetics as a whole.

poetry which sought to transcend the dichotomies of body and soul, materialism and idealism, objectivity and subjectivity, and convey the complexities attendant on the perceiving subject resulting from the fluidity of modern external reality and the relativity of internal states of mind. The quotation above also reflects Pessoa's attempt to make new developments underway in Portuguese poetry, including in his own poetry in Portuguese and English, known to an international readership, about which more will be said further ahead.

The Mad Fiddler

In a draft for a preface to *The Mad Fiddler*, Pessoa describes Shelley as “a man who felt Nature exceedingly, & every one who feels Nature exceedingly must feel pantheistically” (PESSOA, 1999b: 114). From this we gather that the “spiritualistic pantheism” which Pessoa identifies in the poetry of Shelley, Blake, and the Portuguese “transcendentalist pantheists” in the drafted letter to the English publisher quoted above constitutes the core aesthetic and philosophical principle underpinning the poems in this collection. Elsewhere, Pessoa terms this poetic stance in modern poetry as “transcendentalismo panteísta” [pantheist transcendentalism]—underscoring the difference in relation to that of the Romantics and of the “Portuguese transcendentalist pantheists” by reversing the order of the term—describing it in “A nova poesia portuguesa no seu aspecto psicológico” [The New Portuguese Poetry in its Psychological Aspect] as:

A espiritualização da Natureza e, ao mesmo tempo, a materialização do Espírito, a sua comunhão humilde no Todo, comunhão que é, já não puramente panteísta, mas, por essa citada espiritualização da Natureza, superpanteísta, dispersão do ser num exterior que não é Natureza, mas Alma.

(PESSOA, 1993: 57)

[The spiritualization of Nature and, at the same time, the materialization of Spirit, their subservient communion in the Whole, a communion which is no longer purely pantheist, but, due to the aforesaid spiritualization of Nature, has become super-pantheist, the dispersion of the being in an exterior plane which is not Nature, but Soul].

Taking his cue from Blake—who stated, “Man has no body distinct from his soul. For that called body is a portion of soul discerned by the five senses” in “Marriage of Heaven and Hell” (BLAKE, 1905: 178), another passage underlined by Pessoa in his copy of the *Poems*—Pessoa emphasises the supremacy of the spiritual element—the soul—in the process of synthesis of material and ethereal realities that constitutes pantheist transcendentalism. The following stanzas from “A Summer Ecstasy” and “Inversion” illustrate what Pessoa calls “the spiritualization of Nature”:

I saw the inner side
 Of summer, earth and morn.
 I heard the rivers glide
From Within. I was borne
 To see, through mysteries,
 How God everything is.

(PESSOA, 1999b: 81; my emphasis)

Here in this wilderness
 Each tree and stone fills me
 With the sadness of a great glee.
 God in His *altogetherness*
 Is whole-part of each stone and tree.

(PESSOA, 1999b: 84; my emphasis)

The latter stanza recalls Yeats's observation quoted earlier that for Blake the creative imagination had a power of transfiguration that could awaken "the sympathy with all living things" (YEATS, 1961: 112). A belief which Yeats also partook in, as shown by the following stanza from "Into the Twilight" (1899), which featured in the Tauchnitz anthology that Pessoa owned:

Come, heart, where hill is heaped upon hill:
 For there the mystical brotherhood
 Of sun and moon and hollow and wood
 And river and stream work out their will;

(YEATS, 1913: 114)

As in the Yeatsian stanza, the speakers of Pessoa's poems perceive a mystical unity between the natural elements they enumerate and the supernatural, signified by the word "God." Likewise, the reference to "mysteries" and "altogetherness" in Pessoa's stanzas is semantically close to Yeats's "mystical brotherhood," an expression that underscores the symbolic power of landscape to officiate the transition from the natural to the super-natural or sacred realm, revealing an analogous mysticism of Nature. The spiritual pantheism expressed in these stanzas is akin to that described by Blake in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "I saw no God, nor heard any, in a finite organical perception: but my senses discovered the infinite in everything" —underlined by Pessoa in his copy of Blake's works edited by Yeats (BLAKE, 1905: 183).

The "pantheist transcendentalism" in *The Mad Fiddler* also displays a visionary quality ostensible in "The Labyrinth," which portrays a vision wherein "each thing was linked into each other thing" and "the outward and the inward became one" (PESSOA, 1999b: 79), encapsulated in the stanza:

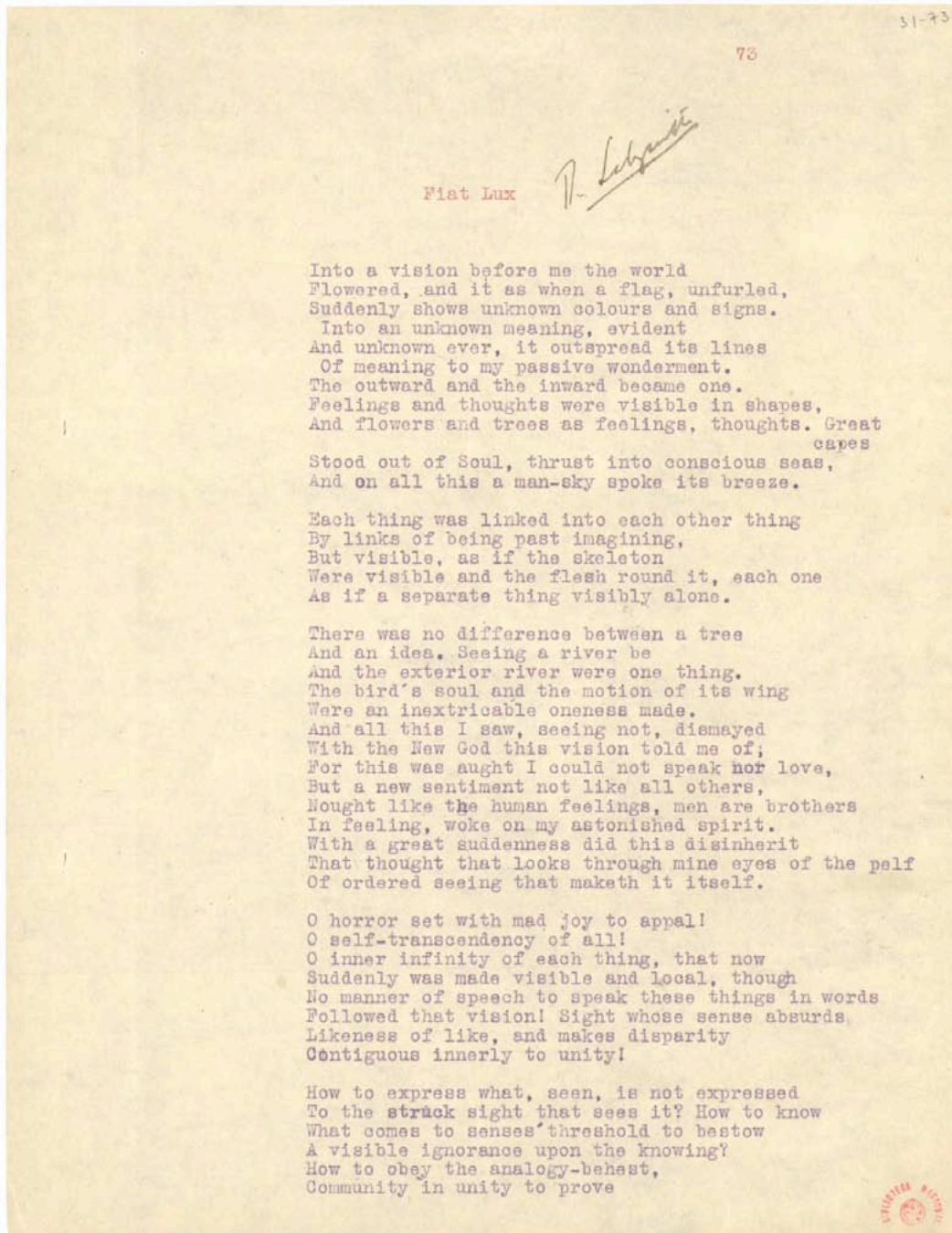


Fig. 2. Typescript of "Labyrinth" (BNP/E3, 31-73).

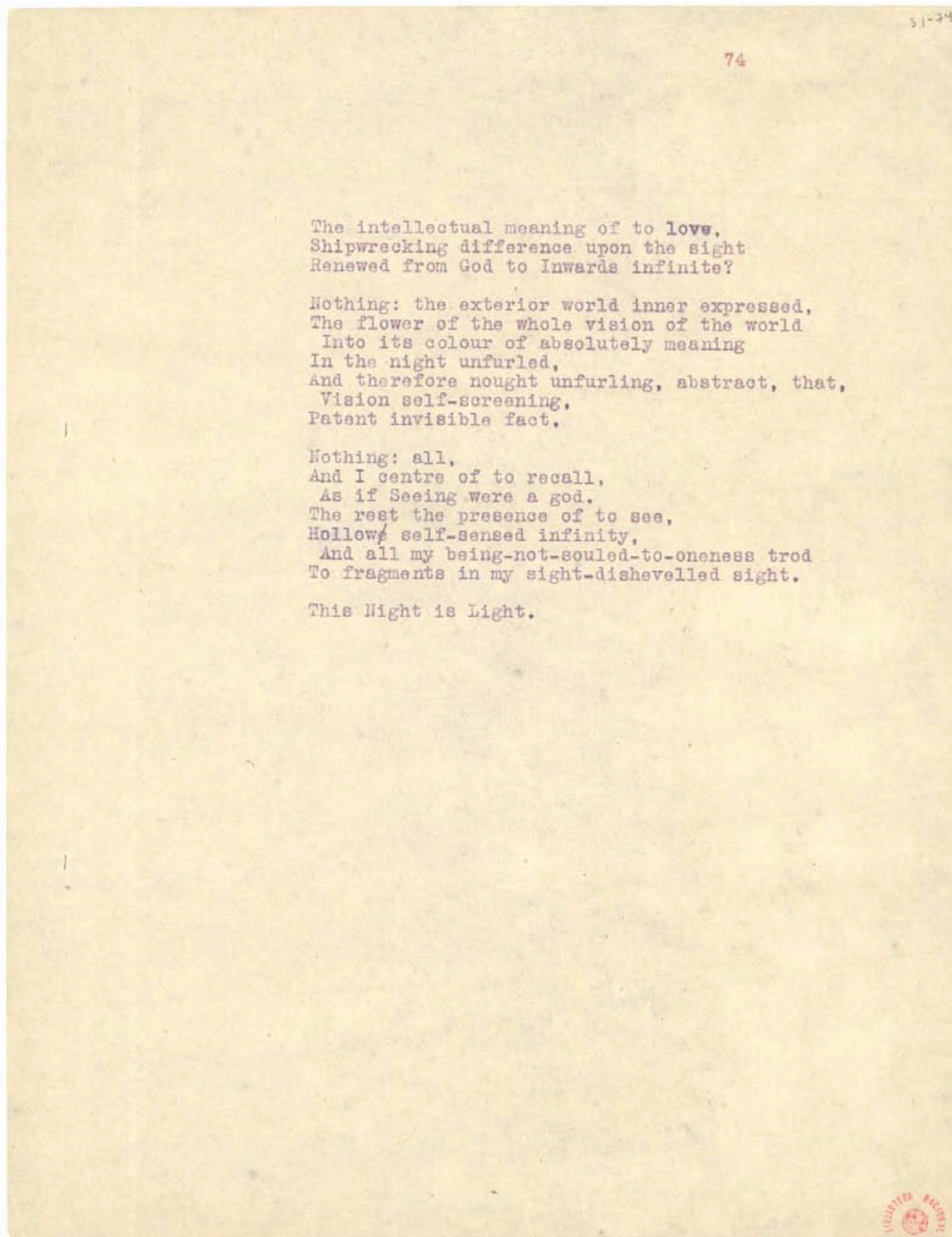


Fig. 3. Typescript of "Labyrinth" (cont.) (BNP/E3, 31-73^v).

There was no difference between a tree
 And an idea. Seeing a river be
 And the exterior river were one thing.
 The bird's soul and the motion of its wing
 Were an inextricable oneness made.
 And all this I saw, seeing not, dismayed
 With the New God this vision told me of; [...]

(PESSOA, 1999b: 79)

The vision described in this excerpt is grounded in Swedenborg's law of correspondences, likely via Blake, culminating in the advent of a "New God," that is, a new form of religiosity. This poem exemplifies "the religiosity underlying these poems" which Pessoa highlights in the draft of a preface to *The Mad Fiddler* (PESSOA, 1999b: 117). In another fragment from a preface, Pessoa claims that "the intensest [*sic*] way to feel a sensation or an emotion is to feel it religiously and philosophically," adding that he "called this attitude Sensationism, but [...] if followed to its spiritual source, it might be called High Paganism" (PESSOA, 1999b: 114-115). In order to illustrate his claim, he compares the interchangeability between things and their ideal correspondents in transcendental pantheism, as depicted in a poem like "The Labyrinth," to pagan polytheism, stating "as, in the polytheistic system of misunderstanding the world, [...] each thing is eventually endowed with a transcendent personality [...] so, [...] each sensation has its philosophy & its religion & each object of sensation its transcendent body" (PESSOA, 1999b: 114-115). The link Pessoa establishes between Sensationism and High Paganism to explain the dominant religious and philosophical attitude in *The Mad Fiddler* has an equivalent counterpart in his Portuguese poetry between 1913 and 1917 with Sensacionismo and the Neopaganismo Português.

"Into a vision," a fragmentary poem which is a variation of "The Labyrinth," offers proof that Pessoa's neo-paganism was a bilingual phenomenon occurring both in his English and his Portuguese poetry. The speaker of the poem claims to have undergone a transformation that has made him "No pantheist, but pantheism Itself" (PESSOA, 1999b: 196), a line which closely resembles Álvaro de Campos's description of Alberto Caeiro in "Notas para a recordação do meu mestre Caeiro" [Notes for the Remembrance of my Master Caeiro]: "O meu mestre Caeiro não era pagão: era o paganismo" (PESSOA, 2014: 455) [My master Caeiro was not a pagan; he was paganism itself]. According to Campos, Caeiro embodies paganism through "consubstantiation" (PESSOA, 2014: 455), a term which also describes befittingly the transformation undergone by the speaker of "Into a vision" and is in agreement with the religiosity Pessoa assigns to the collection. Thus pantheism and paganism appear to function as complementary worldviews in Pessoa's aesthetic thought, the former drawing on the Romantic lineage hegemonic in Anglophone culture and the latter drinking in the classical tradition

hegemonic in Mediterranean cultures, proving that he was experimenting with comparable poetic stances across his two languages and cultures.

Sensationism

The mention of Sensationism in a preface to *The Mad Fiddler* from 1917 about poems written mostly before that year shows that its expression in English was concomitant with the development of this aesthetic in his Portuguese poetry. In that fragment of the preface Pessoa describes the “religious and philosophical” attitude underpinning *The Mad Fiddler* as “to feel Nature exceedingly” (PESSOA, 1999b: 114) which echoes Álvaro de Campos’s line “Sentir tudo excessivamente” [to feel everything excessively] in “Afinal a melhor maneira de viajar é sentir” (PESSOA, 2014: 164), which came to encapsulate Sensationism. Although Campos’s turn of phrase ostensibly has a more encompassing sense in its choice of the term “everything” as opposed to “Nature,” this is in keeping with the pantheist type of sensationism conveyed in the English collection. In a fragment from another preface to *The Mad Fiddler*, Pessoa claims, “Some of [the] poems seem to be based on a Christian and mystical philosophy; others on a pantheistic conception of the world; others, still, on what may be best described as a transcendentalist attitude” (PESSOA, 1999b: 40). His summary of the types of mysticism found in the collection not only illustrates the thematic diversity of the collection, but also reveals a syncretic tendency characteristic of the Sensationist aesthetic.

However, the expression of Sensationism in Pessoa’s English and Portuguese poetry is not confined to philosophical stances, but encompasses stylistic issues, which surface when Pessoa compares Sensationism across linguistic and cultural conventions. The poet made several attempts to publish *The Mad Fiddler* in Britain. His collected correspondence includes drafts of letters concerning this collection of poems to at least three different publishers, including John Lane—whose 1915 edition of *The Poems of Ernest Dowson* Pessoa claims to know and uses as reference for the type of edition he sought—and Harold Monroe, whose 1915 editions of Richard Aldington’s *Images* and F. S. Flint’s *Cadences* he refers to in a similar manner. Tellingly, in the letter to John Lane, dated from 23 October 1915, Pessoa dissuades the English publisher from attributing “certain eccentricities and peculiarities of expression” in the “book of English poems” (fifteen in total, as mentioned in the letter) enclosed to the fact that their author is “a foreigner” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 175). Instead, argues Pessoa, he should regard them “as forms of expression necessarily created by an extreme pantheistic attitude, which as it breaks the limits of definite thought, so must violate the rules of logical meaning” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 176). Therefore, according to Pessoa, the “strangeness” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 176) of their English does not derive from lack of proficiency in the language but constitutes a deliberate stylistic choice in concurrence with a new aesthetic, which Pessoa refers to

as “the Portuguese ‘sensationist’ movement” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 175) that requires a different form of expression. Indeed, according to Anna Terlinden, the most accomplished poems of *The Mad Fiddler* convey the novelty of the pantheistic aesthetic through ‘the semantic and syntactic shocks between words so that their symbolic meaning is increased by a breaking of their usual meaning’, in a manner which is evocative of Mallarmé’s practices (TERLINDEN, 1990: 168). In the said letter, Pessoa claims to “practice the same thing, to a far higher degree, in Portuguese” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 176), establishing a common denominator between *The Mad Fiddler* and the contemporary “*Chuva Oblíqua*” (1915), which he encloses in an English translation as “*Slanting Rain*” with the letter to Harold Monro (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 193) and, likely, with the letter to Lane, although he does not mention it by name, referring to it as “a sensationist poem in English” (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 176).

Pessoa’s observation implies that his contemporary Portuguese poetry displayed an even greater degree of lexical and syntactic oddity than the poetry in English collected in *The Mad Fiddler*, which he claims to be “the nearest, I have, in English, to a conventional standard of poetry” in his undated letter to Monro (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 193). This is confirmed by the comparison of contemporary poems which address the modern theme of the dissociated self in the two languages. In “*Summer Moments*,” from *The Mad Fiddler*, the speaker describes an idyllic scene that encompasses a “golden day” with “glad horizons,” “happy hills” and “fields,” opposing to this pleasant external scenery his tempestuous interior landscape—a “lone shore | Struck by the sea” (PESSOA, 1999b: 93). In the first part of the poem, Nature is endowed with a regenerative quality, which has a soothing effect on the speaker of the poem:

‘Tis very little, I know,
 But it is happiness,
 And the hours are but few
 That we can really bless.

They are hours like this, freed
 From belonging to thought,
 When we have nought to heed
 Save a breeze that is nought.

Let me therefore, breathe in
 Into my memory
 This hour, and may it begin
 Again whenever I see

My heart grow heavy and hot,
 My thoughts grow close and late.
 O soft breeze, fan my thought!
 O calmness, brush my fate!

(PESSOA, 1999b: 98)

The subject's emergence from his prostration into an ecstatic state of bliss and his relish at the prospect of his future retrieval of this emotion through memory recall Wordsworth's definition of poetry as originating in "emotion recollected in tranquillity" (WORDSWORTH and COLERIDGE, [1798] 2007: 82).

In part II of "Summer Moments," the speaker compares his elated state of mind to childhood, likewise following in the Wordsworth's wake:

I am again
The child I was,
Having no pain
More than the grass.

(PESSOA, 1999b: 95)

The simile reinforces the association between the subject and the natural world, basing the identification between child and grass upon their unconsciousness as an essential pre-requisite for internal harmony and happiness.

In the letter to Harold Monro, Pessoa mentions "Chuva Oblíqua" [Slanting Rain] (1914), claiming to enclose a translation of the poem to substantiate his claim that his Portuguese poetry is more advanced than that of the English Imagists (PESSOA, 1999a: I, 193). Contemporary to a great number of the poems in *The Mad Fiddler*, "Chuva Oblíqua" addresses the same theme as "Summer Moments," displaying similar imagery. The parallelism is evident in the opening scene of the poem, which intersects a dreamt sombre seaport with a real sunny countryside landscape. These images re-enact the same dichotomies of earth-water, light-shadow as the English poem. However, they are expanded further through the intersection of different planes in each of the six parts into which "Chuva Oblíqua" is divided. Thus, the opposition between the bright exterior plane of the countryside and the sombre internal port in the first part is inverted into the contrast between the artificially lit interior space of a church and the darkness outside it in part II, only to be reversed again through the contrasting dark abyss of the Pyramids and an outdoor boat procession on the Nile in part III, culminating in the climactic fusion of day and night vistas in parts V and VI. According to Yvette Centeno, "Em 'Chuva Obliqua' a intersecção parece ser o esforço de um eu para a Totalidade, realizando-se a partir dos fragmentos de si que intersecciona e até por vezes funde em transitória união" [in "Chuva Obliqua" the intersection appears to be the effort of a subject towards the Totality through the fragments of itself that it intersects and sometimes even fuses in transitory union] (CENTENO, 1978: 111).

In part VI, the transient union of the fragmented self is sought in childhood memories, as it had been in 'Summer Moments'. Yet, the recollection of childhood in "Chuva Obliqua" only affords a fleeting moment of comfort and is summarily overturned by the absurd logic and the surreal imagery at the end of the poem:

Lembra-me a minha infância, aquele dia
 Em que eu brincava ao pé de um muro de quintal
 Atirando-lhe com uma bola que tinha dum lado
 O deslizar dum cão verde, e do outro lado
 Um cavalo azul a correr com um jockey amarelo...

[...]

Atiro-a de encontro à minha infância e ela
 Atravessa e o teatro todo que está aos meus pés
 A brincar com um jockey amarelo e um cão verde
 E um cavalo azul que aparece por cima do muro
 Do meu quintal... E a música atira com bolas
 À minha infância... E o muro do quintal é feito de gestos
 De batuta e rotações confusas de cães verdes
 E cavalos azuis e jockeys amarelos...

(PESSOA, 1998a: 17)

[It reminds me of my childhood, of a day
 I spent playing in my backyard, throwing a ball
 Against the wall ... On the one side of the ball
 Sailed a green dog, on the other side,
 A yellow jockey was riding a blue horse ...
 I throw it at my childhood, and it
 Passes through the whole theatre that's at my feet
 Playing with a yellow jockey and a green dog
 And a blue horse that pops out over the wall
 Of my backyard ... And the music throws balls
 At my childhood ... And the wall is made of baton
 Movements and wildly whirling green dogs,
 Blue horses and yellow jockeys ...]

(PESSOA, 1998b: 223)

The denouement of the poem reflects the impossibility of re-integration and the speaker's permanent fractured selfhood, which is reflected stylistically on its jagged, fragmentary imagery and diction, characteristic of Intersectionism, a temporary *ism* devised by Pessoa as the compositional process of Sensationism. In "Chuva Obliqua," Pessoa adopts the de-constructivist logic of Cubism to represent the modern dissociated self who is unable to retrieve his lost sense of internal wholeness and unity with the external world, countering the generally pantheist bias of the Romantically inspired "Summer Moments," which favoured a unitary conception of the subject and the world.

This notwithstanding, certain poems in *The Mad Fiddler* depart from the pervading transcendental pantheism towards the more modern *topos* of the dissociated self and display a symbolist diction which shows the influence of Baudelaire and the French Symbolists, notably in the section entitled "Fever-Garden." Among these, "Her fingers toyed absently with her rings," a poem likely

dating from 1916, subtitled "A Sensationist Poem" and with the notation "impression" in another typescript variant (PESSOA, 1999b: 172-173), displays a vague diction, pregnant with suggestion, which closely resembles the second part of "Impressões do Crepúsculo" [Impressions of the Crepuscule] and, particularly, "Hora Absurda," [Absurd Hour] both from 1913 and emblematic of Paulismo—a temporary *ism* devised by Pessoa to describe a transitional post-symbolist aesthetic, subsequently subsumed into Sensationism:

Her Fingers Toyed Absently with her Rings

There are fallen angels in the way you look
And great bridges over silent streams at your smile.
Your gestures are a lonely princess dreaming over a book
At a window over a lake, on some distant isle.

If I were to stretch my hand and touch yours that would be
Dawn behind the turrets of a city in some East.
The words hidden in my gesture would be moonlight on the sea
Of your being something in my soul like gaiety in a feast.

Let your silence tell me of the numberless dreams that are you.
Let *the drooping of your eyelids* prolong landscapes far away.
The *jets of water* return on the listening of being untrue
And this is the flower I pluck, with a sound, from what you unsay.

(PESSOA, 1999b: 63-64)

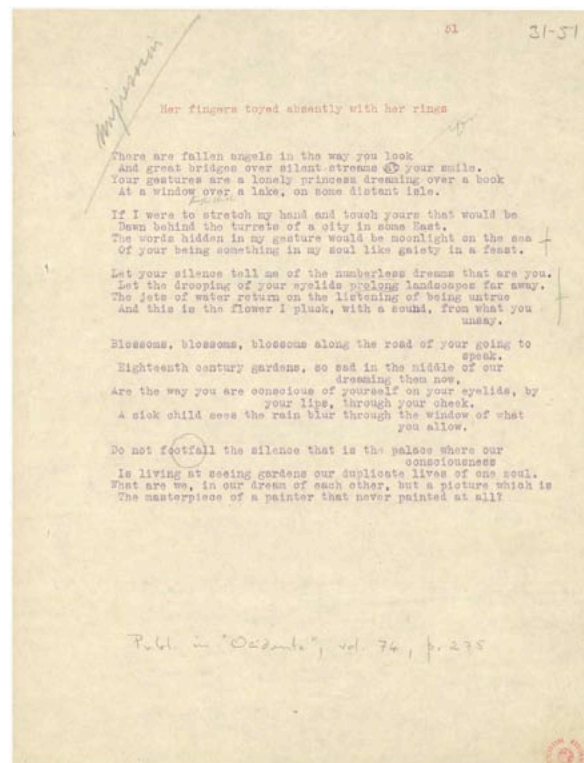


Fig. 4. Typescript of "Her Fingers Toyed Absently with her Rings" (BNP/E3, 31-51^r).

As this excerpt shows, the imagery of the poem displays the *topoi* of princesses, towers, bridges, lakes and isles which recurred in symbolist and post-symbolist poems across various languages, including Paulismo. The figure of the princess could draw specifically on João Cabral do Nascimento's *As Três Princesas Mortas num Palácio em Ruínas* [*The Three Dead Princesses in a Palace in Ruins*] (1916), which Pessoa praised as Sensationist in the review he published that year in the magazine *Exílio*. In turn the "jets of water" in the third stanza could bear some resonance from a *topos* particularly dear to Mallarmé, and "the drooping of [the woman's] eyelids" is a distinctly yeatsian turn of phrase which features repeatedly in poems from *The Wind among the Reeds* which Pessoa would have read in the Tauchnitz anthology he owned. Therefore, "Her fingers toyed absently with her rings" constitutes at once an instance of reception of Symbolism and Pessoa's deliberate rendering of the aesthetic of Paulismo in English. Undoubtedly reassured by Yeats's poetry of the "Celtic Twilight" period (the extent of his knowledge of the Irish poet's work) and that of the Imagists like Flint and Aldington, he thought the language and Anglophone culture could accommodate better than the Mediterranean avant-garde frolics of Cubism and Futurism.

The analysis of poems and para-textual materials from *The Mad Fiddler* in the course of this essay corroborates Terlinden's claim that this collection is "a kind of 'English microcosm' of Pessoa's aesthetic theory" (TERLINDEN, 1990: 218). In effect, this collection appears to have functioned as a writing laboratory which accompanied the maturing process in Pessoa's poetry and allowed him to experiment with different poetic traditions and lineages across different languages and cultures and in relation to his own evolving aesthetics in the crucial years immediately preceding and following the creation of the heteronyms and his leading involvement in the Portuguese avant-garde of *Orpheu* and other magazines. Additionally, *The Mad Fiddler* rehearses analogous aesthetic and philosophical ideas in his poetry in English to those Pessoa was developing in Portuguese, and indeed became the English face or expression of Sensationism, understood in the broadest most plural sense encapsulated in Pessoa's remark, "The sensationist movement [...] represents the final synthesis. It gathers into one organic whole [...] the several threads of modern movements, extracting honey from all the flowers that have blossomed in the gardens of European fancy," significantly capped by the statement that the various movements "have their remote origin, through Whitman, in no less a person than William Blake" (PESSOA, 2009: 159).

Bibliography

- BLAKE, William (1905). *Poems of William Blake*. Edited by W. B. Yeats. London: George Routledge and Sons. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-44].
- CENTENO, Yvette K. (1978). "Fragmentação e totalidade em 'Chuva Obliqua,' de Fernando Pessoa." *Fernando Pessoa: tempo, solidão, hermetismo*. Edited by Stephen Reckert and Yvette K. Centeno. Lisboa: Moraes Editores, pp. 103-124.
- MCNEILL, Patrícia Silva (2010). *Yeats and Pessoa: Parallel Poetic Styles*. Oxford: Legenda.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2014). *Obra Completa de Álvaro de Campos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and António Cardiel. Lisbon: Tinta da China. Fernando Pessoa "Collection."
- (2013). *Apreciações Literárias de Fernando Pessoa*. Edited by Pauly Ellen Bothe. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda. Critican Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Collection "Studies."
- (2009). *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume X.
- (2003). *Escritos Autobiográficos, Automáticos e de Reflexão Pessoal*. Edited by Richard Zenith. Translations by Manuela Rocha. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- (1999a). *Correspondência*. Edited by Manuela Parreira da Silva. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim. 2 vols.
- (1999b). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Fernando Pessoa Critical Edition. Major Series, volume V, tome III.
- (1998a). *Ficções do Interlúdio: 1914-1935*. Edited by Fernando Cabral Martins. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- (1998b). *Fernando Pessoa & Co.: Selected Poemas*. Edited and translated by Richard Zenith. New York: Grove Press.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO. *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa..* Bilingual edition. Lisbon: D. Quixote, 2010. Collection of the Fernando Pessoa House
- REIS, Carlos (2014). "Espaços da Língua Portuguesa ou os perigos da imagináutica." *Pelos Mares da Língua Portuguesa* 2. Edited by António Manuel Ferreira and Maria Fernanda Brasete. Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro Editora, pp. 9-20.
- TERLINDEN, Anne (1990). *Fernando Pessoa: The Bilingual Portuguese Poet: a critical study of The Mad Fiddler*. Bruxelles: Publications des Facultés Universitaires Saint-Louis.
- WORDSWORTH, William and Samuel Taylor COLERIDGE (2007). *Lyrical Ballads*. Edited by Michael Mason. Preface by John Mullan. 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson Education. [1st edition in 1798; London: J. A. Arch].
- YEATS, W. B. (1961). *Essays and Introductions*. New York: Macmillan.
- (1913). *A Selection from the Poetry of W. B. Yeats*. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-591].

Pessoa's *Antinous*

J. D. Reed*

Keywords

Antinous, English poetry, Decadent poetry, Modernism, Fernando Pessoa.

Abstract

Pessoa's *Antinous* follows a tradition of poems on mythological dying-god figures mourned by their divine lovers, transferring the tropes of that tradition to the Roman emperor Hadrian and his lover, who had been appropriated by fin-de-siècle literary homoeroticism.

Palavras-chave

Antinous, Poesia inglesa, Decadentismo, Modernismo, Fernando Pessoa.

Resumo

O *Antinous* (*Antínoo*) de Fernando Pessoa segue uma tradição de poemas sobre deuses mitológicos moribundos sendo lamentados por seus amantes divinos. Pessoa transfere os artifícios dessa tradição para duas personagens, o imperador romano Adriano e seu amante, o qual tinha sido apropriado pelo homoerotismo literário do fim do século XIX.

* Professor of Classics and Comparative Literature, Brown University.

I.

For the student of Classical reception, Pessoa's *Antinous* (1918), with its picture of the Roman emperor Hadrian's grief for his dead boyfriend, caps a roster of nineteenth-century English poems inspired by "dying god" figures, Greek mythological characters like Adonis, beloved by a powerful deity, lost objects of beauty.¹ Examples are Shelley's "Adonais," his elegy on Keats under the guise of an Adonis-figure; Keats's own "Endymion," particularly the Adonis section; Swinburne's take on the Tannhäuser legend, "Laus Veneris," with its heated eroticism and hopeless roster of the vampiric Venus' cast-off lovers. The "Epitaph on Adonis" of the ancient Greek poet Bion of Smyrna (late second century B.C.E.) lies in the background, as it does for those poems, too; more generally felt is the tradition of the "pastoral lament" from Theocritus' "Idyll 1" through the anonymous "Epitaph for Bion" (a principal influence on Shelley) to Milton's "Lycidas." The echoes I hear—both surface echoes and those in the underlying poetics—are perhaps products of my own filters (which, to be sure, screen out as much as they screen in), but I hope to show that that literary background is an apt one.

Antinous became a subject for homoerotic English literature in this period, as Waters documents for the later nineteenth century, focusing on one particular use of his image²:

The decadent Antinous, like the Mona Lisa, whom Pater eulogized in his influential *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873), was revered as an enigma; writers avoided dispelling his mystery [...] with historical reconstruction. His silences, his subjection to the fantasies in which the emperor chose to involve him, were inscribed into the decadent sadomasochistic plot, redefined as tokens of power rather than of subjection.

(WATERS, 1995: 217)

Like mythological "dying gods," Antinous is beloved, beautiful, and lost. He is a paradigmatic dead lover, a supreme paragon of the quiescent figure in which David Halperin is inclined to see a kind of extreme of the very qualities that incite desire:

There's no lover like a dead lover [...]. What men value in sleeping, dying, or dead lovers is their turning aside from the subjects who desire them [...]. In turning away from us, the dead lover enacts the ruses of erotic desire itself, mimicking the characteristic unfindability

¹ I wish to thank Patricio Ferrari for the opportunity to speak and write on this poem. I use the text and line numbers as printed in the critical edition (PESSOA, 1993: 41-50). On Pessoa's English literary output in general see FERRARI and PIZARRO, 2015.

² On Antinous as a subject of "Uranian" and allied literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see also KOPELSON (1994:26-8), MADER (2005: 387-388).

of the erotic object, its simultaneous immanence in and transcendence of its material medium, its tendency to recede from the lover in his every attempt to possess it.

(HALPERIN, 2006: 8 and 17)

Pessoa's Antinous even before death—before the poem begins—was always turned away, enticingly remote even within the grasp of his royal lover, as at lines 79-81 (the lines that serve as the cue to Hadrian's necrophiliac kissing and fondling of the corpse): “Beautiful was my love, yet melancholy. | He had that art, that makes love captive wholly, | Of being slowly sad among lust's rages.” (PESSOA, 1993: 43).

The conventional response to such figures was most famously enacted by the poet Tennyson, stopping in front of a bust of Antinous in the British Museum alongside the young Edmund Gosse, then a curator there, who quoted the poet in his memoir: “Ah, this is the inscrutable Bithynian!” There was a pause, and then he added, gazing into the eyes of the bust: “If we knew what he knew, we should understand the ancient world.” (GOSSE, 1912: 134). It is telling that Tennyson expressed his desire in terms of knowledge, and that he expressed its object in terms of the sum of “the ancient world.” Antinous, as Tennyson says, was a young man from Bithynia, a province of the linguistically and culturally Greek eastern half of the Roman empire, whose relationship with the notably philhellene emperor Hadrian could be made neatly to fit the paradigm of “Greek love” between an older man and an ephebe (see DOVER, 1989). He was probably not yet 20 when he died. On a state journey through the eastern empire with Hadrian and his entourage, he fell into (or jumped into, or was pushed into) the Nile—we are no closer to the precise facts than were the ancient sources at our disposal.³ Hadrian gave him divine honors and mystery rites, as well as a distinctive position in imperial iconography. He is best known to us from his extensively preserved cult portraiture, which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries found its way from the ancient Roman provinces to public and private collections in the cities of the emerging European empires, and which documents a striking adaptability to the various cultural discourses available—a “multiple and mutable imagery”⁴—despite the constancy of his unmistakable visage. He appears as a Classical Athenian athletic victor in contrapposto; as an Egyptian pharaoh with the accoutrements adopted by Ptolemaic and Roman rulers of Egypt (the persona melds ancient Egyptian and Roman royal power through a coalescence of Osiris—with whom persons drowned in the Nile were traditionally associated—with the

³ On Antinous generally see LAMBERT (1986); for more recent treatments, with references to earlier scholarship, see VOUT (2007: 52-135), JONES (2010: 74-83), RENBERG (2010). On the English reception of Antinous see also VOUT in INGELHEART (2015: 232-51).

⁴ Cf. Cadario's title: “molteplici e mutevoli immagini” (2012). On his portraiture generally see MEYER (1991), VOUT (cit. n. 3), SAPELLI RAGNI (2012).

monarch Hadrian himself); as various gods both Greek and Roman: Dionysus, Vertumnus, Attis, Apollo. The Greek Dionysus and Egyptian Osiris were identified since the time of Herodotus (2.42.2); both had to do with mystery rites—like those of Antinous—that promised a better life after death. The tantalizing distance of the beloved, exacerbated by his death, with the statues making him permanently a presence just out of reach, recalls Tennyson's response to the British Museum bust. Antinous' combination of assertive pecs and inward-turning visage makes him a model of the ephebe preserved; the transience of youth and beauty are made transcendent, and transcendent in many forms: an image of late antique divine syncretism, bringing the different cultures of the empire together in accordance with long-tested modes of assimilation.

In antiquity, as in modernity, he is easily analogized to mythological beloved, dying youths like Adonis, Hyacinthus, and Narcissus. For example, a now fragmentary poem composed a century and a half after his death says,

O Narcissus, I revere your reflected beauty;
I shed a tear for Hyacinthus, who [suffered] the cruel discus;
I pity your hunting of the wild beast, [Adonis.]
Yet the meadow of Antinous and his lovely [new flower
has no need to envy] the pool, the fatal discus, or [the hunt].⁵

In this mythopoeia the flower was evidently created by the moon goddess from the blood of a lion killed by Antinous during a royal hunt (which recalls the less successful hunts of Adonis and Attis); the concern of the Moon over it recalls her love for Endymion, everlastingly asleep. Central to Pessoa's reception of dying-god literature could be considered lines 32-33: "Antinous is dead, is dead forever, | Is dead forever and all loves lament," (1993: 41) with its close echo of Bion of Smyrna's *Epitaph on Adonis*: "I mourn Adonis: fair Adonis is dead; | fair Adonis is dead, the Loves mourn in reply."⁶ Pessoa continues by assimilating the grieving emperor and the recurrently grieving love goddess (34-37): "Venus herself, that was Adonis' lover, | Seeing him, that newly lived, now dead again, | Lends her old grief's renewal to be blent | With Hadrian's pain" (1993: 42).⁷ Antinous was introduced (2-3) with "The boy lay dead | On the low couch," (1993: 41) recalling lines that articulate Bion's narrative: "fair Adonis lies [dead]" (7) and "gorgeous Adonis lies on crimson-dyed sheets" (79)⁸—the latter phrase referring to the couch

⁵ P.Oxy. 4352 fr. 5.ii.3-7, edited and commented on by J. R. Rea in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXIII (1996: 1-17). LIVREA (1999) suggests an attribution to Soterichus of Oasis. For the myth of Antinous' flower see also PANCRATES in ATHENAEUS 15.677d-f.

⁶ αἰάζω τὸν Ἀδωνιν, "ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἀδωνις." / "ᾠλετο καλὸς Ἀδωνις," ἐπαιάζουσιν Ἑρωτες. For text and commentary on Bion see REED (1997).

⁷ On the mythological analogies see SABINE (2007: 156-157 with n. 37).

⁸ κείται καλὸς Ἀδωνις and κέκλιται ἄβροτος Ἀδωνις.

he and Aphrodite used to share (71-72), like the “memoried bed” on which the naked Antinous lies in Pessoa’s poem (67).

The reader may miss any trace here of the “anthropological” reading of dying gods, the interpretation developed in the nineteenth century by scholars like Creuzer, Mannhardt, and Frazer (REED, 2000: 322 n. 16), culminating in Frazer’s *Golden Bough* and its elaboration of a common myth of a “dying and rising god,” symbolizing the fruitfulness of the crops and farmlands and the cycles of the seasons, “the spectacle of the great changes which annually pass over the face of the earth” (FRAZER, 1914: 3), used to allegorical effect in the evocations of those myths by such Modernist poets as Eliot in *The Wasteland* and Pound in *Canto 47*, with the seasons a metaphor for the ups and downs of human culture. Perhaps there is a hint of this meaning in the rain that begins Pessoa’s poem, which (lines 7-8) “fell like a sick affright | Of Nature at her work in killing him” (1993: 41): the pathetic fallacy (a trope endemic to pastoral lament and its descendants) recalls a conscious-stricken deity (though less like Venus over Adonis than Apollo over Hyacinthus); there is a displacement of Hadrian’s own feelings.

Rather, as Waters suggests by her epithet “decadent,” in tone and treatment of its subject Pessoa’s *Antinous* is Romantic or post-Romantic, Late Victorian, Aesthetic, fin-de-siècle, though it is dated 1915, first self-published in 1918, and reworked for the 1921 edition: squarely within the formative years of English Modernism.⁹ The poem eerily evokes the poetry of 1890s. Take the *Antinous* stanzas from Oscar Wilde’s “The Sphinx,” cited by Sena (PESSOA, 1974: 65) as anticipating Pessoa’s tone of “ardência esteticista” (the speaker addresses a tabletop Sphinx):

Sing to me of that odorous
 Green eve when crouching by the marge
 You heard from Adrian’s gilded barge
 The laughter of Antinous,

 And lapped the stream, and fed your drouth,
 And watched with hot and hungry stare
 The ivory body of that rare
 Young slave with his pomegranate mouth.

(WILDE, 1989: 542)¹⁰

The end of Pessoa’s poem, with its withdrawal of viewpoint onto the spent king, the haloed moon, and an unidentified swooning voice in the courtyard, leaves an impression of Wilde’s *Salomé*. Pessoa’s opening—

⁹ See WEIR (1996) as Decadence as transitional between Romanticism and Modernism.

¹⁰ First published in 1894.

The rain outside was cold in Hadrian's soul.

The boy lay dead
On the low couch, on whose denuded whole,
To Hadrian's eyes, whose sorrow was a dread,
The shadowy light of Death's eclipse was shed.

(PESSOA, 1993: 41)

—is more restrained than the address to Venus in Harold Acton's 1890s-style adaptation of Bion's *Epitaph on Adonis*: "O Cypris violet-stoled, O wrapped in purple woof | Arise and beat your azure-veined breasts! | Small jewelled nipples, bleed!" (ACTON, 1925: 9). But the ensuing suggestive, but unmistakable, recollections of reciprocal homoerotic frenzy are in the Decadent spirit, and (*mutatis mutandis*) we're always hearing the same lush blend—characteristic of English imitators of Symbolisme, the poets of *The Yellow Book* published by John Lane (with whom, twenty years after that literary phenomenon, Pessoa was in touch about publishing *Antinous*¹¹)—of the language of Shelley's *Adonais*—or, better, Keats himself—distilled through Swinburne and fused, in Pessoa's hands (and not without leaving a suspicion of parodistic excess), with the Elizabethan extravagance and wordplay that features also in his *Epithalamium* and sonnets (e.g., *Antinous* line 20: "O tongue which, counter-tongued, made the blood bold!") (see RODITTI, 1962: 381). The poem impersonates poetry of the pre-war height of British imperialism and of its Elizabethan inception.

Tennyson's searching gaze into the British Museum Antinous' eyes has its fictional response across the Channel in Jean Lorrain's *Monsieur de Phocas* (1901, after serialization in 1899), whose titular hero finds a key instantiation (among many) of his obsession for a "chose bleue et verte," a "certaine transparence glauque" ["a blue and green something," "a certain glaucous translucency"], in the Louvre bust of Antinous: "Avec quelle mollesse et quelle chaleur à la fois savante et profonde ses longs yeux de mort se reposaient sur moi!" ["With what tenderness and what warmth both canny and profound his far-reaching eyes of death rested upon me!"]. This is presumably the Mondragone bust, whose eyeless sockets seem to the protagonist to require filling with emeralds. Du Plessis diagnoses Phocas's "eye-obsession" as the sign of a labile, distinctly turn-of-the-century eroticism (2002: 71). The eyes of Pessoa's Antinous are "half-diffidently bold" [l. 14], "now [...] too closed and now too looking" [l. 146]: he, too, is a teasingly elusive subject, a ready surface for projection of response to oneself, whether dead or alive.

Valuable historical studies of our poem's eroticism by Monteiro (2007) and Klobucka (2013) note that Pessoa's alterations between the 1918 and 1921 versions of the poem tend to reduce the negative evaluation of (homo)sexuality: "all his

¹¹ See *Fernando Pessoa: Correspondência 1905-1922*, edited by Parreira da Silva (PESSOA, 1999: 175).

vices' art is now with Death," for example, becomes "all his arts and toys are now with Death" (line 51) (1993: 42); "Love wanders through the memories of his vice" becomes "Love through the memories of his love doth roam" (line 165) (1993: 45). In those three years Pessoa seems to retreat—perhaps not so much from a negative stance toward homosexuality as from the late Romantic delight in "sin," which survives in such lines as 19 "O fingers skilled in things not to be told!" (barely changed from 1918's "[...] not to be named")—that abjection or recuperation summed up in Alfred Douglas's "I am the love that dare not speak its name," a Decadent valorization of shame, disease, malformation—that is, of *difference* under the various metaphors that difference receives from society.

II.

The first line heralds Pessoa's performance of late Romantic affectations: "The rain outside was cold in Hadrian's soul" —a customization of Verlaine's "il pleure dans mon coeur | comme il pleut sur la ville," ["It weeps in my heart | As it rains on the town,"] with its correspondence between inner and outer worlds.¹² Why the emphasis on rain here and elsewhere in the poem, which is necessarily set in Egypt? Every conscientious Classicist knows from Herodotus (2.22.3) that rain is quite foreign to Egypt, which for moisture depends rather on the Nile (Antinous' killer). This is more London, Paris, or Berlin. The poem perverts a certain idealization of the Mediterranean: Aldrich (1993) entertainingly documents how the region, whose warmth and light were held conducive to sensuality and freedom from social inhibitions as well as from heavy clothing, was central to the homoerotic fantasies of northern Europeans for two centuries. John Addington Symonds's poem "The Lotos-Garland of Antinous" (in *Many Moods*, London, 1878, pp. 120-134) rather emphasizes the torrid setting of the Bithynian's demise, "With many a fringed mile of sultry palm | Shimmering in noonday sunlight" —Waters (1995: 208) rightly compares to that poem's tableaux the work of contemporary painters, like Alma Tadema, equally adept in recovering ancient and inventing Oriental scenes in sybaritic detail. Similar is Hugh McCulloch, Jr.'s "Antinous" (*The Harvard Monthly* 11, 1890, p. 72): "[...] this land, where thirst and famine burn | Death's incense"; or the vision described in the anonymous pornographic novel *Teleny*: "I saw a barren land, the sun-lit sands of Egypt, wet by the sluggish Nile; where Adrian stood wailing, forlorn, disconsolate for he had lost for ever the lad he loved so well." (1893).¹³

¹² Editor's note: Pessoa's French poem "La pluie bat la fenêtre..." ["The rain beats against the window..."] dated 9 February 1914, echoes Verlaine's famous lines (see PESSOA, 2014: 97 & 331).

¹³ Quotation from INGLEHEART (2015: 149). On *Teleny*'s use of the Antinous story see INGLEHEART (2015: 149-51).

Pessoa's imagery participates conceptually in a northward *translatio imperii*. The erotic object Antinous as slave, as provincial, as Easterner coincides with European colonial concerns at this moment—even, or even especially, in 1915 and the following years. A node of Classicism and colonialism also concludes the stanza from lines 85-95, where “a memory of lust revives and takes” [l. 86] Hadrian's “senses by the hand,” [l. 87] and:

A creeping love-wise and invisible hand
At every body-entrance to his lust
Whispers caresses which flit off yet just
Remain enough to bleed his last nerve's strand,
O sweet and cruel Parthian fugitives!

(PESSOA, 1993: 43)

Again like Shelley's *Adonais*—with its personified dreams, loves, splendors, and echoes—personified whispered caresses, themselves barely existent, act upon the mourner¹⁴; but in this case they delude and taunt him, they are both sweet and cruel “Parthian fugitives,” like the cavalymen of the Parthian Empire who, Roman poets frequently remind us, are “fierce in flight,” shooting arrows back at their adversaries even as they strategically retreat.¹⁵ The caresses imagined by Hadrian combine Cupid's notorious arrow-shots with those of the enemies of Rome. To some extent the trope is ornamental, but it is easily connected with Hadrian's own contendings with the Parthian Empire, Rome's great rival for control over the eastern coastlands of the Mediterranean (objects of European Orientalist desire since the nineteenth century)—some provinces of which Hadrian himself found it prudent to yield back to the Parthian sphere, after their direct control by Rome in the previous reign. Love and empire employ the same strategy against an “Other” who acts while in retreat.

The poem's second half, in fact, is about the emperor's therapeutic strategies after both memory and necrophilia fail him, as it moves (in yet another trope adopted from Bion) between narratorial exposition, including injunctions to the mourner, and Hadrian's own monologue, his unfolding determination of how to commemorate Antinous and preserve their love, his choice of how to let the dead boy go. At about the halfway mark (line 179) he declares that he will make an everlasting statue; at line 204 he falters, lamenting, “Yet oh that this were needed not” and that Antinous were still alive in his multifarious sensuousness: a rose, a garland, a flame. But he promptly resolves anew to find an enduring form for love, a turn the poem attributes to “the gods” [line 225]. “All that thou art now is thyself

¹⁴ A post-Decadent engagement with Shelley's *Adonais* is also evident in the war poetry of Pessoa's contemporary, Wilfred Owen; see REED 2006.

¹⁵ See e.g. VIRGIL, *Georgics* 3.31; HORACE, *Odes* 1.19.11, 2.13.17.

and I," he says in line 306, apparently struggling to adapt from Shelley a neo-Platonic sublimation (1993: 49):

Our dual presence has its unity
In that perfection of body which my love,
By loving it, became, and did from life
Raise into godness, calm above the strife
Of times, and changing passions far above.

(PESSOA, 1993: 49)

After all, he says at line 226, "Thy death has given me a higher lust— | A flesh-lust raging for eternity." (1993: 47). Hadrian's vision is of the future, posterity's memory of the two of them together (cf. 28-29 "He weeps and knows that every future age | Is looking on him out of the to-be") (1993: 41). To achieve this everlasting perfection in material, Hadrian focuses on the statues of Antinous that he intends to set up; the ancient portraiture becomes the poem's telos. "Yet thy true deathless statue I shall build," he meditated just above (289-293),

Will be no stone thing, but that same regret
By which our love's eternity is willed.
One side of that is thou, as gods see thee
Now, and the other, here, thy memory.

(PESSOA, 1993: 48)

"There is a kind of reverse Pygmalion myth in operation here," as noted by Waters (1995: 211) (cf. 218). "I shall to marble carry this regret | That in my heart like a great star is set" [lines 315-316] (PESSOA, 1993: 49)—in this image of Hadrian's concretization of his feelings one might hear the "great star" that "early drooped in the western sky in the night" in Whitman's elegy on Lincoln, emblemizing grief by metonymy, along with lilacs and ever-returning spring—perhaps also the audacity of Tennyson's Ulysses: "to follow knowledge like a sinking star | unto the utmost bounds of human thought." Hadrian's "regret" does not sink like a star and go away; it sinks into his heart and potentially abides—and so reminds me, too, of Bion's *Epitaph on Adonis*, where the goddess hopes to suck Adonis' spirit into her, down to the liver, and keep his love there united with hers, in that Greek poem's maddest and most fervent refusal to sublimate (lines 45-50). In Pessoa's subtext is the new star, observed by Hadrian, that Antinous was said to have become and that (like statues and flowers) made him eternal.¹⁶

¹⁶ Cassius Dio 69.11.4. The star recurs in poetry on Antinous. A sonnet by Ernest Raynaud ends with an image of Hadrian making Antinous "un astre au ciel bleu," ["a star in the blue sky"] conceiving that he saw "tes yeux s'ouvrir dans les étoiles!" ["your eyes opening in the stars!"]. Reginald Shepherd, eternizing in a way not alien to Pessoa's Hadrian, imagines Antinous as "a star to wish upon two thousand years from you" [...] "the star I can't make out [...]" (SHEPHERD, 1996: 75-76).

Hadrian's turn to consolation and even hope—the correlative to Shelley's *Adonais* 361 "He lives, he wakes—'tis Death is dead, not he"¹⁷—comes at line 236: "Love, love, my love! Thou art already a god," (PESSOA, 1993: 47) and fully embraces Platonic sublimation: "a sight, to me allowed | [...] | A vision of the real things beyond | Our life-imprisoned life, our sense-bound sense" [lines 238-243] (1993: 47). He seems to have found his way back from Decadent materialism to an earlier style of English Romanticism, to a "subtler sense" [line 251]—but the materiality of the statue complicates things, and a Romantic claim of the imagination over physical reality makes some concession to that reality [lines 277-280]:

Therefore when now thy memory I bid
Become a god where gods are, I but move
To death's high column's top the shape it took
And set it there for vision of all love.

(PESSOA, 1993: 48)

And so in the rest of his monologue Hadrian attempts a synthetic conception of the "true deathless statue" as "no stone thing, but that same regret | By which our love's eternity is willed" [lines 289-291] (1993: 48); marble will embody for all future ages, in posterity's responses to it, the dialectic of love and loss that now constitutes Antinous to him.

The poem's late Romantic tensions between material and immaterial forms of preservation—degrees of presence—are subtended by those between the one and the many. Antinous' posthumous portraiture, as we saw, was polymorphous, teeming with many divine and human shapes and costumes; so too Pessoa's Antinous in life, variously costumed to mimic the various Greco-Roman gods worshiped in marble or chryselephantine [lines 155-160]:

Now was he Venus, white out of the seas;
And now was he Apollo, young and golden;
Now as Jove sate he in mock judgement over
The presence at his feet of his slaved lover;
Now was he an acted rite, by one beholden,
In ever-repositioned mysteries.

(PESSOA, 1993: 45)

But "now he is something anyone can be," the poem says with fin-de-siècle disdain, in a "stark negation of the thing it is" [lines 161-162]. Hadrian oddly (given the archaeological record) speaks about one statue, and even makes it

¹⁷ Cf. MILTON, *Lycidas* 165 "Weep no more, woful Shepherds weep no more." The trope ultimately descends, through a long line of early modern pastoral laments, from the double lament in VIRGIL, *Eclogue* 5.

represent Antinous' divine status "calm above the strife | of times, and changing passions" [ll. 310-11, quoted above]. The emperor attempts a Shelleyan, Platonic misreading¹⁸ of Antinous' many personae—a strategy for controlling his own love and grief? It has its correlative in the (military) reduction of many peoples to one, and indeed Hadrian sometimes seems to be projecting his own imperial rule far into the future in the form of this statue he desiderates, willing a negation of the Roman empire's diffraction into its European and Ottoman heirs as he wills a reduction of Antinous' polymorphousness into unity (or into a duality that includes both of them). In antiquity finding the essence behind the many faces, the reality behind the many masks (in this case beauty and the love beauty engenders), is a late imperial theological mode, finally satisfied (it would seem) by monotheism; in literature I think of Isis in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, Book 11, who appears to Lucius in her Egyptian form—or rather universal form—to tell him who she really is despite the many names that she's been given and that she authoritatively recites to him. The "Orphic" hymns of (perhaps) Hadrian's own period are largely exuberant catalogues of different names and epithets of their divine addressees, finding a cumulative truth though multiplicity. Frazer, too, in his anthropology of dying and rising gods (which takes its cues from the syncretistic thought of late antiquity and has its matrix in the expansive explorations of the British empire) certainly wants to find the underlying essence behind many appearances. But again, Pessoa's poem offers no Frazerian certainties.

The poem's surrounding rain, "cold in Hadrian's soul," recurring at critical points in the narrative (lines 1, 7, 24, 48, 65, 171, and 342), stirring his mind in memory and desire, supposedly setting off some action on his part (including the idea for the statue at line 171), makes ambiguous his relation to the exterior world and ironizes this version of Romantic transcendence in a way that approaches Decadence as much as it does Modernism. Sabine, diagnosing the poem's "ecstatic dissolution of subjectivity achieved through sensuously promiscuous interaction with external phenomena" (2007: 150), connects its intersubjectivity and tensions between singleness and multiplicity to Pessoa's own protean persona. He is discussing in particular the encyclopedic string of recollected or attempted sensual acts at the bier in the poem's first half, a kaleidoscope of lust implicitly assimilating physical to intellectual possession. In its comprehensiveness it may vaguely recall scientific efforts like Krafft-Ebing's famous *Psychopathia Sexualis*, but in literature it is juster to compare the exhaustive inventory of pleasures available throughout

¹⁸ Cf. SHELLEY, "Adonais: An Elegy on the Death of John Keats": "The One remains, the many change and pass; | [...] | Life, like a dome of many-colour'd glass, | Stains the white radiance of Eternity, | Until Death tramples it to fragments." (LII, lines 460-464). Pessoa's Hadrian promises that "This picture of our love [...] | [...] will loom white out the past" (lines 199-200) (PESSOA, 1993: 46).

Venus' domain in Aubrey Beardsley's unfinished account of the Tannhäuser legend, *Under the Hill*,¹⁹ whose all-encompassing variety is Decadent in the style of Huysman's *A Rebours* or Lorrain's *Monsieur de Phocas*. Hadrian would seem to reverse the dialectic that is Havelock Ellis' structural definition of Decadence: "a further development of a classic style, a further specialisation, the homogeneous ... having become heterogeneous" (1915: 175): an antithetical recourse to the monistic white light of the Classical—or at least the Platonic—is not out of character for what we know of the historical emperor's tastes. But *Antinous* does not finally resolve the question of the one and the many, which is real and which is image. The prosopopoeia here, the play with the faces on the surface of things and probing of their independent existence, also continues in this poem—published under Pessoa's own name—a long tradition that Hadrian himself would have recognized.

¹⁹ First published in a bowdlerized version in *The Savoy* in January and April 1896; privately published in 1907 by Leonard Smithers as *The Story of Venus and Tannhäuser* (London).



Figs. 1 & 2. Statue of Antinous, reign of Hadrian (117-138 CE). Delphi Archaeological Museum. Photos by Carlos Pittella (18 December 2014).

Bibliography

- ACTON, Harold (1925). *An Indian Ass*. London: Duckworth.
- ALDRICH, Robert (1993). *The Seduction of the Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- CADARIO, Matteo (2012). "Le molteplici e mutevoli immagini di Antinoo." *Antinoo. Il fascino della bellezza*. Edited by Marina Sapelli Ragni. Milan: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici del Lazio, pp. 64-77.
- DOVER, Kenneth J. (1989). *Greek Homosexuality*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2nd edition. [1st edition 1978].
- DU PLESSIS, Michael (2002). "Unspeakable Writing: Jean Lorrain's *Monsieur de Phocas*." *French Forum*, 27, 2, pp. 65-98.
- ELLIS, Havelock (1915). *Affirmations*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2nd edition [1st edition 1898].
- FERRARI, Patricio and Jerónimo PIZARRO (guest eds.) (2015). *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28 (Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer). North Dartmouth: Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth.
- FRAZER, James (1914). *The Golden Bough*. Pt. 4: "Adonis Attis Osiris." vol. 1. London. Macmillan. 3rd edition. [1st edition 1906].
- GOSSE, Edmund (1912). *Portraits and Sketches*. London: William Heinemann.
- HALPERIN, David M. (2006). "The Best Lover." B. Dufallo and P. McCracken, eds., *Dead Lovers: Erotic Bonds and the Study of Premodern Europe*. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press, pp. 8-21.
- INGLEHEART, Jennifer (2015). "Putting the Roman back into Romance: The Subversive Case of the Anonymous *Teleny*." *Ancient Rome and the Construction of Modern Homosexual Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 144-75.
- JONES, Christopher (2010). *New Heroes in Antiquity: From Achilles to Antinoos*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- KLOBUCKA, Anna M. (2013). "Fernando Pessoa ativista queer: Uma releitura do 'Antinous.'" Unpublished paper. Web: www.academia.edu/5592763/Fernando_Pessoa_ativista_queer_Uma_releitura_de_Antinous (accessed 18 November 2016).
- KOPELSON, Kevin. 1994. *Love's Litany: The Writing of Modern Homoeroticism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- LAMBERT, Royston (1984). *Beloved and God: the Story of Hadrian and Antinous*. New York: Viking.

- LIVREA, Enrico (1999). "Chi è l'autore di P. Oxy. 4352?" *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 125, pp. 69-73.
- MADER, D. H. (2005). "The Greek Mirror: The Uranians and Their Use of Greece." *Journal of Homosexuality*, 49, 3-4, pp. 377-420.
- MEYER, Hugo (1991). *Antinoos: Die archaologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten*. Munich: W. Fink.
- MONTEIRO, George (2007). "Fernando Pessoa, He Had His Nerve." *Embodying Pessoa: Corporeality, Gender, Sexuality*. Edited by Anne M. Klobucka and Mark Sabine. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 125-148.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2014). *Poèmes français*. Edition established and annotated by Patricio Ferrari in collaboration with Patrick Quillier. Preface by Patrick Quillier. Paris: Éditions de la Différence.
- (1999). *Fernando Pessoa: Correspondência 1905-1922*. Edited by Manuela Parreira da Silva. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Inscriptions, Epitaphium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, vol. V, tome I.
- (1974). *Obras completas de Fernando Pessoa. Poemas Ingleses*. Edited by Jorge de Sena. Lisbon: Edições Ática. vol. 11.
- RAYNAUD, Ernest (1888). *Chairs profanes*. Paris: Léon Vanier.
- REED, J. D. (2000). "Arsinoe's Adonis and the Poetics of Ptolemaic Imperialism." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 130, pp. 319-351.
- (2006). "Wilfred Owen's Adonis." Basil Dufallo and Peggy McCracken, eds., *Dead Lovers: Erotic Bonds and the Study of Premodern Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 39-56.
- (1997). *Bion of Smyrna: The Fragments and the Adonis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- RENBURG, Gil H. (2010). "Hadrian and the Oracles of Antinous (SHA *Hadr.* 14.7); with an Appendix on the So-Called Antinoeion at Hadrian's Villa and Rome's Monte Pincio Obelisk." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 55, pp. 159-98.
- RODITI, Edouard (1962). "Fernando Pessoa, Outsider Among English Poets." *The Literary Review*, 6, pp. 372-85.
- SABINE, Mark (2007). "'Ever-Repositioned Mysteries': Homosexuality and Heteronymy in 'Antinous.'" *Embodying Pessoa: Corporeality, Gender, Sexuality*. Edited by Anne M. Klobucka and Mark Sabine. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 149-77.
- SAPELLI RAGNI, Marina, ed. (2012). *Antinoo. Il fascino della bellezza*. Milan: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici del Lazio.
- SHEPHERD, Reginald (1996). *Angel, Interrupted*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- VOUT, Carolyn (2007). *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- WATERS, Sarah (1995). "'The Most Famous Fairy in History': Antinous and Homosexual Fantasy." *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 6, pp. 194-230.
- WILDE, Oscar (1989). *Oscar Wilde*. Edited by Isobel Murray. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WEIR, David (1996). *Decadence and the Making of Modernism*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Notes on Pessoa, *Inscriptions*, and the *Greek Anthology*

Kenneth Haynes*

Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Epigram, English Poetry, *Greek Anthology*, *Inscriptions*.

Abstract

The *Greek Anthology*, in the edition and translation of William Roger Paton, was the model for the genre, mood, title, and often the style of Fernando Pessoa's *Inscriptions* (1921). Pessoa left considerable marginalia in his copy of Paton's translation, which indicate the poems he was particularly drawn to, mainly the epitaphic poems of the seventh book of the Anthology. In imitating these poems, Pessoa was participating in a widespread Victorian and Edwardian practice, which a few Anglo-American modernists also continued.

Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Epigrama, Poesia Inglesa, *Antologia Grega*, *Inscriptions*.

Resumo

A *Greek Anthology* (*Antologia Grega*), editada e traduzida por William Roger Paton, serviu de modelo em gênero, tom, título e, frequentemente, estilo para a obra *Inscriptions* (1921) de Fernando Pessoa. Pessoa deixou uma considerável marginalia em sua cópia da tradução de Paton, indicando os poemas que mais lhe chamaram a atenção, principalmente os epitáfios do sétimo livro da Antologia. Ao imitar estes poemas, Pessoa tomava parte em uma difundida prática vitoriana e eduardiana, que alguns modernistas Anglo-Americanos também continuaram.

* Brown University. Department of Comparative Literature and Classics.

The *Greek Anthology*, in the edition and translation of William Roger Paton,¹ left a direct imprint on Pessoa's published poetry in three instances, all within the decade of the 1920s: first, it was the model for the genre, mood, title, and often the style of *Inscriptions* (PESSOA, 1921), which consists of fourteen English epigrams and which is undersigned with the place and date "Lisbon, 1920"; second, unsigned translations of eight poems from the Anthology were published in *Athena* n.º 2 in 1924;² and thirdly, it is mentioned in the poem "P-Há" by Álvaro de Campos, dated "2-12-1929," (PESSOA, 2014: 21 and 73) where the speaker, feeling at a loss, decides to write his epitaph and refers ironically to the *Greek Anthology*.³ As we would expect, the Anthology also influenced Pessoa's poetry indirectly, especially in the case of the heroic 'epitaphs' of *Mensagem* [Message] (1934) and in the Horatian voice of Ricardo Reis⁴ (cf. PESSOA, 2016b).

The *Greek Anthology* is a very large collection, comprised of more than four thousand epigrams, mainly composed in elegiac couplets, and written over more than a millennium. It is divided into fifteen books, arranged by subject; an additional sixteenth book was added to it in the process of a complex textual history. Among the most famous books of the *Greek Anthology* are the fifth book (erotic poetry), the sixth book (votive or dedicatory poems), and the seventh book (epitaphs and poems on death). These three books contain the originals of the eight poems that Pessoa translated into Portuguese in 1924. The seventh book, epitaphs or sepulchral epigrams, is the model for *Inscriptions*. The books are not always as sharply divided by theme as their titles would suggest, however, and some of the epigrams from earlier books, as well as some of the admonitory epigrams from book 10 and the satirical epigrams from book 11, are also consistent with the mood of *Inscriptions*.

¹ The five volumes that comprise this edition of the *Greek Anthology* are extant in Pessoa's Private Library (PATON, 1916-1918; Fernando Pessoa House, 8-235); cf. PIZARRO, FERRARI, and CARDIELLO (2010: 251).

² "Da Anthologia Grega," *Athena* n.º 2, November 1924, p. 50. The eight poems translated correspond to 5.34, 5.80, 5.81, 6.1, 7.16, 7.20, 7.441, and 7.469. Around the same time, Pessoa translated eleven additional epigrams: 5.11, 21, 51, 67, 77, 78; 6.7; 7.33, 84, 144, 348. Cf. SARAIVA (1996: 190-195).

³ "Quero escrever o meu epitaphio: Alvaro de Campos jaz | Aqui, o resto a Anthologia Grega traz...." (PESSOA, 2014: 237) ["I want to write my epitaph: Alvaro de Campos lies | Here, the rest the Greek Anthology brings..."]. Imitating the Greek Anthology was a notorious pastime for writers who lacked inspiration. I believe that the lack of inspiration is the point of the irony in the context of this poem, rather than an oblique allusion to homosexuality (cf. CASTRO, 2013: 151).

⁴ Horace's odes regularly draw on the Greek Anthology as models for mood and form. On the relation of some of the poems in *Mensagem* to the Anthology, see George MONTEIRO (2000: 8) quoting Jorge de Sena and discussing in particular "Epitáfio de Bartolomeu Dias" ["Epitaph of Bartolomeu Dias"].

In European literature, it is not generally possible to isolate the influence of the *Greek Anthology* from the influence of other ancient sources.⁵ A given epigram may, for example, be present in the *Greek Anthology* in several versions; it may also have been quoted by other ancient Greek writers, or translated and adapted by a Latin one; and its themes and motifs may have been taken up by later lyric poets. Pessoa's epigrams do not always refer to a specific source in the *Anthology*, and sometimes echo Horace and perhaps Martial as much as they do Greek epigram: this has been the case with lyric poetry since the Renaissance.⁶

Western writers on poetics were often uncertain about the nature of the epigrams found in the *Anthology*; arguments focused on their length, meter, mood, genre, and relation to other genres. In particular, critics argued over the relevance of the historical origin of epigrams in inscriptions, that is, as writing attached to an external object, such as a tombstone. Pessoa, by entitling his English poems "Inscriptions," makes it clear that he is concerned with the epigram in this etymological sense, and above all as epitaphs.⁷

In the nineteenth century, Hellenistic poetry came into its own as a distinct object of critical attention, in particular with the essays by John North and Sainte-Beuve on Greek epigram. In England it had a particularly strong appeal, as Victorian literature shared with Hellenistic literature a feeling for having come after a major creative period. Both therefore sought to exploit the untapped potential of small forms; self-consciously foregrounded artificiality in sophisticated appeals to nature and to naive loves, often with a pensive or wistful tone; and elaborated sexual desire within strict conventions. Later in the century, the same-sex erotic epigrams, including some from the notorious Book 12 (on pederastic love), were explored and translated by writers including William Johnson Cory and John Addington Symonds, but until Wilde's trial this interest was easily overlooked in the concern of maintaining normal sexual hypocrisy. All educated gentlemen were comfortable and familiar with the *Anthology*. In particular, the late Victorian edition and translation by J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology* (1890, with many subsequent editions), was popular and influential. Translating Greek epigrams, and for that matter composing them, was an almost universal pastime for a certain class of men in England until the Second World War.

⁵ I draw here and in the following paragraph on my "Modern Reception of Greek Epigram" (HAYNES, 2007: 565-583).

⁶ See Pessoa's epigram on Martial in FERRARI and PITTELLA (2016: 216, n. 2).

⁷ Pessoa's interest in epitaphs can be found as early as in the poetry of Charles Robert Anon, one of the first English fictitious authors he created while still in South Africa. For a description of Anon as well as some of his writings, see PESSOA (2016a: 139-156); an example of an epitaph attributed to this early English fictitious author can be found in PESSOA (2015: 17).

For instance, the *Athenaeum* published more than a dozen translations of epigrams from the Anthology in the year that Pessoa's book of English poems was noticed in it; George Monteiro has drawn attention to those translations, speculating that Pessoa may have intended his own *Inscriptions* for that magazine (MONTEIRO, 2000: 8).⁸ One of the translators was R. A. Furness (1883-1954), whose subsequent career is very well-attested (he introduced Forster to Cavafy, his translations from the *Anthology* were subsequently published as books, and he won a knighthood). The other, P. H. C. Allen, was killed in France in 1915 at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five.⁹ The stilted and archaizing English of their translations is instantly recognizable as typical Victorian "Wardour Street" translationese,¹⁰ quite distinct from the oddly twisted diction and sometimes grammatically contorted language of Pessoa.

Modern poets in English took the *Greek Anthology* in two new directions. Ezra Pound, Richard Aldington, and H. D. found in it a sympathetic source of imagistic expression, while Edgar Lee Masters' *Spoon River Anthology* (1915), a collection of narrative epitaphs, offered perhaps the closest analogue in genre to Pessoa's *Inscriptions*. However, Masters locates the deaths in a contemporary American small town, while Pessoa preserves the referents to classical antiquity.

After Mackail, the most significant development in the English reception of the Greek Anthology was the appearance in 1916-1918 of a bilingual edition and translation of the whole work in five volumes by W. R. Paton (1857-1921).¹¹ Paton was a non-professional classicist whose inheritance allowed him to travel extensively in Greece recording inscriptions. He would marry into a Greek family and settle in Greece. Appalled by the English treatment of Wilde, he was actively involved in the campaign on Wilde's behalf. His scholarship was of a high order (he was supported by Wilamowitz), and his translations were sensitive to the

⁸ In January 1919 the *Athenaeum* included Pessoa's English chapbooks in a "List of New Books" (p. 36). And on 30 January 1920 it published Pessoa's poem "Spell" (from *The Mad Fiddler*, a collection of Pessoa's English poems that was rejected by a London-based publisher in 1917). This was the only English-language poem of Pessoa's to appear in England during his lifetime.

⁹ *The Athenaeum*, 1 August, 1919, p. 680 gives his age at death as twenty-four; his grave at Le Trou Aid Post Cemetery in Fleurbaix indicates twenty-five.

¹⁰ A typical instance is Allen's version of 5.170: "Nothing is more sweet than Love, all other joys are second; | Ev'n honey in my mouth is bitter reckoned. | This Nossis says, that whoso Aphrodite doth not bless, | What roses all her flowers are he cannot know nor guess" (*Athenaeum* [8 August, 1919], p. 713).

¹¹ On Paton, see the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; *The Dictionary of British Classicists*; Gideon Nisbet, *Greek Epigram in Reception: J. A. Symonds, Oscar Wilde, and the Invention of Desire, 1805-1929* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); and J. Robert Maguire, *Ceremonies of Bravery: Oscar Wilde, Carlos Blacker, and the Dreyfus Affair* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Greek, slightly archaizing, and self-censored in relatively few cases (there are a few omissions, translations into Latin, and euphemisms, such as “fruition” for βινεῖν¹²).

Although Pessoa knew some Greek (see FERRARI, 2009),¹³ for *Inscriptions* and his own translations he relied on the bilingual edition of the *Greek Anthology* by W. R. Paton in five volumes that had appeared in 1916-1918, shortly before his work on them. Pessoa himself noted, and defended, his dependence on the English translation:

Se eu citar, ainda que no original, uma phrase grega ou allemã, não vem a proposito dizerem-me, o que é aliás verdade, que não sei grego nem allemão [...]

Posso traduzir, atravez de idioma intermedio, qualquer poema grego, desde que consiga approximar-me do rhythmo do original, para o que basta saber simplesmente ler o grego, o que de facto sei, ou que obtenha uma equivalencia rhythmica.

D’essa maneira traduzi alguns poemas da *Anthologia Grega*.

(in PITTELLA and PIZARRO, 2016: 255-257)

[If I quote a Greek or German sentence, even in the original, do not accuse me of not knowing Greek or German, true though it may be (...)]

As long as I can feel the rhythm of the original or find a rhythmical equivalence, I can translate any Greek poem by way of an intermediary language. Reading Greek, something I can do, is all that is necessary. I have translated some poems of the Greek anthology in this way.]

In Pessoa’s copy of Paton’s bilingual *Greek Anthology*, he left marginalia to about 125 different poems, the majority coming from Book VII (the model for *Inscriptions*), with most of the others from books V, X, and XI. The pencil marks, the kind of marginal notations he made throughout, and the script in the eleven cases where it appears do not vary much in appearance, suggesting that his annotation may have taken place within a relatively concentrated period. Almost all the Greek epigrams he marked for attention, even the erotic ones, are on satirical and gloomy themes, such as the fickleness of love, the transience of beauty, the travail of prostitution, and death. Among them, epigrams by Palladas are particularly relevant to the mood of *Inscriptions*. For instance:

¹² 5.29: the Greek means “to fuck.” As Gideon Nisbet notes (p. 269), “fruition” is “at least lexically in the ballpark”; another version from Paton’s day translates it as “kiss.”

¹³ It should be noted, however, that in his copy of Paton’s *Greek Anthology*, Pessoa twice made marginal notation to the Greek text rather than the English translation (cf. Annex II). Pessoa’s library includes a French schoolboy edition of the Greek text of *Prometheus Unbound* (then attributed to Aeschylus), which bears on the front flyleaf the name “Alexander Search” and the date “December, 1906.” It includes the scansion and marginal translation of a few lines; see FERRARI (2009: 39). The edition (*Prométhée enchainé*, ed. H. Weil, 1884) has the call number 8-177. There are a few Greek words in Pessoa’s archive, at times with Search’s signature accompanying them (e.g., BNP/E3, 79A-85r). For the most part, Pessoa’s study of the Greek language was limited to his university period (for a detailed account of his *Curso Superior de Letras* in Lisbon, see PRISTA, 2001).

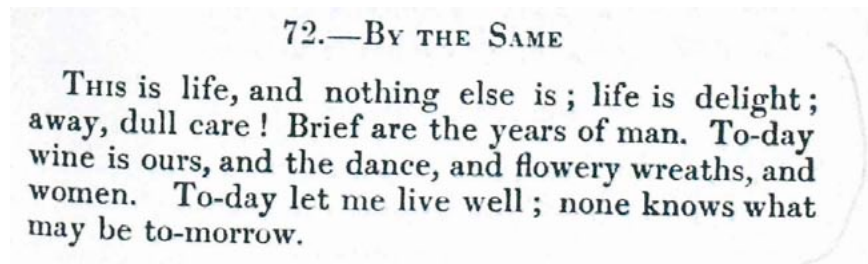


Fig. 1. *The Greek Anthology*, vol. I, p. 163, detail. Epigram by Palladas of Alexandria. Marked by Pessoa.

This is life, and nothing else is; life is delight; away, dull care! Brief are the years of man. To-day wine is ours, and the dance, and flowery wreaths, and women. To-day let me live well; none knows what may be to-morrow. 5.72¹⁴

I have only disjointed observations to make about particular details in Pessoa's English epigrams.¹⁵ In *Inscriptions* I, "We pass and dream" may be an distant echo of Housman's translation of Horace, Ode 4.7, "we are dust and dreams." Earth "smiles" (*Inscriptions* I) in Greek literature, as in Homer, *Iliad* 19.362, the Homeric hymn to Apollo (l. 118), *Theognis* 9-10, and *Prometheus Bound* 90. The name "Chloe" of *Inscriptions* II occurs in two famous odes by Horace, 1.23 and 3.9. Many poems of the *Greek Anthology* are devoted to the death of a young girl or boy, as in this poem or *Inscriptions* VIII. The "toga o'er my head" of *Inscriptions* III may, possibly, be a reference to the "capite velato" ("with covered head") of Roman religious ceremony. Cecropian bees appear in Virgil's *Georgics* 4.177 and refer to the famous honey of Mt Hymettus.¹⁶ Bees, like the toga, dice, and bowl that also appear in *Inscriptions*, appear regularly in the *Anthology*.

Pessoa's English has characteristically idiosyncratic features. The use of a single participial adjective modifying a noun, sometimes in unidiomatic or

¹⁴ PIZARRO, FERRARI, and CARDIELLO (2010: 13) note that Pessoa's final words, written in English and dated 29 November 1935, seem to echo this poem. Pessoa wrote, "I know not what to-morrow will bring;" Paton translated Palladas, "none knows what may be tomorrow." It is a commonplace expression known from the Bible (Proverbs 27:1, Ecclesiastes 7:14, James 4:13-14) and especially from Horace (Odes 1.9, 1.11, and 3.29; Epistles 1.4.13), but Pessoa's words are closest to Paton's version of Palladas.

¹⁵ In accepting the invitation to write on Pessoa from the perspective of an Anglophone classicist, I have omitted the indispensable preliminary step of learning Portuguese and so have not been able to profit from Ana Paula Quintela Ferreira Sottomayor, "Ecos da Poesia Grega nos Epitáfios de Fernando Pessoa," pp. 85-95 of *Actas do I Congresso Internacional de Estudos Pessoaanos* (Oporto: Brasília Editora, 1979), and Yara Frateschi Vieira, "Pessoa, Leitor da Anthologia Grega," in *Remate de Males*, Campinas, n.º 8, 1988, pp. 53-65.

¹⁶ S. E. Winbolt's edition of Book IV of the *Georgics* (1902) is extant in Pessoa's Private Library (call number 8-560). It was part of the set books during his Form VI in Durban High School during 1904. Numerous lines, including l. 177, are scanned or marked in Pessoa's hand. In the margin next to this line Pessoa penned "M[oun]t Hymettus" (p. 10).

innovative ways, for instance, recurs in many of his epigrams (purposed wisdom, peopled shades, breathing traveller, fed man, thought whole). Juxtapositions that reverse active and passive verbs, sometimes oxymoronically, are common: "Some were as love loved,¹⁷ some as prizes prized"; "Dreaming that I slept not, I slept my dream"; "I was sufficient to whom I sufficed"; "Life lived us, not we life"; "This soil treads me, that once I trod." When Pessoa deviates from English usage, it is sometimes hard to know how deliberately innovative the words are intended. "All this is something lack-of-something screening" is odd and striking, as is the description of light as "sight-sick." But "Have been succeeded by those who still built" (for "by those who were still building" or "still continued to build") and "I looked toward where gods seem" seem to have been chosen for the sake of meter and end-rhyme rather than to renovate the resources of the language. Likewise, it is not clear whether his off-rhymes ("prized/sufficed," "too/so," "is/kiss") are careless or are participating in the early modernist experimentation in slant rhyme.

¹⁷ Editor's note: in the original publication we read "loved loved." There are no manuscripts extant of this poem.

Annex I

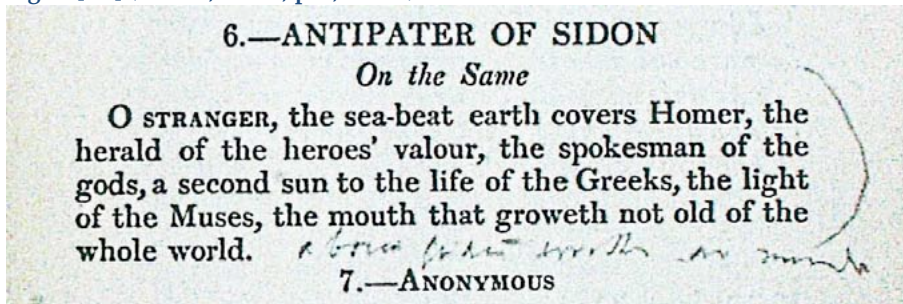
Epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* noted by Pessoa in the margin of his copy of Paton's edition and translation. For the items with asterisk, indicating cases where Pessoa's annotation was more extensive than usual, see Annex II for more information. The eight items followed by a dagger indicate that Pessoa translated them in *Athena* n.º 2, November 1924; the double dagger indicates the unpublished Portuguese translations (5.77, 6.77, and 7.84 are excluded for having no markings).

5.11 ‡	*7.80	7.372	10.87
5.12	7.96	7.441 †	*10.88
5.14	7.112	7.559	*10.96
5.21 ‡	*7.121	7.461	10.105
5.34 †	*7.133	7.468	10.106
5.39	7.144 ‡	7.469 †	10.108
5.40	7.173	7.494	10.109
5.41	7.178	7.533	10.113
5.42	7.189	*7.539	10.116
5.51 ‡	7.199	7.545	10.118
5.67 ‡	7.211	7.565	10.124
5.68	*7.217	*7.603	
5.72	7.219	*7.621	11.3
5.78 ‡	7.220	7.663	11.8
5.79	*7.249	7.663	11.43
5.80 †	7.254a	7.669	*11.47
5.81 †	7.255	7.670	11.89
5.156	7.256	7.671	11.198
5.158	7.258	7.676	11.215
	7.259	7.704	11.235
6.1 †	7.282	7.746	11.237
	7.306		11.310
7.3	7.309	10.3	11.333
*7.6	*7.320	10.26	
7.16 †	*7.334	10.31	12.228
7.20 †	*7.336	10.34	12.235
7.23	*7.337	10.38	12. 248
7.23b	7.339	10.47	
7.33 ‡	7.341	10.52	
7.39	7.342	10.58	API 13
7.43	7.346	10.72	API 248
7.62	7.348 ‡	10.73	API 301
*7.63	7.350	10.82	API304
7.72	7.355	10.85	

Annex II

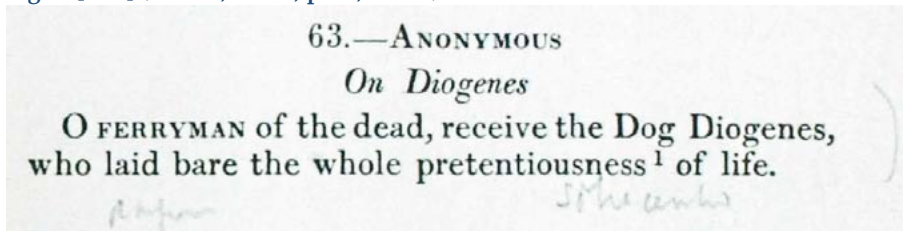
Details and transcriptions of Pessoa's marginalia

Fig. 2. [7.6] (PATON, vol. II, p. 7, detail)



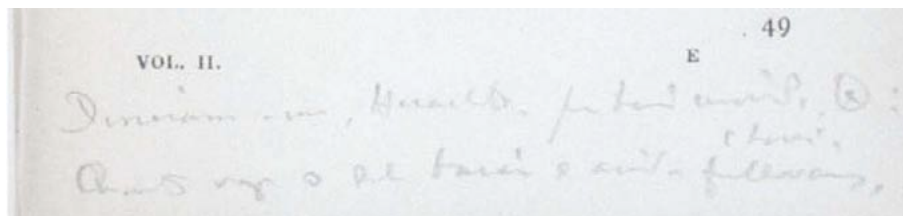
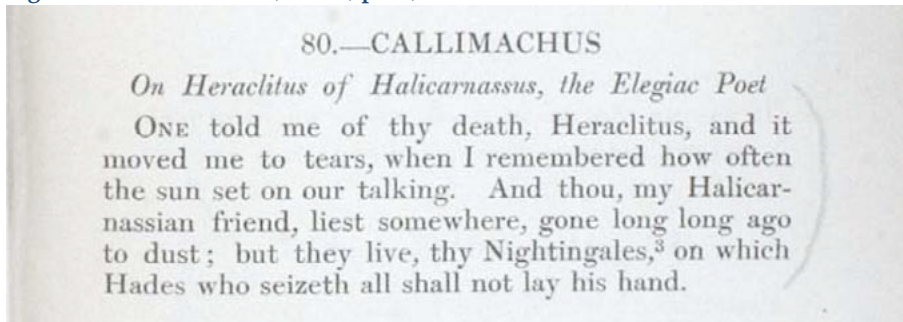
Translation: "a boca que não avelha no mundo"

Fig. 3. [7.63] (PATON, vol. II, p. 39, detail)



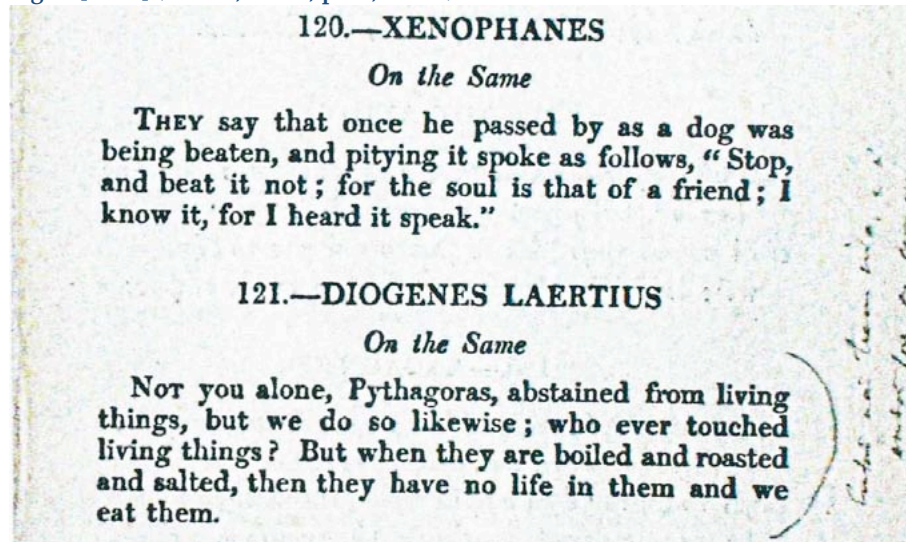
Translation: "rapou" "sobrecenho"

Figs. 4 & 5. [7.80] (PATON, vol. II, p. 49, details)



Translation: "Disseram-me, Heraclito, que haveis morrido: /e/ [↓ chorei]. Quantas vezes o sol baixa e ainda fallamos."

Fig. 6. [7.121] (PATON, vol. II, p. 71, detail)



Translation: "Então não teem vida, e é então que os comemos."

Fig. 7. [7.133] (PATON, vol. II, p. 77, detail)

Pessoa underlines the footnote as follows:

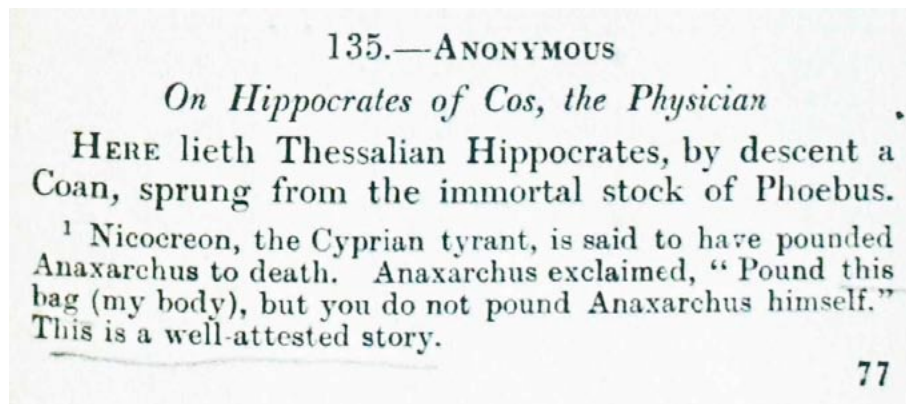
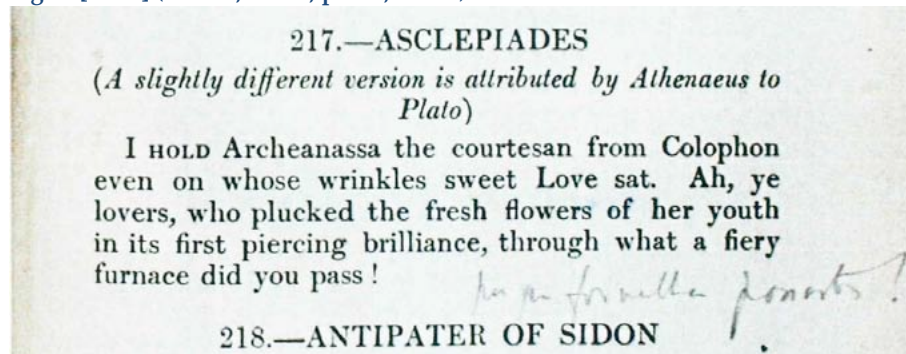
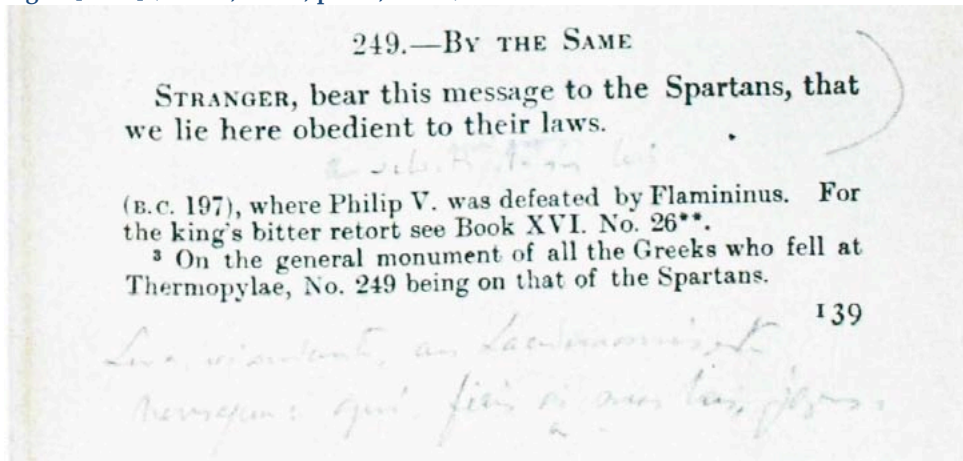


Fig. 8. [7.217] (PATON, vol. II, p. 123, detail)



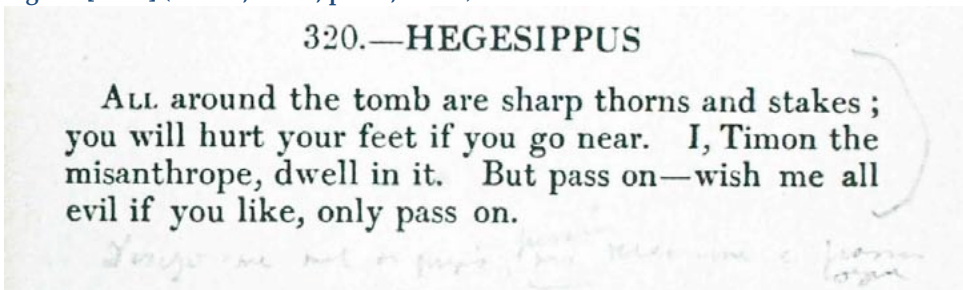
Translation: "Mas que fornalha passaste!"

Fig. 9. [7.249] (PATON, vol. II, p. 139, detail)



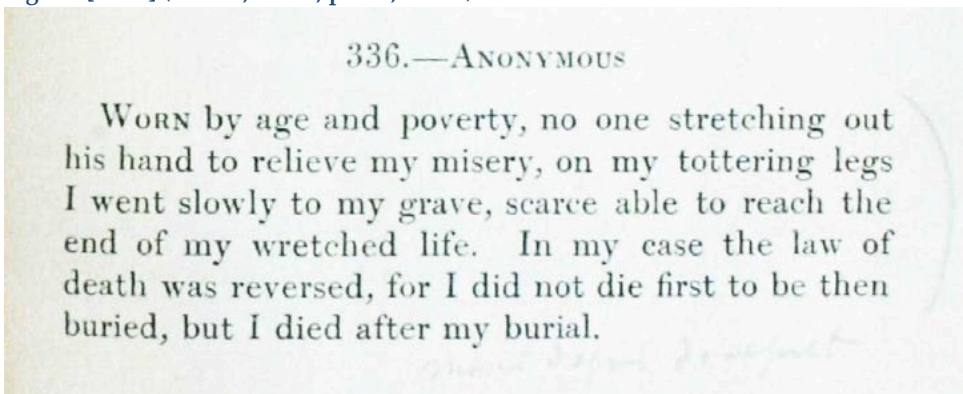
Translations: “[Que *obedientes [↑ aqui jazemos] ás suas leis” and “Leva viandante, aos Lacedemonianos esta | Mensagem: aqui fieis ás [↓ a] suas leis, jazemos.”

Fig. 10. [7.320] (PATON, vol. II, p. 173, detail)



Translation: “Deseja-me mal se quizeres, mas [↑ pore] deixa-me e passa segue]” [↓

Fig. 11. [7.336] (PATON, vol. II, p. 181, detail)



Translation: “morri depois de sepulto”

Fig. 12. [7.539] (PATON, vol. II, p. 290, detail)

Pessoa writes a thin vertical line next to the Greek title.

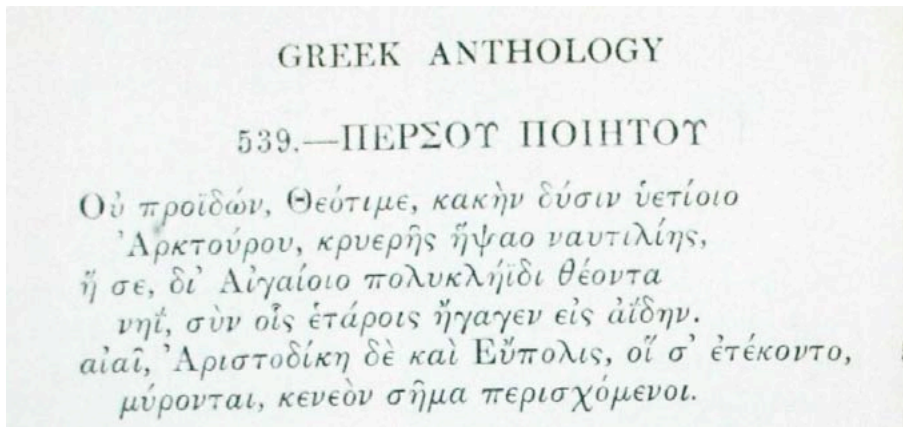
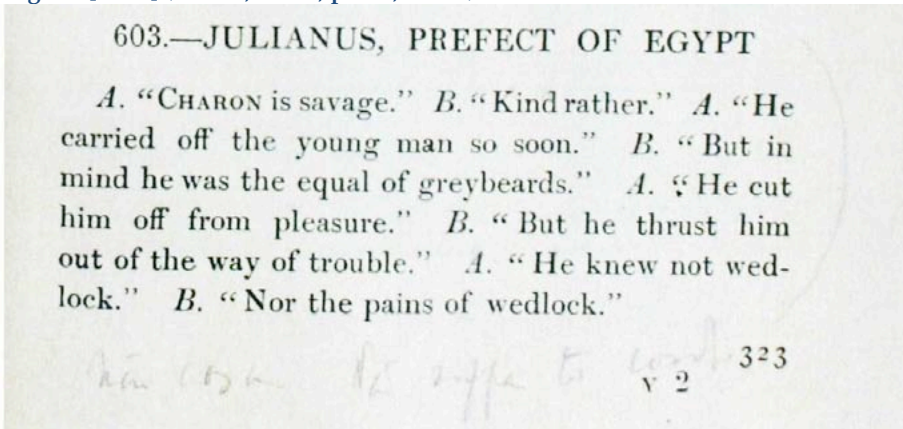
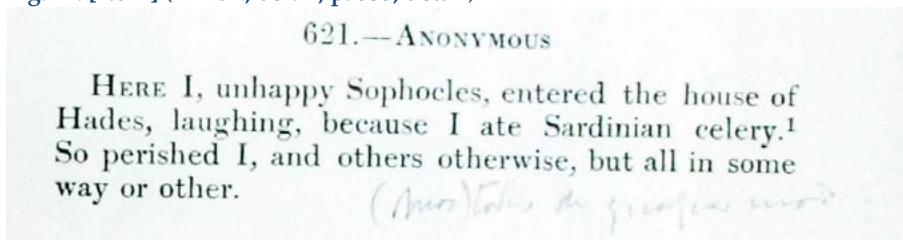


Fig. 13. [7.603] (PATON, vol. II, p. 323, detail)



Translations: "Não casa" and "Não soffre ter casado"

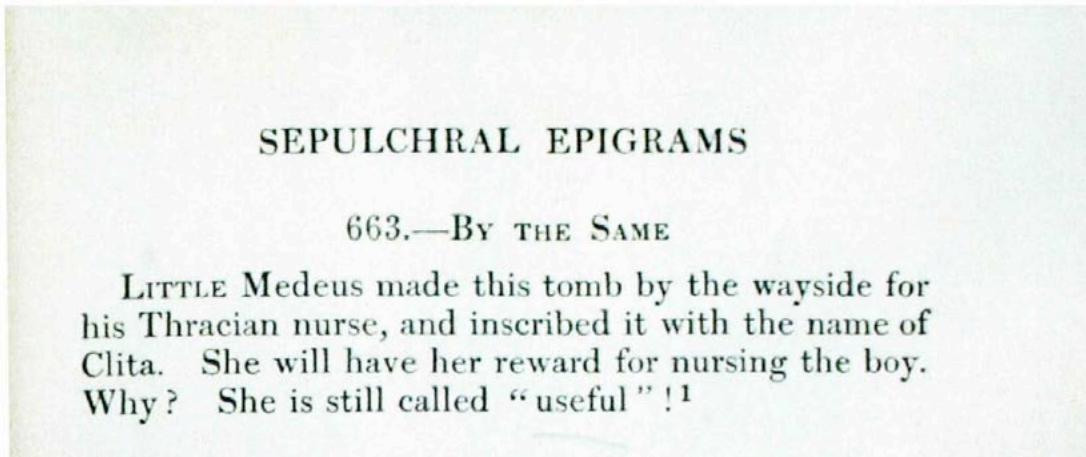
Fig. 14. [7.621] (PATON, vol. II, p. 333, detail)



Translation: "/Mas/ todos de qualquer modo"

Figs. 15 & 16. [7.663] (PATON, vol. II, p. 355, details)

The epithet "useful" is underlined in the translation:



Pessoa underlines the footnote:

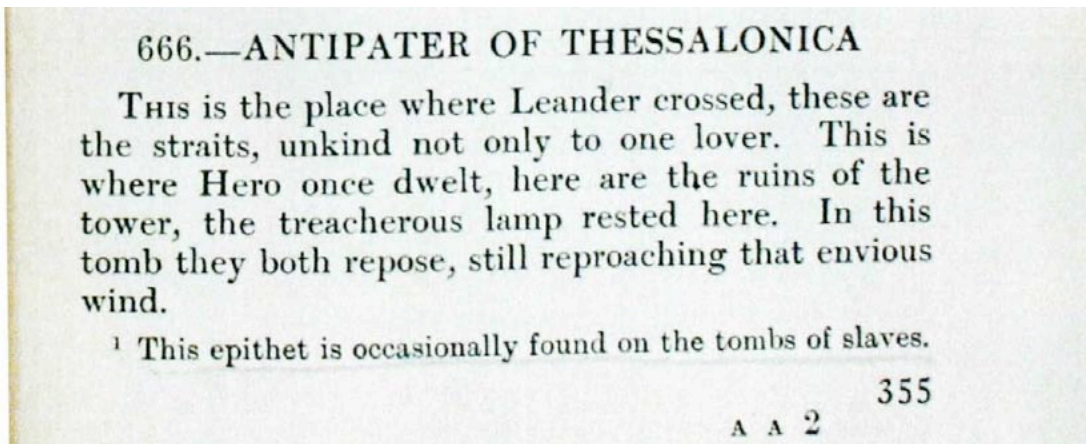


Fig. 17. [10.88] (PATON, vol. IV, p. 49, detail)

Pessoa underlines the opening clause:

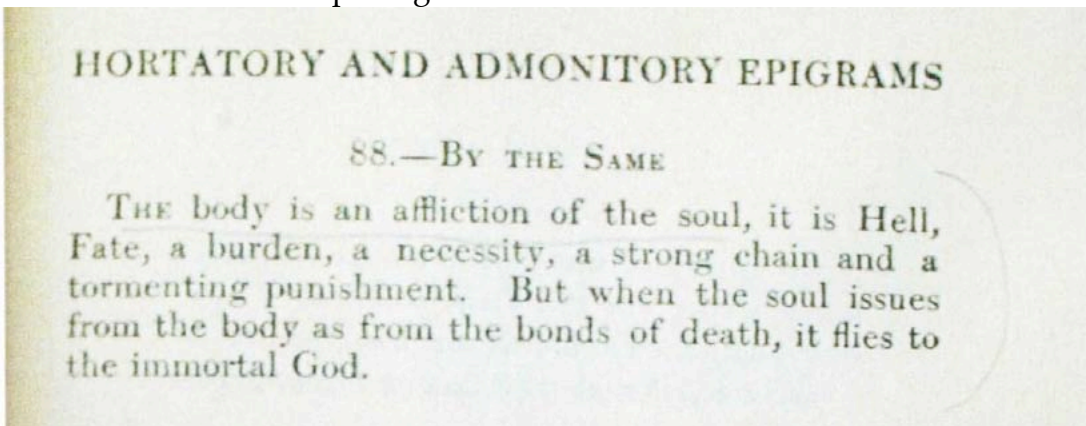
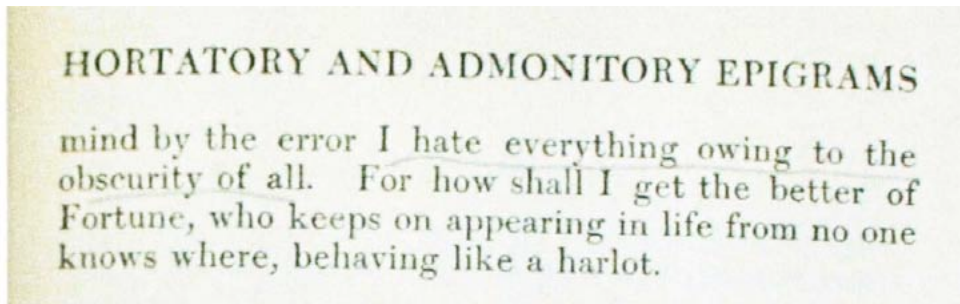
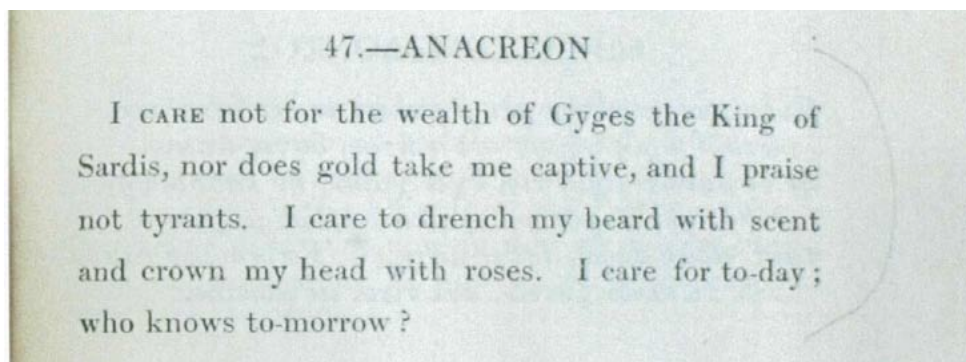
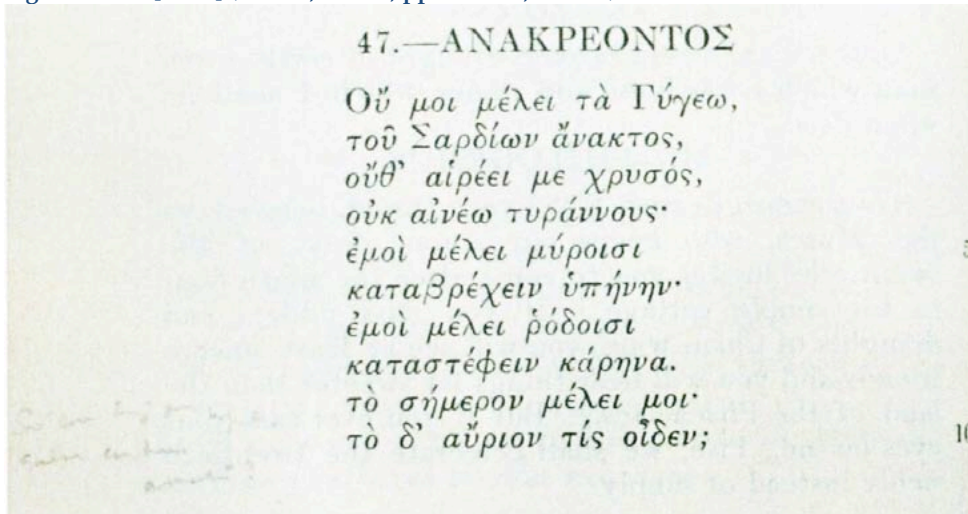


Fig. 18. [10.96 (PATON, vol. IV, p. 53, detail)]

Pessoa underlines the sentence:



Figs. 19 & 20. [11.47] (PATON, vol. IV, pp. 92 & 93, details)



Translation: “Só com hoje me importo. | Quem conhece amanhã?”

Bibliography

- CASTRO, Mariana Gray de (2013). "Pessoa, Shakespeare's Sonnets, and the Problem of Gaspar Simões," in *Fernando Pessoa's Modernity Without Frontiers: Influences, Dialogues*. Edited by Mariana Gray de Castro. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, pp. 143-156.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2016). "Twenty-one Haikus by Fernando Pessoa," in *Pessoa Plural*, n.º 9, Fabrizio Boscaglia and Duarte Drumond Braga, guest eds., Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, Spring, pp. 184-229.
- FERRARI, Patricio (2009). "Pessoa e a língua grega: o «murmurio humido das ondas»,", in *Jornal i*, year I, n.º 169, Lisbon, 19 November, p. 39.
- HAYNES, Kenneth (2007). "Modern Reception of Greek Epigram," in *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram*. Edited by Peter Bing and Jon Steffen Bruss. Leiden: Brill, pp. 565-583.
- MONTEIRO, George (2000). *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-century Anglo-American Literature*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- PATON, William Roger (1916-1918) (ed. and trans.). *The Greek Anthology*. Bilingual edition. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 5 volumes. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-235].
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016a). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa." [Hard cover edition 2013].
- ____ (2016b). *Obra Completa de Ricardo Reis* Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Jorge Uribe. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- ____ (2015). *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems*. Edited and selected by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Tell-a-story. Second edition. [First edition 2014].
- ____ (2014). *Obra Completa de Álvaro de Campos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Antonio Cardiello. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- ____ (1997). *Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume V, Tome II.
- ____ (1934). *Mensagem*. Lisbon: Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira.
- ____ (1924). "Da Anthologia Grega," in *Athena*, n.º 2, Lisbon, November, p. 50.
- ____ (1921). *English Poems I-II*. Lisbon: Olisipo.
- PITTELLA, Carlos and Jerónimo PIZARRO (2016). *Como Fernando Pessoa Pode Mudar a Sua Vida*. Rio de Janeiro: Tinta-da-china Brasil.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa*. Bilingual edition. Lisbon: D. Quixote. Collection of the Fernando Pessoa House.
- PRISTA, Luís (2001). "Pessoa e o Curso Superior de Letras," in *Memória dos Afectos – Homenagem da Cultura Portuguesa ao Prof. Giuseppe Tavani*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, pp. 157-85.
- SARAIVA, Arnaldo (1996). *Fernando Pessoa, Poeta-Tradutor de Poetas: os poemas traduzidos e o respectivo original*. Porto: Lello.
- SENA, Jorge de (1981). "Inscriptions' de Fernando Pessoa, algumas notas para a sua compreensão," in *Fernando Pessoa & Cª Heterónima* (Estudos Coligidos 1940-1978). Lisbon: Edições 70, vol. I, pp. 83-88. 2 volumes, [First published in *Estrada Larga*, Antologia do Suplemento "Cultura e Arter" de *O Comérico do Porto*, vol. I, Porto: Porto Ed., n.d.].
- VIRGIL (1902). *The Georgics of Virgil*. Book IV. Edited by S. E. Winbolt. With illustrations. London, Glasgow, Dublin: Blackie & Son. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-560].

Blindfolded Eyes and the Eyable Being

Pessoa, the senses, and the *35 Sonnets*

M. Irene Ramalho-Santos*

Keywords

35 Sonnets, Heteronymism, Performativity, Skepticism, Unity and Diversity.

Abstract

This article revisits Pessoa's heteronymism (as performativity) in relation to the old issue of poetic unity/diversity. It examines Pessoa's epistemological skepticism, while handling the five senses in the *35 Sonnets*, in comparison and contrast with his so-called "obscene poems" and the rest of his poetry.

Palavras-chave

35 Sonnets, Cepticismo, Heteronimismo, Performatividade, Unidade e Diversidade.

Resumo

Este artigo revisita o heteronimismo de Pessoa (como performatividade), em relação à velha questão da unidade/diversidade poéticas. Debruça-se sobre o cepticismo epistemológico com que Pessoa trata os cinco sentidos nos *35 Sonnets*, em comparação e contraste com os ditos "poemas obscenos" e o resto da poesia de Pessoa.

* University of Coimbra; University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Ser a mesma coisa de todos os modos possíveis ao mesmo tempo
[To be the same thing in all possible ways at the same time]
 Álvaro de Campos, "A Passagem das horas"¹

Make thee another self for love of me
 Shakespeare, Sonnet X

In one of his novels, Helder Macedo suddenly brings Fernando Pessoa vividly to presence by telling his readers about a favorite Portuguese poet who wrote as if he were different people, in order to live as if he were always the same person ["escrevia como se fossem pessoas diferentes para poder viver como se fosse sempre o mesmo" (MACEDO, 2013: 40)].² Jacinto do Prado Coelho was the first critic to explain how Pessoa's poetic devices contribute to preserving both stylistic unity and aesthetic diversity. I still read Prado Coelho's *Unidade e Diversidade em Fernando Pessoa* [Unity and Diversity in Fernando Pessoa] (1950) with great pleasure and profit, but my approach here is somewhat different. I begin by acknowledging that the empirical man orchestrating the various heteronyms is always one and the same. Whether posing as decadent or futurist or both at the same time, whether impersonating male or female or both at the same time, whether assuming bucolic simplicity or inordinate sadomasochism or sophisticated artistry or all three at once, the man pretending is always the same. Whether lyric, epic, drama or theoretical and critical prose, or the prose of his poems, the man writing is always one and the same person, a *pessoa* hankering after aesthetic multiplicity: to be everything in every possible, poetic manner of being. As I look once again at Pessoa's poetry in English, Helder Macedo's witty description suddenly strikes me as signifying to perfection what Judith Butler calls performativity. Says Butler: "identities can come into being and dissolve depending on the concrete practices that constitute them [...]. To what extent is 'identity' a normative ideal rather than a descriptive feature of experience? [...] [T]he 'coherence' and 'continuity' of 'the person' are not logical or analytic features of personhood, but, rather, socially instituted and maintained norms of intelligibility" (BUTLER, 1990: 15-17). To revisit the heteronyms with Butler, we just have to switch from "real life" to poetic performativity. Leaving aside, for the moment, the coherence and continuity of the person I claim for the empirical Pessoa, I suggest that Butler's problematization of gender identities helps us to understand Pessoa-the-poet as he went on imagining concrete practices for his various impersonations.

¹ Line 3 from Portuguese poem "A Passagem das horas" ["The Passage of the Hours"], written *circa* 1916. See PESSOA (2015: 135).

² Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

Whether writing in English or in Portuguese,³ either as a Portuguese or as an English poet, the man behind the manifold masks, that is to say, the *peessoa* constantly donning his many, ongoing, invented *personae*, is ever one and the same—a person whose poetic goal is to go on imagining multiple experiences (i.e. identities) of infinite variety. No doubt because in “real life” he felt in his own body the contradictions of diversity—as he sensed, in his conventional, socially heterosexual figure, homosexual longings⁴—the civic person Fernando António Nogueira Pessoa, as the artist he also was, could not help but imagine and pursue the powerful allure of multiplicity. Whatever the proclivities of the man behind the masks, sexual or otherwise, Pessoa-the-poet creates and performs all of them in his work.

This is why today we do not hesitate to acknowledge, after Jorge de Sena said it first many years ago, that “Fernando Pessoa” is but one more heteronym (SENA, 1974). As the famous *arca* [trunk] continues to yield new unpublished manuscripts, most of them perhaps never meant for publication, many Pessoaan scholars feel rightly entitled to claim more knowledge of the empirical-man-behind-the-poet, particularly concerning matters related to Pessoa’s sexuality. Often, not always, such knowledge leads to new ways of better appreciating Pessoa’s plural work in the context of the social mores and literary traditions of the West at the beginning of the twentieth century or in the light of new theoretical frameworks.⁵ Suddenly, and not surprisingly, the English poems, relatively neglected for so long,⁶ as well as Pessoa’s ambiguous relationship with them, catch more of the critics’ attention.⁷ One of the critics just referenced (Mark Sabine), resorting to Lacan and Deleuze/Guattari, firmly links homosexuality to Pessoa’s major heteronymic explosion as a way of escaping compulsory subjectivity in the patriarchal order. Although I, myself, have suggested as much (RAMALHO SANTOS, 2003: 75), I would

³ Thanks to Patricio Ferrari and Patrick Quillier, we have now a critical edition of the approximately 200 poems the man behind the mask wrote in French as well. See PESSOA (2014).

⁴ See the well-known, predictably sexist, autobiographical note about acknowledging in himself a (passive) feminine temperament coupled with a (presumably active) masculine intelligence, while fearing that his “mild sexual inversion” might “descend into his body” and force him to act as a gay person: “Não encontro dificuldade em definir-me: sou um temperamento feminino com uma inteligência masculina [...] Sempre [...] me inquietou [...] que essa disposição do temperamento não pudesse um dia descer-me ao corpo” [I find no difficulty in defining myself: I am a feminine temperament with a masculine intelligence [...] I have always worried [...] that this temperament disposition might someday descend into my body] (PESSOA, 2003: 186).

⁵ See, for example, ZENITH (2002: 35-56).

⁶ But see SENA (1974 and 1982); EDINGER (1982); VIEIRA (1989). Closer to us, see FREIRE (2004).

⁷ Cf. ARENAS (2007: 103-123); MONTEIRO (2007); SABINE (2007: 148-177). Recently, thanks to Patricio Ferrari’s initiative, the poems Pessoa wrote in the English language have become center stage. I am alluding to “Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa,” a symposium held at Brown University on 17-18 April 2015.

like to add now that what Pessoa does, rather than attempting to escape male, hegemonic, phallic subjectivity, is to subvert it and call it radically into question by allowing for the proliferation of many different poetic identities. In other words, and in spite of the possible “sexual problem” of the man behind the masks, “homosexual Pessoa” strikes me as one more heteronym inside Sena’s *o heterónimo Fernando Pessoa* [the heteronym Fernando Pessoa]. Indeed, I tend to read the not particularly sexually-minded poet’s surmisings in the 35 *Sonnets* (1918) as a huge footnote to the vociferous carnality of “Epithalamium” (1921) and the necrophilic sensuousness of “Antinous” (1918 and 1921). Somewhat like the interruptive gesture of “sensual” and “gross” Walt Whitman in Section 38 of “Song of Myself” — “Enough! enough! enough!” — the poet suddenly aware of the burden of being and feeling everything and everybody to the utmost bodily intensity. This is not to say that a new empirical Pessoa may come out of this. As Richard Zenith wisely warns, it is risky to draw conclusions on Pessoa’s civic person on the basis of poems that totally depend on imaginative faking (ZENITH, 2007: 20). Not to mention the fact that possible autobiographical material included in a poet’s work immediately becomes fiction.

Pessoa’s own justification for his “obscene” English poems is well known. In a letter addressed to his young admirer and future biographer, João Gaspar Simões, dated 18 November 1930, Pessoa argues that, by writing the homoerotic “Antinous” and the rather voyeuristic, ostensibly heteroerotic “Epithalamium,” he had wanted to get rid of that particular element of the “order” of “obscenity” to which he claimed every person is prey.⁸ Writing those two poems and getting “obscenity” out of his system, as it were, was perhaps for him like a rite of passage: after having written them, the poet seems to intimate, he felt ready to engage “in superior mental processes” [“processos mentais superiores”] (PESSOA, 1957: 67-68). Curiously enough, however, the “obscene” poems are coeval with compositions that would thus be the result of what Pessoa no doubt wanted Gaspar Simões to consider “superior mental processes.” For instance, Fernando Pessoa’s “Gládio” and “Chuva Oblíqua,” Alberto Caeiro’s *O Guardador de Rebanhos* and “Poemas inconjuntos,” Ricardo Reis’s “Mestre, são plácidas” and “As rosas amo dos jardins de Adónis,” Álvaro de Campos’s “Ode Triunfal,” “Ode Marítima,” “Saudação a Walt Whitman” and “Passagem das horas.”⁹ Not to mention the “obscene” moments in the great odes of Álvaro de Campos, whose “gaze is a sexual perversion” (“Ah, olhar é em mim uma perversão sexual” [“Ode Triunfal”]) and who sadomasochistically longs to be the passive body of raped women (“Ode Marítima”).

In a pathbreaking essay on Fernando Pessoa as an ontological mystery, Eduardo Lourenço characterizes the poet as the existential “absent I” [“o eu

⁸ Composition dates of “Epithalamium” and “Antinous” are, respectively, 1913 and 1915.

⁹ Creation dates of these poems range roughly from 1911 to 1916.

ausente”] (LOURENÇO, 1986). I claim, rather, that Pessoa-the-heteronymic-poet is the obsessively pluripresent I. The poet so multiplied himself that even the heteronyms had to have para-heteronyms inside themselves. The “Fernando Pessoa” heteronym manifests himself in Portuguese and in English, the English manifestations including stridently sexual (“obscene”) poems, that is to say, on the one hand, poems like “Epithalamium” and “Antinous,” in which sex and the concrete senses are major characters, and, on the other, quietly asexual poems, like the *35 Sonnets*, where the senses are conceptualized, called into question, and rendered abstract by philosophical surmise. While they overwhelmingly preside over “Epithalamium” and “Antinous,” the five senses are questioned in the *35 Sonnets*, whether explicitly or implicitly, as regards their perceptive power and epistemological trustworthiness; while “Epithalamium” resorts to coarsely sensual, graphic images to extol the fleshly pleasures of heterosexual intercourse (“flesh pinched, flesh bit, flesh sucked, flesh girt around | Flesh crushed and ground,” xvi) and while “Antinous” reimagines homosexual lust to turn a dead body into a “fleshly presence” (line 232) made of marble, the *35 Sonnets* wonder if reality or truth (or life) can be sensorily grasped at all; while “Epithalamium” and “Antinous” deal with mortal bodies of flesh and blood, in the *35 Sonnets* metaphysical reflections on the senses conceptualize the body and turn it into an abstract, immaterial presence. With one curious exception. If, indeed, the thirty-five sonnets may be read as a kind of counterpoint to the “obscene” poems, Sonnet IV seems to recast Hadrian’s monody in far more sobering terms as the poet’s loving memory and imagining (“my seeing thought”) cedes to the gruesome materiality of the beloved’s dead, decomposing body as mere “piecèd rot” (line 1).¹⁰ Such intellectual questioning, if not suspension, of the senses is an aspect of the epistemological skepticism pervading the whole sonnet sequence. In sonnet xxviii we read: “I look, yet dream. | For sure reality cannot be this! | [...] | Only what in this is not this is true” (lines 2-3 and 8).

The English poems are not usually consensually considered to be part of Pessoa’s most remarkable or original poetic achievements. It is interesting, however, that several poets/scholars and admirers of Pessoa felt attracted to them to the point of wanting to appropriate them by translating them into their own language. As regards the *35 Sonnets*, to the best of my knowledge, Adolfo Casais Monteiro, Jorge de Sena and José Blanc de Portugal were the first to translate them into Portuguese. In 1975, a bilingual volume of Pessoa’s English poems, translated by Fernando Dias, was also published in Lisbon (PESSOA, 1975). More recently, besides Luísa Freire’s new renditions of all the then known English poems into Portuguese (PESSOA, 2007), a few Spanish-speaking poets and scholars were

¹⁰ I do picture Hadrian and Antinous in this sonnet, but all translators I mention in this essay read the beloved as female—except Sena, who keeps the ambiguity of the English.

tempted to render Pessoa's 35 *Sonnets* in their language.¹¹ I suspect that what caught such scholars' creative eye was precisely the challenge posed by the cryptic meanings resulting from the very complex and highly convoluted diction of the sonnets or, as an English critic put it at the time, their "Tudor tricks" and "ultra-Shakesperian Shakespearianism."¹²

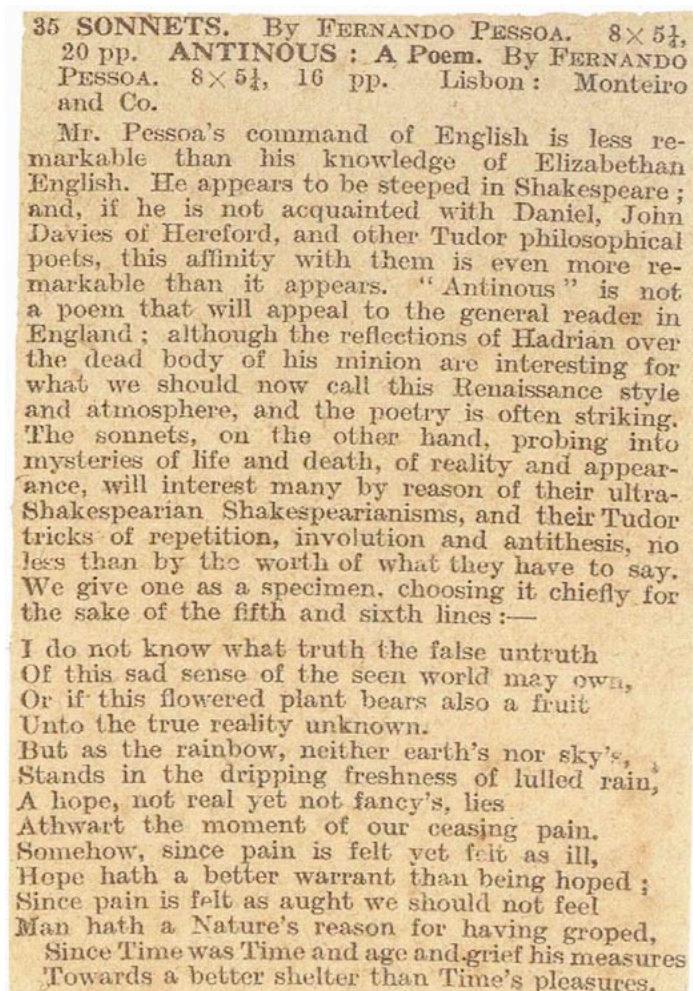


Fig. 1. Review of Pessoa's 35 *Sonnets* and *Antinous* in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 September 1918, p. 11. Detail.

¹¹ For my purposes in this essay, I have particularly in mind the following: PESSOA (1988 and 2014). In his excellent *Posfácio* [Postface], Wiesse gives account of a couple of other translations into Spanish.

¹² Review of the 35 *Sonnets* and *Antinous*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 September 1918. The review, however, was not totally unfavorable; another one published in *The Glasgow Herald* (same date), though not raving, was even more sympathetic. Many decades later, Esteban Torre speaks ecstatically of the thirty-five "diamonds of language" that seduced and challenged him into translating them, precisely because of their "enigmatic" mode (11-12). Interestingly enough, Torre became familiar with the 35 *Sonnets* through Fernando Dias's bilingual edition, unexpectedly found by him in an old Lisbon bookshop. How Shakespearian the "complexities" of the 35 *Sonnets* are remains to be fully ascertained, but cf. Sena, "Introdução geral" to *Poemas Ingleses*, 77ff., and Zenith, "Prefácio" to *Poesia Inglesa*, 23ff. See also (FREIRE, 2004: 207), as well as the contributions by Russom, Portela, and Saval in this issue.

Or perhaps the crabbed English of the sonnets, so unlike the two “obscene” poems, struck them, as it does me, as an oblique poetic statement that makes even more challenging the task of the translator. Be it as it may, the translators’ strategies range from trying very hard to honor semantic and formal fidelity (Sena, Wiesse) to embracing, in varying degrees, *la belle infidèle* (Dias, Torre, Freire). Because to translate is not to say the same thing in a different language, but rather to say a different thing in a different language, translations of poetry can be very useful to the critic-as-interpreter.

I borrow my title from Sonnet II, to which I will turn in a moment, but first I wish to comment on Sonnet XXXII:

When I have sense of what to sense appears,
 Sense is sense ere ’tis mine or mine in me is.
 When I hear, Hearing, ere I do hear, hears.
 When I see, before me abstract Seeing sees.
 I am part Soul part I in all I touch –
 Soul by that part I hold in day with all,
 And I the unsunned part, that doth make sense such
 As I can err by it and my sense mine call.
 The rest is wondering what these thoughts may mean,
 That come to explain and suddenly are gone,
 Like messengers that mock the message’ mien,
 Explaining all but the explanation;
 As if we a ciphered letter’s cipher hit
 And find it in an unknown language writ.

(PESSOA, 1993: 82)

In this sonnet, the five senses are abstracted from human bodily perception and philosophically discussed as conceptualized, intellectualized, and personified entities providing no access to reality (the “body” of “Truth” in Sonnet II). The senses of sight (“Seeing”) and hearing (“Hearing”) are used here as examples, the assumption being that the poem’s reasoning would apply to the other three senses as well. The sense of Touch is there before my concrete touching; the sense of Taste, before my concrete tasting; the sense of Smell, before my concrete smelling. That the sense of touch is mentioned in this sonnet in articulation with “Soul,” capital “S” (“I am part Soul part I in all I touch”), is significant, since touch-as-sex is actually the sense that, however unmentioned as such in the poems themselves, turns “Epithalamium” and “Antinous” into an orgy of sensuality, that being the reason why Pessoa felt he had to term them “obscene” on behalf of his prospective readers. Equally significant is the fact that neither taste nor smell is ever mentioned in Sonnet XXXII (or any other of the thirty-five sonnets). Taste, smell, and touch were conceived of by the hegemonic western philosophical tradition as the baser senses. Descartes’s *cogito ergo sum*, distinguishing the disembodied mind from the

experiencing body and hierarchizing them, would be corrected only much later by Merleau-Ponty's philosophy of the body which put the empirical/epistemic subject firmly in the physical world via the senses and sensation, thus turning "I think therefore I am" into "I exist therefore I think" (MERLEAU-PONTY, 1945). On the other hand, heavily influenced by Christianity, mainstream western philosophy and science have never had much respect for the fleshly senses in general. Just think of Augustine's temptations of the lust of the senses in his widely influential *Confessions*. Sight might be tolerated but only because, the notion went, it is the mind that "sees," not the eye (as is actually made clear in Sonnet XXI).¹³ The same can be said of hearing. In Sonnet XXXII, the senses are totally disembodied: the eye (I) does not see, "abstract Seeing" (line 4) does; the ear does not hear, (abstract) Hearing does. Sense is there, being sense, before the "I" senses. And when the "I" presumes to sense, a mistake is bound to occur. The physical, concrete senses are definitely not reliable or trustworthy as a path to the knowledge of reality. Trusting the senses is like attempting to read a ciphered letter without knowing the relevant codes. Better to rely on thinking, for thinking alone grasps reality, if only by making it up: "thinking nought does on nought being confer" (line 9). Of the translations I have convened to help me read the English sonnets, only Sena's, Dias's and Torre's keep the crucial adjective "abstract" in "abstract Seeing." Wiese renders it as "el Ver puro," perhaps echoing Benjamin's "reine Sprache," whereas Freire drops the epithet altogether. In Freire's case, there are obvious, sound, and metrical reasons for an erasure that is part of a rarefying process running throughout her translation of the whole series, putting in this particular sonnet a slight emphasis on the subject's actual agency. A fine example is the rendition of the first line of the second quatrain: "I am part Soul part I in all I touch" ["No que toco, em partes Alma e Eu"]. The result is a completely different, but by no means lesser, poem.

I turn now to Sonnet II:

If that apparent part of life's delight
 Our tingled flesh-sense circumscribes were seen
 By aught save reflex and co-carnal sight,
 Joy, flesh and life might prove but a gross screen.
 Haply Truth's body is no eyable being,
 Appearance even as appearance lies,
 Haply our close, dark, vague, warm sense of seeing
 Is the choked vision of blindfolded eyes.

¹³ Merleau-Ponty discusses this position in *Phénoménologie de la perception*, 263ff, the work in which consciousness is redefined as sense perceptive (467) (Page numbers refer to the online copy). In his recent work, Boaventura de Sousa Santos has been analyzing the consequences of the problem of the hierarchization of the senses for knowledge pursuit in contemporary social sciences (SANTOS, 2014).

Wherefrom what comes to thought's sense of life? Nought.
 All is either the irrational world we see
 Or some aught-else whose being-unknown doth rot
 Its use for our thought's use. Whence taketh me
 A qualm-like ache of life, a body-deep
 Soul-hate of what we seek and what we weep.

(PESSOA, 1993: 67)

In this sonnet the “sense of seeing” is also radically questioned, but the questioning is clearly painful. This is very interesting because, at about the same time, the same person behind the performative-heteronymic masks was inventing Alberto Caeiro, the poet who claims not to be a poet because he is rather *all blissfully made of seeing*. As if giving the lie to Caeiro, or perhaps hinting at Caeiro’s sickness in poems XV through XIX of *O Guardador de Rebanhos* [*The Keeper of Sheep*], Sonnet II surmises, paradoxically, that the human, carnal sense of sight might well be blind. What could be a very concrete and palpable image of reality—the *body* of truth being *eyed*—is pictured as not graspable at all by the concrete organ of the sense of sight—the eye itself: “Haply Truth’s body is no eyable being” (line 5). To say that reality is not eyeable is technically the same as to say that reality is not visible, or that it is invisible, as three of the translators referred above have it (Sena, Dias and Freire). The translations that Torre and Wiese propose for this line, however, help us to realize the exactness of the poet’s phrasing and its implications for the overall conception of the sonnet. While Torre’s rendition calls further attention to the physicality of the senses by shifting from seeing to hearing—“Mas, ciertamente, la Verdad es muda”—Wiese puts the emphasis on the physically seeing subject: “Puede ser que no veamos la verdad.” The repetition of “haply” in the fifth and seventh lines shows that the conjecture shaping the poem is actually twofold: perhaps our eyes are blind to reality, or can only grasp it as “a gross screen”; or perhaps there is nothing *real* out there to be seen at all (let alone physically grasped): “Appearance even as appearance lies, | Haply our close, dark, vague, warm sense of seeing | Is the choked vision of blindfolded eyes” (lines 6-8). The poem surmises not just about the capacity of human eyes to see reality but also about the reality of reality itself. Our eyes cannot see because there is nothing there to be seen, since whatever is there is unknowable. Nothingness is thus what presides over sense perception: “Wherefrom what comes to thought’s sense of life? Nought” (line 9). The sonnet constructs sensorial impotence and helplessness before a world that is, in turn, totally incomprehensible (“irrational”) (line 10). As if the good-for-nothing senses could not but contaminate “thought” itself: “All is either the irrational world we see | Or some aught-else whose being-unknown doth rot | Its use for our thought’s use” (lines 10-12). Of the translators I have convened here, Dias and Freire best capture the sonnet’s intricate conclusion. (“Whence taketh me”) (line 12): the poet’s tormented surmises could not but lead to physical and spiritual anguish, despair, powerlessness, and self-deprecation.

Let me now convene Sonnet xxv:

We are in Fate and Fate's and do but lack
 Outness from soul to know ourselves its dwelling,
 And do but compel Fate aside or back
 By Fate's own immanence in the compelling.
 We are too far in us from outward truth
 To know how much we are not what we are,
 And live but in the heat of error's youth,
 Yet young enough its acting youth to ignore.
 The doubleness of mind fails us, to glance
 At our exterior presence amid things,
 Sizing from otherness our countenance
 And seeing our puppet will's act-acting strings.
 An unknown language speaks in us, which we
 Are at the words of, fronted from reality.

(PESSOA, 1993: 79)

This sonnet helps us to realize that the poet of the thirty-five sonnets conceives of "us" (and of himself) as if without carnal senses. Without senses, meaning is inaccessible to us ("incommunicable," as Sonnet I has it), whether it be the sense of the world or the sense of ourselves. We lack "outness from soul" (Sonnet xxv, line 2) to comprehend ourselves as physically living in the world (or "in Fate") (line 1). Incapable of grasping the "outward truth" (line 5) of reality (or the world), we know nothing about ourselves either, and ultimately discover ourselves to be mere marionettes manipulatable by unfathomable otherness. The foreignness of language, a language we don't speak and rather speaks us, thus totally barring (*fronting*) us from reality, fully confirms the epistemological skepticism of the sonnet sequence. Sonnet I had already set the tone by insisting on the unbridgeable distance between subject and object that hinders meaningful representation and communicability: "What we are | Cannot be transfused into word or mien" (lines 2-3).

Finally, for my approach in this essay, Sonnet XXI is by far the most interesting. It actually reads rather like a gloss on the whole idea underlying the 35 *Sonnets*, that is to say, the idea that the senses are unreliable, that thought makes up for the unreliability of the senses, but that thought, in turn, must rely on the senses, even though the senses end up producing only mental abstractions.

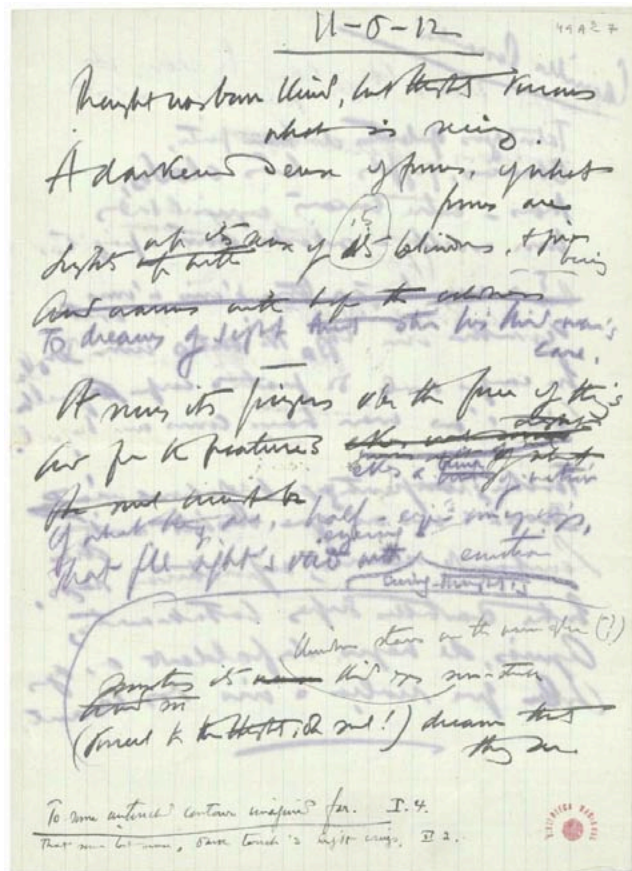


Fig. 2. Ms. of Sonnet XXI, (BNP/E3, 49A³-7¹).

The fascinating thing about this sonnet is its use of the sense of touch, one of the so-called baser senses because of its obvious physicality, as the touchstone, as it were, not of sensorial, but intellectual perception. Though born blind, thought knows what seeing is, perhaps, paradoxically, because of touch:

Thought was born blind, but Thought knows what is seeing.
 Its careful touch, deciphering forms from shapes,
 Still suggests form as aught whose proper being
 Mere finding touch with erring darkness drapes.
 Yet whence, except from guessed sight, does touch teach
 That touch is but a close and empty sense?
 How does mere touch, self-uncontented, reach
 For some truer sense's whole intelligence?
 The thing once touched, if touch be now omitted,
 Stands yet in memory real and outward known,
 So the untouching memory of touch is fitted
 With sense of a sense whereby far things are shown.
 So, by touch of untouching, wrongly aright,
 Touch' thought of seeing sees not things but Sight.

(PESSOA, 1993: 77)

What does it mean to proclaim thought blind and, at the same time, endow it with the sense of touch? This is part of the epistemological paradox the thirty-five sonnets as a whole perform. The misperceptions of the senses, the poems suggest, are no pathway to understanding reality, knowledge, life or the truth; better to trust the intellect to grasp the body of truth. But what if the intellect is dependent on the senses for its very being? What if thought could not do without touch? Could the poet finally realize, Lucretius-like, that touch “corporis est sensus | is the bodily sense” (LUCRETIUS, 1953: 114-115)? I get some insight about the sonnet’s paradoxes from my translators. Could it be that thought is impaired by the rivalry of the senses, sight denouncing touch as empty, as Torre’s version suggests? (“¿Si no es de la visión, de dónde viene | que el tacto sea un sentido pobre y huero?”). Or is it touch that imprints reality on the mind in the form of memory, as Freire has it? (“A coisa omitida, uma vez tocada | Na memória está, sabida e real”). In other words, what if sense *thinks*? Didn’t the heteronym Fernando Pessoa also wonder once at his “thinking senses” (Sonnet XXIII) (line 3) in “Ela canta, pobre ceifeira?” (“O que em mim sente ‘stá pensando” (“What in me feels is thinking” [PESSOA, 1969: 144]). Could Merleau-Ponty have read Pessoa? Not probable, but his essay on the phenomenology of perceptions gets inspiration from numberless poets and artists. The truth is that poets and artists have never been able *to think* without the *senses*. Rimbaud was right when he said that poetry always goes *en avant* (letter to Paul Demeny, 15 May 1871).

The disquieting sense paradoxes we encounter in the 35 *Sonnets*, so brilliantly reenacted in 1930 in the *Livro do Desassossego* [*Book of Disquiet*] (“Sentir tudo de todas as maneiras; saber pensar com as emoções e sentir com o pensamento”) (PESSOA, 2010: 229) [“Feeling everything in every way; knowing how to think with the emotions and how to feel with thinking”], are also characteristic of the tormented poetry of Portuguese Fernando Pessoa and Álvaro de Campos, as well as of the seemingly serenely accepting odes of Ricardo Reis. At its root may well be a reconsideration of what William Blake once termed one of the greatest errors of all “Bibles or sacred codes”: the distinction between body and soul (or mind), privileging the mind as the sole organ of knowledge and understanding. Blake’s relevant text is “The Voice of the Devil” in his Dionysian *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790-1793), and it is important to quote it here in full (BLAKE, 1968: 34):

All Bibles or sacred codes have been the causes of the following Errors.

1. That Man has two real existing principles Viz: a Body & a Soul.
2. That Energy, call’d Evil, is alone from the Body, & that Reason, call’d Good, is alone from the Soul.
3. That God will torment Man in Eternity for following his Energies.

But the following Contraries to these are True¹⁴

1. Man has no Body distinct from his Soul for that call'd Body is a portion of Soul discern'd by the five Senses, the chief inlets of Soul in this age
2. Energy is the only life and is from the Body and Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy.
3. Energy is Eternal Delight

The first of Blake's "contraries" is underlined in Pessoa's copy of Blake's works:

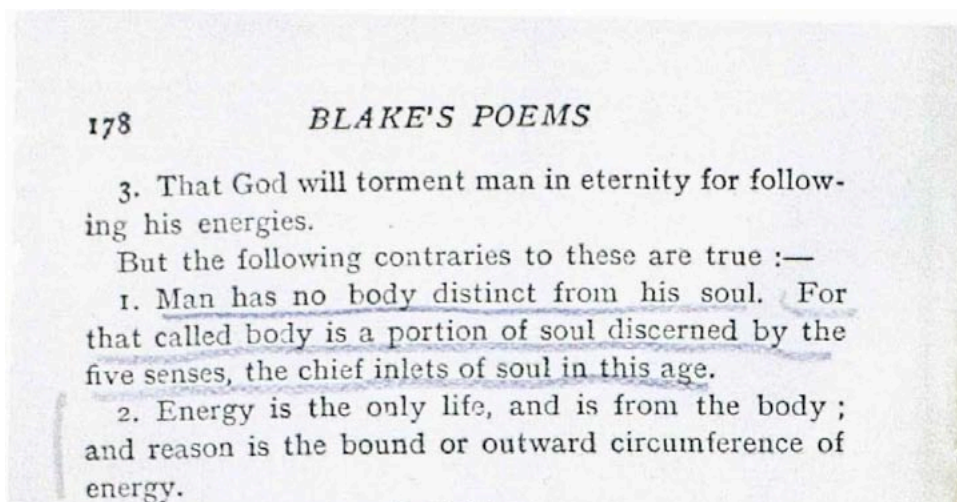


Fig. 3. William Blake, *Poems of William Blake*, n.d. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-44]. Pessoa's markings.

No wonder the name of William Blake, together with that of Walt Whitman, appears in Pessoa's notes on sensationism. In the draft of a letter written in French, probably dated 1915 and apparently to be sent to Marinetti by Álvaro de Campos, the poet presents himself as the only and true "*sensationist*" (italics in the original), while indicating Blake and Whitman as his intellectual ancestry in this regard (PESSOA, 2009: 377). In another letter probably dated 1916—this time in English and presumably addressed to an English publisher, but also coeval with the English poems I deal with here—Pessoa explains that in the poetry of the "sensationist" (quotation marks in the original) "spirit and matter are interpenetrated and inter-transcended." Further down, he goes on to disclose "the central attitude of Sensationism" (PESSOA, 2009: 401-404). Reading this document today, it is difficult not to smile at Pessoa's rash and opinionated pronouncements on Shakespeare and Milton ("I tend more and more to put Milton above Shakespeare as a poet") coupled with his provocative confession of fickleness ("I try hard not to be the same thing three minutes running, because that is bad aesthetic hygiene"). But it is interesting to find in this irreverent sensationist's self-promotion a theoretical projection of the kind of "organized whole" he missed in Shakespeare and praised

¹⁴ My emphasis.

in Milton. "The only reality in life," he states, "is sensation. The only reality in art is consciousness of the sensation." I suggest that these notes on sensationism, authored by the heteronymic poet roughly at the same time that the English poems I here deal with were also being composed, by implicitly bringing mind and the senses together, put in perspective the unity that Prado Coelho many years ago grasped in Pessoa's poetic production, including the English poems of the "heterónimo Fernando Pessoa." We could do worse than "eyeing" multiple Pessoa's works as the "body" of his performative "truth."

Bibliography

- ARENAS, Fernando (2007). "Fernando Pessoa. The Homoerotic Drama." *Embodying Pessoa*, pp. 103-123.
- BENJAMIN, Walter (1923). "Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers." <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/-6569/2>
- BLAKE, William (1968). *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* ("The Voice of the Devil"), in *The Poetry and Prose*. Edited by David V. Erdman; commentary by Harold Bloom. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- _____. [n.d.]. *Poems of William Blake*. Edited by W. B. Yeats. London: George Routledge and Sons Limited; New York: E. P. Dutton & CO. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-44].
- BUTLER, Judith (1990). *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- CANTY QUINLAN, Susan; ARENAS, Fernando (2002). *LUSOSEX. Gender and Sexuality in the Portuguese-speaking World*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.
- COELHO, Jacinto do Prado (1985). *Unidade e Diversidade em Fernando Pessoa*. Lisbon: Editorial Verbo. [First edition, 1950].
- EDINGER, Catherine (1982). *A Metáfora e o Fenómeno Amoroso nos Poemas Ingleses de Fernando Pessoa*. Porto: Brasília.
- FREIRE, Luísa (2004). *Fernando Pessoa: entre vozes, entre línguas*. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- KLOBUCKA, Anna M.; SABINE, Mark (2007) (eds.). *Embodying Pessoa. Corporeality, Gender, Sexuality*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- LOURENÇO, Eduardo (1986). *Fernando, Rei da Nossa Baviera*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- _____. (1986). "Fernando Pessoa ou o não-amor." *Fernando, rei da nossa Baviera*, pp. 57-79.
- LUCRETIVUS (1953). *De Rerum Natura*. Translated by W. H. Rouse Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. The Loeb Classical Library.
- MACEDO, Helder (2013). *Tão Longo Amor Tão Curta a Vida*. Lisbon: Presença.
- MERLEAU-PONTY, Maurice (1945). *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Paris: Gallimard.
http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/merleau_ponty_maurice/phenomenologie_de_la_perception/phenomenologie_de_la_perception.pdf
- MONTEIRO, George (2007). "Fernando Pessoa, He Has His Nerve." *Embodying Pessoa*, pp. 124-148.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2015). *Obra Completa de Álvaro de Campos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Antonio Cardiello. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Fernando Pessoa."
- _____. (2014a). *35 Sonnets / 35 Sonetos*. Spanish version and afterword by Jorge Wiese Rebagliati. Lima: Trashumantes.
- _____. (2014b). *Poèmes français*. Edition established and annotated by Patricio Ferrari in collaboration with Patrick Quillier. Preface by Patrick Quillier. Paris: Éditions de la Différence.
- _____. (2013). *Livro do Desassossego*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Fernando Pessoa."
- _____. (2010). *Livro do Desasosiego*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, vol. XII.
- _____. (2009). *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, vol. x.
- _____. (2007). *Livro do Desassossego*. Edited by Richard Zenith. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim. [First edition 1998].
- _____. (2007). *Poesia Inglesa*. Edited by Richard Zenith. Translated by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim. Collection "Pessoa Essencial."

- _____. (2003). *Escritos Autobiográficos, Automáticos e de Reflexão Pessoal*. Edited by Richard Zenith in collaboration with Manuela Parreira da Silva; translations by Manuela Rocha. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- _____. (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Organized and translated by Luísa Freire. Preface by Teresa Rita Lopes. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- _____. (1993). *Poemas Ingleses*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, volume V, tome I.
- _____. (1988). *35 sonetos ingleses*. Bilingual edition. Edition, prologue, and translation into Spanish by Esteban Torre. Braga: Universidade do Minho.
- _____. (1974). *Poemas Ingleses*. Bilingual edition with preface, translation and notes by Jorge de Sena. Translations also by Adolfo Casais Monteiro and José Blanc de Portugal. Lisbon: Ática.
- _____. (1975). *35 Sonnets / 35 sonetos*. Portuguese version by Fernando Dias. Lisbon: Impresso no Anuário Comercial de Portugal.
- _____. (1969). *Obra Poética*. Organization, introduction, and notes by Maria Aliete Galhoz. Rio de Janeiro: Aguilar.
- _____. (1966). *Páginas Íntimas e de Auto-Interpretação*. Edited with a preface Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- _____. (1957). *Cartas a João Gaspar Simões*. Lisbon: Europa-América.
- RAMALHO SANTOS, M. Irene (2007). "The Truant Muse and the Poet's Body," in *Embodying Pessoa*, pp. 181-200
- _____. (2003). *Atlantic Poets. Fernando Pessoa's Turn in Anglo-American Modernism*. Hanover: University Press of New England.
- SABINE, Mark (2007). "'Ever-repositioned mysteries': Homosexuality and Heteronymity in *Antinous*." *Embodying Pessoa*, pp. 149-178.
- SANTOS, Boaventura de Sousa (2014). *Epistemologies of the South. Justice against Epistemicide*. Boulder [Co.]: Paradigm.
- SENA, Jorge de (1974). "O heterónimo Fernando Pessoa e os poemas ingleses que publicou." "Introdução geral" to Fernando Pessoa, *Poemas ingleses*. Bilingual edition with preface, translation and notes by Jorge de Sena; translations also by Adolfo Casais Monteiro and José Blanc de Portugal. Lisbon: Ática.
- _____. (1982). *Fernando Pessoa & Co Heteronímica*. Lisbon: Edições 70. 2 volumes.
- VIEIRA, Yara Frateschi (1989). *Sob o Ramo da Bétula. Fernando Pessoa e o erotismo vitoriano* Campinas: Unicamp.
- ZENITH, Richard (2002). "Fernando Pessoa's Gay Heteronym?" *Lusosex*, pp. 35-56.

Metrical Complexity in Pessoa's *35 Sonnets*

Geoffrey Russom*

Keywords

Hopkins, Kiparsky, Meter, Metrics, Milton, Pessoa, Poetry, Prosody, Rhythm, Shakespeare, *35 Sonnets*

Abstract

Though obviously inspired by Shakespeare's sonnets, Pessoa's English sonnets employ metrical patterns, enjambments, and grammatical constructions not used by Shakespeare. This mixture of effects has been criticized as somewhat awkward or even incompetent. The assumption seems to be that Pessoa tried, and failed, to create an authentic Shakespearean masquerade. Here I argue that Pessoa's sonnets are modernist poems that appropriate the past in the manner of Gerard Manley Hopkins. Like Pessoa, Hopkins was intensely interested in metrical variety, wrote innovative sonnets, and appropriated complex rhythms from English poets other than Shakespeare, notably Milton. Like Pessoa, Hopkins used archaic English and modernist grammatical constructions as well. Aspects of Pessoa's verse sometimes criticized as excessive are carried even farther by Hopkins, whose verse is now widely admired. The assumption that Pessoa is a modernist of a particular kind brings into focus his strengths as a scholarly poet.

Palavras-chave

Hopkins, Kiparsky, Métrica, Versificação, Milton, Pessoa, Poesia, Prosódia, Ritmo, Shakespeare, *35 Sonnets*.

Resumo

Embora claramente inspirados nos sonetos de Shakespeare, os *35 Sonnets* de Pessoa empregam esquemas métricos, cavalgamentos e construções gramaticais não utilizadas por Shakespeare. Esta mescla de efeitos tem sido criticada como estranha ou, até mesmo, como incompetente. A suposição é que Pessoa teria tentado, sem sucesso, criar uma imitação Shakespeariana. Aqui defendo que os sonetos de Pessoa são poemas modernistas, os quais se apropriam do passado à maneira de Gerard Manley Hopkins. Tal como Pessoa, Hopkins interessava-se profundamente pela variedade métrica, tendo escrito sonetos inovadores e se apropriado de ritmos complexos de poetas ingleses para além de Shakespeare, notavelmente Milton. Tal como Pessoa, Hopkins também usou inglês arcaico e construções gramaticais modernísticas. Alguns aspectos do verso pessoano, por vezes criticados como excessivos, são levados ainda mais longe por Hopkins, cuja poesia é hoje largamente admirada. A suposição de que Pessoa é um tipo especial de modernista traz à tona a sua erudição como poeta.

* Emeritus Professor. Department of English at Brown University.

In 35 *Sonnets* (PESSOA, 1918), the author employs a Shakespearean rhyme scheme and a number of Shakespeare's rhythmical devices. The sonnets would not work as forgeries, however, because Pessoa's lines are more complex than Shakespeare's on average and because Shakespeare does not use some of Pessoa's most complex rhythms (FERRARI, 2012: 214, 305-322). To evaluate Pessoa's metrical skill, we will need a concrete definition of rhythmical complexity.

The rhythm of an iambic or trochaic line should obviously conform somehow to the basic alternating rhythm. Persistent strict conformity soon becomes annoying, however. One scholar interested in trochaic meters can imagine no greater form of torture "than to listen, night after night, to a story set in the meter of *Hiawatha*," a poem by Longfellow in a rather "sing-song" variety of trochaic tetrameter (DAUNT, 1947: 224). Daunt is reacting to lines like item (1), where prominent stress is marked with an acute accent and the boundaries of trochaic feet are marked with slashes.

(1) *Hómeward / húrried / Hía/wátha*

Here the first two trochaic feet are realized as trochaic words and the following name has two trochaic constituents. Item (1) has been cited as an example of the "metrically most banal" way to realize a trochaic line (KIPARSKY, 1977: 224). Iambic lines of comparable banality, with strict alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, are used sparingly by Shakespeare and Milton, and even by Alexander Pope, who adheres with unusual strictness to metrical norms (KIPARSKY, 1977: 189). Occasional use of simple realizations keeps the basic rhythm in view, but first-rate poets provide rhythmical variety as well. Musical analogues come readily to mind. Even in the wildly innovative be-bop era, when the adjective *crazy* expressed approval, most jazz was in 4/4 time, the trochaic rhythm of popular songs. Jazz solos did not imitate the tick-tock regularity of a metronome, however. To appreciate the difference between basic rhythm and artistic rhythm, imagine Charlie Parker marking 4/4 time by tapping his foot while improvising in his usual style on the saxophone. The solo would depart considerably from the foot-tapping rhythm and in that sense would be rhythmically complex.

Jazz musicians somehow learn to provide spectacular rhythmical variety while maintaining the sense of a norm. These artists often place accented notes in unusual locations, but such syncopated effects reinforce the basic rhythm in a curious way and tempt you to get up and dance. Rhythmical variety creates audience involvement. Involvement ends, however, when an improviser violates rules of rhythmical practice for the relevant tradition. A jazz musician who "loses the beat" is likely to be booed off the stage. Like musical traditions, poetic traditions allow a variety of rhythmical patterns while ruling out others as unacceptable. Rules for poetic and musical traditions are similar to the rules of a language, which allow a variety of linguistic patterns while excluding a larger

number of imaginable patterns, such as patterns attested in other languages. Children acquire linguistic rules largely by intuition, without conscious thought. Once learned, such rules apply reliably with amazing speed as we speak and listen. Metrical rules can also be acquired by intuition and implemented in real time. Illiterate oral poets who cannot state the rules of their traditional meter nevertheless obey those rules as they improvise and scold pupils instantly when a metrical rule is violated (JAKOBSON, 1963).

To evaluate Pessoa's rhythmical ingenuity, I find it useful to work outward from his most direct realizations of iambic pentameter to his most challenging ones.¹ As usual in my research, I assume that units of poetic form are based on units of linguistic form, with metrical positions based on syllables, metrical feet based on words, and metrical lines based on sentences (RUSSOM, 2011). Consider the iambic foot, which consists of a weak metrical position, normally occupied by an unstressed syllable, and a following strong metrical position, normally occupied by a stressed syllable. If metrical units are based on linguistic units, the simplest realizations of iambic pentameter will be lines like item (2), where each metrical position is realized as one syllable, each iambic foot is realized as an iambic word, and the line is realized as a sentence.

(2) *Refined / gourméts / demánd / supérb / cuisíne* (constructed)

(3) *Of hánd, / of fóot, / of líp, / of éye, / of brów* (S106.6)

(4) *But whèn / I cáme / where thòu / wert láid, / and sáw* (4.9)

Though metrically simple, lines like (2) are difficult to construct and rarely occur for practical reasons. Most English words with two syllables are trochaic. I chose a topic for (2) that permitted heavy use of iambic words borrowed from French. Item (3), from a sonnet by Shakespeare, is somewhat less simple than (2).² Each foot is realized as a small phrase with iambic rhythm, and the foot boundaries are aligned with phrase boundaries marked by punctuation. Within the line there is strict alternation between unstressed or weakly stressed function words and prominently stressed nouns. By *function words* I mean words like the pronoun *I*, the demonstrative adjective *that*, the preposition *of*, the conjunction *and*, the article *the*,

¹ For analysis of Pessoa's sonnets from a variety of theoretical perspectives, see FERRARI (2012: 207-217, 285-322). I owe thanks to Ferrari for sharing his metrical insights and for providing an electronic text of 35 *Sonnets* (PESSOA, 1918), which I incorporated into a Microsoft Excel file for analysis. As references below will make clear, I depend on Ferrari for information about Pessoa's life and in particular about Pessoa's study of English iambic pentameter. Any errors are of course my responsibility.

² Since I will argue that all of Pessoa's metrical licenses are used by Shakespeare, Milton, or Donne, I offer KIPARSKY (1977) as an impartial witness to relevant details of iambic pentameter tradition, using lines cited by Kiparsky as examples and accepting his scansion without demur. Examples from Pessoa are cited by sonnet number and line. Examples from Shakespeare's sonnets are cited in the same way, but with "S" before the sonnet number.

the auxiliary verb *will*, and the substantive verb *is*. Function words tend to appear on the initial weak position of the iambic foot because they have high frequency and correspondingly low prominence. Their occurrence is often so predictable that we omit them. In ordinary prose, item (3) becomes “of hand, foot, lip, eye, and brow.” The more prominent words include lexical nouns like *hand*, lexical adjectives like *huge*, and main verbs like *demand*. Item (4) from Pessoa’s sonnets stays almost as close to the basic pattern as item (3), but some of the words on strong positions have low prominence. I have marked weak stress on *when* and *thou* with a grave accent but they could be pronounced as unstressed without adverse metrical consequences. Placement of an unstressed syllable on a strong position neither supports nor disrupts the iambic rhythm. A musical analogue would be a rest in a position normally occupied by an accented note, something that occurs routinely in Classical music as well as jazz.

If stressed syllables are positioned normally, the foot boundary can fall within a word, as in Pessoa’s item (5).

(5) *In níght/ly hórr/ors of /despáired / surmíse* (3.12)

Here the first two foot boundaries fall within words rather than between them. In the third foot, the unstressed function word *of* appears on a strong position. After introducing these elements of complexity, Pessoa concludes the line in the simplest way, realizing the last two feet as iambic words. Iambic words are perfectly appropriate in any foot, but Pessoa places them in the last foot more than twice as often as in any other foot.³ This metrical practice falls under the universal principle of closure, which states that adherence to metrical norms tends to become stricter toward the end of a metrical unit such as a line, a couplet, a quatrain, or a whole poem (HAYES, 1983: 373).

In Shakespeare’s sonnets, a stressed monosyllabic word often occupies a weak position when a more prominent stress follows on the strong position of the foot (KIPARSKY, 1977: 208). Stressed monosyllables can be placed with relative freedom because they have no inherent word rhythm.

(6) *That this / hòe stáge / presént/eth náught / but shów/s* (S15.3)

(7) *Mòre in / tíme’s úse / than my / creát/ing whóle* (3.2)

(8) *Thou dost / lóve her / becàuse / thou knówst / I lóve her* (S42.6)

(9) *And the / will to / renóunce / doth ál/so miss* (29.4)

(10) *The strày / stárs, whose / innúm/erab/le líght* (18.3)

³ Gilbert Youmans transformed all poetic word orders into ordinary word orders in a large sample of Milton’s verse (7,339 lines). One of his findings was that Milton often used poetic word orders to place an iambic word at the end of the line but rarely to remove an iambic word from that position (YOUMANS, 1989: 377).

In item (6), *hùge stáge* has the most prominent phrasal stress on *stáge* and the foot has iambic rhythm despite the subordinate phrasal stress on *huge*. Compare *time's úse* in Pessoa's item (7). Less often, Shakespeare places a stressed monosyllable on a weak position when the adjacent syllables are unstressed, as in the second foot of item (8). Pessoa's item (9) has the same kind of trochaic inversion in its second foot.⁴ A stressed monosyllable stands out less starkly on a weak position when adjacent to stress in the preceding foot, as in Pessoa's item (10), where *stars* is immediately preceded by *stray*. This kind of inversion is less strictly regulated by the principle of closure than the kind of inversion in (9), which Pessoa places most often in the second foot and never in the fourth. Inversions like those in the second foot of (10), on the other hand, appear eight times in the fourth foot, once every four or five sonnets.⁵

In a two-word English phrase, the last word usually has the most prominent stress. The rising rhythm of phrases contrasts with the falling rhythm of compound words, which usually have the strongest stress on the first syllable. If I say *bláckbird*, with the strongest stress on *black*, I am using a compound word that refers to one species of bird, *turdus merula* to be precise. If I say *blàck bírd*, with the strongest stress on *bird*, I am using a two-word phrase that refers to any bird colored black. A cormorant, for example, is a black bird.

English iambic pentameter allows special departures from the norm at the margins of the line, which normally coincide with the margins of a sentence or large phrase.

- (11) *Béauty / and lóve / let nó / one sép/aràte* (19.1)
- (12) *Náture's / bequést / gíves nóth/ing but / doth lénd* (S4.3)
- (13) *By àn/y skill / of thóught / or trícK / of séem(ing)* (1.10)
- (14) *Líke to / the lárk / at bréak / of dáy / arís(ing)* (S29.11)
- (15) (pause) *Twén/ty bóok/ës clád / in blák / or réed* (Chaucer, A.Prol.294)
- (16) (pause) *Név/er, név/er, név/er, név/er, név(er)!* (K. L. 5.3.308)

⁴ Trochaic inversions like those in item (9) also occur in the second foot of 3.11, 15.8, 18.9, 21.13, 24.11, 31.5, 31.11, and 32.2; and in the third foot of 16.7 and 31.6. Such inversions cannot occur in the first foot (since no unstressed syllable precedes in the same line) and are restricted for irrelevant reasons in the fifth foot, where a line-final function word like *to* would cause radical enjambment. Inversion with radical enjambment does occur in Pessoa's items (49) and (50), discussed below, but in such cases the line-final function word acquires special prominence from rhyme and becomes a more appropriate occupant for the strong position.

⁵ This less complex inversion also occurs in the second foot of 13.10, 20.8, and 33.7; in the third foot of 8.12, 14.10, 14.11, 15.2, 16.8, 18.8, 20.12, 23.2, 27.12, 28.9, 29.2, and 32.7; and in the fourth foot of 2.9, 3.13, 12.7, 14.10, 16.4, 21.5, 29.13, and 35.1. As with inversions like (9), those like (10) cannot occur in the first foot and have no exact equivalents in the fifth foot due to the presence of rhyme in that location.

Stress is most easily perceived on a syllable that stands between unstressed syllables of the same phrase.⁶ It is more difficult to perceive stress in the first syllable of a phrase. Items (11) and (12) both have stress on the weak position of the first foot; but this stress is muffled at the beginning of the line, which is also the beginning of a sentence.⁷ The last foot in the line can be followed optionally by a single unstressed syllable, as in items (13) and (14), where the optional syllable is parenthesized. Since Chaucer, iambic pentameter has also allowed “headless” lines in which the first syllable is omitted, as in item (15). Shakespeare’s item (16) is a headless line that also has an extra syllable at line end. Lines like (16) are rare for reasons that have nothing to do with stress. This line has perfectly regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables. All its strong positions are occupied by stressed syllables and all its weak positions are occupied by unstressed syllables. The special complexity of (16) results from its persistent refusal to align foot boundaries with word boundaries. As a line with five trochaic words, item (16) is the binary opposite of item (2), a line with five iambic words that realizes each foot in the simplest way.

Item (16) is an extreme example of an effect noticed by eminent poets and critics: that a concentration of trochaic words creates a trochaic counter-rhythm even in an iambic metrical context (KIPARSKY, 1977: 234). This metrical dissonance occurs in Shakespeare’s most harrowing scene of cathartic pity and terror, when King Lear’s world has been utterly destroyed and he is dying of a literally broken heart. Program music for a film version of the play would surely employ harmonic dissonance here. In a similar way, the metrical dissonance of item (16) accompanies and intensifies the emotional tension of the scene.

Some freedoms available at the margins of the line are also available within the line at the margins of phrases.

(17) *But the / wòrds’ sénse / from wórds / — knówledge, / trùth, chánge* (26.12)

(18) *My lóve / shall in / my vérse / éver / live yóung* (S19.14)

(19) *Do máke /it bétt(er); / its pér/il is / its áid* (11.4)

(20) *Must cúrt/sy at / this cén(sure). / Oh, bóys, / this stó(ry)* (Cym. 3.3.55)

In the fourth foot of item (17), *knowledge* has muffled stress at the beginning of a line-internal phrase marked off prominently by a dash. This stress can occupy the weak position of an iambic foot, like the line-initial stress of *beauty* in item (11).⁸ In

⁶ Conspicuous syllables of this kind are called *stress maxima* by HALLE and KEYSER (1971: 169-171).

⁷ It is worth adding that the first foot is the one least influenced by the principle of closure and provides a doubly appropriate site for trochaic inversion, which is more common there than at the beginning of a line-internal phrase.

⁸ Line-internal inversions also occur in the second foot of 23.9 and 27.14; the third foot of 6.3, 6.7, 8.1, 9.6, 11.5, 14.7, 15.4, 15.10, 16.2, 17.2, 17.7, 18.5, 25.14, 26.14, and 31.11; and the fourth foot of 8.10, 11.1, 18.10, 21.13, 25.9, and 28.1.

item (19), line-medial *bett(er)* adds an extra unstressed syllable at the end of a phrase. Compare line-final *seem(ing)* in item (13).⁹ Shakespeare's corresponding items (18) and (20) appear among other examples in KIPARSKY (1977: 217, 231). As rhythmical variations become more complex, it becomes harder to find examples in Shakespeare's sonnets, which are metrically stricter than his plays.¹⁰ Kiparsky cites no examples like (20) from the sonnets.

Although iambic pentameter regulates syllable count rather strictly, two unstressed vowels may occupy the same weak position when they are adjacent, either within the same word or across a word boundary. Within a given word, unstressed vowels can also share a weak position when they are separated by one resonant consonant (KIPARSKY, 1977: 239-244). Resonant consonants like *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r* do not make sharp syllable divisions. They tend to coalesce with vowels because they are like vowels in important respects; and they actually become vowels in words like *bottle*, *bottom*, *button*, and *butter*, as pronounced in my dialect of American English. Optional assignment of two vowels to one metrical position, generally called *elision*, occurs frequently in English iambic pentameter (KIPARSKY, 1977: 240). Word-internal elision is marked by parentheses in the cited examples. Elision across a word boundary is marked by an underscore.

(21) *We_are* bórn / at sún/set and /we díe / ere mórn (14.1)

(22) *With the* / òld sád/ness for / the _immór/tal hóme (20.4)

(23) *All (i)s éi/ther the / irrát/(iona)l wórld / we sée* (2.10)

The fact that *we are* can be contracted into *we're* makes it easy to understand why Pessoa can treat the first two syllables of item (21) as if they were a single syllable.¹¹ In item (22), the unstressed vowel of *the* shares a weak position with the adjacent unstressed vowel of *immortal*.¹² In an edition of Milton's poetry, spelling as *th' immortal* might be used to show that the vowel of *the* does not count as an independent metrical syllable. The last two unstressed vowels of *irrát(iona)l* can share a weak position in (23) because they are separated only by the resonant consonant *n*. When eligible for contraction, adjacent syllables separated by a word boundary can share one metrical position even if their vowels are separated by a consonant, as in the first foot of item (23). Item (23) would scan without this option

⁹ Similar examples internal to the line occur with *sinn(er)* (5.13), *bitt(er)* (28.13), and *words (of)* in 25.14, which also has trochaic inversion in the third foot after a phrase boundary and elision of the first two vowels in *reality*.

¹⁰ For a thorough metrical analysis of Shakespeare's non-dramatic and dramatic long line see DUFFELL (2008: 131-136).

¹¹ Vocalic resonants count as elidable vowels and can be elided in the second foot of 9.11, in the fourth foot of 29.9, and in the fifth foot of 19.4 and 31.7.

¹² Similar elision occurs with *the* in the second foot of 5.8 and the fourth foot of 31.14.

if the poet had used the contracted form spelled *All's* (as for example in *All's well that ends well*).¹³

Elision can also occur when one of the adjacent vowels is stressed.

(24) *The_équal/ble tý/rant of / our diff/(ere)nt fâtes* (27.10)

(25) *With the / h(igher) triffling lèt / us wórld / our wít* (35.11)

(26) *(Éve)n when / the féel/ing's ná/ture_is ví/olènt* (6.12)

In the first foot of item (24), *the* is elided with the following stressed vowel and the combination counts as one syllable with muffled stress.¹⁴ My performance of (24) would not require elision across *r* in *different* because this word has only one unstressed syllable in my dialect of English. Now it is by no means necessary to pronounce two elided vowels as one syllable for effective performance of a line (compare KIPARSKY, 1977: 240). Elision does typically correspond, however, to monosyllabic pronunciation in rapid speech or in a dialect other than the poet's.¹⁵ In item (25), the stressed vowel of *higher* elides with *-er*, the adjacent unstressed vowel (a centralized vowel in r-less dialects, a vocalic resonant *r* in my dialect).¹⁶ Item (26) illustrates a subtype of elision across *v*. The corresponding monosyllabic pronunciation is indicated by an apostrophe in spellings for *even* like *e'en*.¹⁷

As item (6) has shown, Shakespeare uses heavy iambic feet with a stressed word followed by a word of more prominent phrasal stress (*hùge stáge*). Pessoa employs heavy iambic feet in some complex lines.

¹³ Compare item (31) below, where Pessoa uses the contracted form *And's* and the first foot scans as written. Contraction of *is* can take place across consonants that would block elision, for example the voiceless stop [k] in *Frank's*. Although *We are* in item (21) scans with routine elision of adjacent vowels across a word boundary, *All is* in item (23) is best analyzed as assignment of contractible syllables to one weak position (rather than as elision across a resonant consonant and a word boundary).

¹⁴ Elision with *the* before a stressed vowel also occurs in the third foot of 18.7, 29.14, and 32.12; and in the fourth foot of 19.8. Milton uses this kind of elision in lines like *As from / the cén/ter thríce / to th'út/mòst póle* (PL 1.74).

¹⁵ Sub-varieties of elision can be distinguished as analogues of the corresponding linguistic rules for dialects or rapid speech, and poets can differ in their choice of sub-varieties (KIPARSKY, 1977: 239-241).

¹⁶ Elision after a stressed vowel also occurs in the first foot of 15.12, 23.14, and 25.12; the second foot of 4.10, 17.8, 17.10, 21.8, 29.3, and 35.8; the third foot of 2.11, 15.2, 20.6, 22.11, 23.13, 27.9, 33.14, and 34.13; the fourth foot of 2.5, 11.11, 29.2, 33.14, and 34.6; and the fifth foot of 30.10. In 33.14, *being* elides twice. In 25.14, *r(eá)lity* shows elision of an unstressed vowel before an adjacent stressed vowel, as with *p(oé)tic*, cited as an example in KIPARSKY (1977: 239). Such elision is possible when simplex words from the same root have a stressed vowel followed by an unstressed vowel, as with *póet* and *réal*, the latter elided by Pessoa in 15.12.

¹⁷ This subtype of elision also occurs in the first foot of 6.12, 23.1 and 23.9; the second foot of 3.8 and 29.12; the third foot of 11.8; and the fourth foot of 18.6 and 29.2. In 29.2, the corresponding sound change in *ever* is marked by the spelling *e'er*.

- (27) *The púsh/ling próm/-ise of / nèar fár / blùe skíes* (11.12)
 (28) *Like a / fierce béast / sèlf-pén/med / in a / bàit-láir* (9.5)
 (29) *Hòw but / by hópe / do I / the_unknówn / trùth gét?* (31.14)
 (30) *And with / òld wóes / nèw wáil / my déar / tìme's wáste* (S30.4)

Item (27) ends with two consecutive heavy iambs. Item (28) has three heavy iambs. The neologistic compound *bait-lair* rhymes with *despair* and must have the same stress pattern as *sèlf-pén/med*, a compound of the less usual kind in which the second stress is stronger (compare *sèlf-táught* and *Thànksgìving*, the latter contrasting with a southern American variant *Thànksgìvin'*). The phrase *unknown truth* would ordinarily have the most prominent phrasal stress on *truth*. In item (29), however, *truth* is subordinated by the Rhythm Rule (KIPARSKY, 1977: 218-223). This rule of ordinary language creates alternating rhythm within a series of adjacent stresses, as for example in *góod òld mán*.¹⁸ As item (30) shows, Shakespeare employs the same closing rhythm.¹⁹

Some of the most complex rhythms in Pessoa's sonnets are attested in Shakespeare's plays.

- (31) *And's ón/ly v(ísi)/ble when / invís/ible* (12.8)
 (32) *That sáw / the P(óssi)/ble like / a dáwn / grow pále* (24.7)
 (33) *And spénds / his pr(ódi)/gal wíts / in bóot/less rhýme* (L. L. L. 5.2.64)
 (34) *For the / r(àrer) pó/tion mine / own dréams / I'll táke* (28.11)
 (35) *And if / 'tis p(óssi)/ble (to) Thóught / to béar / this frúit* (17.13)
 (36) *A sám/ple to / the yóung(est); / (to) the móre / matúre* (Cym 1.1.48)
 (37) *So the / sèen cóup/le's (to)gé/thernèss / shall béar* (19.7)

By resolution, an optional rule largely confined to early English poetry, a short stressed vowel can share a strong metrical position with an unstressed vowel if the two vowels are separated by any single consonant (KIPARSKY, 1977: 236). Pessoa resolves *visible* in item (31) and *Possible* in item (32). Resolved sequences are parenthesized and the stressed vowels in all these sequences are short. Shakespeare's item (33) resolves *prodigal*. In item (34), resolution of *rarer* may look at first glance like elision across a resonant. When an unstressed vowel is elided after a stressed vowel, however, the two vowels are not normally separated by a

¹⁸ If *truth* were not subordinated to *get*, the Rhythm Rule would have created alternating rhythm by a shift of stress to the prefix *un-* in the phrase *úknòwn trùth*. This kind of stress shift occurs in items (42) and (43), discussed below.

¹⁹ Pessoa uses similar rhythms in the second foot of 26.8; the third foot of 7.8, 7.11, 8.4, 12.3, and 14.13; and the fifth foot of 3.8, 5.11, 12.11, and 23.4. These rhythms show no influence from the principle of closure and Pessoa seems not to apprehend them as especially complex.

consonant.²⁰ A quite different option “permits the vowel of a monosyllabic clitic (i.e. an unstressed word not belonging to a lexical category) to be disregarded” (KIPARSKY, 1977: 237). In the third foot of Pessoa’s item (35), the clitic function word *to* is disregarded.²¹ In addition, *possible* is resolved, as in item (32). Clitic *to* is similarly disregarded in Shakespeare’s item (36), where the suffix *-est* is an optional unstressed syllable at the end of a line-internal phrase (compare items (19) and (20)). In Pessoa’s item (37), the clitic prefix *to-* is disregarded.

Shakespeare will place a trochaic word in the first iambic foot of a line, as in item (12), or in the first foot of a line-internal phrase, as with *ever* in item (18). In item (38), Pessoa places trochaic *motion* in the second foot of a phrase.²²

(38) *In the / mótion / of móv/ing póis/əd áye* (29.6)

(39) *But to / vánquish / by wís/dom héll/ish wíles* (Milton, PR 1.175)

Non-initial inversion within a phrase is common in Milton, but Shakespeare generally avoids it, and it is not used at all by Alexander Pope (KIPARSKY, 1977: 212-214). Although Miltonic lines like (39) invert the expected pattern of a foot, Milton always aligns the boundaries of the inverted foot with word boundaries. This reduces the overall complexity of the line, compensating for the mismatch between stresses and metrical positions. Lines like (38) and (39) also occur in Wyatt’s sonnets (KIPARSKY, 1977: 202).

Shakespeare uses heavy iambic feet in lines like item (6), but this only occurs when the boundaries of the heavy foot are aligned with word boundaries (KIPARSKY, 1977: 201-203). In Pessoa’s item (40), *sug/gèsts* is misaligned with a foot boundary. Its unstressed syllable occupies a strong position in the first foot and its stressed syllable occupies a weak position in the second foot. Three consecutive mismatches to the basic pattern within a single word (two stress mismatches and a boundary mismatch) make this line particularly complex. The same kind of triple

²⁰ Resolution across a resonant can also be assumed for *common* in 32.6. Linguistic double consonants were reduced to single consonants at word level in Middle English. In Shakespeare’s time, the double consonants of *possible* and *common* had become artificial spelling conventions used to indicate that the preceding stressed vowel was short. A resolved sequence also occurs in *(óra)tor* (6.1) and once again in *P(óssi)ble* (24.7). In a copy of the printed book, Pessoa marked *common* for deletion and substituted *day*, simplifying the metrical pattern (PESSOA, 1993: 82).

²¹ Other monosyllabic clitics to be disregarded in scansion include *the* in 23.14; *of* in 21.11, 21.12, and 24.12; *a* in 22.12; *for* in 30.12; *I* in 32.4; *when* in 35.13; and *to* again in 28.9 and 35.8. Line 24.12 also requires archaic pronunciation of *ignorəd* and elision in *éch(oi)ng*. An apostrophe indicates that a clitic function word should be disregarded in *is’t* (35.7), *that’t* (24.13, 24.14), and *i’t’h’* (5.10, 15.13). In *do’t* (35.12), it might be elided within a phonological word rather than simply disregarded.

²² Similar trochaic inversions occur with *nearer* (10.7), *country* (17.5), *endless* (29.9), *active* (29.12), *older* (31.1), and *duty’s* (34.3). The principle of closure restricts these complex inversions to the first three feet.

mismatch is allowed by John Donne, as item (41) shows, but not by Milton, Shakespeare, or Pope.²³

(40) *Stíll sug/gèsts fórm / as áught / whose pró/per bé(ing)* (21.3)

(41) *Shall be/hòld Gód, / and né/ver tást / dèaths wóe* (Holy Sonnets, 7)

The examples in (40) and (41) differ from those in (42) and (43), which involve reversal of stress in ordinary speech by the Rhythm Rule.²⁴

(42) *An ún/knòwn lán/guage spéaks / in ús, / which wè* (25.13)

(43) *Thy ád/vèrse párt/y is /thy ád/vocàte* (S33.7)

(44) *That én/tire déath / shall núll / my én/tire thóught* (7.2)

Words undergoing this kind of reversal often have subordinate stress on the first syllable, as with *fiftéen*. Reversal occurs when the most prominent stress is perceptibly close to the stressed syllable of a following word, as within the phrase *fiftèen mén*. Shakespeare employed the Rhythm Rule in some words to which the rule no longer generally applies. Pessoa employs such words with trochaic value in several lines like item (44).²⁵

Item (45) is like item (40) except that the stressed syllable on the weak position of the second foot is followed by an unstressed syllable on the strong position (which is elided with the following unstressed syllable in this particular case). Lines like (45) are even more complex than those like (40), since they involve four consecutive mismatches (a boundary mismatch and three stress mismatches).

²³ Iambic words split by the foot boundary include *contained* (7.6), *recalled* (16.8), *compel* (25.3), and *perplexed* (26.11). Pessoa might have scanned some such prefixed words as trochaic, assuming that the Rhythm Rule would have applied in Shakespeare's English.

²⁴ Similarly with *úknòwn* (31.13) and *únsèn* (20.11, 23.6). Reversal can also result from contrastive stress, as probably with *ínside* (8.5) and *únmask* (8.13). In 28.4, the proper scansion is probably *sòmewhére*, with contrastive stress on *where*; and similarly with *sòmething* in 28.7. Note the striking resemblances between these two instances, which involve very similar words with identical stress patterns and occur just a few lines apart in the same poem.

²⁵ Shakespearean pronunciations required by the meter include *dírect* (3.4), *éntire* once again (7.2), *óbscure* (14.4), *cómpete* (14.7), *éxact* (9.2), and *cómmuned* (24.4). These Rhythm-Rule pronunciations are discussed in SHMIDT (1971: 1413–15), and in Schmidt's entries for the individual words. Essentially the same edition of Schmidt's lexicon was published in 1902. Such information was available when Pessoa was working on 35 *Sonnets*. Due to lack of evidence in Shakespeare's works, trochaic Shakespearean value is uncertain for *forgot* in 8.12, *forecome* in 10.11, *withdrawn* in 23.13, and *compel* in 25.3, though these prefixed words resemble others to which the Rhythm Rule applies. With regard to *forecome*, compare *fòregòne conclúsiòn*. Other early English pronunciations required by rhyme or meter include *grímáces* (8.11), *hórìzòn* (23.2), *absólute* (24.4), *tòwards* (4.14, 30.14), *inactiòn* (29.12), *explanatiòn* (32.12), *ignorèd* (24.12), and *enjoyèd* (16.6, with elision of the preceding syllable). Pessoa may have intended monosyllabic *bring'th* for *bringeth* in 35.10. Scansion of 35.10 with elision in *matt(eri)ng* yields an acceptable but more complex rhythm.

(45) *In ir/rép(ara)/ble sámel/ness fár / awáy* (27.4)

(46) *In váine / this séa / shall en/lárgé or / enróugh* (Donne, *Progress of the Soul*, 52)

(47) *And he / that súffferth offfénce with/òut bláme* (Wyatt, CV, 1.70)

The rhythmical variation in (45) is not allowed by Shakespeare, but Donne employs it in lines like (46), where *en/lárgé* creates a two stress mismatches in addition to the word boundary mismatch and unstressed *or* mismatches a strong position.²⁶ The same four mismatches occur in Wyatt's item (47), where *offfénce* is followed by unstressed *with-* (KIPARSKY, 1977: 202-203).²⁷

We have now considered all the rhythmical variations in *35 Sonnets*. As we have seen, Shakespeare uses most of them, in dramatic verse if not in his own sonnets. The remaining variations are used by Milton, Donne, or Wyatt. Pessoa differs from these English sonneteers in employing complex rhythms more often. His sonnets are certainly more difficult than Shakespeare's but should not be faulted for that reason alone. Consider Pessoa's item (38), which places a trochaic word in an iambic foot that is not the first foot of a line or phrase. This complex variation is used by Milton, as in item (39), but not by Shakespeare. Gerard Manley Hopkins, an English admirer of Milton, "cultivated the same metrical construction with characteristic extravagance" (KIPARSKY, 1977: 203). Pessoa was not the only modern poet to use a complex rhythm more frequently than Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope had done. Hopkins's poems in iambic "sprung rhythm," now widely admired, employ a basic pattern of five strong positions per line alternating with weak positions; but these sonnets depart very far indeed from Shakespeare's metrical practice (KIPARSKY, 1989: 310-312). Hopkins's metrical complexity delayed publication until after his death. The first edition of his poems (HOPKINS, 1918) happened to coincide with publication of Pessoa's *35 Sonnets*.²⁸ Pessoa also admired Milton and had difficulty publishing his own innovative work.²⁹ Hopkins was published too late to influence *35 Sonnets* directly, but he and Pessoa test the metrical limits in similar ways. Just a few years later, an eminent modernist summed up the spirit of those times: "it appears likely that poets in our

²⁶ The same kind of inversion occurs in 1.3 (third foot) and 15.6 (second foot). Pessoa restricts the frequency of these inversions and places them before the fourth foot.

²⁷ The Rhythm Rule cannot apply here because there is no relevant stressed syllable after *offence*.

²⁸ Editor's note: Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-1889) is not mentioned in any of Pessoa's writings. He is also absent from the Pessoa's private library (See PIZARRO, FERRARI, and CARDIELLO, 2010).

²⁹ In addition to expressing admiration, Pessoa annotated Milton's verse extensively (FERRARI, 2012: 122-27). In 1917, *The Mad Fiddler* was rejected by the London publisher Constable and Company (FERRARI and PITTELLA, 2014: 228). This rejection may have led Pessoa to self-publish his English chapbooks in Portugal.

civilization, as it exists at present, must be difficult" (ELIOT, 1921). To me at least, Pessoa seems timely rather than erratic.³⁰

Pessoa provides hints that he knows exactly what he is doing. His most complex effects are disciplined by the principle of closure, appearing most often in the earlier part of the line. Pessoa highlights metrical options by using the same word to illustrate both options, sometimes within a single line. In item (22), one instance of *the* elides but the other counts as a metrical syllable. In item (31), resolution occurs in *visible* but not in *invisible*. In 17.13, and again in 28.9, *to* is disregarded when it first appears but counts as a metrical syllable when it appears again toward the end of the line. Besides displaying awareness of metrical options, these lines provide a useful introduction to Pessoa's metrical style. They guided me as I scanned 35 *Sonnets*.

Repetition highlights a complex option in other cases. In item (44), *entire* appears twice with early English stress on the first syllable. In 33.14, *being* elides twice. The elided value of *mystery* is displayed in 12.13 and repeated in 12.14, where *mystery* occurs twice, the second time without elision. The simplex adjective *real* first appears in 15.12 with its monosyllabic value (a value transferrable to the derived form *réality* in 25.14). The disyllabic value of *real* is introduced in 17.6 and underscored by a second appearance in 17.12. In sonnet 29, the monosyllabic value of *ever* is specified by the spelling *e'er* (29.2), which primes us for elision across *v* in *(eve)n* (29.12). Unusual stress patterns can also be highlighted by repetition. In item (28), the unexpected pattern of *bàit-láir* is introduced by a more idiomatic example of the pattern, *sèlf-pénned*. Approximate repetition in nearby lines highlights contrastive stress on the second syllable of *sòmewhere* (28.4) and *sòmethíng* (28.7).

If the metrical line is based on the sentence, as I assume in my research, a sentence that overflows the line should add to metrical complexity. This effect is widely acknowledged, as the traditional term *enjambment* shows. The complexity is moderate when the line boundary falls between large sub-constituents of a sentence, as for example in Shakespeare's item (48), where an elaborate subject fills out the first line and the predicate fills the next.

³⁰ Since I am focusing on critical reaction to 35 *Sonnets* as originally published, I have not considered changes Pessoa wrote into his copies of the printed work, some of which appear in the critical edition (PESSOA, 1993: 67-84). More than half of the changed lines substitute new words for others with the same metrical value (1.1, 1.10, 3.10, 7.11, 8.8, 11.2, 14.1, 14.5, 14.9, 28.6, 28.8, and 30.1). These changed lines are identical to the original lines in stress patterning and placement of word boundaries. For the example in 3.10 see Fig. 2, where *possible* is substituted for *thinkable*. Some of the remaining changed lines are metrically more complex than the originals and a few others are less complex, with no clear pattern. Pessoa had no second thoughts worth mentioning about the metrical complexity of his sonnets. His changes have more to do with meaning than with form. For clarity, I have excluded from consideration a version of sonnet 34 so thoroughly reworked that the metrical significance of an individual change can be difficult to assess.

- (48) *And so the general of hot desire*
Was sleeping by a virgin hand disarmed (S154.7–8)
- (49) *Alas! All this is useless, for joy's in*
Enjoying, not in thinking of enjoying (16.9–10)
- (50) *In the country of bridges the bridge is*
More real than the shores it doth unsever;
So in our world, all of Relation, this
Is true — that truer is Love than either lover (17.5–8)

Complexity is extreme when the line boundary falls inside a phrase much smaller than the lines that contain it, as in Pessoa's item (49), where the line boundary splits the prepositional phrase *in enjoying*. In the fifth foot of 16.9, *joy's in* represents a kind of trochaic inversion usually encountered toward the beginning of the line, as in Shakespeare's item (8). Since it is the tenth syllable of 16.9, *in* must occupy the fifth strong position. This is confirmed by rhyme between *in* and *sin* in line 11.³¹ The rhyme gives artificial prominence to *in* and renders it more appropriate to a strong position. Pessoa's inversion with enjambment is clearly a deliberate experiment, since the experiment is repeated in item (50), which comes from the following sonnet. Inversion occurs with *bridge is* in the fifth foot of 17.5, where the line boundary splits the small phrase *is more real*. A similar experiment follows at once in 17.7–8, where the line boundary splits the small phrase *this is true* and the function word *this* occupies the fifth strong position. In 17.7, *this* is preceded by an unstressed syllable and there is no trochaic inversion. The most prominent syllable in the fifth foot is *this* and its light stress makes for a somewhat less unusual rhyme. Since both *is* and *this* are function words, Pessoa's function-word rhymes can hardly be regarded as careless oversights. Enjambment is a signature characteristic of modernist poetry. Pessoa signals his modernist orientation with enjambments more complex than those employed by Shakespeare and Milton.³² Pessoa's decision to go beyond the metrical practice of these poets should come as no surprise, given Pessoa's own self-assessment, as witnessed in a bold declaration datable to around 1915: "I am now in full possession of the fundamental laws of literary art. Shakespeare can no longer teach me to be subtle, nor Milton to be complete" (PESSOA, 1966: 20).³³

³¹ Rhyming of stressed syllables with unstressed syllables is clearly detectable by the human ear, since it is used systematically in Irish *deibide* meter (MURPHY, 1961: 31). Pessoa uses similar rhymes in less complex lines, for example items (28) and (33). The function-word rhyme in 16.9 differs from the rhyme in Shakespeare's item (8), where *love* occupies the fifth strong position and *love her* rhymes with *approve her* two lines below. In this line, the function word *her* is the optional eleventh syllable and participates in a polysyllabic rhyme.

³² Other complex enjambments occur in 7.13–14, 11.9–10, 12.13–14, 13.7–8, and 17.10–11 — two lines after item (52) in a poem of very systematic experimentation.

³³ Editor's note: for a full transcription see Annex.

Reviews of *35 Sonnets* in 1918 were quite positive in some respects but were critical of Pessoa's English usage. The *Glasgow Herald* objected to "crabbedness" in some Renaissance locutions and *The Scotsman* declared that Pessoa's English was "always a foreigner's English." No argument or evidence was provided for these criticisms (FERRARI, 2012: 201 and 214-215). I do not know quite what to make of them. Someone who disapproved of Renaissance English in modern poetry would also be obliged to disapprove of Hopkins's brilliant "Angelus ad Virginem," written throughout in unabashedly archaic English (HOPKINS, 1990: 168-169). Archaic English is appropriated by other modernist poets, American as well as English. Ezra Pound's translation of the Old English *Seafarer* provides an extreme example. If there is something odd about phrases like *near far blue skies* (item 29), that must be equally true of *fresh-firecoal chestnut-falls* in "Pied Beauty" (HOPKINS, 1990: 144).

After devoting more than forty years to the study of English linguistics, I could not find one instance of second-language confusion in *35 Sonnets*. Such confusion would not be expected in Pessoa's writing. His childhood education took place in a South African English-language school and until he was twenty-one he wrote the greater part of his poetry exclusively in English (FERRARI and PITTELLA, 2014: 227). A section of Pessoa's large private library was devoted to linguistics and philology as well as to literature (FERRARI, 2012: 166, note 4).³⁴ Pessoa must have had native-speaker competence or something close to it. The reviewers do not provide examples of un-English language in the *35 Sonnets*. Given nothing to work with, I can only speculate that item (51) might have seemed flagrantly unidiomatic.

(51) *That doth not even my with gone true soul rime* (3.8)

(52) *That dòth / not (éve)n / with my / gòne trúe / sòul ríme*

Certainly *gone true soul* is not ordinary English and the last two feet of (51) are unusually heavy, as with *near far blue skies*; but such language is no more un-English than modernist constructions used by Hopkins. If the reviewers were reacting to (51), attribution to foreign-language influence seems quite wrong-headed. The really awkward feature of (51) is placement of *with* after *my* inside the noun phrase *my gone true soul*. To my knowledge, there are no constructions in Romance languages that place a preposition inside the noun phrase governed by that preposition. This word salad could hardly be due to language interference and turns out to be a misprint. Item (52) provides a scansion for the line as it stands in the author's handwritten version.

³⁴ MacKenzie (HOPKINS, 1990: VII) refers to "piquant Victorian speculations in philology" as representative of the books Hopkins knew.

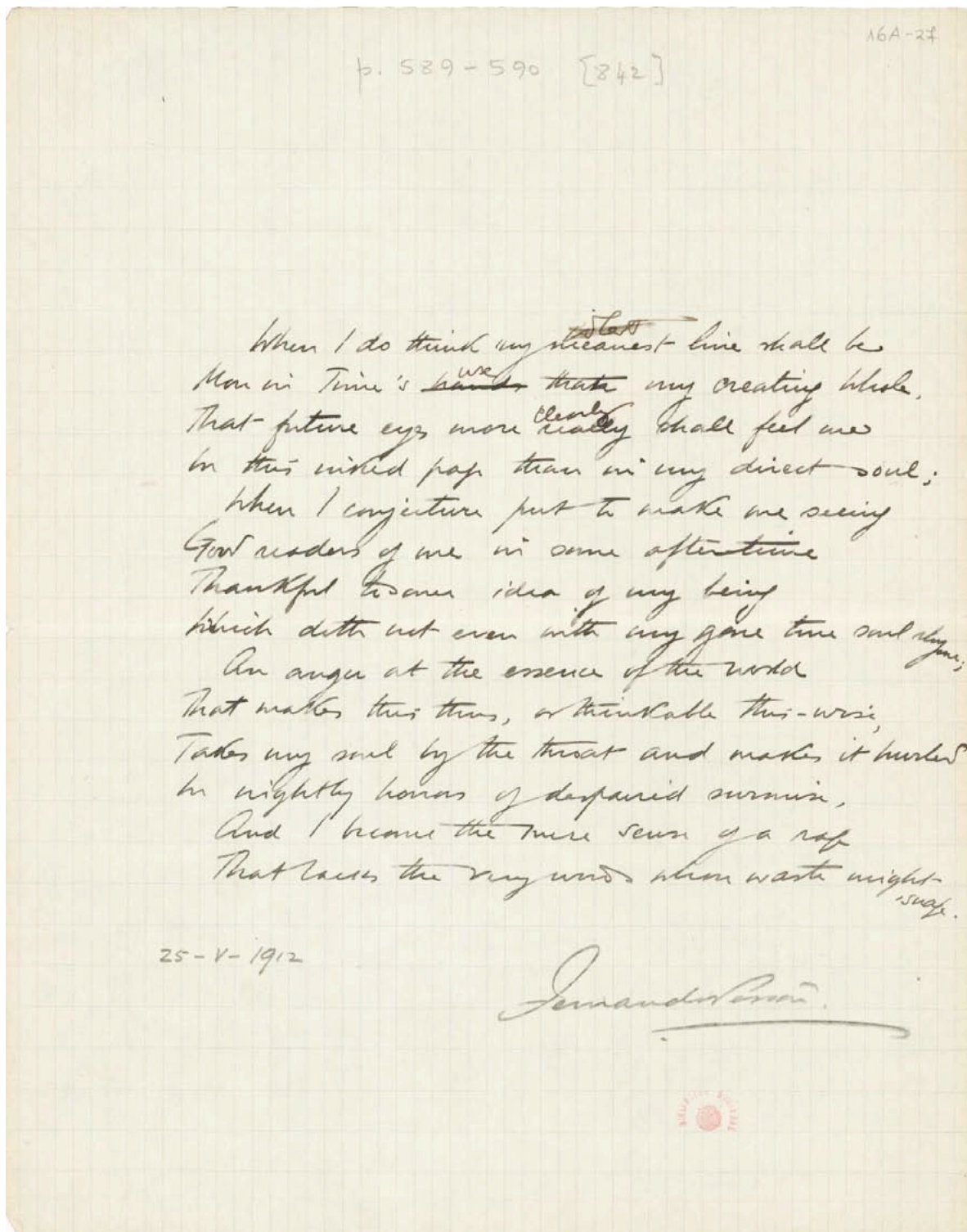


Fig. 1. Manuscript of Pessoa's "Sonnet III." BNP/E3, 16A-27.

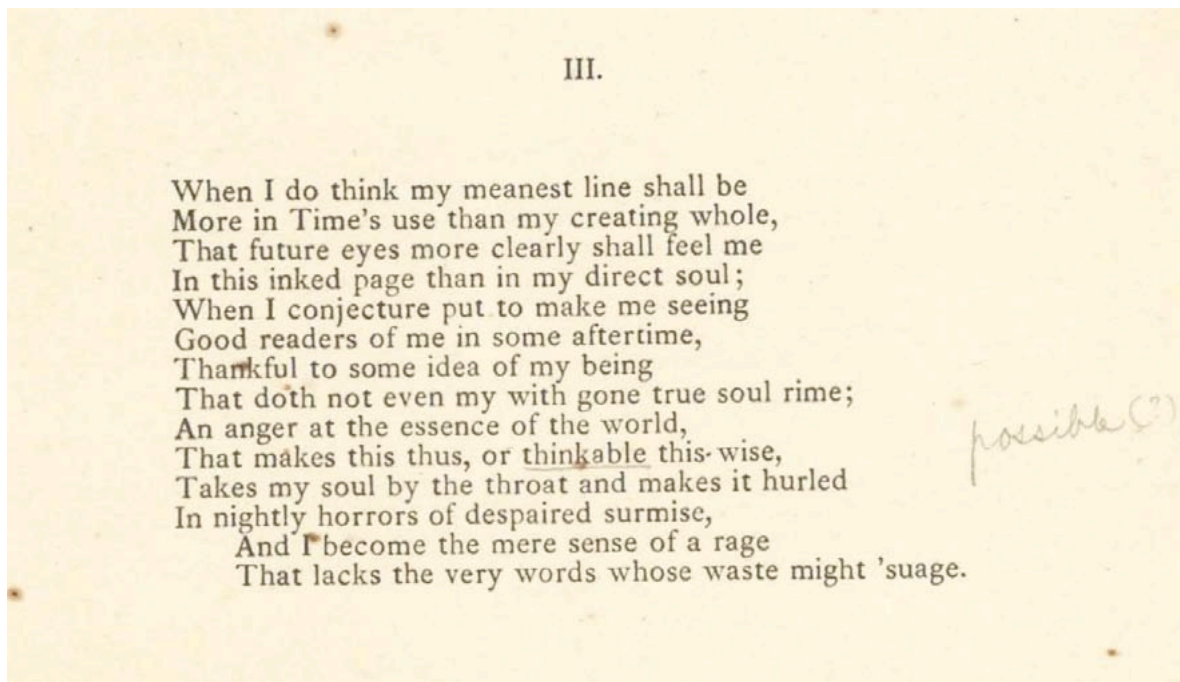


Fig. 2. "Sonnet III" as printed in the *35 Sonnets*. One of Pessoa's personal copies with marginal emendations datable to 1918. BNP/E3, 98¹-1^v. Detail.

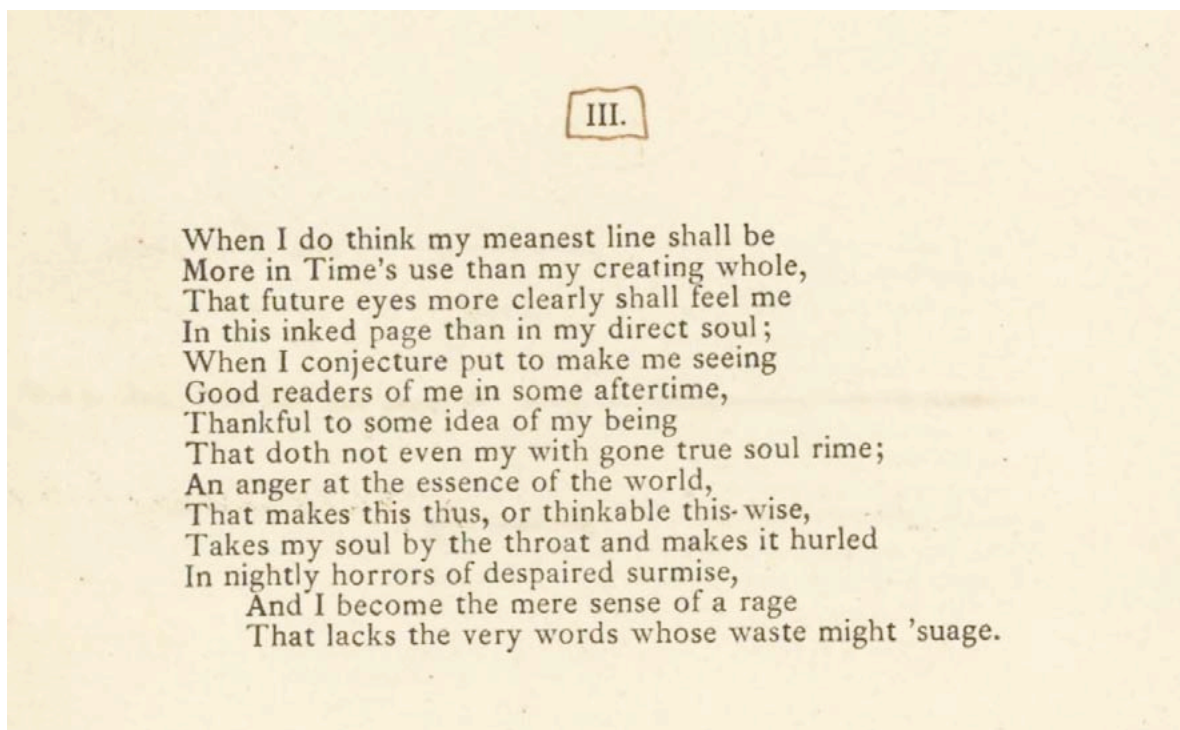
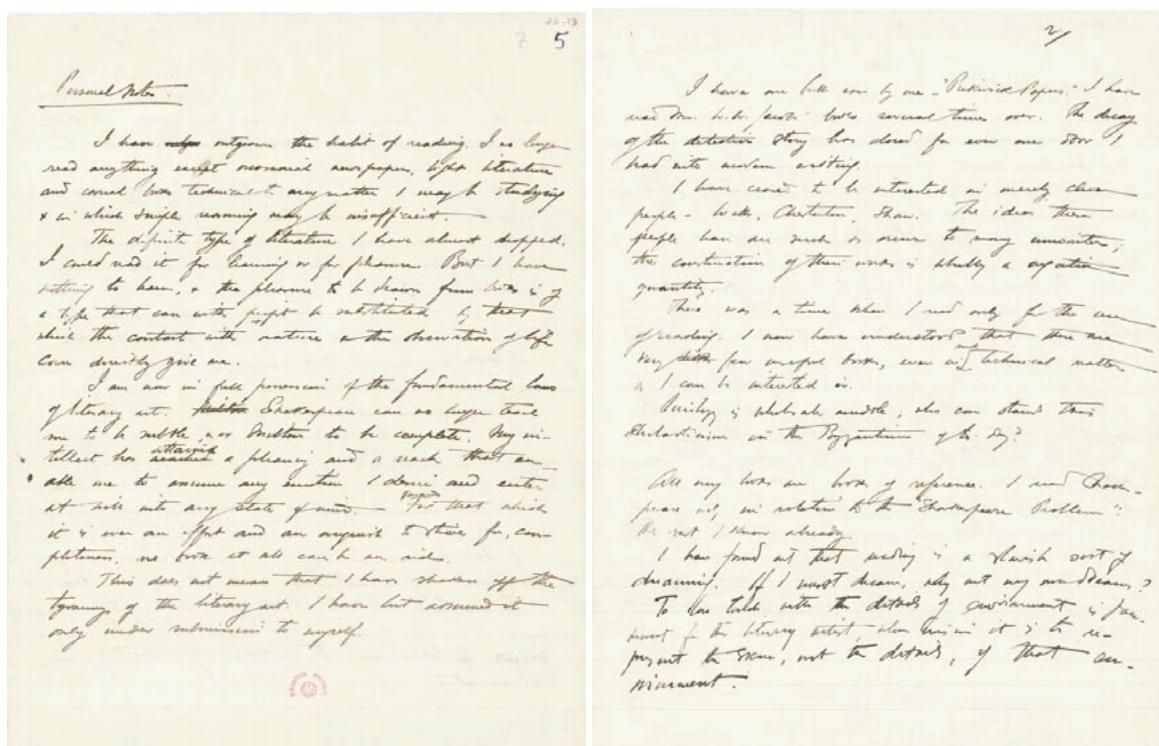


Fig. 3. "Sonnet III" as printed in the *35 Sonnets*. Pessoa's other personal copy with emendations datable to 1918. BNP/E3, 98²-1^v. Detail.

As we have seen, Wyatt, Donne, Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope have different metrical dialects. Rhythmical variation becomes progressively more restricted from Wyatt to Pope: "any alignment of stresses with the basic metrical pattern that is found in Milton or Shakespeare is also metrical for Wyatt, and any

that is found in Pope is metrical for all the others, but Milton and Shakespeare each have lines that would not be allowed by the other" (KIPARSKY, 1977: 215). Milton and Shakespeare also differ with regard to enjambment (KIPARSKY, 1977: 216). Pope avoids a subtype of elision used by the other poets (KIPARSKY, 1977: 240). For fine-grained metrical analysis, the sort of analysis useful to editors, the concept of "unmetrical" must be relativized to the poet under inspection. What is "unmetrical" for Pope can be "metrical" for the other three poets, and what is "metrical" for Wyatt can be "unmetrical" for the others. Each poet has explored the possibilities of rhythmical variation, especially no doubt those used by illustrious predecessors, adopting some variations while avoiding others. A modernist is unlikely, of course, to accept Pope's as the best of all possible dialects of iambic pentameter. In an era when poems are typically encountered as printed or electronic texts, a poem can be studied at leisure and poets can present their readers with stiffer challenges, especially in a short form like the sonnet. Careful preparation may be required for effective oral performance of a modernist poem; but the performance can then circulate in recorded form, making the effort especially worthwhile. In my opinion, Pessoa's English sonnets are artful appropriations of the literary past. They deserve wider circulation and closer attention from literary scholars.

Annex. [BNP/E3, 20-13]. Lined-paper handwritten in black ink. Datable to around 1915. Published in *Páginas Íntimas e de Auto-Interpretação* (PESSOA, 1966: 20-21), without the last paragraph. Pessoa left several passages praising Dickens' *The Pickwick Papers* (see PESSOA, 2013: 105-109). Seven books by W.W. Jacobs' books are extant in Pessoa's Private Library (see PIZARRO, FERRARI and CARDIELLO, 2010: 263-264 and 367). Numerous critics have argued that Francis Bacon (1561-1626), a writer of great erudition, had penned some of Shakespeare's plays. Fascinated by this hypothesis, Pessoa elaborated a bibliography with more than thirty titles regarding the "Questão Shakespeare-Bacon" (see 144D²-16 and 17) (fac-similed in PESSOA, 2006: I, 355) and wrote extensively on the matter. One article in Portuguese and several books in French and English on this controversy may be found in the Private Library (PIZARRO, FERRARI, and CARDIELLO, 2010: 50, 97, 190, 196, 239, 251, 263, 269, 275, 307, 320, 325, and 387). Pessoa left numerous unpublished fragments on the "Question" dating from 1912/1913.



Figs. 4 & 5. Manuscript of Pessoa's "Personal Notes." BNP/E3, 20-13^r & 13^v.

Personal Notes.

I have outgrown¹ the habit of reading. I no longer read anything except occasional newspapers, light literature and casual books technical to any matter I may be studying and² in which simple reasoning may be insufficient.

The definite type of literature I have almost dropped. I could read it for learning or for pleasure. But I have nothing to learn, and³ the pleasure to be drawn

from books is of a type that can with profit⁴ be substituted by that which the contact with nature and⁵ the observation of life can directly give me.

I am now in full possession of the fundamental laws of literary art. Shakespeare⁶ can no longer teach me to be subtle, nor Milton to be complete. My intellect has attained⁷ a pliancy and a reach that enable me to assume any emotion I desire and enter at will into any state of mind. Towards⁸ that which it is ever an effort and an anguish to strive for, completeness, no book at all can be an aid.

This does not mean that I have shaken off the tyranny of the literary art. I have but assumed it only under submission to myself.

I have one book ever by me – “Pickwick Papers.” I have read Mr. W. W. Jacobs’ books several times over. The decay of the detective story has closed for ever one door I had into modern writing.

I have ceased to be interested in merely clever people – Wells, Chesterton, Shaw. The ideas these people have are such as occur to many non-writers⁹; the construction of their works is wholly a negative quantity.

There was a time when I read only for the use of reading. I now have understood that there are very few¹⁰ useful books, even in such¹¹ technical matters as I can be interested in.

Sociology is wholesale muddle; who can stand this Scholasticism in the Byzantium of to-day?

All my books are books of reference. I read Shakespeare only in relation to the “Shakespeare Problem.” The rest I know already.

I have found out that reading is a slavish sort of dreaming. If I must dream, why not my own dreams?

To lose touch with the details of environment is paramount for the literary artist, whose mission it is to represent the scene, not the details, of that environment.

NOTES

- 1 <outg>outgrown
- 2 &] *in the original.*
- 3 *see note 2.*
- 4 *a cross under this word indicates hesitation and possible variant.*
- 5 *see note 2.*
- 6 <Milton> Shakespeare
- 7 <reached> [↑ attained]
- 8 For [↑ Towards]
- 9 nonwriters] *in the original.*
- 10 very <book> few
- 11 in [↑ such] technical

Bibliography

- DAUNT, Marjorie (1968). "Old English Verse and English Speech Rhythm." *Essential Articles for the Study of Old English Poetry*. Edited by Jess B. Bessinger and Stanley J. Karhl. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books). [Reprint of the original 1947 article in *Transactions of the Philological Society* (for 1946), pp. 56-72].
- DUFFELL, Martin (2008). *A New History of English Metre*. London: Legenda.
- ELIOT, Thomas Stearns (1921). Review of *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century: Donne to Butler*, by Herbert J. C. Grierson, *Times Literary Supplement*, 20 October 1921, pp. 669-670.
- FERRARI, Patricio (2015). "Pessoa and Borges: In the Margins of Milton." *Variaciones Borges*, Daniel Balderston, ed., nº 40, University of Pittsburgh, Fall, pp. 3-21.
- ____ (2012). *Meter and Rhythm in the Poetry of Fernando Pessoa*. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Linguistics. Lisbon: University of Lisbon.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2014). "Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa's English Poetry)." *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest editors, 28, UMass at Dartmouth, Tagus Press, pp. 249-276.
- HALLE, Morris and Samuel Jay KEYSER (1971). *English Stress: Its Form, Its Growth, and Its Role in Verse*. New York: Harper & Row.
- HAYES, Bruce (1983). "A Grid-Based Theory of English Meter." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 14, pp. 357-393.
- HOPKINS, Gerard Manley (1990). *The Poetical Works of Gerard Manley Hopkins*. Edited by Norman H. MacKenzie. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ____ (1918). *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins*. Edited by Robert Bridges. London: Humphrey Milford.
- JAKOBSON, Roman (1963). "On the So-Called Vowel Alliteration in Germanic Verse." *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft, und Kommunikationsforschung*, 16, pp. 85-92.
- KIPARSKY, Paul (1989). "Sprung Rhythm." KIPARSKY and YOUNG, 1989, pp. 305-340.
- ____ (1977). "The Rhythmic Structure of English Verse." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 8, pp. 189-247.
- KIPARSKY, Paul and Gilbert YOUNG (1989). *Rhythm and Meter*. Vol. 1: *Phonetics and Phonology*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- MURPHY, Gerard (1961). *Early Irish Metrics*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2013). *Apreciações Literárias de Fernando Pessoa*. Edited by Pauly Ellen Bothe. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (2006). *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume VII. 2 volumes.
- ____ (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Inscriptions, Epitaphium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume V, tome I.
- ____ (1966). *Páginas Íntimas e de Auto-Interpretação*. Texts established and prefaced by Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisbon: Ática.
- ____ (1918). *35 Sonnets*. Lisbon: Monteiro and Company.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI, and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa*. Collection of the Fernando Pessoa House. Bilingual edition. Lisbon: D. Quixote.
- RUSSOM, Geoffrey (2011). "Word Patterns and Phrase Patterns in Universalist Metrics," in *Frontiers in Comparative Prosody*. Edited by Mihail Lotman and Maria-Kristiina Lotman. Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 337-371.

- SCHMIDT, Alexander (1971). *Shakespeare Lexicon and Quotation Dictionary*. 3rd edition revised and enlarged by Gregor Sarrazin. New York: Dover. Unabridged republication of the 1902 edition entitled *Shakespeare-Lexicon*.
- YOUMANS, Gilbert (1989). "Milton's Meter." KIPARSKY and YOUMANS, 1989, pp. 341-379.

Putting Your Heart to Sleep with Pentameters: A Prosodic, Lexical, and Syntactic Analysis of Fernando Pessoa's Sonnet X

Manuel Portela*

Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Language and Self, Parody, Sonnet Form, Sound and Sense, 35 *sonnets*.

Abstract

This article analyses Fernando Pessoa's Sonnet X ("As to a child, I talked my heart asleep") as a modernist parody of the Shakespearean sonnet. The presence of that highly constrained form is clearly recognizable at the level of both versification and language. At the same time, a number of "marked and essential differences" indicate that this poem is not a mere stylistic or thematic imitation of its model. The text's reflexive reference to the possibilities of splitting and binding sound to sense, on the one hand, and of splitting written self from writing self, on the other, highlight Pessoa's awareness of a self who is constituted in and through language. Weaving word-as-sound and word-as-sense with self-as-grammatical person, the text becomes the material evidence for the self-inventing and self-deceiving nature of literary activity.

Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Linguagem e Eu, Paródia, Forma do Soneto, Som e Sentido, 35 *sonnets*.

Resumo

Este artigo analisa o "Sonnet X" de Fernando Pessoa ("As to a child, I talked my heart asleep") como uma paródia modernista do soneto Shakespeariano. A presença desta forma tão constritiva é claramente reconhecível em ambas as dimensões da linguagem e da versificação. Ao mesmo tempo, um número de "marked and essential differences" (diferenças marcadas e essenciais) indicam que este poema não é apenas uma imitação estilística ou temática do seu modelo. A referência reflexiva do texto às possibilidades de dividir e amalgamar som e sentido, por um lado, e de separar o eu escrito do eu escritor, por outro lado, enfatizam a atenção de Pessoa a um eu que é construído na e através da linguagem. Entretecendo palavra-como-som e palavra-como-sentido com o eu-como-pessoa-gramatical, o texto torna-se a evidência material para o inventar-se e o iludir-se característicos da atividade literária.

* Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures, and Center for Portuguese Literature, University of Coimbra.

Introduction

In an earlier essay, focused on Fernando Pessoa's Portuguese translation of Edgar Allen Poe's "The Raven," I showed that his version recreates rhythm, meter, rhyme and other sound recurrences of the original in a way that seems to prove Pessoa's notion of translation both as linguistic parody and authorial plagiarism (PORTELA, 2010). Translation is practiced as a total recreation of one form in another system of poetic and linguistic relations, as if it were possible for a given textual form to cross over the asymmetric and heterogeneous space between discursive and literary systems. This notion of translation as a parody of a specific authorial expressive form in another language suggests that the role of the translator is to create homologies between the material properties of different languages by means of compositional principles. Translation is not so much the translation of words and sentences as it is the translation of a complex space of formal relations across different systems, including the compositional processes that are internal to the particular language-form of the original text. The success of the translation depends on the recognition of parody, that is, of a relation between textual form in the original and textual form in the translation.

What I propose to do in this essay is a detailed analysis of one of the sonnets published in *35 Sonnets* by Fernando Pessoa (a self-published book, originally printed in 1918), whose original composition and initial stages of revision, according to the critical edition by João Dionísio, date from 1910-1912 (PESSOA, 1993: 8-14).¹ My reflection is concerned with the relations between the Shakespearean sonnet and Pessoa's parody of this form.² I will show how this parody takes place at several levels, including metrical effects and other sound patterns, lexical and semantic fields, syntactical and rhetorical structure. Going beyond mere pastiche or imitation, the use of the Shakespearean sonnet as a model allows him to explore the constraints of the sonnet form to construct complex rhythmic and semantic structures that distance themselves from their model. The tension between the sonnet's archaic appearance (including its highly regular patterns) and its modernist subject-matter, including its reflexiveness about

¹ For a genetic description of the first manuscript version of Sonnet X (BNP/E3, 49B³-49^r) see João Dionísio (PESSOA, 1993: 198-200). There are two copies of the printed version of the *35 Sonnets* with several autograph annotations for revision, but Sonnet X is one of several that has no further authorial annotations (cf. BNP/E3, 98-1 and 98-2).

² Parody is used in this article in the sense of a formal critical variation on a previous form, without any implication of ironic distance to or derision of that form. Parody became frequent in modernist and postmodernist literary and artistic practices as the limits and problems of representation and convention were foregrounded in many works. See, for instance, Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-century Art Forms*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985. Hutcheon's definition of parody as "repetition with a difference" (101), and as "an important way for modern artists to come to terms with the past" (101) are useful in this context.

language and literary form, is a major source for effects of defamiliarization and difference.

1. “In the meting of its measure”: the poetry generator

The sonnet has been one of the most generative and productive poetic structures in Western literature. It has been calculated that, in the sixteenth century alone, more than 300,000 sonnets were produced in Western Europe. Although not as fashionable as it was during the Renaissance, the sonnet remained in constant use in various languages and poetic traditions, with particular surges at different periods. As an *a priori* structure it has evolved into many different forms, including many parodic forms in the modernist and post-modernist periods. From Gerard Manley Hopkins to e.e. cummings, Robert Lowell, Edwin Morgan, Geoffrey Hill, bpNichol or Tony Harrison, in English, or from Antero de Quental to E. M. de Melo e Castro, Fernando Aguiar or Manuel António Pina, in Portuguese, it has remained a powerful signifier and medium for poetry in the 19th and 20th centuries.³ Sonnet parodies can be based on an individual sonnet, on a particular type of sonnet or on the very structure of the sonnet. In this last instance, it is the sonnet’s bare structure that can be abstracted as a numerical generator of syllables, lines and stanzas, as well as stress and rhyme patterns. Pessoa’s sonnets could be described as parodic in the second sense, that is, as an evocation or emulation of a particular type of sonnets, the Elizabethan or Shakespearean sonnet.⁴

Metrical and rhythmical complexity in Pessoa’s English poems has been extensively analyzed by Patricio Ferrari (2012a and 2012b), who has demonstrated the importance of an understanding of stanza design, metrical patterns, and rhyme scheme as aids to a paleographical or grammatical transcription of Pessoa’s poetry. Ferrari showed that Pessoa applied specific metrical patterns to many of his

³ Raymond Queneau, for instance, used the sonnet form for his work *Cent Mille Millions de Poèmes* (1961), highlighting the generative nature of the sonnet as a programmable combinatorial machine. There are now many such programmed sonnet generators that use a sample of lines as a database for random permutations. See, for example, “Shakespeare’s Sonnet Generator” (2014-2015, <http://www.nothingisreal.com/sonnet/>), by Tristan Miller and Dave Morice. For other examples of 20th-century uses of the sonnet form in English, French, Italian and Spanish, see Darras (1999). For a brief introduction to the history and form of the English sonnet, see Fuller (1972).

⁴ “Elizabethan sonnet” and “Shakespearean sonnet” are often used as synonyms, despite the fact that poetic patterns and literary styles vary considerably when we compare sonnets by Thomas Wyatt, Henry Howard, Edmund Spenser, Philip Sidney, Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel, William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson or John Donne, for instance (Prince, 1977). Literary historians generally consider Shakespeare’s 154 sonnet collection as the pinnacle of the Elizabethan sonnet, and they highlight the conventionality of images, metaphors and rhymes used by most Elizabethan sonneteers. “English sonnet” is the generic designation of the sonnet structure with 4+4+4+2 lines, which become the most common in English, although the Italian sonnet ([4+4]+[3+3]) continued to be used by several poets, namely Milton.

unfinished and fragmentary poems, and that he self-consciously experimented with Miltonic and Shakespearean models in English, and with Baudelairean models in French (2012b). He has also suggested that Pessoa's early compositions in regular verse in English and French, according to different metrical models, may have contributed to his stylistic versatility in these languages: "In the pursuit to develop stylistic identities (his own as well as that of the fictional writers he gradually shaped), the poetic diction and metrical versatility attained by Pessoa before the decisive return to his native Portuguese is worth investigating and his incursions in French verse are rather telling in this respect." (2012b: 12).

Geoffrey Russom (2016) has further shown that Pessoa's sonnets were not a failed imitation of the metrical form of the Shakespearean sonnet, but rather a complex elaboration of its prosodic and grammatical patterns to accommodate his modernist diction and discursive self-awareness. Russom's detailed linguistic analysis of foot boundaries, metrical positions, and stress distribution (including inversions) in relation to lexical units, phrase units, sentence structure, and line closure demonstrates that Pessoa's metrical complexity in the *35 Sonnets* is, in fact, an appropriation and transformation of the Shakespearean iambic pentameter. The various types of rhythmical variation that Russom found in the *35 Sonnets* highlight not only Pessoa's knowledge of versification in English, obtained by reading and studying works by Shakespeare and Milton, but also his attempt to explore the basic iambic pentameter pattern in new ways, of which the use of function words as rhyming words and his experimentation with enjambments are two significant examples.⁵

It was Fernando Pessoa himself who claimed the proximity of the style of his English poems to the style of Elizabethan poetry. In a copy of a typewritten letter, dated 26 December 1912 and written in English, when he was writing sonnets, we read:

The state of mind of what is high and poetic in contemporary Portuguese souls being precisely similar to the Elizabethan state of mind [...], it is clear that a contemporary Portuguese, not altogether a foreigner to more than the vestibule of the house of the Muses, who should possess in an equal degree the English and the Portuguese languages, will, naturally, spontaneously and unforcedly, lapse, if he write in English, into a style not very far removed from the Elizabethan, though, of course, with certain marked and essential differences. I am, as far as I can confess, in this position [...]

(PESSOA, 1993: 36, n. 3)⁶

⁵ See Geoffrey Russom's essay "Metrical Complexity in Pessoa's *35 Sonnets*," also in this issue.

⁶ Referring to this letter, Jorge de Sena argues that Shakespeare is only mentioned as a symbol of a literary age to a friend who did not know English literature, claiming that Pessoa's sonnet sequence is a modernization of Elizabethan and Jacobean sonnet sequences not necessarily limited to Shakespeare's: "Na verdade, a sequência, na extrema complicação estilística e na análise das relações abstractas do conhecimento e da linguagem, era muito mais uma modernização das

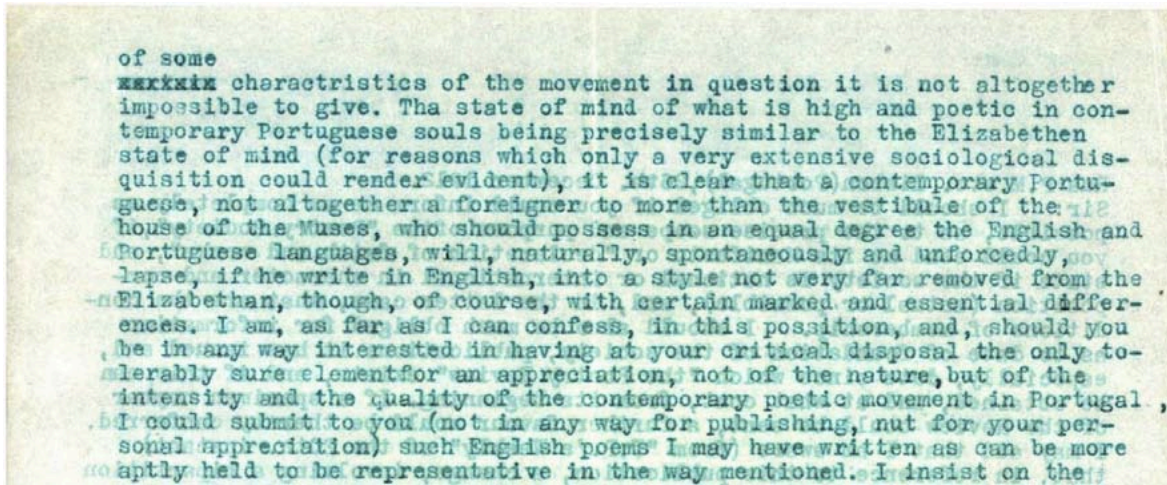


Fig. 1 Part of a letter dated December 26th, 1912. BNP/E3, 114-57^v. Detail.

Besides indicating his poetical affinities and aspirations, the proximity that Pessoa suggests between “the state of mind” in those two historical moments serves the rhetorical function of justifying precisely what would seem most “unnatural” to a reader of his English sonnets: the anachronistic stylistic proximity between texts written in English by a Portuguese poet of the early twentieth century and the style of an Elizabethan English poet of the early seventeenth century. His naturalization of this programmatic anachronism is further based on a second paradoxical assumption: that this manifestation of a contemporary Portuguese poet in the style of an Elizabethan English poet results from an equivalent level of fluency in both languages, as if the mastery of those two languages could only lead a contemporary Portuguese poet to write as an Elizabethan English poet. The unstated assumption is, of course, that Pessoa (“not altogether a foreigner to more than the vestibule of the house of the Muses”) would mean for Portuguese literature what Shakespeare means for English literature. The question is not so much a question of style as it is a question of symbolic value.

From this rhetorical attempt at naturalizing the stylistic disparity resulting from the use of two different linguistic and poetic codes, several other questions can be asked: under what circumstances is identical fluency in two languages really possible (“possess in an equal degree the English and the Portuguese languages”)? Do not linguistic competence asymmetries necessarily depend upon asymmetries in the socialization in each language, as it happens when one is

numerosas seqüências de sonetos dos reinados de Isabel I e de Jaime I, que propriamente dos sonetos de Shakespeare, cuja complicação intelectual é compensada por uma directa paixão lírica que não há nos de Pessoa.” [In effect, in its extreme stylistic complexity and in its analysis of the abstract relations of knowledge and language, the sequence was much more a modernization of the numerous Elizabethan and Jacobean sonnet sequences than strictly of the sonnets by Shakespeare, whose intellectual complexity is offset by a direct lyrical passion that cannot be found in Pessoa’s.] (PESSOA, 1974: 39, n. 1).

developed mainly within a school environment or based mostly on the reading of texts or on exposure to a second language at a certain age? On the other hand, asymmetry and interference between the codes of two or more languages are not themselves powerful mechanisms of poetic creation, as seems to have happened with many modernist and twentieth-century writers who worked in that space across two languages? Pessoa's mythic claim is also an indication of his still shifting identity between Portuguese and English as the major language for his writing.

Pessoa's ability to master the rhythms and structures of both languages and to experiment with their interference can certainly be demonstrated in the case of his translation of "The Raven." His extraordinary sense of the plasticity of linguistic forms has benefited from this extended linguistic space offered by the English and Portuguese languages. In some cases, this is also true of the rhythmic repertoire he used: in his translation of "The Raven," for instance, he has attempted to integrate the syllabic-based prosody of Portuguese popular poetry with the stress-based prosody of Poe's highly constrained meter. Poe's varied uses of trochaic feet (structured into octameters, heptameters and tetrameters) are translated using the traditional Portuguese seven-syllable verse of popular poetry (PORTELA, 2010: 47-49). At the same time, Pessoa was able to recreate Poe's trochaic rhythm in many lines (FERRARI, 2012a: 150-152).

However, the "naturally, spontaneously and unforcedly" passage of a Portuguese bilingual poet writing in English into a style "not very far removed" from the Elizabethan is contradicted both by close reading of the sonnets, and by genetic analysis of first drafts as well as manuscript annotations of a printed annotated copy of his *35 Sonnets*, where one can document the conscious effort to approximate the Elizabethan metrical and argumentative form. In the analysis of "As to a child, I talked my heart asleep" I will show how Pessoa "lapses" into "a style not very far removed from the Elizabethan," in particular into the style of the Shakespearean sonnet, although with "certain marked and essential differences." In this case, the interesting question – to which this article offers my tentative answer – is precisely this one: what are these "certain marked and essential differences" in the pseudo-Elizabethan diction that Pessoa invented for his sonnets? What are the particular poetic effects obtained by using this highly abstract form? And why, if you are in Pessoa's position as a modernist bilingual poet, would you "lapse" into that earlier style? Is he actually writing "modernist" Elizabethan sonnets?

The reflexive nature of the sonnet as a self-conscious self-contained literary form provides a constrained structure particularly suited for exploring the tensions and contradictions of self-consciousness in language. My analysis starts with a series of graphic representations depicting sound patterns in Sonnet X: analysis of meter and rhythm, including the identification of the basic pattern – iambic

pentameter [5 x (X /)] – and variations on this pattern; analysis of relations between word-boundaries and syllable-boundaries; analysis of final rhymes, including identification of semantic relations sustained by sound associations; analysis of other sound recurrences: assonance, consonance, alliteration and internal rhymes (Tables 1-4). Sense patterns are also analyzed through a series of tables: identification of semantic and lexical fields; polysemy and semantic ambiguity; metaphors, metonymy, images and comparisons; similarities, differences, and oppositions; verbal tense, verbal modality, and verbal aspect; deictic markers, including pronouns, and temporal/spatial references (Tables 5-9).

2. “My words made sleep”: a library of rhythms

The communicative constraints imposed by rhythmic patterns are an integral element in shaping a particular voice as both written and aural expression. Writing in heteronyms is also speaking in rhythms as if each particular scripting act was scanned or meant to be read aloud. In fact Pessoa’s writing could also be described as an extended experiment with the living rhythms of language. Arguably, the fiction of his heteronyms is sustained not only through a unique psychology, biography and writing style, but also by means of a distinct prosody in both prose and poetry texts, as Ferrari has claimed (2012a). Voices emerge as particular verbal rhythms become entangled with certain syntactic, semantic and discursive patterns. In Pessoa’s work we are made constantly aware of literature as a library of rhythms that bind together the double helix of emotion and thought.

This binding of written and aural is instantiated in the adoption of the Elizabethan iambic pentameter as a metrical model for his English sonnets. One of the implications of any metrical organization of language is the fact that it requires patterns to be constructed at the infra-lexical level of the syllable. In a language with high frequency of monosyllabic words,⁷ the act of producing regular rhythms based on metrical patterns often implies a contextual rearrangement of the metrical stress for certain types of words, so that they satisfy the conditions of unstressed or stressed position within a given metrical pattern. In Pessoa’s Sonnet X, the relation between word division and syllable division shows the following ratios (the first number indicates number of words per line, the second number indicates number of syllables per line):

⁷ Editor’s note: Having an abundant syllabic repertoire, English is a language rich in monosyllables (MELHER and NESPOR, 2004: 219). According to DUFFELL (2002: 305), monosyllables account for circa 75% of the words employed in Modern English poetic texts. Friedberg’s percentage is even higher: 78.2% (FRIEDBERG, 2011: 11). Portuguese has longer prosodic words (FROTA *et al.*, 2012).

Line 1: $9/10 = 0,9$
 Line 2: $7/10 = 0,7$
 Line 3: $9/10 = 0,9$
 Line 4: $10/10 = 1$
 Line 5: $10/10 = 1$
 Line 6: $7/11 = 0,63$
 Line 7: $9/10 = 0,9$
 Line 8: $8/11 = 0,72$
 Line 9: $10/10 = 1$
 Line 10: $7/10 = 0,7$
 Line 11: $8/11 = 0,72$
 Line 12: $7/10 = 0,7$
 Line 13: $8/10 = 0,8$
 Line 14: $8/10 = 0,8$
 Total number of words= 117
 Total number of syllables= 143
 Word/syllable ratio= 0,81

There are 26 disyllabic words (22%) and 91 monosyllabic words (78%) (including words such as “talked” or “cared” which are scanned as one metrical syllable) in this sonnet (Table 1). Its ratio of monosyllabic to multisyllabic word frequency (3,5) is slightly higher, for instance, than the ratio that we find in Shakespeare’s sonnets. Three lines out of fourteen with 10 monosyllabic words is also a slightly higher frequency than what we find in most Shakespeare’s sonnets. This means that echoes of the Elizabethan sonnet prosody can be found even in this syllabic ratio, and not only in the basic iambic pentameter (X/) and rhyme pattern (ABAB CDCD EFEF GG) or in the relative frequency of the lexical items mentioned below, suggesting that Pessoa carefully studied not only meter and rhyme patterns but also syllable and word boundaries in the vocabulary of Shakespeare’s sonnets.⁸

⁸ One significant prosodic feature in Shakespeare’s sonnets is the fact that lines with 10 monosyllabic words (i.e., where syllable boundaries and word boundaries coincide) often occur in the closing couplet, thus reinforcing sound-sense correlations at the crucial moment of concluding the argument.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep	
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,	
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep	
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.	
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake	
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take	
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for	
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,	
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.	
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart	
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.	

Table 1. Syllable boundaries and word boundaries in Sonnet X: the ratio of disyllabic to monosyllabic words.

As sonic devices for controlling the relative duration or the relative stress of each syllable according to specific clusters of short and long or unstressed and stressed syllables, metrical patterns control the articulatory and acoustic rhythm of a given textual string. Meter can even be seen as a factor in the syllabification of words, that is, in defining syllable boundaries and introducing modifications in order to accommodate particular patterns, and thus reconcile word morphology with the sound dynamics of the line (Table 2). There are textual strings in which the tension between lexical stress and metrical stress will result in the modification of the basic metrical pattern: a trochaic instead of an iambic foot, as happens in lines 7 and 11; a catalectic extension of half foot at end of lines 6, 8 and 11, generally referred to as “feminine ending” in English poetry.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep	
X	(/)	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,	
X	/	X	/	X	(/)	X	/	X	/	
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep	
X	(/)	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.	
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake	
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	(/)	X	/	
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take	
X	(/)	X	/	/	X	X	/	X	/	
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	(/)	X	/	X
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for	
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,	
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er
/	X	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.	
X	(/)	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart	
X	(/)	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.	
X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	X	/	

Table 2. Pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables: the iambic pentameter.

Three sonic features are noticeable when we compare the two initial quatrains: frequency of sound recurrences within the first quatrain is higher and more regular than those in the second quatrain; there are more disyllabic words in the second quatrain (the ratio is 8 to 5) with one trochaic disyllabic word breaking the metric pattern; the falling-rising intonation of the iambic pentameter pattern perceptible at word level – which defines the rhythm of the entire poem – is submitted to an overall rising intonation at the sentence level when sentences become questions in lines 5-6 and 7-8. Those sound changes match the rhetorical movement of the text, which moves from the initial lullaby effect that induces the state of sleep to a logical argument about the relation of meaning to wakefulness and about the soothing effect of measured language. Recurrences of /f/, /m/ e /s/ as well the text's rhyming patterns associate the various textual moments and

reinforce the text's repetitive sound texture, making alliteration, internal rhymes and final rhymes work in conjunction with the semantics to offer the sonnet as a rhythmic embodiment of its meaning (Tables 3 and 4).

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		a
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		b
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		a
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		b
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		c
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	d
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		c
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	d
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		e
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		f
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	e
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		f
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		g
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		g

Table 3. Final rhyme scheme: abab cdcd efef gg.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		t/s
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		p/m
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		s/m
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		s
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		f/w
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	k
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		n
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	m
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		s
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		p/s
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	f
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		s
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		d
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		s

Table 4. Other sound recurrences: assonance, consonance, alliteration and internal rhymes.

3. "What their sense did say": a promise of meaning

An analysis of the lexical and semantic fields of the sonnet confirms a significant intersection with the lexicon of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, suggesting that Pessoa is writing with the memory and reference of those sonnets also at the lexical and

semantic level. The most frequent lexemes in this poem (with two or more instances) also occur in the 154 sonnets: in descending order, “heart,” “day,” “words,” “sleep,” “sense,” “joy,” “care,” “flower,” “deceive,” “measure,” and “promise.”⁹ Word-cloud visualization allows us to represent the relative frequency of words in Sonnet X by Fernando Pessoa (excluding prepositions, articles and other connectors) (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Lexical and semantic fields: word-cloud of word frequencies.

Relations among the various lexical items suggest that they structure the semantic fields in the text around three major networks: language and poetry; sleep and wakefulness; feelings and actions (Table 5). A closely knit network of semantic relations based on a limited and repeated number of lexical items, which are associated in terms of metaphorical and metonymic similarities and contrasts, is one of the sources of conceptual unity in the Shakespearean sonnet. Semantic closure, in this instance, is provided by the word “heart,” used in the opening line, and again in the final couplet as a rhyming word. If we add the role that conceptual word games, including puns, play in the Elizabethan sonnet, exploring double meanings and ambiguities, we can see further aspects of the relationship between model and parody. The process of creating ambiguity usually depends on using the same word but making modulations and inflections through processes of verbal recontextualization that change the word’s meaning.

Two key moments in this sonnet show how one word can be perceptually modulated at both the phonetic and semantic level. The first one is the very

⁹ In Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*, the number of occurrences for those words are as follows: “heart” (58 instances, of which “my heart” (23) [+ “hearts” (4)], “day” (26) [+ “days” (17)], “words” (10), “sleep” (7), “sense” (8) [+ “senses” (2)], “joy” (8) [+ “enjoy, enjoyed, enjoyer” (8)], “care” (6), “flower” (5) [+ “flowers” (8)], “deceive” (2) [+ “deceived (2) + “deceivest” (1)], “measure” (2) [+ “measured” (1)], and “promise” (1).

inflection on the word “sense” that results from its dislocation from an alliterative context to a non-alliterative context: “Than from a thought of what their sense did say. | For did it care for sense, would it not wake.” Those occurrences signal the split between sound and sense at the heart of language and which is a driving theme in this poem. Placed at the end of the first quatrain within the alliterative pattern “sense did say,” it becomes part of the self-reference to the pleasure derived from listening to language and feeling its quieting effect as lullaby. On the second instance, on the contrary, placed immediately before a comma-length caesura, and isolated from any strong sound recurrence with its adjacent neighbors (“care for sense, would it”), the emphasis is placed on the semantic reference. The priming of sound over sense resulting from phonetic repetitions is replaced by the priming of sense over sound: this line marks the beginning of the counter-argument in the second stanza which substitutes the sleeping-inducing sound recurrences of lines 1-4 by the more stark logical reasoning of lines 5-8. Finally the word reappears as an echo in “senses” just before the final concluding couplet: “Which the less active senses best enjoy.” The relation of “sense” to “senses” is now suggested as another aspect of the relation between sleepiness and wakefulness, between sensing sound and sensing meaning, between enjoying the flower and enjoying the fruit.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		a
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		b
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		a
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		b
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		c
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	d
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		c
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	d
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		e
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		f
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	e
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		f
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		g
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		g

Table 5. Lexical items and semantic fields: LANGUAGE AND POETRY (talked, words-words, thought, sense-sense, say, meting, measure); SLEEP AND WAKEFULNESS (asleep-sleep-slept-sleepy/wake, day, morrow); FEELINGS AND ACTIONS (promise-promise-promised, care-cared, joy-enjoy, pleasure; deceit-deceit; knows); NATURE (fruit, flower); BODY AND SELF (heart-heart, self, itself, senses).

The text's enactment of temporality is skillfully divided into several moods, which are in turn inflected by tense and aspect changes: past tense in the indicative mood (first quatrain) gives way to past tense in the conditional mood (second quatrain), followed again by past tense in the subjunctive mood (first two lines in the third quatrain). The hypothetical and the conditional become grammatical expressions of the unbridgeable distance between sound and meaning (Table 6). Next, there is a transition in the verb's aspect to a continuing duration (last two lines in the third quatrain) anticipating the shift to the present tense in the final couplet, where the text's deictic temporal reference catches up with the moment of enunciation by self-referring to the writing act and thus to the poem itself as part of the self-deceiving process of measured language: "do I detain the heart," "self knows itself a part." The possibility of being in language emerges through the self's temporal presence in the very act of enunciating the text. The voice becomes self-conscious about the act of existing in the sounds of language.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		a
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		b
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		a
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		b
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		c
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	d
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		c
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	d
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		e
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		f
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	e
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		f
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		g
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		g

Table 6. Verbal forms: mood, tense, aspect.

Sonnet X also conforms to the syllogistic structure of the Elizabethan sonnet, which is syntactically marked by connectors such as "and," "for," "if" or "but" in the first two quatrains – where the premises are expressed – followed by "so," "thus" or "then" in the third quatrain or in the final couplet – where the conclusion (sometimes a paradoxical conclusion) is stated. Pessoa's sonnet also develops a syllogistic argument: the second quatrain offers a counterpoint to the first quatrain in the form of two questions; the third quatrain takes the conclusion from the initial premises; the final couplet picks up the central word in the poem "heart" and states the paradoxical conclusion of the "self-deceiving" heart (Table 7). Likewise, the distribution of sentences per lines or line groups confirms the expectations of its model: one declarative sentence in the first quatrain, followed

by two interrogative sentences in the second quatrain, followed by a second declarative sentence in the third quatrain, and a third declarative sentence in the final couplet. The match between rhyme pattern and sentence distribution across the lines further confirms a close adherence to its model: sentence 1-*abab*; sentence 2 [question 1]-*cd*; sentence 3 [question 2]-*cd*; sentence 4-*efef*; sentence 5-*gg*. The only significant divergence between syntactic pauses and line-endings can be seen in the transitions between lines 7-8 (“to take | The promise”) and 9-10 (“but for | The present) where the rhythmic pause at the end of the line does not coincide with a grammatical pause.

As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		a
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		b
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		a
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		b
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		c
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	d
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		c
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	d
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		e
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		f
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	e
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		f
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		g
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		g

Table 7. Sentence structure and argumentation: assumptions and conclusions.

Now that I have described the network of relations that links Pessoa's to the Elizabethan sonnet, it is time to turn our attention to “certain marked and essential differences.” What are those differences that distance Pessoa's 35 *Sonnets* from his Elizabethan models?

Jorge de Sena's reading of the 35 *Sonnets* (PESSOA, 1974: 77-81) charts the emergence of two unifying themes that hold the sonnet sequence together: the existential paralysis that is a consequence of the undecidable split between dream and reality or thought and action; and the impossibility of self-knowledge expressed as the distance between feeling the self and communicating the self, thus anticipating Pessoa's psychological rationalization of the heteronyms and the notion of self as an empty mask. Sena finds in “Autopsicografia”'s the last stanza an echo from Sonnet X and sees it as the only poem in Pessoa's sonnet sequence in which the expression of emotion goes beyond the formal and stylistic play with the English sonnet structure, generally characterized as “exercícios de virtuosismo e de obsessão com a realidade” [“exercises of virtuosity and obsession with reality”] (80). Adopting a twelve-syllable meter, Jorge de Sena's translation is thus informed

by a retrospective reading of Sonnet X as the expression of dilemmas that we find in Pessoa's later writings:

Como criança, que fôra, o coração embalo
 Com o vago prometer do dia de amanhã.
 E ele adormece mais porque o falar faz sono
 Que por pensar sentidos no falar que digo.
 Pois, se os pensara, acaso não acordaria
 Para inquirir ao certo os gozos de amanhã?
 Não cingiria o jeito das palavras para
 A promessa conter na forma que medisse?
 E assim, se dorme, apenas é por se entregar
 Ao de hoje sono que há na prometida festa.
 Agradecendo o fruto pela prévia flor
 Que os sonos menos acordados melhor gozam.
 Eis que de enganos só meu coração detenho
 Do qual o mesmo engano sabe que é uma parte.

(PESSOA, 1974: 167)

Because it highlights the presence of Pessoa's existential and literary dilemmas, Sena's translation is another way of capturing "certain marked and essential differences." The difference introduced by Portuguese prosody and Sena's lexical choices releases the text's potential meanings from their abstract rhythmic and rhetoric constraints, providing another linguistic and poetic probe into its verbal form as distinct from its models. The sonnet's strict adherence to Elizabethan versification models and conceptual structures cannot prevent it from staging the mode of relation of writing and language to self that is specific to Pessoa's modernist consciousness. By reading this sonnet both in relation with its Elizabethan models and in relation to Pessoa's later writings, it is possible to recognize it as a complex formal parody and not a mere imitation or a variation.

It is the patterned use of language – that is, the poem itself – that talks the heart to sleep. The quieting of the heart is a physical effect of the patterned use of language: it is the rhythm of poetry, its measure, and not the "empty promise" contained in the meaning of words, which is the source of joy. And yet, the heart is a self-deceiving heart because it knows that it is being deceived by "The present sleepy use of promised joy" (l. 10). Insofar as Sonnet X can be read as an *ars poetica* about the nature and function of poetry as verbal art, it is markedly different from the Shakespearean sonnet's belief in its power in arresting beauty and preserving life or giving verbal form to love. In Shakespeare, most self-references to verses, lines, numbers and rhymes are made as an invocation of their ability to present or represent objects of beauty and love as objects of writing.¹⁰ In Sonnet X, there are

¹⁰ See, for example, the following sonnets by Shakespeare: XVII ("Who will believe my verse in time to come"; XIX ("Devouring Time, blunt thou the lion's paws,"); XXI ("So is it not with me as with that Muse,"); XXXVIII ("How can my muse want subject to invent,"); LXXIX ("Whilst I alone did

similar references to literary art and language, such as “my words,” “sense” and “measure”. The use of the archaic “meting of its measure”, to refer to metrical feet and the rhythmic patterning of language, is a lexical marker of the presence of its Elizabethan models. However, there is no particular belief in the representational power of measured language, whose numbing effect is presented as a self-deceiving promise of joy. Rhythmic and semantic effects at the textual surface are offered as evidence of the unresolvable tension of sound and sense, writing self and written self.

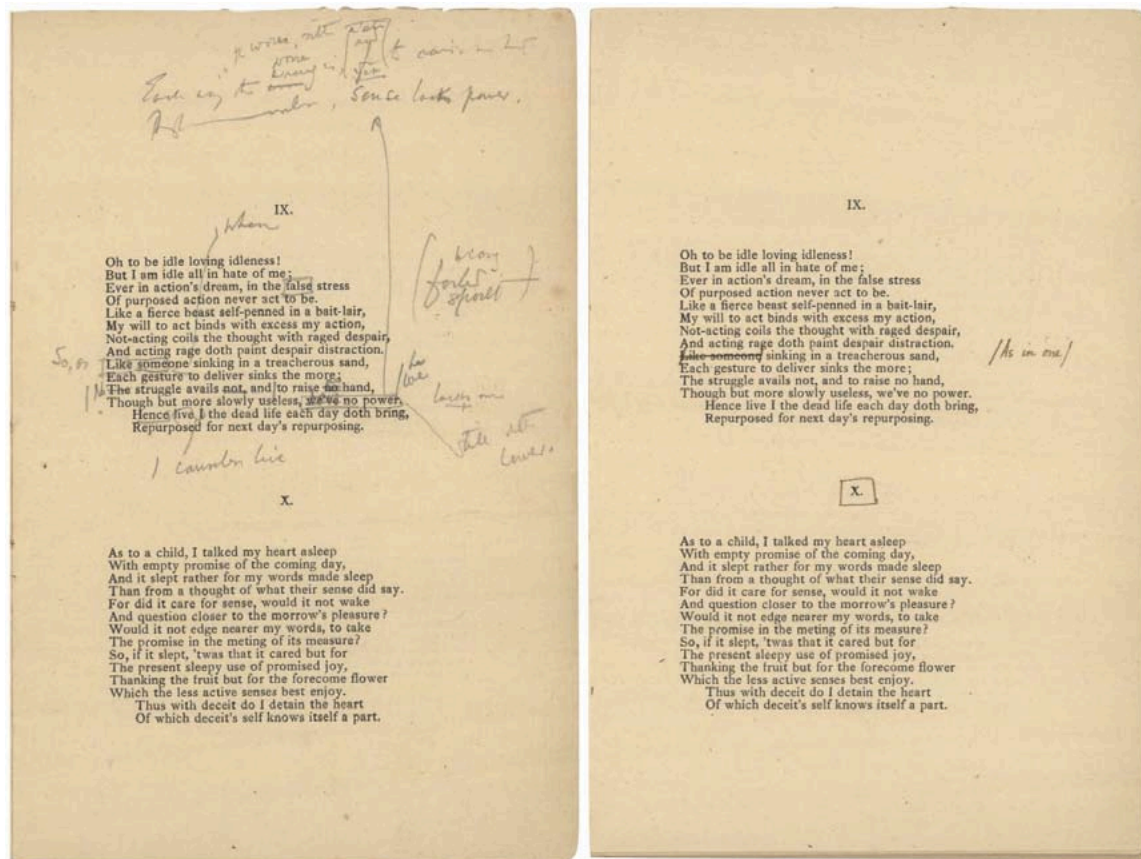
As	to	a	child,	I	talked	my	heart	a-	-sleep		a
With	emp-	-ty	prom-	-ise	of	the	com-	-ing	day,		b
And	it	slept	rath-	-er	for	my	words	made	sleep		a
Than	from	a	thought	of	what	their	sense	did	say.		b
For	did	it	care	for	sense,	would	it	not	wake		c
And	ques-	-tion	clos-	-er	to	the	mor-	-row's	pleas-	-ure?	d
Would	it	not	edge	near-	-er	my	words,	to	take		c
The	prom-	-ise	in	the	met-	-ing	of	its	meas-	-ure?	d
So,	if	it	slept,	'twas	that	it	cared	but	for		e
The	pres-	-ent	sleep-	-y	use	of	prom-	-ised	joy,		f
Thank-	-ing	the	fruit	but	for	the	fore-	come	flow-	-er	e
Which	the	less	ac-	-tive	sens-	-es	best	en-	-joy.		f
Thus	with	de-	-ceit	do	I	de-	-tain	the	heart		g
Of	which	de-	-ceit's	self	knows	it-	self	a	part.		g

Table 8. Enunciation: grammatical persons.

The poem's system of deictic references is built around the split between the first person (the speaker) and the third person (the speaker's heart). There are three occurrences for the first person: “I talked my heart” (l. 1) “my words” (l. 2) and “I detain the heart” (l.13); and there are eight occurrences for the third person referring to the heart: “it slept” (l. 3), “did it care” (l. 5), “would it not wake” (l. 6), “would it not edge” (l. 7), “its measure” (l. 8), “it slept” (l. 9), “it cared but for” (l.9) and “knows itself” (l. 14) (Table 8). Unlike the more frequent speaker-addressee deictic structure that we find in Shakespeare, Pessoa's reflexive meditation on poetry and language is based on the alterity of heart to self, i.e., of self to self. The personification of the speaker's heart is also the embodiment of the double-bind of consciousness. “It” captures the self-awareness of the subject provided by language. This is one of the “marked and essential differences” that set this sonnet apart from its Elizabethan models, and place it in a distinct system of meanings.

call upon thy aid,”); LXXXI (“Or I shall live your epitaph to make,”); LXXXVI (“Was it the proud full sail of his great verse,”); CIII (“Alack! what poverty my Muse brings forth,”); and CV (“Let not my love be called idolatry,”).

Iambic pentameter, rhyme structure, lexical fields, sentence structure, and the way the ensemble of prosodic and semantic features are intertwined to form lines of poetry all seem to converge to confirm the “natural lapse” into the Elizabethan style. A particular type of sonnet becomes recognizable as an abstract network of relations that map formal relations of sound onto formal relations of meaning, and vice versa. However, a number of variations on that mapping are enough to distance Pessoa’s sonnet from its models, and establish a parodic relation between both sonnet forms. As a highly codified signifier of poetic discourse, the sonnet becomes a generator for exploring complex patterns of measured language that interrogate the nature of poetry and the relation of the self to itself. Sound-sense correlations are shown as an embodiment of the affective power of language on self-cognition and self-perception.



Figs. 3 & 4. Pages from published copies of the 35 Sonnets with emendations by Pessoa; BNP/E3, 98-3r.

49 B3-49

A to a child, I ~~told~~ my heart asleep
with every promise of the coming day;
but it slept rather for my words made sleep
than by belief in what ~~my~~ ^{their own} ~~words~~ did say;
~~from a thought~~

For did it so believe it would not wake?
And question closer to the coming day?
Could it not see never my ~~heart's~~ ^{manner's} ~~thoughts~~ to take
The promise in the making of its answer?

So if it slept thus that it could not
How far it came, how much further away,
And I, should it me, where it did mind how it fought,
With little words explained its ~~thoughts~~ away.

Thus with deceit I did deceive the
of which deceit itself knew itself a part.
If thus our heart deceives itself asleep
How marked of cunning
is not heart & heart!

If I serve myself asleep with art



Fig. 5. Draft of "Sonnet X" from 35 *Sonnets*. BNP/E3, 49B³-49^r.

Bibliography

- DARRAS, Jacques (ed.) (1999). *Les métamorphoses du sonnet*. Bruxelles: Le Cri.
- DUFFELL, Martin J. (2002). "The Italian line in English after Chaucer." *Language and Literature*, nº 11, pp. 291-305.
- FERRARI, Patricio (2012a). "Meter and Rhythm in the Poetry of Fernando Pessoa." Department of Linguistics. University of Lisbon. PhD Thesis.
- ____ (2012b). "Genetic Criticism and the Relevance of Metrics in Editing Pessoa's Poetry." *Pessoa Plural — a Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, nº 2, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, eds., Brown University, Warwick University, and University of the Andes, Fall, pp. 1-57.
- ____ (2015). "Bridging Archives: Twenty-Five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural*, nº 8, Carlos Pittella, guest editor, Brown University, Warwick University, and University of the Andes, Fall, pp. 365-431.
- FRIEDBERG, Nila (2011). *English Rhythms in Russian Verse: On the Experiment of Joseph Brodsky*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- FROTA, Sónia, Charlotte Galves, Marina Vigário, Verónica Gonzalez-Lopez, and Bernadete Abaurre (2012). "The Phonology of Rhythm: from Classical to Modern Portuguese." *Journal of Historical Linguistics*, nº 2.2, pp. 173-207.
- FULLER, John (1972). *The Sonnet*. London: Methuen.
- HUTCHEON, Linda (1985). *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-century Art Forms*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- MEHLER, Jacques and Marina Nespôr (2004). "Linguistic Rhythm and the Acquisition of Language." *Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*. Adriana Belletti, editor. Oxford: Oxford University Press, vol. 3, pp. 213-222.
- PESSOA, Fernando (1993). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Inscriptions, Epithalamium, 35 Sonnets*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, Volume V, Tome III.
- ____ (1974). *Poemas Ingleses. Antinous, Inscriptions, Epithalamium, 35 Sonnets e Dispersos*. Bilingual edition with preface, translations, variants and notes by Jorge de Sena, and translations by Adolfo Casais Monteiro and José Blanc de Portugal. Lisbon: Ática.
- PORTELA, Manuel (2010). "'O Corvo' de Poessoa: Uma Filosofia da Tradução." *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Humanas e Sociais*, nº 7, pp. 40-52. Web: <http://bdigital.ufp.pt/bitstream/10284/2800/3/40-53.pdf>
- PRINCE, F. T. (1977). "The Sonnet From Wyatt to Shakespeare." *Shakespeare: The Sonnets*. Edited by Peter Jones. London: MacMillan. [Article first published in 1960].
- RUSSOM, Geoffrey (2016). "Metrical Complexity in Pessoa's 35 Sonnets." *Pessoa Plural — a Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies* (Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa), nº 10, Patricio Ferrari, guest editor, Brown University, Warwick University, and University of the Andes, Fall.
- SHAKESPEARE, William (1986). *The Sonnets and A Lover's Complaint*. Edited by John Kerrigan. London: Penguin.
- ____ (1998). *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Online. Renaissance Electronic Texts, University of Toronto. <http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/ret/shakespeare/1609inti.html>
- ____ (2000). *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*. Online MIT, 1993-2000. <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/>.

On Pessoa's *The Student of Salamanca*

Jorge Wiese-Rebagliati*

Keywords

Alexander Search, *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Fernando Pessoa, José de Espronceda, Metrics, *The Student of Salamanca*.

Abstract

Fernando Pessoa's version of José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* [*The Student of Salamanca*] is a curious singularity among Pessoa's works. As far as we know, this is the only Pessoa translation of a Spanish original into English. This article tries to acknowledge such singularity by pointing out links between Pessoa's archive and his private library, and also by studying the meter and rhythm of Pessoa's version—now available in full thanks to Nicolás Barbosa's transcription and edition, published in this issue of *Pessoa Plural*—a version that renders with taste and wit the metrical qualities of Espronceda's original.

Palavras-chave

Alexander Search, *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Fernando Pessoa, José de Espronceda, Métrica, *The Student of Salamanca*.

Resumo

A versão de Fernando Pessoa de *El estudiante de Salamanca* [*O estudante de Salamanca*], de José de Espronceda, é uma curiosa singularidade na obra pessoana. Até onde sabemos, não existe outra tradução de Pessoa de um original espanhol para uma versão em inglês. O artigo tenta reconhecer essa singularidade, apontando as ligações entre o espólio de Pessoa e sua biblioteca particular e estudando os elementos métricos e rítmicos do texto de Pessoa – agora disponível em sua totalidade graças à transcrição e edição de Nicolás Barbosa, também publicada neste número de *Pessoa Plural* –, uma versão que traduz com sensibilidade e inteligência as qualidades métricas e rítmicas do original de Espronceda.

* Universidad del Pacífico; Lima, Perú.

After the findings of José Luiz Garaldi in 1990 (CAMPOS, 2015: 2) and Arnaldo Saraiva in 1996 (SARAIVA, 1996: 5-58), it seems difficult to downplay the role of Fernando Pessoa as a translator, not only because Pessoa earned his living as a translator (SARAIVA, 1996: 25) but also because his reflections and translation practices can shed light on his role as reader and writer.

In order to analyze Pessoa's version of José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca*, it will be useful to consider his ideas on translation, and, most specifically, to examine the criteria he utilizes when translating texts. We must keep in mind this unique circumstance and try to account for it by relating it to the above-mentioned facets of Pessoa: that of reader and that of creator. At the same time, something should be said of Espronceda and of *El estudiante de Salamanca*.

Concerning his translations of some texts of the *Greek Anthology*, Pessoa confesses candidly:

Posso traduzir, através de idioma intermedio, qualquer poema grego, desde que consiga aproximar-me do rhythm do original, para o que basta saber simplesmente ler o grego, o que de facto sei, ou que obtenha uma equivalencia rhythmica.

D'essa maneira traduzi alguns poemas da *Anthologia Grega*.

(in PITTELLA and PIZARRO, 2016: 255-257)

[As long as I can feel the rhythm of the original or find a rhythmical equivalence, I can translate any Greek poem by way of an intermediary language. Reading Greek, something I can do, is all that is necessary.

I have translated some poems of the *Greek Anthology* in this way.]

The appropriation of the rhythm of the original and the goal of a rhythmic equivalence are key for achieving a successful translation. Pessoa is aware that “nenhuma tradução, supondo que existe, pode dar conhecimento da obra em sua completa e verdadeira vida” no translation, assuming that it exists, can make a work known in its true and complete life (PESSOA, 1993: 385). And although this equivalence is not obtained “line-by-line” or “verbum e verbo”¹ (one of the two possible criteria for translating that Saint Jerome prescribes, the other being “sed sensu exprimere de sensu”²), he works very hard to find precise equivalences—even in paratexts³—between the original and the translation. As Saraiva acknowledges:

¹ Pessoa is aware of the strenuous effort this kind of translation implies in connection with the translation of the 300 Portuguese proverbs he collected between 1913 and 1914 for his London publisher, Frank Palmer. In a letter to him dated 10 April 1914 he judges this type of translation “exceedingly difficult.” (PESSOA, 2010: 131).

² Cf. STEINER (1992: 275).

³ “No geral, Pessoa respeitava não só os textos propriamente ditos como os paratextos e as pausas ou configurações gráficas (itálicos, maiúsculas, disposição dos versos)” [Pessoa used to adhere not

É visível, por exemplo, o esforço que Pessoa faz para encontrar rigorosas equivalências semânticas, métricas, rimáticas, fônicas, rítmicas; e não se pense que os seus achados só se deveram à sua inspiração, não a sua transpiração.

(SARAIVA, 1996: 47)

[It is clear, for example, the effort Pessoa made in order to discover rigorous equivalences of meaning, meter, rhyme, sound and rhythm; and one should not believe that his elections were due only to his inspiration, but also to his transpiration.]

This happens clearly in the remarkable translation of Edgar Allan Poe's *The Raven* published in *Athena* magazine (nº. 1, 1924), where it is specified that it is a "Tradução de Fernando Pessoa, rítmicamente conforme com o original" [Translation of Fernando Pessoa, rhythmically according to the original] (PRADO BELLEL, 1991 *apud* SARAIVA, 1996: 47). Saraiva observes that "a versão do poeta português imita com grande precisão o ritmo do original inglês e o efeito encantatório por ele produzido" [the version by the Portuguese poet imitates, with great precision, the rhythm and the incantatory effect produced in the original English], and Saraiva (1996: 47) adds: "tanto mais que [Pessoa] também respeita o número de versos por cada estrofe e os efeitos fono-rítmicos, e não apenas os do sentido"⁴ [so much so that (Pessoa) respects the number of verses per stanza and the phono-rhythmic effects, and not only the meaning]. This does not in any way imply an overt or submissive attitude vis-à-vis the original text. A complex, dynamic, but respectful attitude is maintained. The translation is no less valuable than the original. As Saraiva says,

O tradutor concebido por Pessoa não pode [...] sentir-se em posição subalterna em relação ao autor traduzido. Se à partida o texto a traduzir se lhe impõe como modelo, logo ele o

only to the texts themselves, but also to the paratexts and pauses or graphic configurations (italics, uppercase, verse structure)] (SARAIVA, 1996: 49). In his translation of *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Pessoa doesn't follow Espronceda's practice of using capital and small letters at the openings of the verses: all the lines of the finished sheets of *The Student of Salamanca* begin with capital letters, as is normal practice in the English typographical tradition. Although Espronceda begins every one of the four parts of *El estudiante de Salamanca* with an epigraph, only the epigraph of Part I is translated: *Don Quixote's* "Sus fueros, sus bríos, | sus premáticas, su voluntad." ("His titles his courage | His parchments his own will"). See Nicolás Barbosa's contribution in this issue.

⁴ This is the strict application in the text of an ideal expressed, for example, in the foreword to the "Anthologia" collection, one of the editorial projects Pessoa imagined: "As traduções dos poetas estrangeiros obedecerão sempre à norma rígida que deve seguir-se na tradução de poemas – a absoluta conformidade com o ritmo e a maneira de rimar (ou não rimar) do original." [The translation of foreign poets will always follow the norm required for the translation of poems – the absolute conformity with the rhythm and the rhyming manner (or absence of rhyming) of the original (PESSOA, 2011: 43).

remodela ou modeliza e o anula como modelo sobrepondo-lhe outro modelo, o seu [...]. O bom tradutor não *copia* para outra língua, porque *cria* ou recria noutra língua.

(SARAIVA, 1996: 46)

[The translator conceived by Pessoa cannot [...] consider himself in a subaltern position in relation to the translated author. If, at first, the text to be translated imposes itself as a model, soon he [the poet] remodels and annuls it as model, superimposing on it another model, his [...]. The good translator does not *copy* into another language, because he *creates* or recreates in another language.]

I do not know to what extent the English translations of Pessoa can be acknowledged to be unique within the whole of his production. One might consider them as a part of Pessoa's effort to be recognized as an English writer, as was his intention with both his English poems (*The Mad Fiddler*) and his translation of *Provérbios Portugueses* – although it would appear that this latter was undertaken because Pessoa needed the money, as Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari state (PESSOA, 2010: 11) – or to promote in the English-speaking world Portuguese poets whom he considered of merit, like Antero de Quental and António Botto. This would separate them from the group of translations into Portuguese, no less valuable, but more linked to an editorial project to which he was more committed, professionally speaking.⁵ *The Student of Salamanca* appears to be in a group of its own. I will return to this issue.

In his edition, published in this issue, Nicolás Barbosa elaborates thoroughly on the external history of the text, so I will offer only briefly some information on this aspect of the translation. The rendering of José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* appears in documents attributed to Alexander Search (BNP / E3, 74A-64r),⁶ the most prolific of Pessoa's fictitious English authors. In a loose, cut-off sheet of the archive we read "Espronceda. | Espronceda. | Espronceda. | Search. | Search | Search. | [tran]slation | [tra]nslation. | [tr]anslation" (BNP / E3, 90²-35v).

⁵ This project involves Pessoa's work as a translator for the *Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres*, in 24 volumes and with 12,288 pages, which is the Portuguese version of *The International Library of Famous Literature*, published in London, probably in 1899. Pessoa was hired by a Mr. Warren F. Kellog. The translations were made, it seems, between mid-1911 and the first months of 1912. They include a wide range of English and American authors, some Spanish poets, Greek poets from the *Greek Anthology*, and Omar Khayyam (cf. SARAIVA, 1995: 5-25).

⁶ See Nicolás Barbosa's contribution in this issue. In Part II, a "Herr Prosit" (BNP / E3, 74A-70r) is mentioned before the text. Herr Prosit is the main character of *A Very Original Dinner*, a story of "horror and suspense," as Natalia Jerez Quintero classifies it, attributed to Alexander Search (PESSOA, 2014: 68-127). Pizarro and Ferrari rule out the possibility of a Herr Prosit author of Part II of *The Student*...: "Assim, a tradução de *El estudiante de Salamanca*, de José de Espronceda, por exemplo, foi inicialmente atribuída a Alexander Search (BNP / E3, 74A-64r *et seq.*) e há quem defenda que também passou pela pena de Herr Prosit, o protagonista de *A Very Original Dinner*, embora só exista uma folha solta de caderno para o sugerir (BNP / E3, 74A-70r), a qual indica que Prosit se teria limitado a traduzir a segunda parte da obra espanhola, teoria que nos parece, porém, pouco sustentável." (PESSOA, 2016: 285).

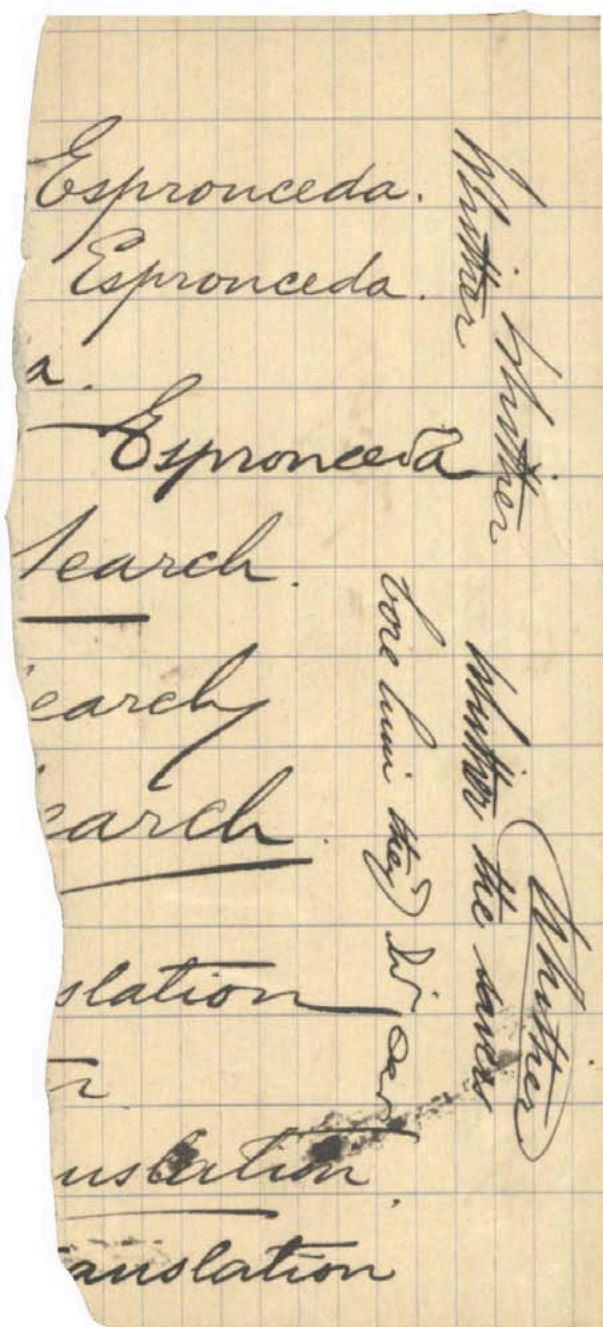


Fig 1. Manuscript with attribution of translation (BNP / E3, 90²-35^v).

Originally this task had been assigned to Charles James Search (BNP / E3, 48C-5^r). However, in to-do lists dated from 1910 onwards the translation stops being assigned to Search (see, for example, BNP / E3, 48I-30^v); instead, in the editorial plan of *Olisipo* – datable to 1921 (BNP / E3, 137A-24) – the title *El estudiante de Salamanca* appears with the translator's name: "Fernando Pessoa." Although the translation is diachronically attributed to Charles James Search and Alexander Search, respectively, Pessoa will be its final translator.

José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* is a tale in verse,⁷ a legend in the style of those of the Duke of Rivas and José Zorrilla, or a long poem such as Lord Byron's *Mazzeppa* or *Don Juan* (see ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 27). It belongs to a literary paradigm subsequently abandoned in European and American literature; for example, Edgar Allan Poe separates his poetry from his fantastic narrative, using verse for poetry and prose for his fantastic stories. In Spain, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer, a poet representative of the Romantic generation that followed Espronceda's, wrote his *Rimas* in verse and his *Leyendas* in prose (GARCÍA MONTERO, 2001: 22). According to Benito Varela Jácome, *El estudiante de Salamanca* "es la mejor muestra del género [that is, of the "cuento" in verse] dentro del Romanticismo español" (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 27).

For Edgar Allison Peers, Espronceda, with *El estudiante de Salamanca*, although influenced by Lord Byron, distinctly shaped a personal view of the legend of Don Juan (PEERS, 1973: 394), a view that surely influenced the popular drama *Don Juan Tenorio* by José Zorrilla that appeared in 1844 (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 27). Indeed, as Varela Jácome points out, Geoffrey Brereton believed that Espronceda began writing *El estudiante de Salamanca* in 1836 (2010: 22). In 1837 he published the first part in the magazine *Museo Artístico y Literario*. In 1839 he read a fragment of the poem at the Literary Association of Granada. The entire poem was published under the title *Poesías* in 1840 (2010: 22).

While sources for *El estudiante de Salamanca* go back to *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra*, attributed to Tirso de Molina, and to other works of Spanish Siglo de Oro theater that refer to the myth of Don Juan (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 23), Espronceda might have had at hand more immediate sources: *El abogado de Cuenca* (1826), by José Joaquín de Mora; *El golpe en vago* (1835), by José García de Villalta (a friend of Espronceda and the author of the foreword to his *Poesías*); and the student Lisardo romances, especially the long romance *Lisardo, el estudiante de Córdoba*, of great popular acclaim, collected in the *Romancero de romances* (1828-1832) by Agustín Durán (2010: 25).

El estudiante de Salamanca is a lyrical narrative poem of 1704 verses, divided into four parts⁸: the first part opens at midnight in the Castilian city; then a description of somber colors is interrupted by a duel and a murder; the characterization of the main character, Don Félix de Montemar, follows. This part ends with another characterization, that of "innocent and unhappy Elvira" (I, 147). In Varela's words, the second part changes "el tenebrismo romántico" [the romantic tenebrism] of the first by "preimpresionismo" [pre-impressionism]

⁷ Moreno Villa's edition retains the original generic classification of the text: "Cuento" ["Tale"] (ESPRONCEDA, 1962: 187). In Pessoa's private library we find a copy of *Obras poéticas de Don José de Espronceda. Precedidas de la biografía del autor y elaboradas con su retrato*, Paris, Librería de Garnier Hermanos, 448 pp. (See Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-175).

⁸ I follow Varela Jácome's summary (cf. ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 36 ss.).

(ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 38) and the serene night evokes the purity of Elvira, who died of the heartbreak caused by Félix de Montemar's debauchery, as she recorded in a letter. The third part is a dramatic sequence in four scenes. It is, as Varela puts it, a genre painting: Montemar joins the set of six card players betting and swearing around a table; Don Diego de Pastrana, brother of Dona Elvira, then arrives. The sequence ends with the death of Don Diego at the hands of Don Félix. The fourth part is probably the most impressive: Montemar follows through the streets of Salamanca a ghostly female figure that turns out to be the impersonation of death; Don Félix then attends his own funeral. Finally, after a coven that evokes the final movement of Hector Berlioz's "*Symphonie Fantastique*,"⁹ as keenly observed by Fradejas Lebrero (cited by Varela), Montemar dies and goes to hell. The day dawns and work resumes in the Castilian city.

Pessoa's translation includes all the verses of the first part (lines 1-179) and most of the verses of parts two, three and four. Nicolás Barbosa's remarkable transcription of the translation gives us a complete picture of the present state of the manuscripts. I will not attempt to present a comprehensive commentary that matches the text. Instead, I will limit myself to offering a concise appraisal of the metrical features that have caught my attention.

Since the literary work of Espronceda has received recognition for its metric and rhythmic excellence,¹⁰ I will focus on this in particular before discussing the singularity of the translation in Pessoa's works. I will initially examine the first part of *El estudiante de Salamanca*. I will then provide a brief insight into the other parts of the poem.

Espronceda begins his poem with a series of lines arranged in a Spanish *romance*. Although there are several types, the typical Spanish *romance* is a series of short – often eight metrical syllables (*octosílabos* in Spanish) – rhyming verses. The rhyme is the so-called *asonante* rhyme: only the vowels, from the last stressed vowel on, rhyme. The rhyme occurs only in *versos pares* [even verses]. Odd verses do not rhyme:¹¹

⁹ Berlioz's symphony made its debut in Paris in 1830 (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 26).

¹⁰ "Se registran en *El estudiante de Salamanca* once metros distintos, desde dos a doce sílabas, los cuales se combinan en siete tipos de estrofas y dan lugar a cincuenta y nueve cambios métricos. La variedad métrica es el principal factor en el efecto musical de la versificación de *El estudiante*, de las canciones y de otras poesías de Espronceda" [One may count eleven different meters in *El estudiante de Salamanca*, ranging from two to twelve syllables, combined in seven types of stanzas and giving rise to 59 metrical changes. The metrical variety is the main factor in the musical effect of the versification in *El Estudiante*, as well as in the songs and other poems by Espronceda] (NAVARRO TOMÁS, 1973: 392, n. 31).

¹¹ As Dorothy Clotelle Clark puts it: "Octosyllabic verse in which the even-numbered lines assonate with the same assonance throughout the poem and the odd-numbered lines are left free." (CLARKE, 1952: 359, s.v. *romance*)

Era más de media noche,	(8 metrical syllables)	
antiguas historias cuentan	(8)	a
cuando en sueño y en silencio	(8)	
lóbrego envuelta la tierra,	(8)	a
los vivos muertos parecen,	(8)	
los muertos la tumba dejan	(8)	a

(Part I, lines 1-6)

Sometimes the accentuation of the *romance* exhibits a very marked rhythm, as with the trochaic rhythm (i.e., stressed-unstressed) of the opening line:

Era más de media noche
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 1)

But that need not be the case. It suffices that the sequence of two contiguous accents be avoided, that the alternation of accented and unaccented syllables be guaranteed (BALBÍN, 1975: 127),¹² to feel the typical rhythm of the *romance*:

los vivos muertos parecen
U / U / U U / U

los muertos la tumba dejan
U / U U / U / U

(Part I, lines 5-6)

Espronceda concludes the presentation of the Salamancan night not with another meter but with a change of rhyme, from *llana* or *grave* [paroxytonic] to *aguda* [oxytonic].¹³ The evocation of the night is broken by the sudden appearance of the noise from a swordfight:

Súbito rumor de espadas	
cruje y un ¡ay! se escuchó;	a
un ay moribundo, un ay	
que penetra el corazón,	a
que hasta los tuétanos huela	
y da al que lo oyó temblor.	a
Un ¡ay! de alguno que al mundo	
pronuncia el último adiós.	a

(Part I, lines 41-48)

¹² Rafael de Balbín formulates this "law": "la alternación *acentuado/desacentuado*, que es la ley de la sucesión de los tiempos métricos" [the alternation stressed/unstressed, which is the law of succession of metrical tempos] (BALBÍN, 1975: 127).

¹³ *Agudo*, also called *oxítono*: "a verse or word having the main stress on the final syllable." (CLARKE, 1952: 318). *Llano* or *grave* [paroxytone or paroxytonic]: "said of a verse or word having the main stress on the next to the last syllable." (CLARKE, 1952: 346).

The following sequence is remarkable. To suggest the secrecy with which the murderer leaves the scene, Espronceda creates a fundamentally trisyllabic series: there are also some four-metric-syllable lines, which combine oxytonic and paroxytonic endings. The murderer seems to escape on tiptoe. It is one of the great mimetic effects of the poem:

El ruido	
cesó,	a
un hombre	
pasó	a
embozado,	b
y el sombrero	
recatado	b
a los ojos	
se caló.	a
Se desliza	
y atraviesa	c
junto al muro	
de una iglesia	c
y en la sombra	
se perdió.	a

(Part I, lines 49-63)

An *agudo* [oxytonic] *romance* follows (not very long; eleven lines, i.e., lines 64-75). Six dodecasyllabic *serventesios* [crossed quartets]¹⁴ come next (lines 76-99). Consider the third:

La cálle sombría, // la nóche ya entráda	A
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	
la lámpara triste // ya próna a expirár	B
U / U U / U // U / U U / (U)	
que a véces alúmbra // la imágen sagráda	A
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	
y a véces escónde // la sómbra a aumentár	B
U / U U / U // U / U U / (U)	

We can identify in these verses a phenomenon that is not immediately perceptible to the untrained eye: the Spanish *verso compuesto* [compound verse].¹⁵ In Espronceda's text, a caesura regularly divides the verse into two hemistiches of six

¹⁴ Cf. NAVARRO TOMÁS (1964: 104, n °27). "Having alternate rhyme (*abab*)" (CLARKE, 1952: 363).

¹⁵ Cf. DOMÍNGUEZ CAPARRÓS (1985).

metrical syllables with the same amphibrachic¹⁶ rhythmic pattern: U / UU / U. The pause and the rhythmic regularity make these verses more emphatic. This amphibrachic rhythmic structure is repeated, with few significant variants (which might even be “moments of frustrated expectation,”¹⁷ in formalist jargon) along all hemistiches of the six *serventesios*.

The metric and rhythmic structure changes. The following five stanzas are called *octavillas agudas*¹⁸ or *octavillas italianas*¹⁹ (oxytonic octaves of *arte menor* verses²⁰). The short meter and the masculine endings of the quatrains (the fourth and eighth lines of the *octavillas*) are absolutely functional and expressive elements for describing a character that, as in Mozart and in Da Ponte's *Don Giovanni* and its interpretation by Kierkegaard,²¹ lives quickly, from moment to moment, without projecting into the future or remembering the past:

Segundo don Juan Tenorio,	a
alma fiera e insolente,	b
irreligioso y valiente,	b
altanero y reñidor:	ć
Siempre el insulto en los ojos,	d
en los labios la ironía,	e
nada teme y todo fía	e
de su espada y su valor.	ć

(Part I, lines 100-107)

In addition to other rhythmic structures, trochaic rhythms can be identified:

nada teme y todo fía
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 106)

and peonic ones:

en los lábios la ironía
U U / U U U / U

(Part I, line 105)

¹⁶ Cf. “The Technique of Scansion” in FUSSELL (1979: 17-29).

¹⁷ Bělič and Hrabák (2000: 43 ss).

¹⁸ “Más usada que ninguna otra estrofa octosilábica en la lírica romántica fue la octavilla aguda [...]. El tipo más general fue el que dejaba sueltos los versos primero y quinto: abbé: cbbé” [More used than any other octosyllabic stanza in the romantic lyric poetry was the acute *octavilla*] (NAVARRO TOMÁS, 1972: 363).

¹⁹ “An octave whose fourth and eight lines rhyme in *agudos*” (CLARKE, 1952: 349).

²⁰ As Clarke defines: “arte menor. Verse of eight syllables or less.” (CLARKE, 1952: 323).

²¹ “[...] his life is the sum of moments that repel each other and don't have any connection between them [...]” (KIERKEGAARD, 1973: 111).

In contrast to the description cited above, the characterization of “innocent and unhappy Elvira” (I, 147) runs in long meters (*arte mayor*, in Spanish metric terminology²²): into eleven-syllable *endecasílabos*, which are low-tone, deep verses. The five stanzas describing Elvira are octaves, in the tradition of the *ottava rima*, called in Spanish *octava real*. I quote the first:

Bella y más pura que el azul del cielo A
 con dulces ojos lánguidos y hermosos, B
 donde acaso el amor brilló entre el velo A
 del pudor que los cubre candorosos; B
 tímida estrella que refleja al suelo A
 rayos de luz brillantes y dudosos, B
 ángel puro de amor que amor inspira, C
 fue la inocente y desdichada Elvira. C

(Part I, lines 140-147)

An actual stressed rhythm, though less emphatic, and a longer verse without caesura create an impression of calm and gravity, which contrasts with great effect the *octavillas agudas* of Don Félix de Montemar with the stanzas of Dona Elvira de Pastrana. The ethopoeia of Elvira closes the first part of *El estudiante de Salamanca*.

From a metrical point of view, the second part offers no new developments. The third part however does; on several occasions in it tense dialogues are deployed according to the conventions of classical Spanish theater, through which parts of the same verse are distributed to different *dramatis personae*. Consider, for example, lines 148-151 of the second part, in which Don Diego de Pastrana and Don Félix de Montemar engage in a verbal duel while playing cards:

D. Diego
 Bien, don Félix, cuadra en vos a
 esa insolencia importuna. b

D. Félix
 (Al TERCER JUGADOR *sin hacer caso de D.DIEGO*)
 Perdisteis.

JUGADOR TERCERO
 Sí. La fortuna b
 se trocó: tiro y van dos. a

At first glance, this is a sequence of five verses, of which four rhyme and one is loose, unrhymed. In actuality however only four verses should be counted, and they all rhyme with each other: “Perdisteis” and “Sí. La fortuna” are two sections

²² “[Arte mayor] sometimes refers to the hendecasyllable; also, to any verse of nine or more syllables.” (CLARKE, 1952: 370).

of the same verse. Although the first (of three syllables) corresponds to Don Félix and the second (of five syllables), to the Third Player, the sum of the two makes an octosyllable, which rhymes with an earlier verse (here, rhyme b, *importuna: fortuna*).

The fourth part repeats forms already featured in the first: quatrains of *endecasílabos*, “serventesios” of twelve syllables and caesura, octosyllabic quatrains, romances, and *octavas reales*. An impressive display of short verses (*de arte menor*) is added: hexasyllables, pentasyllables, tetrasyllables, and bisyllables. There is even an attempt to create a monosyllabic line, which is, in the system of Spanish verse, impossible, because, all monosyllabic verses being *agudos* [oxytonic], a syllable is necessarily added, which transforms it into a bisyllable.²³ This is what happens in the impressive death scene of Don Félix de Montemar (Part IV, lines 970-988), which unfortunately Pessoa did not translate:

(4 metrical syllables) Y vio luego
 una llama
 que se inflama
 y murió;
 y perdido,
 oyó el eco
 de un gemido
 que expiró.

(3) Tal, dulce
 suspire
 la lira
 que hirió,
 en blando
 concento
 del viento
 la voz,

(2) leve
 breve

(1) son.

As Varela Jácome points out, the life of the protagonist vanishes with the descending meter (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 124, n. 42). Tomas Navarro is more explicit:

²³ “Monosyllabic verse doesn’t exist [in Spanish metrics] because its only syllable would necessarily be *aguda* [oxytonic].” (QUILIS, 1969: 46). In Spanish metrics, all oxytonic syllables are perceived as paroxytonic ones, with an extra syllable, cf. QUILIS (1967).

En la escala de *El estudiante de Salamanca*, los versos alargan su medida desde dos a doce sílabas, según se oye el estruendo de la procesión de la muerte, y disminuyen recorriendo paso a paso la misma distancia en sentido descendente a medida que se va apagando la conciencia del protagonista

(NAVARRO TOMÁS, 1973: 393)

[In the scale of *El estudiante de Salamanca*, the verses increase their length from two to twelve syllables, when one hears the clamor of the death procession, and decrease, returning step by step the same distance, downwards, as the conscience of the protagonist fades]

As we have just seen, we cannot ignore the relevance of sound, of the sound pattern of verse, of the metrical, and of the rhythmic aspects of *El estudiante de Salamanca*. In his attempt at translating this poem Pessoa was well aware of this. We shall now examine Pessoa's version of *The Student of Salamanca* and focus primarily on that feature.

It may be noted that in the translation of the first part Pessoa retains Espronceda's original layout: *romance* (lines 1-48), three or four syllable *romancillo* (lines 49-63), *romance* (lines 64-75), twelve-syllable quatrains or *serventesios* (lines 76-99), *octavillas agudas* (lines 100-139), and *octavas reales* or *ottava rima* [octaves] (vv. 140-179). The rhythmic variety of Espronceda's *El estudiante* remains strong in Pessoa's *The Student*.

It should be of interest to study how Pessoa makes his metrical equivalences. Let's start with the *romance*. As I already noted, the Spanish *romance* is made of eight metrical syllable verses with *asonante* [vocalic] rhymes. Rhyme comes only in the even verses. The "romance" of Pessoa consists mainly of eight metrical syllable verses alternating with a few seven syllable ones and with a very few with six metrical syllables. The law of succession of metric tempos (by which immediately successive stressed syllables are avoided) is respected and very marked accentual rhythms are achieved: English tetrameters and trimeters. The tetrameters tend towards trochaic rhythm:

Mark with fearful howls their passing
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 14)

Yieldeth full mysterious soundings
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 17)

The trimeters, to iambic rhythm:

To still and hollow foot-falls
U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 10)

Pessoa does not retain assonance, whereby the effect of the changing rhyme in line 41 of *El estudiante de Salamanca* is lost: there the *aguda* rhyme marks the passing of Salamanca to the description of the sound of swords followed by the piercing cry of a dying man, as we have already shown. The text of Espronceda does not insist so much on the sounds of swords as in the dead man's crying (the piercing, repeated "¡ay!" and even the gloomy "o" of the *aguda* rhyme):

Súbito rumor de espadas
 cruje y un ¡ay! se escuchó,
 un ay moribundo, un ay
 que penetra el corazón,
 que hasta los tuétanos huela
 y da al que lo oyó temblor.
 Un ¡ay! de alguno que al mundo
 pronuncia el último adiós.

(Part I, lines 41-48)

Pessoa replaces the interjection "¡ay!" with the noun "moan." This variation and the absence of rhyme prevents the retention of Espronceda's effect. However, like all great translators, Pessoa generates a remarkable equivalence, using the alliteration of 's' and 'sh':

Suddenly of sword the dashing
 Soundeth, and a moan is heard

(Part I, lines 41-42)

This varies with the original of Espronceda, which at this point evokes the whole set of sounds of the swordfight with the sounds 's' and 'r':

Súbito rumor de espadas
 cruje [...]

(Part I, lines 41-42)

Instead, with the sounds suggested by Pessoa's use of the alliteration of sibilants, there is the slicing of the air by swords and the sharp clash evoked by the word "dashing." The sequence of short verses with which the murderer escapes – as if on tiptoe – has been elegantly transposed into English by Pessoa, using syncopes (more frequent in English poetry than in Spanish) and apocopes: "pass'd" (Part I, line 52), "Cloak'd" (Part I, line 53), "'Gainst" (Part I, line 60). The effect of pauses and rhymes admirably remains, all the more so because it is not identical:

The sound	
Is done ,	a
A man	
Pass'd on	a
Cloak'd full ,	b
And his hat	
Care ful	b
Drew his eyes	
Up on .	a
He glideth	
Close-press'd	
'Gainst the wall	
Of a church,	
And in shadow	
Is gone .	a

(Part I, lines 49-63)

The same thing that was said of the *romance* that opened the composition can be said of the *romance* that comes next (Part I, lines 64-75). Quatrains of twelve-syllable verses whose rhyme scheme Pessoa appropriates follow. The English equivalence is the tetrameter, sometimes of eleven syllables and more often of twelve. Most important here might be to point out that in certain stanzas Pessoa creates an English verse very close to the Spanish *verso compuesto* [compound verse], caesura and rhythms included:

The spirit the boldest // of steel to withstand it	A
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	
Had shrunk into caution // had stricken with fear	B
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	
The fiercest, most cursing // and blasphemous bandit	A
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	
Had felt with its terror // his lips find a prayer	B
U / U U / U // U / U U / U	

(Part I, lines 92-95)

It is true, also, that in the case of the previous quatrain the full delivery of rhyme in lines 92 and 94 ("fear" and "prayer") could collide with the perception of rhythm, prompting a pronunciation clearly diphthongized of "fear" and clearly disyllabic of "prayer."

Pessoa reproduces Espronceda's *octavillas agudas* (oxytonic or masculine octaves of *arte menor* verses). Unlike the latter, which strictly respects the regularity of octosyllabic verses, Pessoa varies the meter without significant consequences and intermingles seven-syllable verses. The *octosílabos* are made into tetrameters or trimeters. Some of them are trochaic:

Fearing nought, all things referring
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 106)

Others tend to dactylic rhythm:

Always insult in his glances
/ U U / U U / U

(Part I, line 104)

Other verses of the *octavilla* lack so marked a rhythm, although almost all follow – faithful to the character of the original *romance* – the law of succession of metric tempos, whereby two (or more) adjacent accents are not allowed within the verses.

It should be noted that the structure of the rhymes, which follows the pattern of the *octavilla*, even in the oxytonic (*agudos*) endings of verses 4 and 8, precisely renders that of the original:

Don Juan Tenorio the Second,	a
A proud and insolent spirit	b
Impious, in courage his merit,	b
Quarrelsome in deed and word,	c
Always insult in his glances,	d
His lips e'er irony bearing	e
Fearing nought, all things referring	e
To his valour and his sword.	c

(Part I, lines 100-107)

Finally, stanzas describing the unfortunate Elvira respect the English tradition of the *ottava rima*, prescribing pentameters where Spanish tradition prescribes *endecasílabos*. The structure of the rhyme is the same in both traditions (ABABABCC):

Beautiful, purer tan the sky's pure blue	A
With sweet and languid eyes tenderly bright	B
Where haply love hath shone the soft veil through	A
Of modesty that hides their soul's delight	B
A timid star that doth reflect unto	A
The earth brilliant and doubtful rays of light,	B

Love's angel pure, love to inspire unsated	C
Such was Elvira innocent, ill-fated.	C

(Part I, lines 140-147)

Although the third part of *The Student of Salamanca* has arrived to us very incomplete and the dramatic dialogue displays many gaps, Pessoa's intention to create strict and faithful equivalences is clear. Consider, for example, the sequence that goes from line 105a to line 107a:

JUGADOR TERCERO

Yo, la vida. (4)	I my life. (3)
------------------	----------------

D. Félix

No la quiero (4) a	That won't do (3) a
Mirad si me dais dinero, (8) a	Just give me money and you (8) a
y os la llevais. (4 + 1)	May take her. (3)

Pessoa's version probably goes to the extreme of what can be achieved in translation: he does not retain the octosyllabic verse that is divided between the characters of the Third Player and Don Félix: "Yo, la vida" (4 metrical syllables) plus "No la quiero" (4 metrical syllables): 8 metrical syllables. Espronceda's broken octosyllables have simply been transformed by Pessoa into short, trisyllabic verses. What is maintained is the structure of the rhyme: two contiguous lines rhyme, as in the text of Espronceda ("quiero: dinero" in Espronceda's and "do: you" in Pessoa's).

The fourth part offers challenges that Pessoa surmounts with elegance. One senses the magnificent translation that *The Student* would have been had it been completed. Pessoa achieves remarkable results. See, for example, the set of short meters of the sequence between lines 693 and 703:

Fúnebre (2)	a	Mournful (2)	a
llanto (2)	b	Singing (2)	b
de amor, (3)	ć	Love-found (2)	ć
óyese (2)	d	Is heard there (3)	d
en tanto (3)	b	Upspringing (3)	b
en son (3)	ć	A sound (2)	ć
flébil, blando (4)	e	Soft and feeble (4)	e
cual quejido (4)	f	Like a wailing (4)	f
dolorido (4)	f	Unavailing (4)	f
que del alma (4)	g	That the spirit (4)	g
se arrancó (4)	ć	Hath drowned.	ć

In the passage quoted, not only does the close correspondence of meaning between the Spanish and the English texts strike us, but also the incredible fidelity to the

original sound level, especially if one considers not only the strictly metric aspect and the rhymes but also the rhythms. For example, the iambic and anapestic rhythms of lines 693 to 698:

Fúnebre	Mournful
/ U	/ U
llanto	Singing
/ U	/ U
[...]	[...]
en tanto	Upspringing
U / U	U / U

Or the strict trochaic rhythms of lines 699-707,²⁴ as in:

flébil, blando	Soft and feeble
/ U / U	/ U / U

Pessoa's obsession with finding the most exact equivalences extends to retaining apparently minor details, such as maintaining the oxytonic (masculine, *agudas*) rhymes of the original. Not only does he maintain the layout of the rhymes, but also their character, when in fact he could have found other effective though less precise solutions. For instance, he could have retained the layout of the rhymes alone. Note the translation of lines 942-949:

Y siente un confuso	a	He feels a confused	a
loco devaneo,	b	A wild □ emotion	b
languidez, mareo	b	Calms and deep commotion	b
y angustioso afán:	c	And a bitter woe:	c
y sombras y luces	d	He sees lights and shadows	d
la estancia que gira,	e	The whole mansion reeling	e
y espíritus mira	e	And dim spirits wheeling	e
que vienen y van.	c	Which do come and go.	c

In fact, in Pessoa's text one perceives an desire to deal with the difficulty of rendering the rhythmic pattern. If there are several alternatives, Pessoa will choose the most difficult, which is, at the same time, in his case, the most accurate.

Could it be that Pessoa, reader of Poe's *A Philosophy of Composition*, would have listened to him and privileged sound over word and meaning²⁵? It is not so, of course, insofar as Pessoa gives a faithful account of sense through sound effects; nevertheless, it is true that the latter occupies a predominant place in his concerns. For example, as we have before us a "work in progress," fatally unfinished, we can

²⁴ The strict rendering of the rhythmic pattern of this sequence would probably imply some metric licenses in Spanish: double-stressed words and the accentuation of unaccented words.

²⁵ "The sound of the *refrain* being thus determined, it became necessary to select a word embodying this sound [...]." (POE, 1902: 664).

identify various stages of writing. Thus, we can discern clearly how Pessoa seems to want to fix the rhymes before completing the whole verse (having first the final word of the line before the others, obviously influences the selection of these). This can be seen in verses 830-833:

And then a □ <i>wearing</i>	A
Good † through his face with the colour of <i>death</i>	B
His breast <i>bearing</i>	A
□ <i>yet</i>	B

The metric constraint, which is clearly visible in the above, can go so far as to change the meaning of Espronceda's text. We can identify at least one example of this, in lines 710-711, where Pessoa completely changes the meaning of the original in order to replace it with an image not provided by Espronceda but instead with one that allows Pessoa to respect the rhyme pattern:

Música triste,	a	Sad music vague	a
lánguida y vaga	b	Languid in motion	b
<i>que a par lastima</i>	c	<i>Plugging the spirit</i>	c
<i>y el alma halaga;</i>	b	<i>In a deep ocean</i>	b

In Espronceda's text, music at the same time harms and flatters; with two verbs, it expresses an effect on the soul that can be seen as contradictory, but does not require an image to manifest itself. In Pessoa's, however, an image is put forth: music plunges the spirit into a deep ocean. It is an image – the spirit submerged in and connected ("plugging") to the ocean – that demands to be understood metaphorically ("the spirit drowns itself in the deep, connecting itself to an indeterminate zone to the extent that it annuls its being and transforms itself into something indefinite, just as a body immerses and dilutes itself in the sea"). They are, of course, two completely different solutions. Such infidelity in translation in a craftsman as neat as Pessoa could be explained by the need to maintain the original pattern of the rhymes. That is, it is consistent with the translation of the sound level and not with the translation of the meaning level. As Umberto Eco says, every translation is a negotiation (ECO, 2008: 25). In this particular case, we can clearly see what Pessoa's priority was by what he retained and what he set aside.

All in all, this is, as we have seen, a careful and effective appropriation that captures the best effects of the original and proposes elegant equivalences. Without hyperbole, I would include *The Student of Salamanca* in that group of translations that George Steiner calls "a miracle of rare device" (STEINER, 1992: 429).²⁶

²⁶ Steiner includes in this Parnassus G. K. Chesterton's translation of Du Bellay's sonnet *Heureux qui, comme Ulysse*, and Pierre Leyris' translations of G. M. Hopkins' poems (in particular *The Wreck of the "Deutschland"*). (STEINER, 1992: 429).

Considering Pessoa's *oeuvre*, the English translation of *El estudiante de Salamanca* emerges as a curious singularity. One could entertain a simple explanation for its genesis: it was the work of Pessoa's English heteronym Alexander Search or the work of the English heteronym Charles James Search, who only undertook translations.²⁷ But the late task lists are definitive: *The Student of Salamanca* is a translation by Fernando Pessoa. It must then be considered as such. In principle, it does not make much sense to include this translation within the project of the *Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres*, since that collection was directed to the Portuguese-speaking world and *The Student* is written in English. Nor does it seem plausible that the text could fit in the same group as the English poems of Quental, Botto or Pessoa himself. The fact that news of the translation appears recorded in different moments of the artistic and intellectual biography of Pessoa would seem to indicate Pessoa's special interest in the text. Although Saraiva collected in his book several translations from Spanish to Portuguese of excellent quality,²⁸ Pessoa believed that it was interesting to undertake only difficult translations and saw "graça nenhuma" in translations of languages as close as Spanish and Portuguese (PESSOA, 1993: 221).²⁹ In other words, Pessoa could have chosen to translate *El estudiante de Salamanca* just for the pleasure of doing so, for the pleasure of undertaking a "difficult" translation and to prove through it his abilities. Other, perhaps more complex reasons can be imagined, such as the links between reading, translation and creation that are made evident by the nexus between the marginalia of Pessoa's personal library and his archive, his *espólio*, as advanced by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro in the entry "Biblioteca" ["Library"] of the *Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo Português* organized by Fernando Cabral Martins. The entry, in fact, discusses one example of this relation, an example that involves *The Student of Salamanca*:

O *Diário de 1906*, que se encontra no espólio e foi publicado por Teresa Sobral Cunha em *Colóquio / Letras* 95, Jan.-Fev. de 1987, e por Richard Zenith, em *Escritos autobiográficos, automáticos e de reflexão pessoal* (2003) traz ainda outras informações e contextualiza a leitura de Keats, cujo nome se encontra referido entre os dias 8 e 16 de Junho de 1906. Nesse diário lê-se, a 9 de Junho: "Espronceda: *El Estudiante de Salamanca*"; e a 10: "Keats e Espronceda". Salientámos também o nome de Espronceda, porque ambos surgem associados e porque cerca dum ano depois, a 9 de Maio de 1907, Pessoa tinha quase concluído a tradução da primeira parte de *El Estudiante de Salamanca*: "9th May: Almost

²⁷ "Nesta medida, e mesmo que possa parecer-nos paradoxal, actualmente Charles Search é menos lembrado como o ambicioso tradutor do *Book of tasks*, do que como autor de uma carta a uma agência literária de Londres, justificando a ausência do seu irmão Alexander." (PESSOA, 2016: 285).

²⁸ Augusto de Campos doesn't think this way: "devo dizer que as versões do espanhol pouco acrescentam a obra tradutória de Pessoa" (CAMPOS, 2015: 8). But that opinion could reflect Campos' bias towards one of the versions: Francisco de Quevedo's *Epístola al Conde [Duque] de Olivares*, which he doesn't like in the first place, even in the Spanish original.

²⁹ He even despises Miguel de Unamuno's exhortation to write in Spanish (PESSOA, 2011: 129).

finished 1st part *St[udent] of Salamanca*" (Pessoa, *Escritos sobre Gênio e Loucura*, 2006: 623). Estes dados factuais, que permitem datar a leitura de Keats e de Espronceda (e a correspondente tradução), são complementados e iluminados por uma nota que se encontra na margem direita do segundo verso de "The Eve of Saint Mark", poema que também figura em *The Poetical Works of John Keats*: "All was gloom, and silent all, | Save now and then the still foot-fall": cf. "tácitas pisadas huecas" (Espronceda).

Se, movidos por estas pistas, continuarmos a seguir as "pegadas" de Pessoa, indo do espólio para a biblioteca e da biblioteca para o espólio, descobriremos ainda os fragmentos que ficaram da tradução de *El Estudiante de Salamanca*, para o inglês. Num desses fragmentos, identificado com a cota (BNP / E3, 74A-65), o décimo verso de Espronceda, "tácitas pisadas huecas", é traduzido por Pessoa da seguinte maneira: "To still and hollow foot-falls" (BNP / E3, 74A-65). A leitura de Keats auxilia e informa o labor do poeta-tradutor. A biblioteca torna-se, pois, inseparável do espólio. Talvez por falta desta consciencia a primeira não tem sido tão bem conservada como o segundo.

(FERRARI and PIZARRO, 2008: 87)

[The 1906 *Diary*, extant in the Pessoa archive and published by Teresa Sobral Cunha in *Colóquio/Letras* 95, Jan.- Feb. 1987, and by Richard Zenith, in *Escritos autobiográficos, automáticos e de reflexão pessoal* (2003), reveals still more pieces of information and contextualizes the reading of Keats, whose name is referred to between 8 and 16 June 1906. In the diary, one reads, on June 9th: "Espronceda: *El Estudiante de Salamanca*"; and on the 10th: "Keats e Espronceda". We should also emphasize Espronceda's name, because both (Espronceda and Keats) are associated and because, about one year later, on 9 May 1907, Pessoa had almost concluded the translation of the first part of *El Estudiante de Salamanca*: "9th May: Almost finished 1st part *St[udent] of Salamanca*" (Pessoa, *Escritos sobre Gênio e Loucura*, 2006: 623). These facts, allowing to date the reading of Keats and of Espronceda (and the corresponding translation), are complemented and illuminated by a note on the right margin of the second verse of "The Eve of Saint Mark," a poem that also appears in *The Poetical Works of John Keats*: "All was gloom, and silent all, | Save now and then the still foot-fall": cf. "tácitas pisadas huecas" (Espronceda).

If, impelled by those clues, we keep following the "footsteps" of Pessoa, going from the archive to the library and from the library back to the archive, we will find out the fragments that remained from Pessoa's English translation of *El Estudiante de Salamanca*. In one of those fragments, with call number BNP/E3, 74A-65, the tenth verse of Espronceda, "tácitas pisadas huecas", is translated by Pessoa as follows: "To still and hollow foot-falls" (BNP/E3, 74A-65). The reading of Keats helps and informs the work of the poet-translator. The library becomes, thus, inseparable from the archive. Perhaps because of a lack of this awareness, the former has not been as well preserved as the latter.]

Another link between the archive and Pessoa's private library can be made if we inspect the marginalia of one book included in it: Antonio Cortón's *Espronceda* (one of the books in Alexander Search's library,³⁰ as his signature shows). In it, another

³⁰ See "Alexander Search's Library" in SEARCH (2014: 208-217). It should be noted that *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron* and *The Complete Poetical Works Of Shelley* are also part of it. For the complete list of Search's private library see FERRARI (2009).

English Romantic poet appears: Lord Byron. On page 116 of Cortón's book, a vertical line at the left margin of the paragraph marks D. Juan Valera's observation concerning Lord Byron's influence on Espronceda: *Childe Harold's* song to Inez and *A Jarifa*; *The Corsair* and the *Canción del pirata*; Julia's letter in *Don Juan* and Elvira's letter in *El estudiante de Salamanca*; the digressions and genialities of *Don Juan* and *El diablo mundo*. Pessoa writes (my reading) next to the vertical line: "Certo."³¹ Cortón's aim, though, is to downplay Byron's influence on Espronceda and to assert Espronceda's originality. Yet the influence is there, as Varela points out. And not only is this bond not ignored by Pessoa, he manifestly acknowledges it when he writes "Certo."

George Monteiro proves how the reading of Browning's works may have constituted an important source for the creation of heteronyms: Browning's aspiration to create "Action in Character rather than Character in Action" seems to be the precedent for the "drama en gente." The relation between Browning and Pessoa is discussed at large by Penteado and Gagliardi in recent works (PENTEADO and GAGLIARDI, 2015: 168 and also FERRARI 2015: 372). This is not an isolated link. It can be verified with other English writers, like Wilde, and, certainly, with Shakespeare. The *Antinous* is strongly tinged by Wilde's decadent sensuality and the 35 *Sonnets* are to some extent the result of Pessoa's desire to become an "ultra-Shakespeare."³² In short, the reading activity of Pessoa manifests itself in his creations. And in his translations as well.

We don't need to add more heteronyms – Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari have counted 136 to date (PESSOA, 2016) – and it is probably an exaggeration to postulate a "panheteronymism" in relation to the translations, in the sense for example that the translated author disappears to become a heteronym. Nevertheless, the truth is that statements such as those of Saraiva, who maintains that the poetic translations of Pessoa appear as original texts³³ and are in no way inferior to the texts that generated them (SARAIVA, 1996: 46) and of de Sena, who states that António Botto translated by Pessoa becomes a heteronym of Pessoa (SENA, 2000: 274)³⁴ make one think that in Pessoa both creation and translation

³¹ Other Pessoa annotations in Cortón's book include the ones next to two fragments of Espronceda's *Pelayo* (pp. 82-83), fragments that strike Pessoa as similar to *El Estudiante de Salamanca* (he writes, in effect, "cfr. Estudiante" near the marked passages).

³² This was noted by the reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* (19 September 1918) who pointed out Pessoa's 35 *Sonnets* as "ultra-Shakesperian Shakesperianisms."

³³ Vizcaíno concurs: "Quando lemos *Songs*, depois de termos lido o original em português, não podemos deixar de concluir que Fernando Pessoa acrescenta um pouco mais ao 'emprestar' o seu jeito de escrever, dando a impressão de estarmos a ler um *original* em inglês do próprio Pessoa." [When we read *Songs*, after having read the original in Portuguese, we can only conclude that Fernando Pessoa adds a bit more, 'lending' his manner of writing and giving the impression that we are reading an original text by Pessoa in English] (VIZCAÍNO, 2012: 44)

³⁴ Or a "semi-heterónimo," as Vizcaíno puts it (VIZCAÍNO, 2012: 42).

arise from the same matrix.³⁵ Further, one could posit that this has to do with the “chameleon poet” that Keats foresaw in his correspondence and that Mariana Gray de Castro links with a genealogy that Pessoa shares with Joyce and Eliot (GRAY DE CASTRO, 2015: 155). That is, translation appears as a form of “otherness,” of heteronymy in Pessoaan terms, as if Alvaro de Campos’ *Sensacionista dictum* “Sentir tudo de todas as maneiras” [“live everything in every way”] inhabited every act of translation.

One could suggest another hypothesis, one that makes the phenomenon of heteronomy—of translation as a heteronymic activity (WIESSE, 2013)—something even more complex, explaining at the same time the singularity of *The Student of Salamanca*: knowing the link between Byron's *Don Juan* and *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Pessoa translated Espronceda while looking to Lord Byron. In acousmatic terms, as Patrick Quillier would like it (QUILLIER, 2002), he produces an echo of Espronceda that seeks to be an echo of Byron. The writer of *The Student of Salamanca*, then, is not Pessoa, or not entirely Pessoa, but an English Espronceda, strange and ghostly Byron-like.

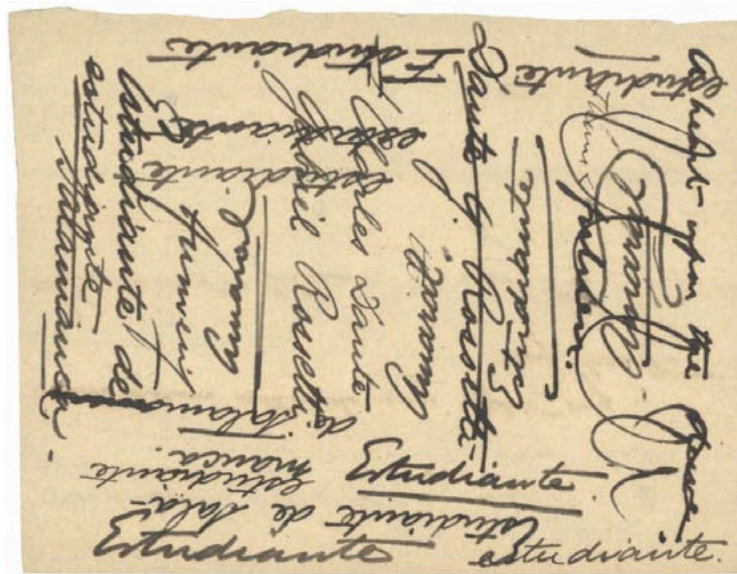


Fig. 2 Notes by Pessoa, including several occurrences of "estudiante." BNP/E3, 49B³-65^v.

³⁵ “Não custa admitir que a diversidade heteronímica terá que ver com a actividade do tradutor, não só com a do leitor, que Pessoa foi desde tenra idade” [It’s not hard to admit that the heteronymic diversity would have to do with the activity of the translator, not only the reader, which Pessoa had been since an early age] (SARAIVA, 1999: 52).

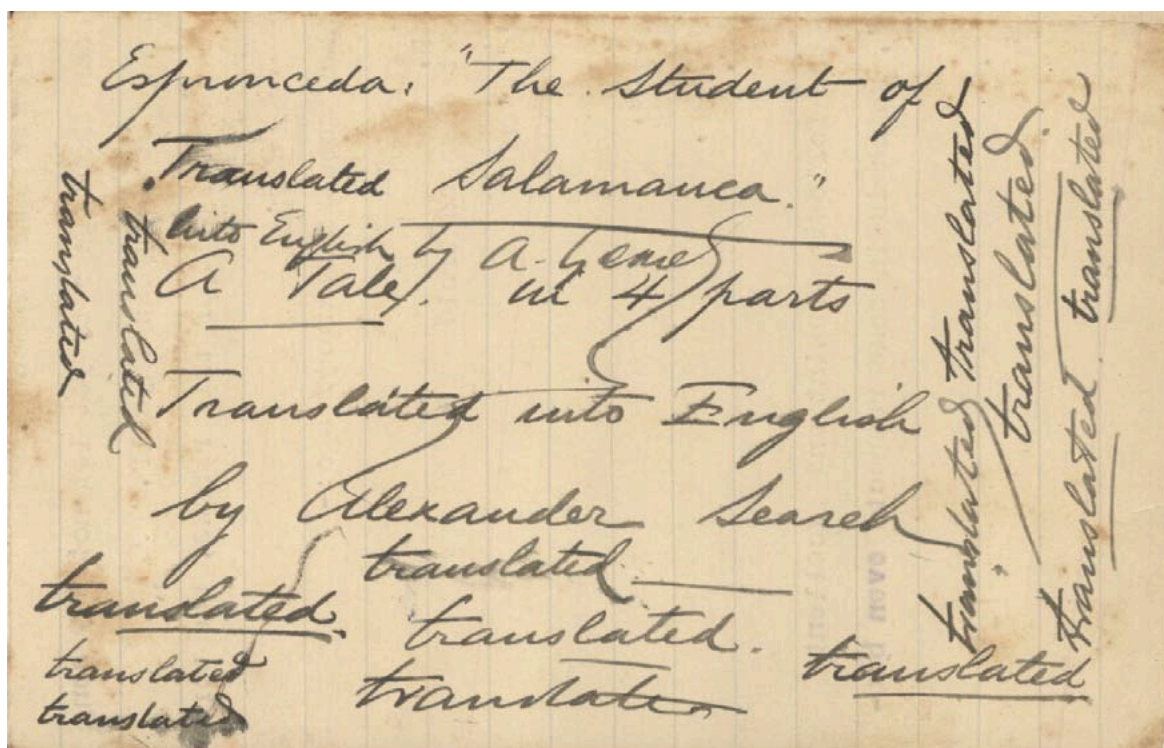


Fig. 3. "The student of Salamanca" translated "by Alexander Search." BNP/E3, 124-54^v. Detail.

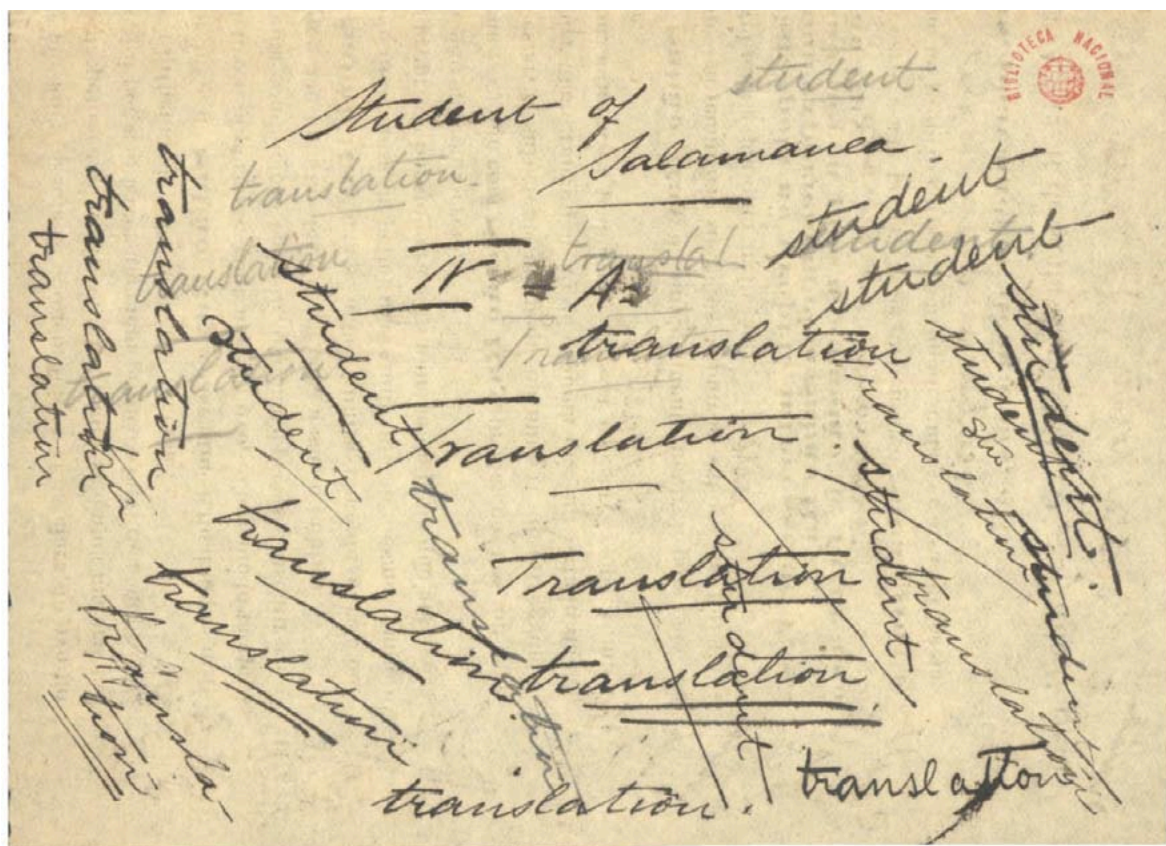


Fig. 4 Notes indicating the translation of “Student of Salamanca” into English. BNP/E3, 133N-10r. Detail.

Bibliography

- BALBÍN, Rafael de (1975). *Sistema de rítmica castellana*. Madrid: Gredos.
- BĚLIČ, Oldrich (2000). *Verso español y verso europeo. Introducción a la teoría del verso español en el contexto europeo*. In collaboration with Josef Hrabák. Santafé de Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- CAMPOS, Augusto de (2015) "Uma redescoberta: traduções de Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural*, nº. 7, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, editors, Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, Fall, pp. 1-22.
- CLARKE, Dorothy Clotelle (1952). *A Chronological Sketch of Castilian Versification Together with a List of its Metric Terms*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- CORTÓN, Antonio (1906). *Espronceda*. Madrid: Casa Editorial Velásquez. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number, 9-21].
- DOMÍNGUEZ CAPARRÓS, José (1985). *Diccionario de métrica española*. Madrid: Paraninfo.
- ECO, Umberto (2008). *Decir casi lo mismo*. Translated by Helena Lozano Miralles. Barcelona: Lumen.
- ESPRONCEDA, José de (2010). *El estudiante de Salamanca*. Edited by Benito Varela Jácome. Madrid: Cátedra. [First published in *Poesías*, Madrid, En la imprenta de Yenes, 1840].
- ____ (1962). *Obras poéticas I. Poesías y El estudiante de Salamanca*. Edited by J. Moreno Villa. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe (Clásicos Castellanos). [First edition 1840].
- ____ (1876). *Obras poéticas de Don José de Espronceda. Precedidas de la biografía del autor y elaboradas con su retrato*. Paris: Librería de Garnier Hermanos. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number, 8-175].
- FERRARI, Patricio (2015). "Bridging Archives: Twenty-five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural*, nº 8, Carlos Pittella, guest ed., Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, Fall, pp. 365-431.
- ____ (2009). "A Biblioteca de Fernando Pessoa na génese dos heterónimos: (Dispersão e catalogação 1935-2008); A arte da leitura (1898-1907)." *O Guardador de Papéis*, Jerónimo Pizarro, editor. 2nd edition. Lisbon: Texto Editores, pp. 155-218.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Jerónimo Pizarro (2008). "Biblioteca Fernando Pessoa." *Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo*. Edited by Fernando Cabral Martins. Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, pp. 86-88.
- FUSSELL, Paul (1979). *Poetic Meter and Poetic Form*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- GARCÍA MONTERO, Luis (2001). *Gigante y extraño. Las Rimas de Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer*. Barcelona: Tusquets.
- GRAY DE CASTRO, Mariana (2015). "Pessoa and Keats." Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest editors, *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*. Dartmouth, Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 164-187.
- KIERKEGAARD, Sören (1973). *Los estadios eróticos inmediatos o lo erótico musical*. Translated by Javier Armada. Buenos Aires: Aguilar.
- NAVARRO, Tomás (1972). *Métrica española*. Madrid: Guadarrama.
- ____ (1964). *Arte del verso*. Mexico: Compañía General de Ediciones.
- PEERS, Edgar Allison (1973). *Historia del movimiento romántico español*. Madrid: Gredos.
- PENTEADO, Flávio Rodrigo and Caio GAGLIARDI (2015). "The Art of Drama According to Browning and Pessoa." Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest editors, *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*, Dartmouth, Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 164-187.
- PITTELLA Carlos and Jerónimo PIZARRO (2016). *Como Fernando Pessoa pode mudar a sua vida*. Rio de Janeiro: Tinta-da-china Brasil.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia. 136 Autores Fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-China. Fernando Pessoa "Collection."

- ____ (2014). "A Very Original Dinner." Translated by Diego García Sierra in *Un libro muy original/ A Very Original Book*. Bilingual edition and notes by Natalia Jerez Quintero. Medellín: Tragaluz Lusitania Collection.
- ____ (2013). *Iberia. Introducción a un imperialismo futuro*. Translation, introduction, and notes by Antonio Sáez Delgado. Philological note by Jerónimo Pizarro. Epilogue by Humberto Brito and Pablo Javier Pérez López. Valencia: Pre-textos.
- ____ (2011). "Apresentação da colecção 'Anthologia.'" Edgar Allan Poe. *Principais Poemas de Edgar Allan Poe*. Introduction by Fernando Pessoa. Translations by Fernando Pessoa and Margarida Vale de Gato. Lisbon: Guimarães, pp.43-44.
- ____ (2010). *Provérbios portugueses*. Compilation and English translation by Fernando Pessoa. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Atica.
- ____ (1993). *Pessoa inédito*. Edited by Teresa Rita Lopes. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- POE, Edgar Allan (1902). *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe. Poems, Stories, Essays*. With an Introduction by Charles Baudelaire. London: Chatto & Windus. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number, 8-442].
- PRADO BELLEI, Sérgio Luiz (1991). "O Corvo tropical de Edgar Allan Poe." Malcolm Coulthard and Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard. *Tradução. Teoria e Prática*. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- QUENTAL, Antero de (2010). *Os sonetos completos de Antero de Quental*. With a partial English translation by Fernando Pessoa. Preface by J. P. Oliveira Martins. Note, transcriptinos, and postface by Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Guimarães.
- QUILIS, Antonio (1969). *Métrica española*. Madrid: Alcalá.
- ____ (1967). "La percepción de los versos oxítonos, paroxítonos y proparoxítonos en español." *Revista de Filología Española*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Filología, L, pp. 273-286.
- QUILLIER, Patrick (2002). "Pour une acousmatique du signe: éloge du nomadisme de la voix." *Hegel: Zur Sprache, Beiträge zur Geschichte des europäischen Sprachdenkens*. Bettina Lindorfer and Dirk Naguschewski, editors. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag, pp. 199-213.
- SARAIVA, Arnaldo (1996). *Fernando Pessoa. Poeta-Tradutor de Poetas. Os poemas traduzidos e o respectivo original*. Oporto: Lello Editores.
- SENA, Jorge de (2000). *Fernando Pessoa & Ca. Heterónima*. Lisbon: Edicoes 70.
- STEINER, George (1992). *After Babel. Aspects of Language and Translation*. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.
- VIZCAÍNO, Fernanda Maria Cardoso Pereira (2012). "Canções / Songs: Fernando Pessoa traduz António Botto." Master dissertation. Oporto: Instituto Politécnico do Porto.
- WIESSE-REBAGLIATI, Jorge (2013). "Heteronimia y traducción: dos futuros de Fernando Pessoa." Jorge Wiesse and Jerónimo Pizarro, editors. *Los futuros de Fernando Pessoa*. Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, pp. 41-46.

The Enduring Presence of Pessoa

George Monteiro*

Keywords

Boyers, Moure, Shapiro, Bernard, Holman, Dickey, Rago, Roditi, *Poetry Magazine*.

Abstract

Continuing *The Presence of Pessoa* (MONTEIRO, 1998), which offers accounts of how a number of significant English-language writers have reacted to the work of the Portuguese poet in major ways, this piece calls attention to "A Friend of Dr. Reis," a story by Robert Boyers; poems by Eirin Mouré (*Sheep's Vigil by a Fervent Person*), David Shapiro ("At the Grave of Ferdinand Pessoa or the Triple Tomb"), and April Bernard ("Lisbon: 1989"); Bob Holman's unique way of using Pessoa's poetry in teaching ("Notes Toward Exploding 'Exploding Text: Poetry Performance'"); and James Dickey's initial enthusiasm over his discovery of Pessoa's creation and employment of various personae, but later sour grapes denigration of Pessoa's poetry.

Palavras-chave

Boyers, Moure, Shapiro, Bernard, Holman, Dickey, Rago, Roditi, *Poetry Magazine*.

Resumo

Dando continuidade ao livro *The Presence of Pessoa* (MONTEIRO, 1998), que relata como um número significativo de escritores anglófonos reagiu ao trabalho do poeta português, este artigo chama à atenção o conto "A Friend of Dr. Reis", de Robert Boyers; os poemas de Eirin Mouré (*Sheep's Vigil by a Fervent Person*), David Shapiro ("At the Grave of Ferdinand Pessoa or the Triple Tomb") e April Bernard ("Lisbon: 1989"); a maneira singular em que Bob Holman emprega a poesia de Pessoa no ensino ("Notes Toward Exploding 'Exploding Text: Poetry Performance'"); e James Dickey, com seu entusiasmo inicial, ao encontrar a criação de múltiplas personae por Pessoa, e a sua atitude posterior de descrédito amargo da poesia pessoana.

* Brown University.

In *The Presence of Pessoa* I considered, along with other matters, the famous Beat writer Lawrence Ferlinghetti's anarchist banker, my colleague Edwin Honig's confidence-man Pessoa,¹ Thomas Merton's anti-poet of the dark night of the soul, Charles Eglington's Pessoa as Southern African poet, and Roy Campbell's Homeric Pessoa, a Melvillean poet of the sea (MONTEIRO, 1998).

Here I take note of a half dozen other instances of writers who, in one way or another and in more recent years, have paid homage to the Portuguese poet. Of course this constitutes no more than a drop in the bucket, given his ever-widening appeal to readers and writers alike. But they do represent the different ways in which his audience has chosen to regard Pessoa's work.

Taking his hint from Pessoa's fictive world surrounding Ricardo Reis, the Horatian heteronym (PESSOA, 2016a), José Saramago took full imaginative possession—if only for a spell—of that world. He devoted to him what turned out to be his most widely admired novel, *O Ano da Morte de Ricardo Reis*, published in 1984, and, in 1992, in an English translation by Giovanni Pontiero, as *The Year of the Death of Ricardo Reis*. But as things go in such matters, Saramago's own presumptive rule (in this, admittedly, his own favorite among his many novels) over the life of Ricardo Reis engendered, twenty some years later, a notable sequel. In 2005, Robert Boyers, the editor of the American journal *Salmagundi*, brought to light "A Friend of Dr. Reis," a long short story employing characters from Saramago's novel. Published in the *Michigan Quarterly Review*, Boyer's story is told from the viewpoint of a Henry James-like observer who, after the death of Ricardo Reis in Lisbon in 1937, becomes intimately involved with the hotel maid created by Saramago. She is called Lidia, and is Ricardo Reis's companion, perhaps lover, but certainly, at least, the patient listener to his, at times, dismal complaints. Another writer has found her inspiration in Alberto Caeiro. *The Keeper of Sheep* [*O Guardador de Rebanhos*] (PESSOA, 2016b) has come in for a radical re-doing, a re-personalizing, if you will, by a Canadian poet and translator, Erin Mouré.² She calls her book-length parody, *Sheep's Vigil by a Fervent Person* (MOURE, 2001), describing it as a "transelation" of Caeiro's famous sequence of poems.

More modestly and on a lesser scale, the art historian and literary critic David Shapiro, inspired by the presence of the names of Pessoa's three major heteronyms—Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, and Álvaro de Campos—on the three visible sides of the square that constitutes the marker for Fernando Pessoa's bones,

¹ Editor's note: Poet, translator, critic, and professor of English and Comparative Literature at Brown University from 1957 until his retirement in 1982, Edwin Honig (1919-2011) is responsible for the first US translation of a *Selected Poems of Fernando Pessoa* (PESSOA, 1971). Among his papers, held at The John Hay Library of Brown University, figure unpublished material regarding the preparation of this translation and other writings on the Portuguese poet.

² As translator of this book Erin Mouré signed Eirin Moure, which is another way of writing her name in Galician.

disinterred from the cemetery called Prazeres in 1988 and reinterred below the stones of a passageway bordering the courtyard at the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos—wrote a short poem in which he gives voice, briefly, to the three heteronyms.

“At the Grave of Ferdinand Pessoa or the Triple Tomb”

1. *Caeiro*

Do not shelter me like any day’s all day
Or push me toward the fields of a river.
Don’t say it is enough the theme of shelter
As if work and happiness were carnivores and a flower.

2. *Reis*

Is it enough for the interior to seem vast. Nothing
Exaggerated but multiplicity itself?
Does everything fall into one thing? Like the weak poet counting
Quantities or fatally subdivided like a minute?
Is it enough to fall like everything late
Shining, and shining with the light at the bottom of a heteronym?

3. *Campos*

No, and again you wanted nothing green or marvelous
Like writing a great agreement in the middle of the street.
Nothing, but the most youthful night of no conclusions, but for him,
Then, the unique conclusion of dying (as if one existed, ever) to the everyday.

(SHAPIRO, 1999: 69)

Then there’s Bob Holman, a poet, translator and former professor of creative writing at Columbia University, who brings in Pessoa when he advocates teaching poetry through performance. “Teach [Charles] Olson’s ‘Projective Verse’ and [Frank] O’Hara’s ‘Personism: A Manifesto’ back to back,” he suggests. “Toss in some Surrealist and Futurist Manifestos. Then have the class invent schools of poetry, characters who write in that style, and write ‘their’ poems.” Then comes, rather strikingly, a plug for the Portuguese poet. “Pessoa is great here,” he interjects. “Physicalizing Pessoa’s heteronyms is a great performance. I had a student, Amanda Graham, who wrote a ‘Dating Game’ play where she was the contestant and Pessoa’s heteronyms were her suitors. Pessoa personifies the performance of writing” (HOLMAN, 2006: 295-96). Now that’s a script I’d like to see.

But not everybody is a fan of Pessoa’s poetry. Let me tell you, briefly, about the American poet James Dickey (1923-1997) and what he called Pessoa’s “terrific idea.” Although Dickey is perhaps best known now as the author of *Deliverance* (1972), a novel made into a popular movie starring Burt Reynolds (with Dickey himself playing a sheriff), in his day Dickey was considered to be a poet of stature

and a critic of major influence. In the 1960s, it has been observed, “Dickey’s best work as a poet and critic” was done, “and while it may be difficult for us to remember now, he looked hard to beat in the American poetry sweepstakes” (MASON, 2006: 669). It was in his guise as poet that in 1963 he tried out his new idea on the editor of *Poetry Magazine*. He offered to send Henry Rago poems (not yet written) to be published under pseudonyms:

I want to write some poems under another name—a couple of other names, in fact—to see if I can take on different ‘writing personalities’ in case I get tired of the one I have. I’d like to send some of these to you and see what you think of them, but, in case of publication, I wouldn’t want my real identity known. Is this a legitimate kind of pursuit, in letters? A Portuguese poet named Pessoa did this some time ago—he had four alter egos!—and I wanted to try it, just to see what would happen.

(DICKEY, 1999: 195, n. 527)

Curiously, in mentioning Fernando Pessoa to Henry Rago, Dickey was carrying coals to Newcastle, for *Poetry Magazine* had already published, under Rago’s direction, several of Pessoa’s poems, some of them in Edouard Roditi’s translation, eight years earlier, the poems accompanying Roditi’s essay entitled “The Several Names of Fernando Pessoa” (RODITI, 1955: 26-29 and 40-44).³

I do not know what sort of answer Dickey received from Rago regarding his offer to imitate Pessoa’s creation of multiple “alter egos.” What is known is that Pessoa’s great project in heteronymy continued to interest Dickey—but with a caveat. In an interview he granted to the *New York Times* in 1970, he stated: “I think it’s important, as you get older, to discover and energize different parts of yourself. I like to think about a Portuguese poet named Fernando Pessoa, who spread himself out into four personalities, and tried to create a completely separate body of work for each of the four. Unfortunately, I believe none of the four turned out to be very good, but what a terrific idea!” (1970: 298). At the last, though, Dickey’s notion of adapting Pessoa’s “terrific idea” to his own work came to nothing, for he published no poems under the names of “Jesse Shields” and “Boyd Thornton,” two of his stillborn pseudonyms.

Decidedly more ambiguous in its reference to Pessoa than Dickey’s fox-and-grapes write-off, is April Bernard’s “Lisbon, 1989,” a poem published in the *New York Review of Books* on November 6, 2014. The author, formerly the senior editor of the splashy journal *Vanity Fair*, is now identified as a member of the faculty of the Master of Fine Arts Program at Bennington College. The question for me is how does the reference to Pessoa that closes out the poem, replete, as it is, with

³ Roditi’s piece was accompanied by examples, in translation, of Pessoa’s poetry: Pessoa’s “Autopsycography,” Alberto Caeiro’s “Discontinuous Poems” and “The Herdsman,” and two of Ricardo Reis’s odes.

unfavorable descriptions of “how it was” in Portugal’s capital city nearly thirty years ago, actually work.

“Lisbon, 1989”

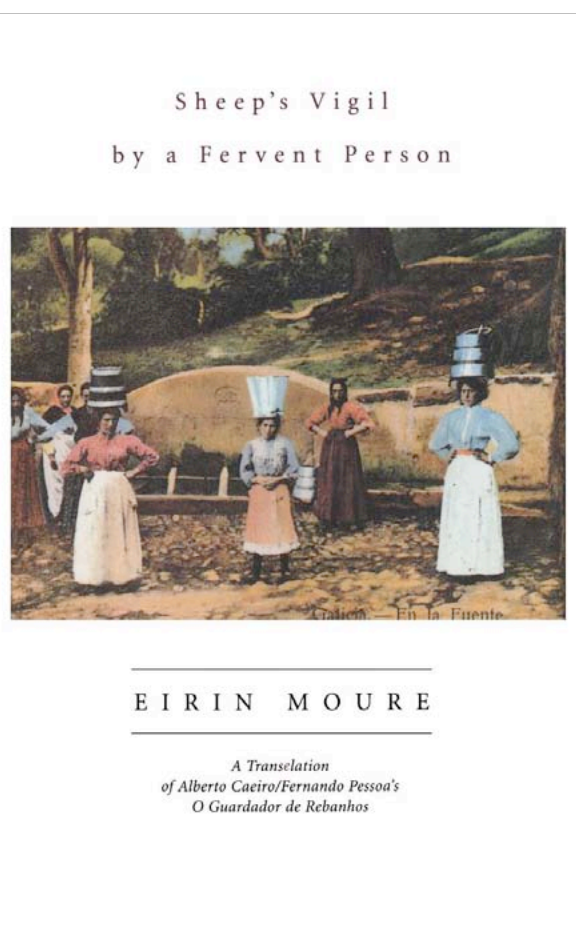
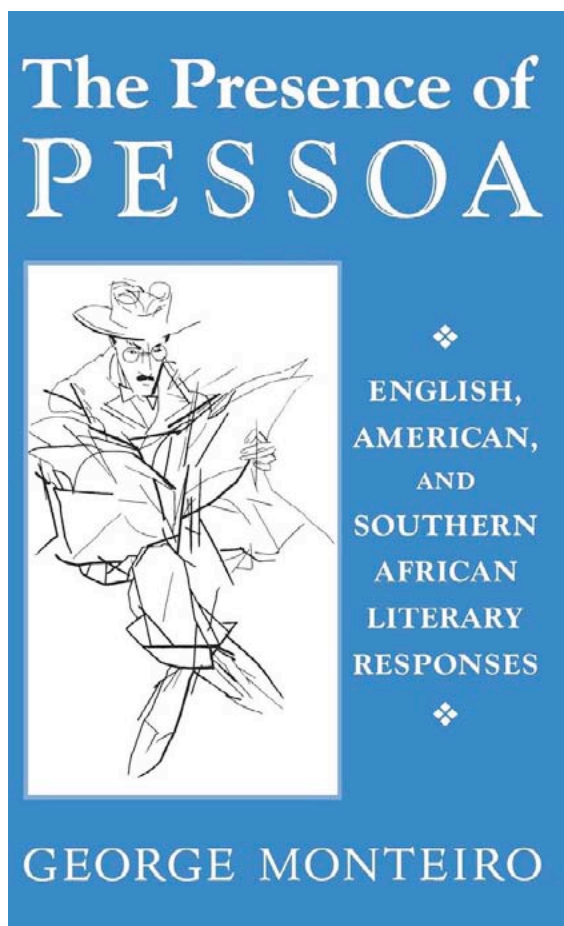
The new year lurched
on a clamor of horns
trash cans and firecrackers
rising up from the harbor
over the window sills
into a hotel room where
civility had just died.
Next day we went for lunch
to a pricey restaurant
filled with leftover Nazis
and I was sick in the ladies’ room
where the walls were zebra skins
and the vanity stools moth-eaten
leopard. So I left alone

for a walk, drank a cold
espresso in a cold café
and reckoned my losses
in the face of lowering rain.
At a bookstore I opened a book
of poems: a few tender lines
about the emerald sea, memory
bringing a smell of salt and roses—
before the words swam back into
Portuguese, indecipherable.
Querido Pessoa, your voice
was clear as music for those
few moments I could read
all the poems ever written.

(BERNARD, 2014: 10)

Poetry manifests itself on the page, though the words themselves, in Portuguese, are indecipherable, even those of the “dear” Pessoa. The question that I am left with is “has the bookstore moment” had the effect of saving for the poet a day that she has rued. Is this, thus, an experience remindful of Robert Frost’s poem “Dust of Snow,”⁴ in which the day is saved by the way a crow shakes snow on him from above? Of is the focus on the loss of “those few moments” when the poet could read “all the poems ever written.” Caveat emptor.

⁴ According to the Robert Frost encyclopedia online, this poem was first published as “Favour” in the *London Mercury* in December 1920 and later reprinted as “Snow Dust” in the *Yale Review* in January 1921 before it was collected in the book *New Hampshire* (1923).



Figs. 1 & 2. Covers of books by MONTEIRO (1998) and MOURÉ (2001).

Bibliography

- BERNARD, April (2014). "Lisbon, 1989." *New York Review of Books*, vol. 61, n. 17, 6 November, p. 10.
- CLEMONS, Walter (2014). "James Dickey, Novelist." *New York Times*, 22 March, p. 298.
- DICKEY, James (1999). *Crux: The Letters of James Dickey*. Edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli and Judith S. Baughman. NY: Knopf.
- HOLMAN, Bob (2006). "Notes toward Exploding 'Exploding Text: Poetry Performance'." *Poetry & Pedagogy: The Challenge of the Contemporary*. Edited by Joan Retallack and Juliana Spahr. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 295-98.
- MONTEIRO, George (1998). *The Presence of Fernando Pessoa: English, American, and Southern African Literary Responses*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- MASON, David (2006). "The Inner Drama of James Wright." *Hudson Review*, 58, Winter, p. 669.
- MOURÉ, Eirin (2001). *Sheep's Vigil by a Fervent Person*. Toronto: Anansi.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016a). *Obra Completa de Ricardo Reis*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Jorge Uribe. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- ____ (2016b). *Obra Completa de Alberto Caeiro*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Collection "Pessoa."
- ____ (1971). *Selected Poems by Fernando Pessoa. Including poems by his heteronyms Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, Alvaro de Campos as well as some of his English sonnets and selections from his letters*. Translated by Edwin Honig. With an introduction by Octavio Paz. Bilingual edition. Chicago: The Swallow Press.
- RODITI, Edouard (1955). "The Several Names of Fernando Pessoa." *Poetry Magazine*, 87, October, pp. 40-44.
- SARAMAGO, José (1984). *O Ano da Morte de Ricardo Reis*. Lisbon: Editorial Caminho. [English translation by Giovanni Pontiero as *The Year of the Death of Ricardo Reis*, published in 1992].
- SHAPIRO, David (1999). "At the Grave of Ferdinand Pessoa or the Triple Tomb." *American Poetry Review*, 28 May-June, p. 69.

The Poems of Frederick Wyatt

Patricio Ferrari* & Carlos Pittella**

Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, English poetry, Frederick Wyatt, Thomas Wyatt, Tottel, Charles Robert Anon, Alexander Search, pseudonym, *Final Image*, *Waves*, Songs and Sonnets.

Abstract

If Fernando Pessoa's Portuguese works contain a coterie of heteronyms, his English poetry also displays an array of fictitious authors: besides Pessoa himself, one finds Charles Robert Anon, Alexander Search and—with his poems compiled here for the first time—Frederick Wyatt. After Alexander Search's presence, which dominated the English juvenilia of Pessoa, and before *The Mad Fiddler*, submitted for publication (but rejected) in 1917, Pessoa created Frederick Wyatt, noting that "of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he." Circa 1913, Pessoa introduced Wyatt in a preface and attributed to him 21 poems previously assigned to Alexander Search. Here we present the preliminary texts and poems of Frederick Wyatt, including new transcriptions and significant updates from previous editions.

Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Poesia inglesa, Frederick Wyatt, Thomas Wyatt, Tottel, Charles Robert Anon, Alexander Search, pseudônimo, *Final Image*, *Waves*, Canções e Sonetos.

Resumo

Se a obra em Português de Fernando Pessoa contém uma *coterie* de heterónimos, a sua poesia inglesa também exibe uma coleção de autores fictícios: além do próprio Pessoa, encontramos Charles Robert Anon, Alexander Search e – com seus poemas compilados aqui pela primeira vez – Frederick Wyatt. Após a presença de Alexander Search, que dominou a juvenília inglesa de Pessoa, e antes de *The Mad Fiddler*, enviado para publicação (mas rejeitado) em 1917, Pessoa criou Frederick Wyatt, notando que "of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he" [dentre os sonhadores, ninguém foi maior sonhador do que ele]. Por volta de 1913, Pessoa introduziu Wyatt num prefácio, atribuindo-lhe 21 poemas anteriormente conferidos a Alexander Search. Aqui apresentamos os textos preliminares e poemas de Frederick Wyatt, incluindo novas transcrições e significativas atualizações de edições anteriores.

* University of Lisbon, Center for Comparative Studies (Postdoctoral Fellowship funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia) [the Portuguese national funding agency for science, research and technology] between 2013-2015. Currently in the MFA program at Brown University.

** Postdoctoral Research Associate at Brown University; affiliated with the Centre for Theatre Studies at the University of Lisbon.

Of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he.

Fernando Pessoa

[BNP/E3, 14E-93v]¹

I. Introduction

Frederick Wyatt

It is not only Fernando Pessoa's Portuguese poetry that casts fictitious authors in a complex "drama em gente, em vez de em actos" ["drama in people, instead of in acts"], to employ the term coined by Pessoa himself in a biographical note (PESSOA, 1928: 10). If Alberto Caeiro, Álvaro de Campos, Ricardo Reis—the heteronyms—and Fernando Pessoa himself—the ortononym—are the protagonists of Pessoa's Portuguese coterie, his English poetry also displays an array of fictitious authors: besides Pessoa himself (or his other self as English poet), one finds Charles Robert Anon, Alexander Search and—with his poems compiled here for the first time—Frederick Wyatt.²

In a "Preface to Wyatt's Poems" (document 1.1 of this dossier), Pessoa introduces someone who "preferred the pseudonym because (he used to say) there was already a Wyatt at the beginning of English poetry" (PESSOA, 2016: 359). If the playful reference to Sir Thomas Wyatt³ is clear, the author's pseudonym is never directly disclosed. Was Fernando Pessoa toying with the idea of another name associated with Frederick Wyatt?⁴ Another document (1.5 in this dossier) is titled "Frederick Wyatt Cypher," and perhaps "Cypher" could be the pseudonym—or meta-pseudonym, as "cypher" means "a secret or disguised way of writing, a code" (*New Oxford American Dictionary*).

Also in the "Preface to Wyatt's Poems," we learn of other traits of this fictitious English author who resided in Lisbon and whose autograph had letters separated (see document 1.1). In Pessoa's own English we are told that "he was as original [...] in his literary manner [...] as he was propense to imitation in his every day life," and that he would walk "panting up the steepness [*sic*] of the Calçada da Estrella, in his black suit"—this last attribute resembling very much Pessoa's own appearance.

¹ Pessoa's documents are located at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal/Espólio 3 [National Library of Portugal/Archive 3], henceforth given as BNP/E3.

² In his French works, Pessoa distinguished between his ortonymic writings and the ones by Jean Seul de Méluret; see PESSOA (2006).

³ For the relationship between Pessoa's Frederick Wyatt and Sir Thomas Wyatt, see Stephen Foley's article "Pessoa's Wyatt," also in this issue of *Pessoa Plural*.

⁴ An earlier example of this meta-naming is found with Alexander Search, whose pseudonym was William Search. In a document revealed by Pizarro in 2010 we read: "Quando o meu amigo A[lexander] S[earch] se pseudonyma em Will[iam] Search" [When my friend Alexander Search uses the pseudonym of William Search]. See PESSOA (2016: 284).

Besides the preface and loose notes about Frederick Wyatt, there exists a list of poems Pessoa attributed to him. But how did this complex and unique poet—among all of Pessoa’s English fictitious authors—come about? And, what is more, what role did his body of work—one single book of 21 poems—play for Pessoa in 1913? Before introducing “The Poems of Frederick Wyatt,” let us review the archival discoveries leading to our work.

State of the Art

As far as we know, the first publication of a document mentioning Frederick Wyatt was made by Teresa Sobral Cunha, as an annex to her edition of Pessoa’s *Fausto* (PESSOA, 1988: 202). It is a list of English projects by Pessoa, including “The Poems of Frederick Wyatt” (see document 2.1 in this dossier).

In 1990, Teresa Rita Lopes edited the description of Frederick Wyatt beginning with “Of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he” (PESSOA, 1990: 240), which we cite as an epigraph and present as document 1.2. In the essayistic volume released at the same time as her edition of Pessoa’s unpublished works, Lopes listed Frederick Wyatt—together with his relatives Alfred Wyatt and Rev. Walter Wyatt—among 72 fictitious authors created by Pessoa (see LOPES, 1990: 131 and 179).

In 1997, João Dionísio prepared the critical edition of Alexander Search’s poetry, briefly referring to a letter directed to Christopher Wyatt, a member of the fictitious Wyatt coterie (PESSOA, 1997: 12 and 382-383). Although Dionísio never mentions Frederick Wyatt, his edition included (then attributed to Search) the 21 poems Pessoa would later assign to Wyatt.

In 2009, Michaël Stoker revisited Pessoa’s archive, extending the list of Pessoaan dramatis personæ from the 72 named by Lopes to 83 (cf. STOKER, 2009). Stoker’s work was given prominence in 2011 by José Paulo Cavalcanti Filho’s biography of Pessoa, which included biographical notes for four members of the “Wyatt” clan: Alfred, August, Frederick, and Rev. (or Sir) Walter Wyatt—though no texts by any Wyatt were transcribed (CAVALCANTI FILHO, 2011: 461, 469, 493-494 and 538).

Two other works augmented the list of Pessoaan characters: Fernando Cabral Martins and Richard Zenith counted 106 (PESSOA, 2012b), and Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari summed 136 (PESSOA, 2016 [2013]). Pizarro and Ferrari wrote the most extensive biography of Frederick Wyatt to date, followed by a dossier that includes: one poem attributed to him, three texts in prose about him, and ten different documents bearing signatures of members of the “Wyatt” family (PESSOA, 2016: 359-370). Pizarro and Ferrari also presented a list of the 21 texts that constitute “The Poems of Frederick Wyatt,” published here in full as document 2.2 (cf. PESSOA, 2016: 360).

The Corpus

If Pessoa constructs a personality for Frederick Wyatt in the paratexts (“Preface to Wyatt’s Poems and Other Preliminary Texts”; DOCUMENTS, SECTION I), it is a list datable to 1913 that grants Wyatt a distinctive body of work (see document 2.2). In the same way that Alexander Search inherited a series of poems first attributed to Charles Robert Anon,⁵ Frederick Wyatt inherited poems from Search: “ladrão que rouba ladrão...” [a thief who steals from a thief], as the Portuguese proverb goes. The evolution of these poems—up to their attribution to Wyatt—is an intricate web. TABLE A summarizes essential developments of this web by synthesizing four different listings prepared by Pessoa—the last one being the document that ascribes to Wyatt 21 poems previously bearing the signature of Search. Note that this last document, datable to 1913, includes all poem titles (CORPUS), a fact TABLE A represents by the marks “X” in COLUMN D. Before 1913, however, we find three intermediary groupings containing these poems (COLUMNS A, B and C).

[TABLE A]

CORPUS [POEMS]	COLUMN A “Final Image” [BNP/E3, 144V-21 ^v to 23 ^r] (btw. 26 Oct. 1908 & 25 Feb. 1909)	COLUMN B “FI” & other marks [BNP/E3, various documents; see section 3] (c. May 1907-1909)	COLUMN C “Waves” [BNP/E3, 48C-21 ^r] (btw. 29 Mar 1909 & 1910)	COLUMN D “Frederick Wyatt” [BNP/E3, 144P-2 ^r & 3 ^r] (c. 1913)
The Game		F[inal] I[mage]	X	X
Little Bird		*S[ongs]	X	X
Spirits to Fanny		G	X	X
Song		F[inal] I[mage]	X	X
Baby’s Death		F[inal] I[mage]	X	X
Sunset-Song		F[inal] I[mage]	X	X
Requiescat		<i>n/a</i>	X	X
Build me a cottage		<i>n/a</i>	X	X
The Last of things		F[inal] I[mage]	X	X
The Maiden		F	X	X
Nirvâna	X	Delirium	X / + (Before Sense)	X
Farewell		<i>n/a</i>	+ (Before Sense)	X
Was...		F		X
The Apostle	*	F		X
O, solitary star	*	F[inal] I[mage]		X
Perfection	*	F[inal] I[mage]		X
Adorned	*	*S[onnets]		X
Sonnet	*	F		X
A day of Sun	?	Delirium		X
On the road	?	Delirium		X
Beginning	X	Ag[ony]	+ (Before Sense)	X

⁵ Alexander Search also claimed works initially attributed to David Merrick, such as “Old Castle,” “Ode to Music,” “Woman in Black,” and “Gahu”—as well as a series of “Early Fragments.” Among the latter texts we find *Marino*, an unfinished drama also associated with Charles Robert Anon in at least one document (cf. 13-1^v; PESSOA, 2016: 126).

(COLUMN A) The “Final Image” project, created between October 1908 and February 1909, was initially subtitled “Alexander Search’s first book” (BNP/E3, 144V-22^r). It includes the poems we marked “X,” questions the inclusion of poems we marked “?,” and possibly includes the poems we marked “*” —for the latter (“*”) are all sonnets, and the project states the inclusion of “7 sonnets.”

(COLUMN B) On the top left corner of some documents—copied in unusually neat handwriting on grid paper—Pessoa draws curious signs to mark poems then attributed to Alexander Search. These signs are indicative of groups or subgroups of poems; though some have deducible meanings (such as “Del[irium]” or “Ag[ony]”), others are less evident (such as “F[inal] I[mage]”); some still elude us (such as “*S,” “G,” and “F”). João Dionísio, who prepared the critical edition of Search’s poetry, believes that Pessoa created those projects between May 1907 and an undetermined date after 28 March 1909 (cf. PESSOA, 1997: 12).

The discrepancies between COLUMNS A and B reveal that Pessoa had not decided as to which project the poems should belong to: the two poems unequivocally assigned to “Final Image” in A (“Nirvana” and “Beginnings”) are marked “Delirium” and “Ag[ony]” in B, and poems not listed in “Final Image” in A are marked “F[inal] I[mage]” in B.

(COLUMN C) “Waves” is a list presented together with “Before Sense” (BNP/E3, 48C-21^r), perhaps as a counterpoint (or counter-project). Eleven out of the 12 poems in “Waves” (marked “X”) will make it into the corpus of Frederick Wyatt—the only exception being the sonnet “Blind Eagle,” as noted by Ferrari and Pizarro (cf. PESSOA, 2016: 360). “Farewell” and “Beginning” (marked “+”) were destined, not to “Waves,” but to “Before Sense”; still, they are bequeathed to Wyatt—as is “Nirvana,” which figured in both “Waves” and “Before Sense.”

There are still other lists created prior to 1913 that add to the history of the poems Pessoa attributed to Wyatt (see TABLE B, in ANNEX IA). Although Pessoa would not claim the poems of Frederick Wyatt for later poetry projects, he did use “Before Sense” as a subtitle to *The Mad Fiddler*, around 1918, as noted by editors Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes (cf. BNP/E3, 31-95; PESSOA, 1999: 13). While none of Wyatt’s poems made it into *The Mad Fiddler* (not even the poems in “Before Sense” in COLUMN C of TABLE A), Pessoa could easily have recycled “Waves” of “Poems of Frederick Wyatt,” morphing them into other projects. The first poem in Wyatt’s corpus (“The Game”) illustrates this possibility: Pessoa revised it after the creation of Wyatt (modifying 6 of the 12 verses) and changed its title from “The Game” to “Ombre Chinoise”; this probably happened c. 1916-1917, as the piece of paper with “Ombre Chinoise” also lists poems for *The Mad Fiddler*. Since the list of poems of Frederick Wyatt includes “The Game” and not “Ombre Chinoise,” it is possible that the second title could belong to a different project altogether.

A Coherent Corpus?

Considering the selection of poems Pessoa attributed to Wyatt—and paying attention to the fact that some of these poems had been assigned to previous projects—we may raise the following questions: is there a pattern to the works Wyatt inherited from Search? Given that Alexander Search penned more than 100 poems, what drove Pessoa to choose *these* 21 pieces for Wyatt? What makes them a coherent corpus, if coherent at all?

These questions are open to all readers who will now encounter the poetry of Frederick Wyatt for the first time. Some patterns emerge at first sight, and Pessoa himself offers a few clues. In the preface and other preliminary texts for Wyatt's poems, Pessoa (in the pen of an unknown prefacer) describes an author whose only consistency seems to be inconsistency itself, with an "attitude before things [...] always oscillating from one extreme point of view or manner of action to the other extreme"—with "political opinions [...] in perpetual fluctuation" (BNP/E3, 14E-93). Alongside this state of flux, there is the portrait of Wyatt as a dreamer: "Of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he" (*idem*). The view of reality as a dream is put forth in the very first poem in Wyatt's oeuvre: "The Game" (of reality?), later renamed "Ombre Chinoise," with platonic connotations (the shadow puppetry theater of reality?).

Individual poems may seem familiar to Pessoa's readers, for they foreshadow motifs later developed in his Portuguese poetry. To give one example, the poem "A Day of Sun" exhibits a love of the sun ("with a child's natural delight") that makes us think of the poetry of Alberto Caeiro, the master-heteronym Pessoa brought to life in March 1914. As a song with many layers, "A Day of Sun" is also an *ars poetica* for Pessoa's heteronymic project, describing the aspiration of the poet to lose his ego, his individuality, or, as Frederick Wyatt puts it in the last three stanzas of the poem:

Be swallowed of the sun and spread
Over the infinite expanse,
Dissolved, like a drop of dew dead
Lost in a super-normal trance;

Lost in impersonal consciousness
And mingling in all life become
A selfless part of Force and Stress
And have a universal home

And in a strange way undefined
Lose in the one and living Whole
The limit that I am to my mind,
The place wherefrom I dream my soul.

(see poem 3.19 of this dossier)

Regarding the poetic forms appropriated by Wyatt, one finds short poems—mostly songs and sonnets—never exceeding 40 verses, in a variety of stanza arrangements: 20 poems with stanzas ranging from tercets to octets, and the final poem containing a single 12-line stanza. All poems display rhyme schemes, and one would be tempted to see the influence of Keats or Blake in Frederick Wyatt, though Pessoa claims (rather playfully) that Frederick “was extraordinarily ignorant of modern English literature” (BNP/E3, 14E-94^r).

Fernando Pessoa, though, had no such ignorance—and we cannot forget to mention the influence the historical Wyatt—Sir Thomas—may have had on the poetry of the fictitious Frederick. As far as we were able to assess, only three books extant in Pessoa’s private library include references to Sir Thomas Wyatt: (1) *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language*, with the short poem “The Lover’s Appeal” (PALGRAVE, 1926: 21);⁶ (2) *A Thousand and One Gems of English Poetry*, featuring one short and three longer poems with the editor’s titles “A description of such a one as he could love,” “Complaint of the absence of his love,” “The longer life the more offence,” and “The aged lover renounceth love” (MACKAY, 1896: 15-18); (3) *A First Sketch of English Literature*, the most important of these books for our query, presenting not only excerpts of Wyatt’s poetry, but also a brief biography that emphasizes how Wyatt was influenced by Italian poetry and became one of the first reformers of English meter and style (cf. MORLEY, 1901: 285-290)—as the author summarizes towards the end of the section on Wyatt:

Wyatt’s songs and sonnets, balades, rondeaux, complaints, and other little poems, closely and delicately imitate, with great variety of music, the forms fashionable in his time among poets of Italy and France. His sonnets, accurate in their structure, are chiefly translated from Petrarch, many of his epigrams are borrowed from the “Strambotti” (fantastic conceits) of Serafino d’Aquila, a Neapolitan poet, who died in 1500 [...].

(MORLEY, 1901: 289)

We do find songs, sonnets, ballads, etc., among the poems of Frederick Wyatt—much like the “little poems” of Thomas Wyatt, which were presented as “Songs and Sonettes” in *Tottel’s Miscellany*, which first appeared in 1557. Thomas Wyatt authored 96 out of the 310 poems compiled by Tottel (more than twice the number contributed by any other poet featured in the miscellany). Pessoa also compiled his “Songs and Sonnets” in a list⁷ that included eight of the poems later attributed to Frederick Wyatt—and the designation “Songs and Sonnets” would surely befit Wyatt’s poems as a whole.⁸

⁶ This book was published after 1913 and, thus could not have influenced Pessoa’s creation.

⁷ BNP/E3, 48C-7 and 8; see ANNEX IB, TABLE B.

⁸ Interestingly, the edition of John Donne’s poems extant in Pessoa’s private library begins with the

"The Poems of Frederick Wyatt"

The dossier here presented comprises three sections of documents associated with Frederick Wyatt: (1) Preface to Wyatt's Poems And Other Preliminary Texts; (2) Frederick Wyatt Book Project and Index of Poems; and (3) Poems Attributed to Frederick Wyatt. Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari noted that "Wyatt," much like "Search," was a name used for multiple fictitious figures. Although Frederick was the only one endowed with a body of work, the "Wyatt" clan counted eight other members. In Pessoa's archive we find various signatures with the same surname: besides Frederick Wyatt, resident of Lisbon, one finds: Rev. Walter Wyatt (BNP/E3, 144V-27^v), resident of Sandringham, England; Sir Alfred Wyatt (144V-47^v), resident of Paris (thus, sometimes referred to as "Monsieur"); Charles Wyatt (57-8^v); Stanley Wyatt (110-9^v); Francis Wyatt (49B⁵-37^v); Arthur C. Wyatt (14D-34^v); Augustus C. Wyatt (14D-34^v); and Christopher Wyatt (14D-34^v & 78A-42^v)—the last six without known residences; the call numbers were identified by Pizarro and Ferrari (*cf.* PESSOA, 2016: 704-705), who also noted:

Tanto os Wyatt, como os Search foram múltiplos e é-nos difícil estabelecer se cada Wyatt (ou cada Search) foi uno, ou se alguns foram as prefigurações de outros. A contabilidade, neste mundo da fantasia, é sempre inexacta.

(PESSOA, 2016: 705)

[Both the Wyatts and the Searches were multiple, and it is difficult for us to establish if each Wyatt (or each Search) was one, or if some were prefigurations of others. An appraisal, in this world of fantasy, is always inexact.]⁹

Frederick Wyatt reconfigures the corpus attributed to Alexander Search, thus calling for a revision that should pay special attention to the development of projects such as "Final Image," "Before Sense," and "Waves." But Alexander Search cannot be fully understood without an edition of the poetry of Charles Robert Anon, who was assigned some of the same projects Pessoa gave to Search (e.g., "Death of God").

Besides making available the work of Pessoa's last fictitious English poet, we hope that this dossier may shed light on our understanding of the works of Anon and Search—in the same way that an understanding of Caeiro is essential to understanding Campos and/or Reis in Pessoa's Portuguese poetry.

section "Songs and Sonnets" (DONNE, *c.* 1904).

⁹ Unless noted otherwise, all translations are ours.

Bibliography

- CAVALCANTI FILHO, José Paulo (2011). *Fernando Pessoa—uma quase autobiografia*. Rio de Janeiro: Record.
- CENTENO, Yvette K. and Stephen RECKERT (1978). *Fernando Pessoa. Tempo. Solidão. Hermetismo*. Lisbon: Moraes.
- CHATTERTON, Thomas (1885). *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton*. London: Walter Scott, "The Canterbury Poets edited by William Sharp" [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-105].
- DONNE, John (undated) [c. 1904]. *Poems of John Donne*. Edited by E. K. Chambers. 2 vols. London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. "The Muse's Library" [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-158].
- EMERSON, Ralph Waldo (1902). *Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Essays, first and second series; Representative men; Society and solitude; English traits; The conduct of life; Letters and social aims; Poems; Miscellanies; Embracing nature; Addresses, and lectures*. London: George Routledge & Sons, Limited [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-172].
- FERREIRA, António Mega (1986). *Fernando Pessoa—O Comércio e a Publicidade*. Lisbon: Cinevoz/Lusomedia.
- HAYES, Bruce (1995). *Metrical Stress Theory: Principles and Case Studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- JENNINGS, Hubert Dudley (1984). *Os Dois Exílios. Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul*. Oporto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida / Centro de Estudos Pessoaanos.
- KEATS, John (1898). *The Poetical Works of John Keats*. London, New York: Frederick Warne and Co. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-294].
- ____ (1990). *Pessoa por Conhecer, vol. I. Roteiro para uma Expedição*. Lisbon: Estampa.
- LOURENÇO, Eduardo and António Braz de OLIVEIRA (eds.) (1988). *Fernando Pessoa no seu tempo*. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional.
- MACKAY, Charles (ed.) (1896). *A Thousand and One Gems of English Poetry*. Selected and arranged by Charles Mackay. 23rd ed. London: George Routledge & Sons [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-2].
- MERRIAM-WEBSTER, INC. (1995). *Merriam-Webster's Encyclopedia of Literature: a comprehensive and authoritative guide to the world of literature—authors, works, terms, and topics—from all eras and all parts of the world*. Springfield: Merriam-Webster, Inc. Publishers.
- MORLEY, Henry (1901). *A First Sketch of English Literature; with supplement bringing the work down to the end of Queen Victoria's Reign*. 35th ed. London: Cassell and Company [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-379].
- New Oxford American Dictionary*. (2010) Edited by Angus Stevenson and Christine A. Lindberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3rd edition [1st edition: 2001, edited by Elizabeth J. Jewell and Frank Abate; 2nd edition: 2005, edited by Erin McKean].
- PALGRAVE, Francis Turner (ed.) (1926). *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language. Selected and arranged by Francis Turner Palgrave*. Oxford: University Press, "The World's Classics, n.º 103" [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-409].
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. 2nd edition. Lisbon: Tinta-da-China. Fernando Pessoa "Collection." [1st edition: 2013].
- ____ (2015). *No Matter What We Dream—Selected English Poems*. Edited by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro. 2nd edition. Lisbon: Tell-a-story [1st edition: 2014].
- ____ (2014). *Poèmes français*. Edited by Patricio Ferrari in collaboration with Patrick Quillier. Preface by Patrick Quillier. Paris: Éditions de la Différence.
- ____ (2012a). *Prosa de Álvaro de Campos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Antonio Cardiello, in

- collaboration with Jorge Uribe. Lisbon: Ática. Works of Fernando Pessoa. New Series.
- _____. (2012b). *Teoria da Heteronímia*. Edited by Fernando Cabral Martins and Richard Zenith. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.
- _____. (2010). *Livro do Desasocego*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume XII.
- _____. (2006). *Obras de Jean Seul de Méluret*. Edited by Rita Patrício and Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume VIII.
- _____. (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, volume V, tome III.
- _____. (1997). *Poemas Ingleses. Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major Series, volume V, tome II.
- _____. (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Organized and translated by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- _____. (1990). *Pessoa por Conhecer, vol. II. Textos para um Novo Mapa*. Edited by Teresa Rita Lopes. Lisbon: Estampa.
- _____. (1988). *Fausto—Tragédia subjectiva (fragmentos)*. Edited by Teresa Sobral Cunha. Lisbon: Presença.
- _____. (1934). *Mensagem*. Lisbon: Parceria António Maria Pereira.
- _____. (1928). "Tábua bibliográfica." *Presença: fôlha de arte e crítica*, n.º 17, Coimbra, December, p. 10.
- _____. (1913). "Na Floresta do Alheamento." *A Águia*, 2nd series, n.º 20, Oporto, August, pp. 38-42.
- _____. (1912a). "A Nova Poesia Portuguesa no seu Aspecto Psicológico." *A Águia*, 2nd series, n.ºs 9, 11 & 12, Oporto, September, pp. 86-94, November, pp. 153-157, and December, pp. 188-192.
- _____. (1912b). "Reincidindo." *A Águia*, 2nd series, n.º 5, Oporto, May, pp. 137-144.
- _____. (1912c). "A Nova Poesia Portuguesa Sociologicamente Considerada." *A Águia*, 2nd series, n.º 4, Oporto, April, pp. 101-107.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, Patricio FERRARI and Antonio CARDIELLO (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa*. Collection of the Fernando Pessoa House. Bilingual edition. Lisbon: D. Quixote.
- SHARP, William (as Fiona Macleod) (1915). *Runes of Woman*. Portland [Maine]: Thomas Bird Mosher.
- STAACK, Maria (1981). "Um pseudónimo de Fernando Pessoa." *Persona* n.º 6, Oporto, Centro de Estudos Pessoaanos, pp. 39-41.
- STOKER, Michaël (2009). *Fernando Pessoa: De fictie vergezelt mij als mijn schaduw*. Utrecht: IJzer.
- TOTTEL, Richard (ed.) (1870). *Tottel's miscellany. Songes and sonnets by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder, Nicholas Grimald and uncertain authors*. Edited by Edward Arber. London: n/a. [1st edition: 1557].
- WILDE, Oscar (1911). *The Poems of Oscar Wilde*. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, "Collection of British authors" [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-585].
- _____. (1881) *Poems*. Boston: Robert Brothers.
- YEATS, William Butler (1913). *A Selection from the Poetry of W. B. Yeats*. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz. "Collection of British authors; no 4384" [Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-591].

ANNEX IA. Lists including poems of Wyatt (excluding the information in TABLE A).

[TABLE B]

CORPUS [POEMS]	“Titles of Poems” [48B-146r to 147r] (c. 7 Sept. 1907)	“Dates of Sonnets” [153-63]	<i>untitled</i> [48B-94 to 102] (btw. 7 & 20 Sept. 1907)	“Songs and Sonnets” [48C-7r & 8r] (btw. 29 Dec 1907 & 2 Jan 1908)	“Delirium” [48C-15r to 17r & 48B-93] (btw. 29 Dec 1907 & 2 Jan 1908)	“Delirium” [78B-64] (btw. 18 Jan & 19 Mar 1908)	Other lists [featuring individual poems]
The Game					X		
Little Bird							
Spirits to Fanny	X		X	X			
Song			X	X			
Baby’s Death				X			
Sunset-Song							
Requiescat			X		X		
Build me a cottage					X		
The Last of things					X		
The Maiden					X		
Nirvâna			X		X	X	
Farewell			X				144V-50r
Was							
The Apostle		X	X	X		X	
O, solitary star		X	X	X			
Perfection	X	X	X	X			
Adorned		X	X	X		X	
Sonnet		X	X	X			
A day of Sun							
On the road							
Beginning						X	48C-19r

ANNEX IB. Table C and Some Listings of Poems Pre-Wyatt

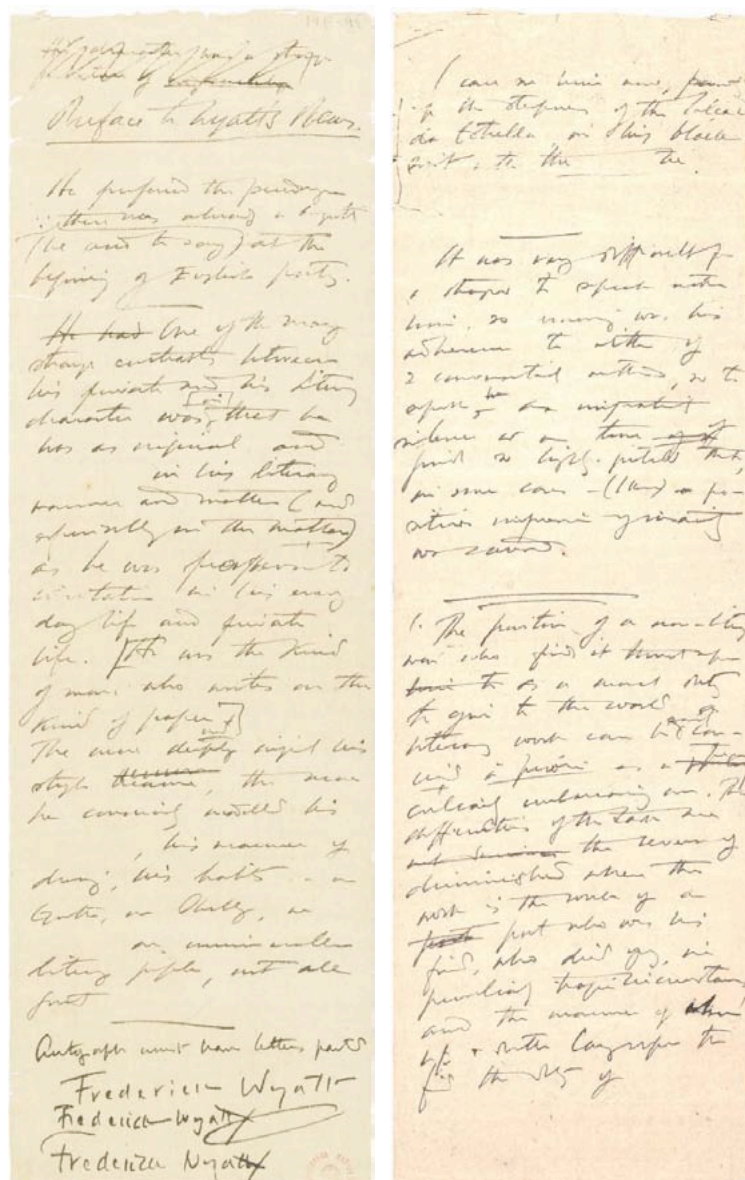
[TABLE C] *Poems transcribed, mss. and publications.*

POEM TITLE	DOCUMENTS [BNP/E3]	PUBLICATIONS	LISTS
The Game	144J-43 ^r , 78A-1 ^r , 48D-42 ^v	PESSOA, 1995: 144-146 & 1997: 132	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r ,
Little Bird	78A-14 ^r to 16 ^r ,	PESSOA, 1995: 158-160 & 1997: 133-134	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r ,
Spirits to Fanny	78B-2 ^r & 3 ^r ,	PESSOA, 1995: 196-198 & 1997: 134-135	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r ; 48C-7 ^r , 48B- 95 ^v , 48B-147 ^r
Song	78-33 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 88 & 1997: 135	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r , 48C-7 ^r , 48B- 98 ^r
Baby's Death	78B-1 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 196 & 1997: 136	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r , 48C-7 ^r ,
Sunset-Song	49B ³ -21 ^r , 78-104 ^r	STAACK, 1981: 40; PESSOA, 1995: 144 & 1997: 136	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r ,
Requiescat	144T-32 ^r & 31 ^v , 78-57 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 108-110 & 1997: 137	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r , 48C-16 ^r , 48B-93 ^r , 48B-102 ^r ,
Build me a cottage	144J-34 ^r , 78-96 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 138 & 1997: 137	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r , 48C-16 ^r ,
The Last of things	144J-37 ^v & 38 ^r , 78-97 ^r & 98 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 138-140 & 1997: 138	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r , 48C-17 ^r
The Maiden	144J-40 ^v & 41 ^r , 78-102 ^r & 103 ^r [frag 79-1 ^r]	CENTENO/RECKERT, 1978: 101- 102; PESSOA, 1995: 142-144 & 1997a: 139-140	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r , 48C-17 ^r ,
Nirvâna	78-27 ^r & 28 ^r	CENTENO/RECKERT, 1978: 173- 174; PESSOA, 1995: 84-86; 1997: 131-132; & 2015: 27-28	144P-2 ^r , 48C-21 ^r , 144V-21 ^r & 22 ^v , 78B-64 ^r , 48C-16 ^r , 48C- 15 ^r , 48B-98 ^r ,
Farewell	78-53 ^r & 54 ^r , 78- 56 ^r , 78-55 ^r ,	PESSOA, 1995: 108 & 1997: 287	144P-2 ^r , 144V-50 ^r , 48C-21 ^r , 48B-101 ^r (S).,
Was	144J-37 ^r , 78-101 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 140-142; 1997: 311	144P-2 ^r
The Apostle	79 ¹ -5 ^v , 78-43 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 98; 1997: 243 & 2015: 29.	144P-2 ^r , 48C-8 ^r ,
O, solitary star	78B-5 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 198 & 1997: 290	144P-3 ^r , 48C-8 ^r ,
Perfection	77-66 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 38; LOURENÇO/OLIVEIRA, 1988: 88; PESSOA, 1997: 289-290	144P-3 ^r , 48B-146 ^r , 48C-8 ^r
Adorned	78-41 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 96 & 1997: 243-244	144P-3 ^r , 48C-8 ^r ,
Sonnet	78-35 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 90 & 1997: 292-293	144P-3 ^r , 48C-8 ^r ,
A day of Sun	78A-30 ^r & 31 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 172-174 & 1997: 208-209	144P-3 ^r , 144V-21 ^v
On the road	144J-36 ^v , 78A-44 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 186 & 1997: 209- 210	144P-3 ^r , 144V-21 ^v
Beginning	77-76 ^r & 77 ^r	PESSOA, 1995: 50 & 1997: 107-108	144P-3 ^r , 78B-64 ^r , 48C-19 ^r , 144V-23 ^r

II. Documents: The Poetry of Frederick Wyatt.¹⁰

1. Preface to Wyatt's Poems And Other Preliminary Texts

1.1. [14E-96]. Datable to 1913. Lose piece of paper written in black ink. Partially unpublished; the second paragraph of this text, as well as the signature trials, appeared in PESSOA (2016: 359 & 361).



Figs. 1 & 2. BNP/E3, 14E-96^r & 96^v.

¹⁰ Unless specified, variants adopted in the critical text are the last written by the author. Also, unless specified, punctuation will not be restored. We thank Jerónimo Pizarro, José Barreto and Stephanie Leite for their assistance with parts of these transcriptions.

*Preface to Wyatt's Poems.*¹

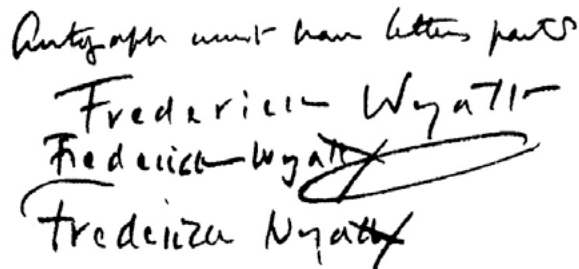
The position of a non-literary man who finds it thrust upon as² a moral duty to give to the world a literary work can be easily /conceived/ *a priori* as a peculiarly³ embarrassing one. The difficulties of the task are the⁴ reverse of diminished when the work is the work of a poet⁵ who was his friend, who died young, in peculiarly tragic circumstances, and the manner of which life & death lay upon the friend the duty of □⁶

He preferred the pseudonym because⁷ (he used to say)⁸ there was already a Wyatt at the beginning of English poetry.

One⁹ of the many strange contrasts between his private and his literary character was in that¹⁰ he was as original and □ in his literary manner and matter (and especially in the /matter/) as he was propense to imitation in his every day life and private life. /He was the kind of man who writes on the kind of paper *used □/

The more deeply original his style became,¹¹ the more he consciously modelled his □, his manner of dressing, his habits... on Goethe, on Shelley, on □ on innumerable literary people, not all great¹²

Autograph must have letters parted¹³



[Fig. 3. BNP/E3, 14E-96*. Detail.]

I can see him now, panting¹⁴ /up the steepness of the Calçada da Estrella,¹⁵ in his black suit with the □ the □/

It was very difficult for a stranger to speak with him, so *unnerving was his adherence to either of 2 conversational methods, so to speak—an¹⁶ *impatient silence or a tone of¹⁷ period so highly-pitched that, in some cases—(I know) a¹⁸ positive impression of insanity was caused.¹⁹

Notes

- 1 <His character was a strange mixture of <*ingenuity >] written above and likely prior to the title.
- 2 upon <him to> as a moral duty
- 3 [↑ easily] /conceived/ a priori as a <peculiarly> [↑ peculiarly]
- 4 the task are <not diminis> the
- 5 a <poet> poet
- 6 *The entire unfinished paragraph is written on the verso and it is preceded by the figure 1., which indicates that these lines open the preface.*
- 7 ∴ (sign for because) in the original.
- 8 pseudonym ∴ [↓ (he used to say)] there
- 9 <He had> One
- 10 was [↑ in] that
- 11 became [↑ <*became>],
- 12 *Although there is no period, a horizontal line below could indicate the end of this paragraph.*
- 13 *Three signature trials of Frederick Wyatt with letters parted.*
- 14 <t>/pa\nting
- 15 *Between 1906-1907 Fernando Pessoa lived at 100 Calçada da Estrella, 1st.*
- 16 to speak <,>/— \ [↑ <he>] an
- 17 as tone <of so> of period so highly-pitched] for example, a full stop conveyed with the intonation of a question mark.
- 18 -/a\
- 19 *Below this passage the author drew two short horizontal lines and penned the paragraph that opens the text.*

1.2. [14E-93]. Datable to 1915. Typescript on a piece of unidentified dustcover, with handwritten emendations in red pen. Published for the first time by Teresa Rita Lopes, without a conjectured date and with a few differences (PESSOA, 1990: 240). Our transcription is based on the one by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari (PESSOA, 2016: 364-365).

Fdk. Wyatt.

Of dreamers no one was a greater dreamer than he. He was eternally incompetent to take stock of reality. His attitude before things was always a false and uneasy one, always oscillating from one extreme point of view or manner of action to the other extreme. This concerned just as much and as deeply his fundamental views - if we can speak of the fundamental views of one who had none - as his most trifling actions. It is possible to consider him an idealist (I use the word in its metaphysical sense) as a materialist: he would be the first to wonder which he was. His political opinions were in a perpetual fluctuation between an excessive anarchism and ~~an absolute~~ ^{the courage of a true} ~~an absolute~~ ^{anarchist}. In his life - his unreal life as he would have called it sometimes - he was sure to be either of a childish and morbid shyness or of an impetuous and clumsy boldness. The worst was that he was not even consistent in the line of action he chose: sometimes he would shrink into a

14E-93

a sudden and incongruous shyness in the midst of a recklessly insane act, at others he would suddenly break out from shyness in the strangest and insanest manner.

My great and sincere friendship for him cannot hinder me from being still rather amused ~~at it~~ on recalling the way several Portuguese poor people - the washerwoman, for instance - ^{commonly} ~~used~~ ^{used} to refer to him when speaking to me: O seu amigo, coitadinho! (Your friend, poor gentleman!). They would very possibly have been perplexed to explain what the coitadinho (so untranslatable Portuguese!) meant there. But they all felt, in their characteristic warm-heartedness, that there was some inexplicable thing to be pitied about him. Now that I remember this, I cannot omit a still truer expression that a neighbouring barber once used and which was reported to him and to me and stung him greatly: It is a pity he is not mad; it would have been better like that. It is perhaps the best casual word-portrait of him, in all its indirectness. It stung him, as I easily perceived, because it hit his character off

Figs. 4 & 5. BNP/E3, 14E-93^v & 93^r.

F[re]d[eric]k Wyatt.

Of dreamers¹ no one was a greater dreamer than he. He was eternally incompetent to take stock of reality. His attitude before things was always a false and uneasy one, always oscillating from one extreme point of view or manner of action to the other extreme. This concerned just as much and as deeply his fundamental views—if we can speak of the fundamental views of one who had none—as his most trifling actions. It is as possible² to consider him an idealist (I use the word in its metaphysical sense) as a materialist: he would be the first to wonder which he was. His political opinions were in a perpetual fluctuation between an excessive anarchism and the arrogance of a thorough aristocrat.³ In his life—his *unreal* life as he would have called it sometimes—he was sure to be either of a childish and morbid shyness or of an impetuous and clumsy boldness. The worst was that he was not even consistent in the line of action he chose: sometimes he would shrink into a sudden and incongruous shyness in the midst⁴ of a recklessly insane act, at others he would suddenly break out from shyness in the strangest and insanest manner.

My great and sincere friendship for him cannot hinder me from being still rather amused on recalling⁵ the way several Portuguese poor people—the washerwoman, for instance—used, with a curious and evidently spontaneous community of expression⁶, to refer to him when speaking to me: *o seu amigo, coitadinho!* (Your friend, poor gentleman!). They would very possibly have been perplexed to explain what the *coitadinho* (so untranslatably Portuguese!) meant there.⁷ But they all felt, in their characteristic warm-heartedness, that there was some inexplicable thing to be pitied about him. Now that I remember this, I cannot omit a still cuter expression that a neighbouring barber once used and which was reported to him and to me and stung him greatly: It is a pity he is not mad; it would have been better like that. It is perhaps the best casual word-portrait of him, in all its indirectness. It stung him, as I easily perceived, because it hit his character off so justly and yet showed how terribly evident even to casual & uninterested dreamers was the suffering he thought he hid in himself from all eyes.⁸

Notes

- 1 dreamers [sic] as a typo.
- 2 It is [↑ as] possible
- 3 <an aristocratic □.> [↑ the arrogance of a thorough aristocrat.]
- 4 midst [sic] as a typo.
- 5 amused <at the w> on recalling
- 6 spontaneous [↑ community of] expression,
- 7 coitadinho is a diminutive of 'coitado,' often employed in spoken Portuguese even today. It is used both as an adjective and as an interjection.
- 8 [← so justly and yet showed how terribly evident [↑ even to [↓ casual &] uninterested dreamers] was the suffering he thought he hid in himself from <the> [↑ all] eyes <of others>.]

1.3. [14E-94]. Datable to 1915. Piece of unidentified dustcover similar to the one of document 14E-93, likely written in black ink (faded to brown). Our transcription is based on the one by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari (PESSOA, 2013: 362).

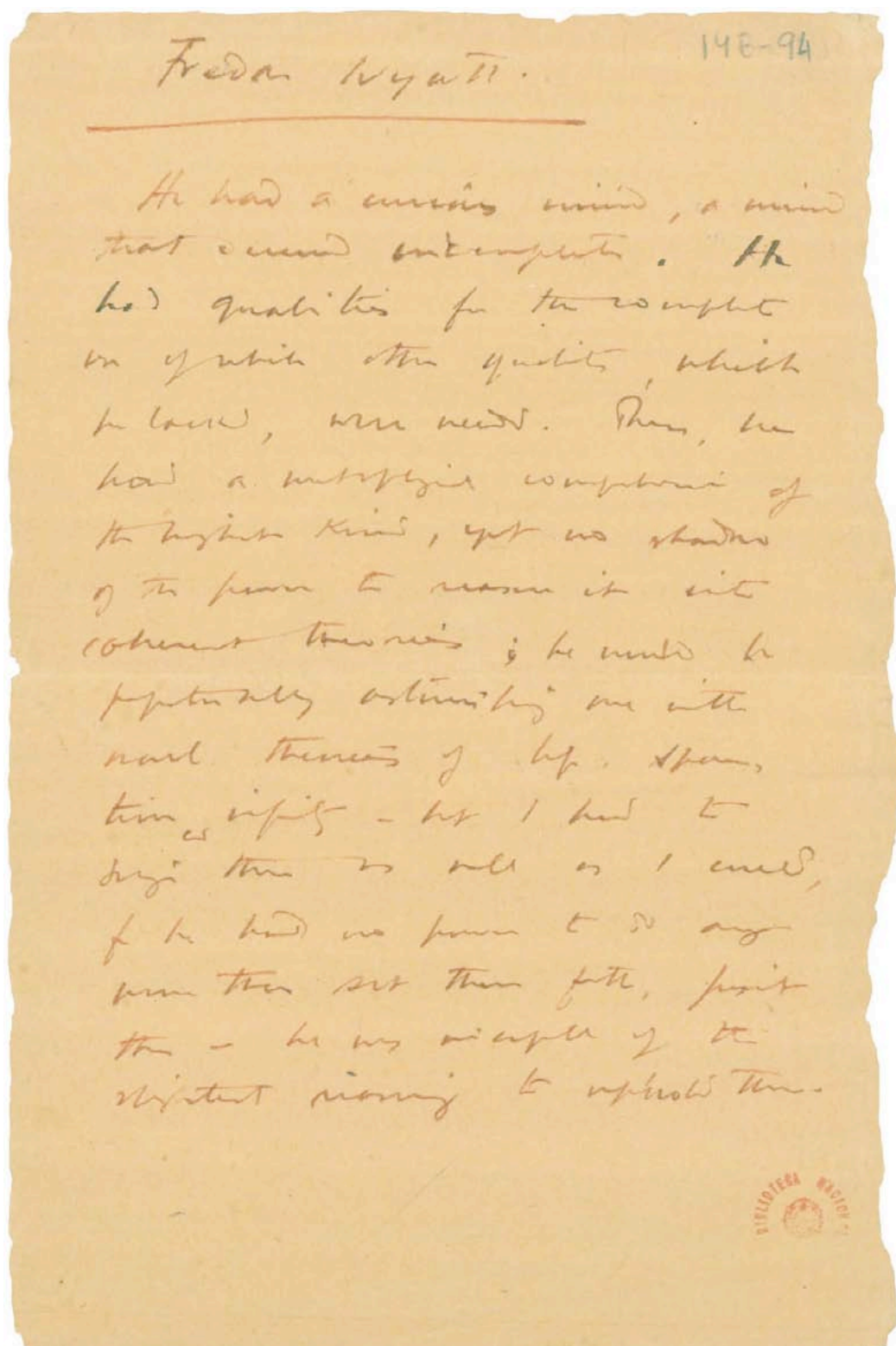


Fig. 6. BNP/E3, 14E-94r.

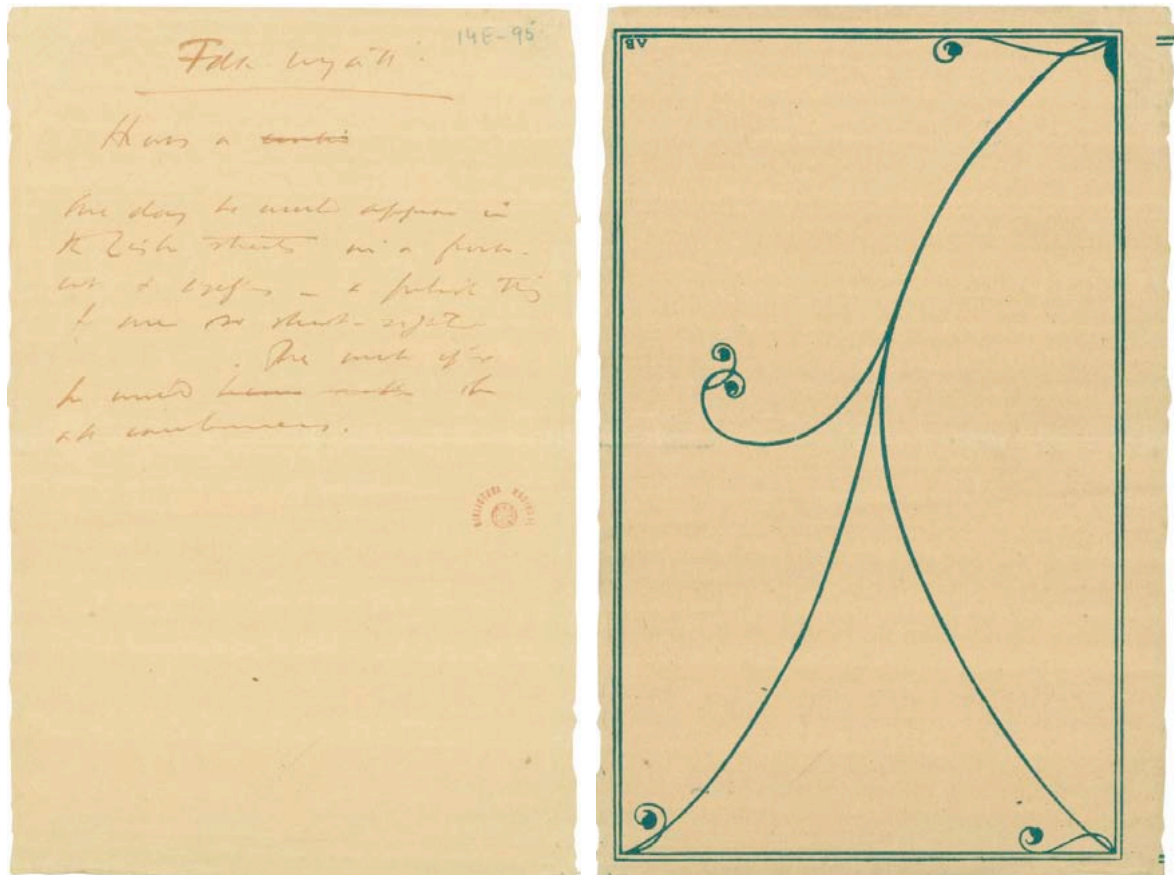
Freder[ick] Wyatt

He had a curious mind, a mind that seemed incomplete. He had qualities for the complete use of which other qualities, which he lacked, were needed. Thus, he had a metaphysical comprehension of the highest kind, yet no shadow of the power to reason it into coherent theories; he would be perpetually astonishing me with moral theories of life, space, time or infinity¹—but I had to seize them as well as I could, for he had no power to do any more than set them forth, posit them—he was incapable of the slightest reasoning to uphold them.

Note

1 time [↓ or] infinity

1.4. [14E-95^r]. Unpublished. Datable to 1915. Written in the same ink as the previous text, but on a piece of dustcover we were able to identify (perhaps documents 1.2 and 1.3 are pieces of the same dustcover). Given the pattern on the outside of the paper (see Figure 8), the antiquarian booksellers' community in the UK helped us to identify the book in question as *Runes of Woman* (SHARP [as MACLEOD], 1915), with cover design by Aubrey Beardsley; Fiona Macleod, the known author of the book until 1905, was revealed to be a pseudonym of William Sharp (1855-1905) after his death; a Scottish poet, literary biographer and editor, Sharp wrote more than 40 books and coordinated the collection "The Canterbury Poets edited by William Sharp," which included *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton*, extant in Pessoa's private library (CHATTERTON, 1885); Fiona Macleod, with a writing style different from his creator's, would perhaps be more appropriately called a heteronym (and not a simple pseudonym) of William Sharp.



Figs. 7 & 8. BNP/E3, 14E-95^r & 95^v.

F[re]d[eric]k Wyatt:

He was a □¹

One day he would appear in the Lisbon streets in a frock-coat & eyeglass²— a foolish thing for one so short-sighted □. The week after he would³ be all carelessness.

Notes

- 1 a <combin> □
- 2 In a few of his known photographs, Fernando Pessoa appears to wear a frock-coat (for example, the images of the poet walking in the streets of Lisbon, including the photo chosen as the logo of the House of Fernando Pessoa). Pessoa's heteronym Alvaro de Campos exhibits a monocle (or eyeglass) in a number of his poems (e.g. "Opiário" and "Saudação a Walt Whitman") and in Pessoa's famous letter from 13 January 1935, about the origins of the heteronyms: "Campos entre branco e moreno, typo vagamente de judeu portuguez, cabelo, pore, liso e normalmente apartado ao lado, monoculo" (PESSOA, 2012a: 27).
- 3 he would <become restless> be all

1.5. [133G-10]. Datable to 1913. The recto of this document was published in PESSOA, 2013: 363, with edition by Pizarro and Ferrari, in which we base our transcription. The verso of this document, containing a ciphered message, is transcribed and reproduced here for the first time.

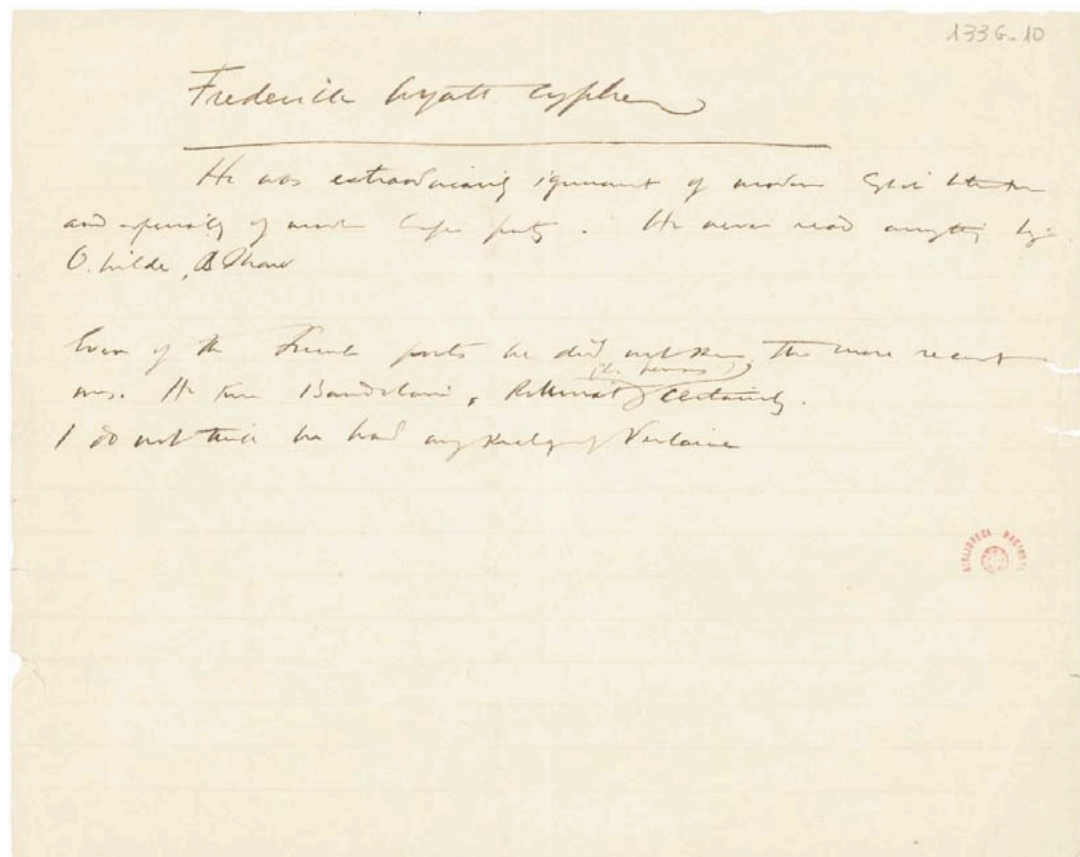


Fig. 9. BNP/E3, 133G-10^r.

Frederick Wyatt Cypher

He was extraordinarily ignorant of modern English literature and especially of modern English poets. He never read anything by O[scar] Wilde, B[ernard] Shaw □

Even of the French poets he did not know the more recent ones. He knew Baudelaire, Rollinat ("Les Névroses") certainly.¹

I do not think he had any knowledge of Verlaine □

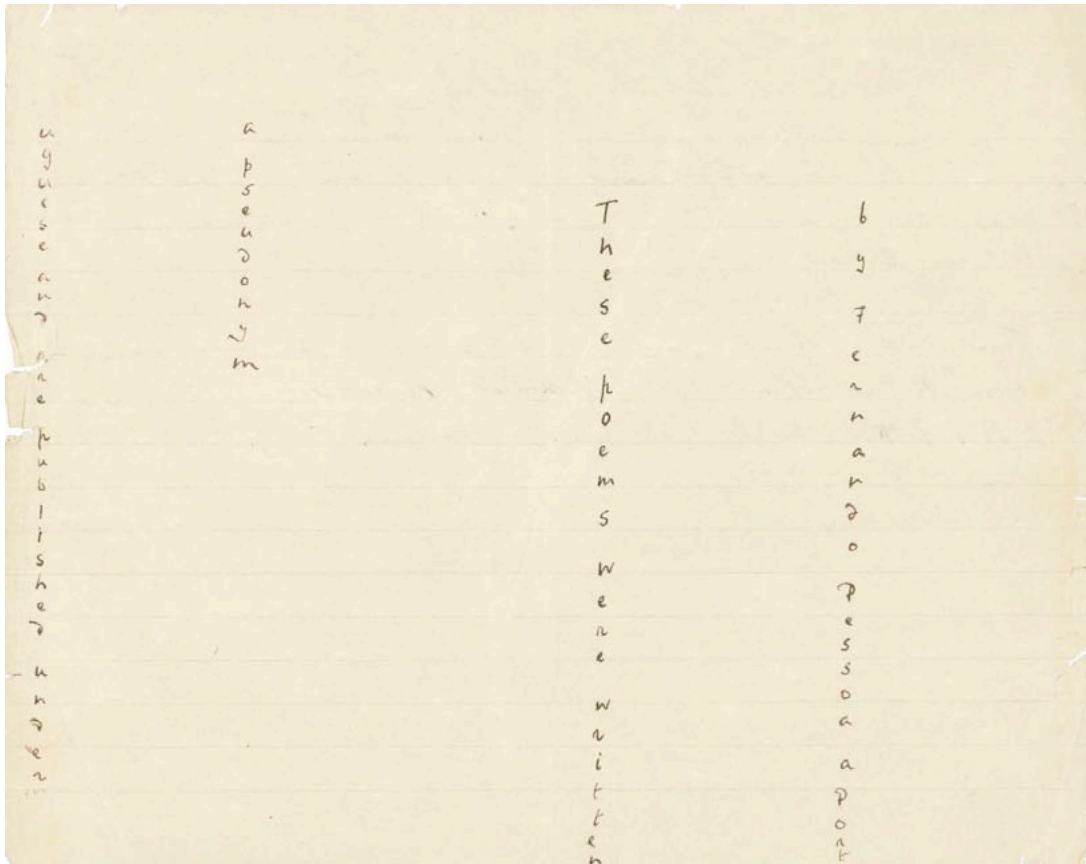


Fig. 10. BNP/E3, 133G-10v.

These poems were written by Fernando Pessoa a Portuguese and are published under a pseudonym²

Notes

- 1 Baudelaire<.>/, \ Rollinat [↑ (“Les Nevroses”)] certainly.] the title *Névroses* is written without the accent. The latter book and at least one title by Baudelaire are extant in Pessoa’s private library (see Pizarro, Ferrari and Cardielo: 2010). For Pessoa’s relation with French literature as well as his own French writings, see *Poèmes français* (PESSOA, 2014).
- 2 Text written vertically, from top to bottom, beginning with the two columns on the right, then continuing with the two columns on the left (see Fig. 10).

2. Frederick Wyatt Book Project and Index of Poems

2.1. [144D²-7^r]. Datable to 1913. Published by Teresa Sobral Cunha in Fausto (PESSOA, 1988: 202-203).

JANEIRO 31 DIAS		144D ² -7
9-356		Segunda feira 9
<u>Poesia.</u>		
<u>Portuguez</u>		
<u>Liros:</u> Gladio.		(1)
Agua Estagnada.		(2)
Trilogia dos Gigantes.		(3) - a, b, c.
Fausto.		(4)
Inez de Castro - Tragedia.		(5)
<u>Inglez</u>		
Ascension, and other poems.		(6)
The Voyage, and other poems.		(7)
The Poems of Frederick Wyatt.		(8)
The Duke of Parma - A Tragedy.		(9)
Marino - A Tragedy.		(10)
Promethus Rebouid.		(11)

Fig. 11. BNP/E3, 144D²-7^r.

Poesia.

Portuguez

<i>Livros:</i> Gladio.	(1)
Agua Estagnada.	(2)
Trilogia dos Gigantes.	(3) – a, b, c. ¹
Fausto.	(4)
Inez de Castro – Tragedia.	(5)
□	

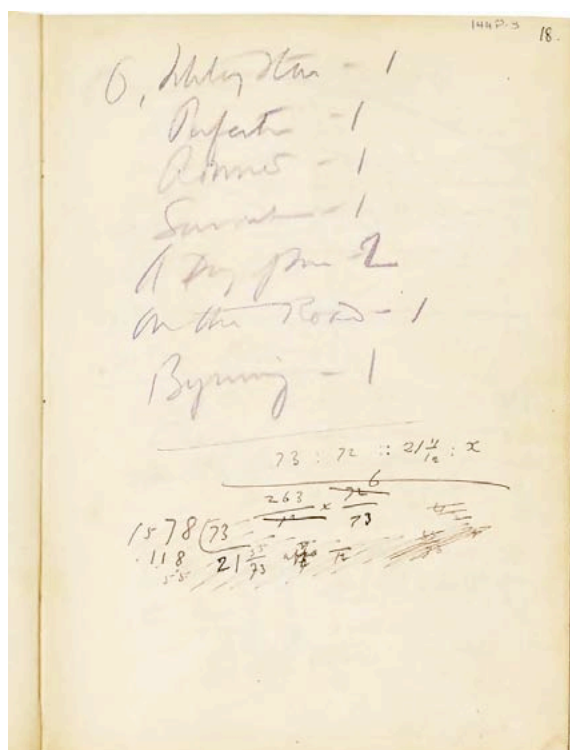
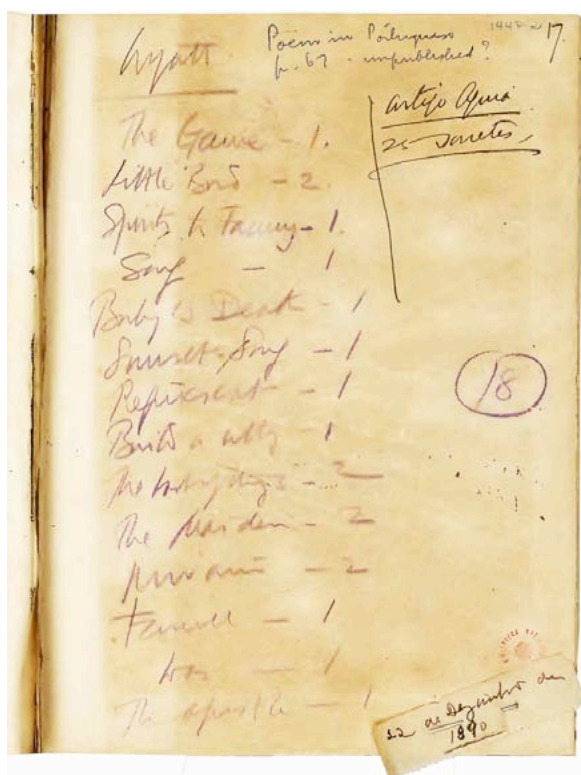
Inglez

Ascension, and other poems.	(6)
The Voyage, and other poems.	(7)
The Poems of Frederick Wyatt.	(8)
The Duke of Parma – A Tragedy.	(9)
Marino – A Tragedy.	(10)
Prometheus Rebound.	(11)
□	

Notes

- 1 *The three letters, indicating parts, are written in a different ink and therefore likely added at a later time.*

2.2. [144P-2^r & 3^r]. Datable to 1913. Unpublished. This list is mentioned in the biographical note of Frederick Wyatt by Pizarro and Ferrari (PESSOA, 2013: 360). The 21 English poems listed had originally been attributed by Pessoa to Alexander Search. The Search poems were first critically edited by João Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997), without mention to Frederick Wyatt. On 144P-2^r, besides the list, we find the number 18 inside a circle, i.e., the number of pages required up to "The Apostle" (if we add up all the figures on the right side of the poems); the rest of the titles appear on 144P-3^r. Above the indication "18" on 144P-2^r, in a different writing instrument, we read *Artigo Águia* | 25 sonetos; Pessoa submitted a series of polemic articles to the journal *A Águia* in 1912, proclaiming "*A Nova Poesia Portuguesa*" [The New Portuguese Poetry]; in August 1913, *A Águia* printed Pessoa's "*Na Floresta do Alheamento*," which would later integrate his *Livro do Desasoscego* [Book of Disquiet] (PESSOA, 2010); in Pessoa's archive one finds drafts also intended for *A Águia* featuring the heteronym Alberto Caeiro, who would only be conceived in March 1914 (cf. PESSOA, 2016: 237-250); at the end of 1914, Pessoa would distance himself from *A Águia*, who declined to publish his static drama *O Marinheiro*; thus, the note *Artigo Águia* situates this document between 1912 and 1914. The inscription 25 sonetos could suggest that Pessoa intended to submit 25 Portuguese sonnets to the journal. A small paper, pinned to 144P-2^r, reads 22 de Dezembro de 1890 [22 December 1890]; would that be the birthdate Pessoa imagined for Frederick Wyatt? (Pessoa's heteronym Álvaro de Campos would have his birthdate fixated by Pessoa on 15 October 1890). On the top of 144P-2^r we find a remark regarding Portuguese poetry that is not in Pessoa's own hand.

Figs. 12 & 13. BNP/E3, 144P-2^r & 3^r.

Wyatt.¹

The Game – 1.

Little Bird – 2.

Spirits to Fanny – 1.

Song – 1

Baby's Death – 1

Sunset-Song – 1

Requiescat – 1

Build me a cottage – 1

The Last of things – 2

The Maiden – 2

Nirvâna – 1

Farewell – 1

Was – 1

The Apostle – 1

O, solitary star – 1

Perfection – 1

Adorned – 1

Sonnet – 1

A day of Sun – 2²

On the road – 1

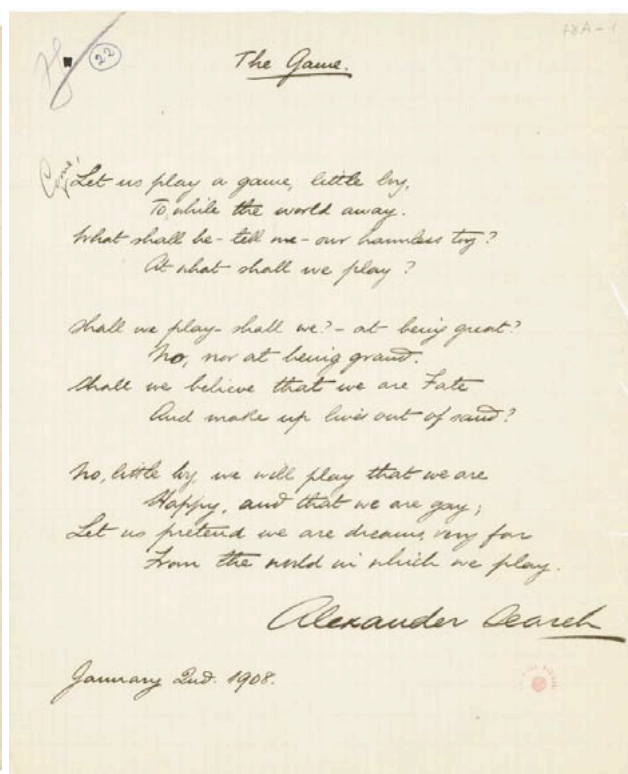
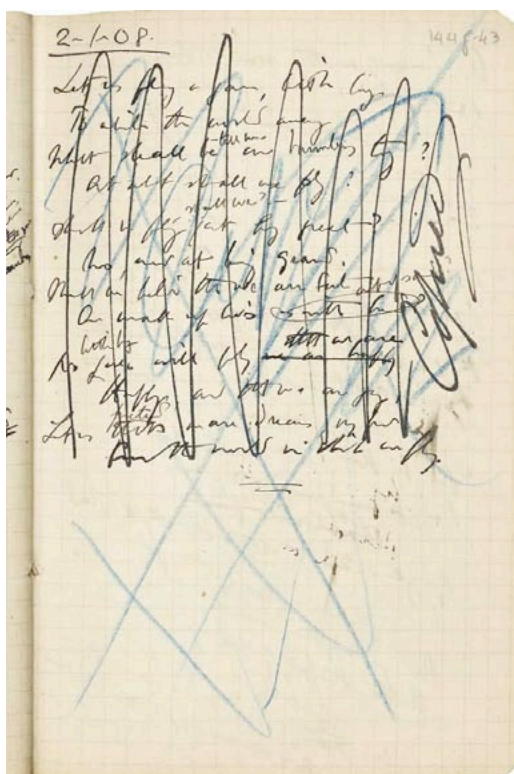
Beginning –³

Notes

- 1 *The numbers next to the titles of the poems/incipits refer to the number of pages each poem was to occupy.*
- 2 <1>/2\
- 3 *Below and in a different writing instrument we find mathematical calculations, perhaps related to the numerology of Wyatt's birthdate.*

3. The Poems Attributed to Frederick Wyatt

3.1a. [144J-43^r, 78A-1^r]. Dated 2 January 1908. There are three documents with versions of this poem: 144J-43^r (**A**), 78A-1^r (**B**) and 48D-42^v (**C**). **A** is clearly a draft of **B**, which presents all the signs of a finished copy of a poem. **A** and **B** display the same date (formatted "2-1-08" and "January 2nd 1908," respectively). **B** is titled "The Game" and signed by "Alexander Search," while **A** is untitled and unsigned. While **A** is a single 12-verse stanza, **B** is organized in 3 quartets. **A** is a loose piece of paper, written in black ink with amendments in another black ink, entirely crossed out in blue pencil and black pen. **B** is written on grid paper in black ink, displaying two notes on the upper left corner: "F[inal] I[image]," a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil) and an encircled "22" (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. **C**, though having the same first stanza as **A** and **B**, develops as a very different poem, receiving a different title—thus, we edit **C** separately, instead of considering **C** as a the final version of **B**.



Figs. 14 & 15. BNP/E3, 144J-43^r, 78A-1^r.

The Game

1 Come, let us play a game, little boy,
 2 To while the world away.
 3 What shall be—tell me—our harmless toy?
 At what shall we play?

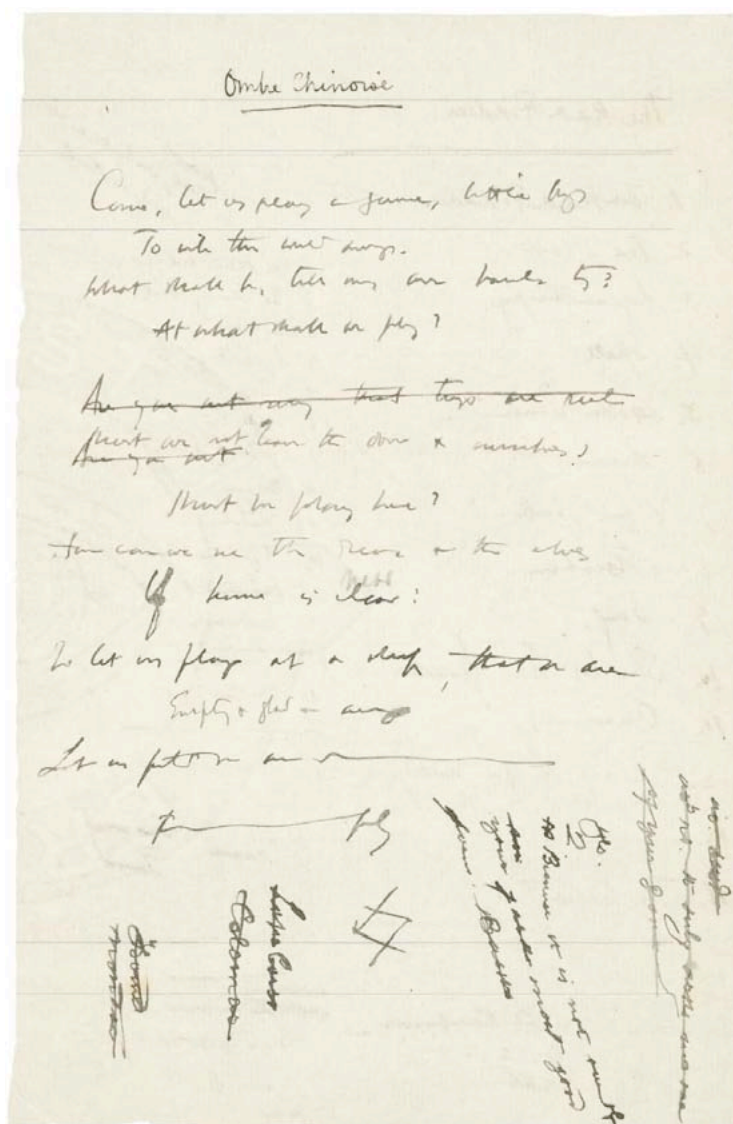
 5 Shall we play—shall we?—at being great?
 6 No, nor at being grand.
 Shall we believe that we are Fate
 8 And make up lives out of sand?

 No, little boy, we will play that we are
 10 Happy, and that we are gay;
 Let us pretend we are dreams, very far
 From the world in which we play.

Notes

- title* **A** □ **B** *The Game*
 1 **A** Let **B** [← Come,] Let
 2 **A** away **B** away.
 3 **A** be [↑ —tell me—] our **B** be—tell me—our
 5 **A** play [↑ —shall we—] at **B** play—shall we?—at
 6 **A** No, nor **B** N<or>/o\, nor
 8 **A** lives as with *hand? [↑ out of sand?] **B** lives out of sand?
 9 **A** No, [↑ little boy] we will play <we are happy> [↑ that we are] **B** No, little boy, we will
 play that we are
 10 **A** gay, **B** gay;
 11 **A** Let us think [↑ pretend] **B** Let us pretend

3.1b. [48D-42^v]. Datable to 1916-1917. Unsigned. Fragment of a paper presenting, in the recto, a list of poems from *The Mad Fiddler* and samples of hardly legible mediumistic writing (see Annex with facsimiled recto and transcribed list); on the verso, more mediumistic writings, and the title “Ombre Chinoise” (in a ink different from the one in which the poem was written). Dionísio considers 48D-42^v (C) as posterior to both 144J-43^r (A) and 78A-1^r (B); nevertheless, believing C to be fragmentary, Dionísio edits B as the last complete rendering of “The Game” (PESSOA, 1997: 132). Though we agree with Dionísio in C being posterior to A and B, we differ in two points: 1) we believe C to be complete and 2) due to its different title and 50% different poem (6 out of 12 verses of C differ from B), we consider that C should stand as a separate poem (PESSOA, 1997: 409). Curiously, the list of poems by Wyatt includes the B’s title (“The Game”) and not C’s (“Ombre Chinoise”), which suggests that C could have been written after Pessoa listed the poems of Frederick Wyatt.

Fig. 16. BNP/E3, 48D-42^v.

Ombre Chinoise

Come, let us play a game, little boy,
 To while the world away.
 What shall be, tell me, our harmless toy?
 At what shall we play?

5 Must we not leave the *den & ourselves?
 Must we play here?
 How can we see the dream & the elves
 8 If home is near?

So let us play at a sleep, that we are
 10 Empty & glad & away
 11 Let us pretend we are [dreams, very far]
 12 From [the world in which we] play.

Notes

- 5 <Are you not *sorry that toys are real> [↓ <Are you not>] [↑ Must we not learn the & ourselves] *Dionísio edits "seeing" and "learn the +"* instead of "sorry" and "leave the *den" (PESSOA, 1997: 409).
- 8 clear [↑ near]?
- 11-12 The author left lines, instead of empty spaces, on lines 11 and 12, which we interpret as a shorthand indication of repetition, i.e., the repetition of words as they were written in the previous version of the poem; *Dionísio edits those lines as blank spaces* (PESSOA, 1997: 409).

Annex [48D-42^r]: This list is not referred to in PESSOA, 1999. Mediumistic scribbles are not transcribed.

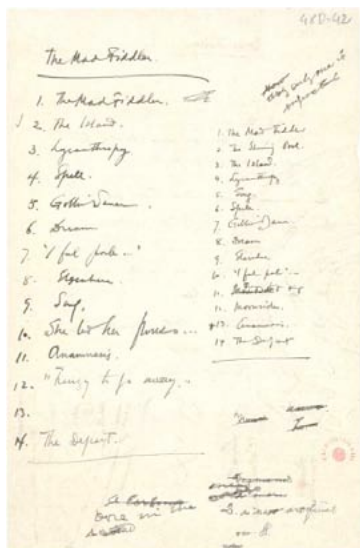
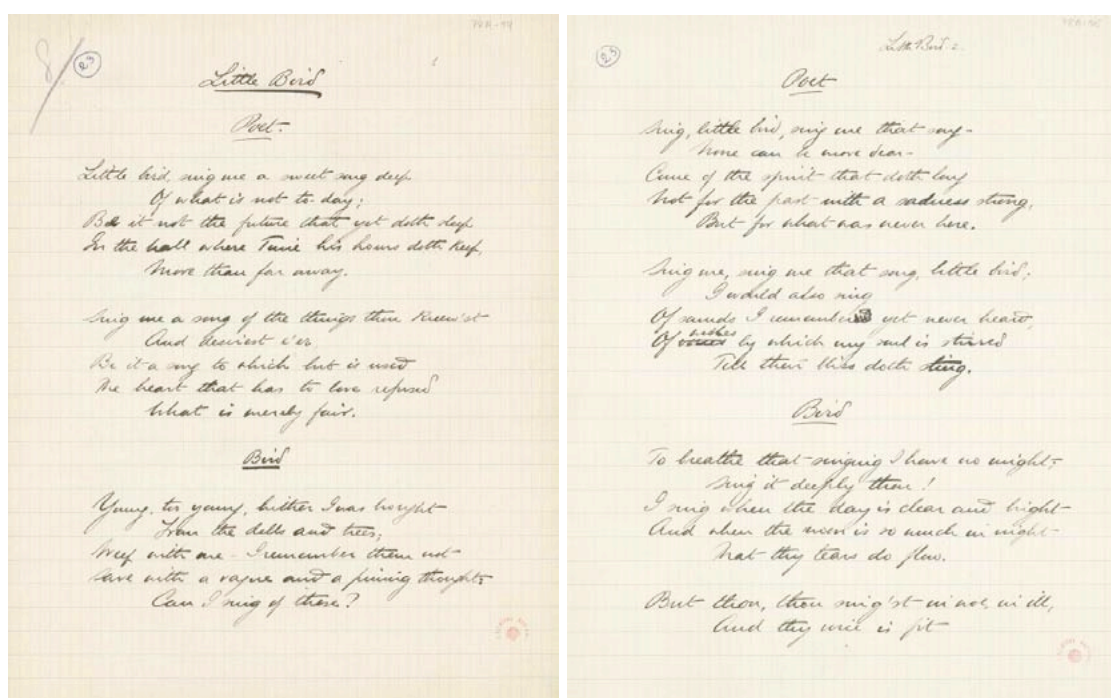


Fig. 17. BNP/E3, 48D-42^r.

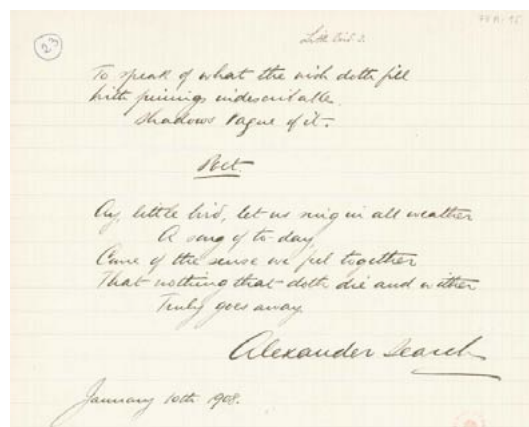
The Mad Fiddler

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. The Mad Fiddler. | 1. The Mad Fiddler |
| ✓ 2. The Island. | 2. The Shining Pool. |
| 3. Lycanthropy. | 3. The Island. |
| 4. Spell. | 4. Lycanthropy |
| 5. Goblin Dance. | 5. Song. |
| 6. Dream. | 6. Spell. |
| 7. "I feel pale..." | 7. Goblin Dance. |
| 8. Elsewhere | 8. Dream |
| 9. Song | 9. Elsewhere |
| 10. She let her ?... | 10. "I feel pale"... |
| 11. Anamnesis. | 11. <Moonside> [↑ Frenzy to go away] |
| 12. "Frenzy to go away" | 12. Moonside. |
| 13. □ | * 13. Anamnesis. |
| 14. The Depart. | 14. The Depart |

3.2. [78A-14^r to 16^r]. Dated "January 10th. 1908." Written on three pieces of grid paper in black ink, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" on the last page; all three pages are numbered and present the title "Little Bird." On the upper left corner of the first page, the document displays two notes: "*S," perhaps indicative of "Songs" (in purple pencil) and the number "23" inside a circle (in blue pen); the latter doesn't seem to be in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on the one by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997: 133-134), who raises the possibility of this poem serving as inspiration for "Sing me a song of the sweetness of love" (49A²-1^r). The poem is structured as a "chanson à personnages" (song with characters), a "medieval French song in the form of a dialogue, often between a husband and a wife, a knight and a shepherdess, or lovers parting at dawn" (Merriam-Webster's Encyclopedia of Literature, 1995: 227), although Pessoa makes it between Poet and Bird.



Figs. 18 & 19. BNP/E3, 78A-14^r & 15^r.



Figs. 20. BNP/E3, 78A-16^r. Detail.

*Little Bird**Poet.*

Little bird, sing me a sweet song deep
 Of what is not to-day;
 3 Be it not the future that yet doth sleep
 In the hall where Time his hours doth keep,
 5 More than far away.

Sing me a song of the things thou knew'st
 And desirest e'er,
 Be it a song to which but is used
 The heart that has to love refused
 10 What is merely fair.

Bird

Young, too young, hither I was brought
 From the dells and trees;
 Weep with me—I remember them not
 Save with a vague and a pining thought:
 15 Can I sing of these?

Poet

Sing, little bird, sing me that song—
 None can be more dear—
 Come of the spirit that doth long
 Not for the past with a sadness strong,
 20 But for what was never here.

Sing me, sing me that song, little bird;
 I would also sing
 23 Of sounds I remember yet never heard,
 24 Of wishes by which my soul is stirred
 25 Till their bliss doth sting.

Bird

To breathe that singing I have no might;
 Sing it deeply thou!
 I sing when the day is clear and bright

30 And when the moon is so much in night
 That thy tears do flow.

 But thou, thou sing'st in woe, in ill,
 And thy voice is fit
 To speak of what the wish doth fill
35 With pinings indescribable;
 Shadows vague of it.

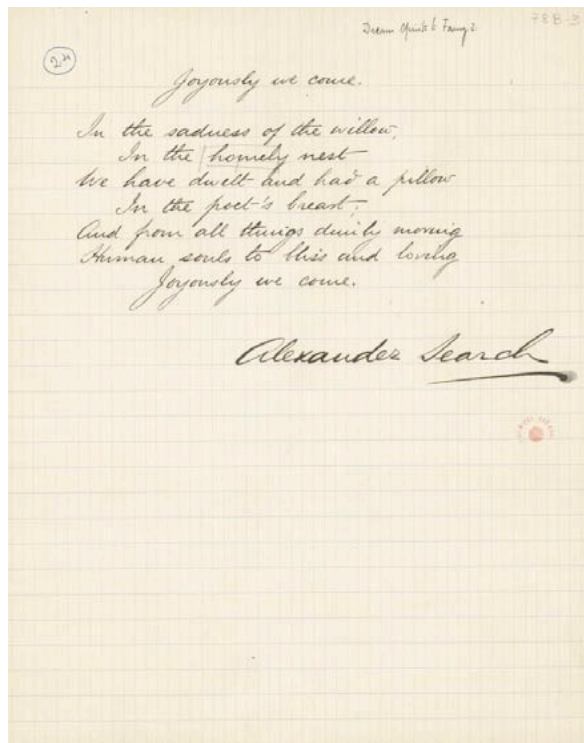
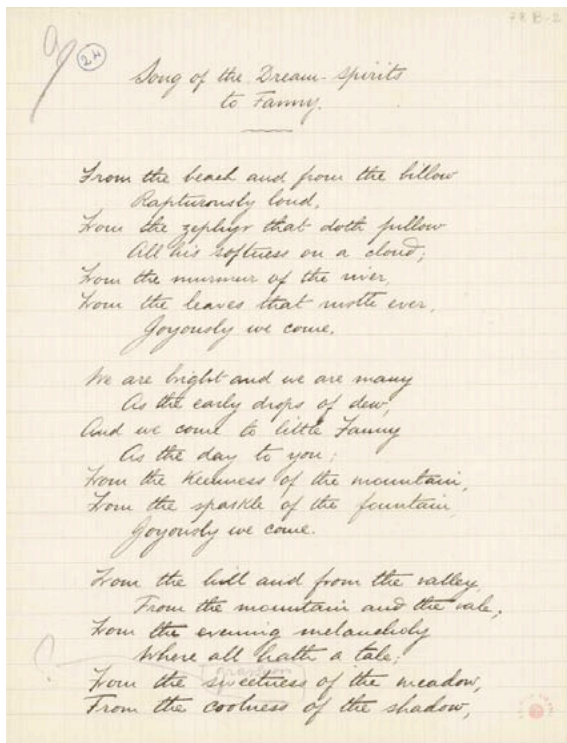
Poet.

 Ay, little bird, let us sing in all weather
 A song of to-day,
 Come of the sense we feel together
 That nothing that doth die and wither
40 Truly goes away.

Notes

- 3 B<el>/e\ it not
22 I remember<ed>
24 Of <voices> [↑ wishes]
40 away[.] *the final punctuation mark is an editorial intervention.*

3.3. [78B-2^r & 3^r]. Dated "March, 1906" on list 48B-95^r, in which this poem received the initial title "Lyric to Fanny." Written on two pieces of grid paper in black ink, with emendations in pencil, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" on the second page; the first page presents the full title "Song of the Dream-Spirits to Fanny" and the second, the abbreviated indication "Dream Spirits to Fanny -2.". On the upper left corner of the first page, there are two notes: "G" (in purple pencil), probably indicative of a planned compilation of poems, and the number "24" inside a circle (in blue pen); the latter doesn't seem to be in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on the one by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997: 134-135), who published the poem as being undated. The romantic language of this piece is reminiscent of John Keats (1795-1821), and the "Fanny" of the title may be "Fanny Brazwne" (1800-1865), known as Mrs. Frances Lindon at the time of her death, but revealed in 1872 to have been a lover of John Keats (Fanny and Keats had met in the autumn of 1818, about three years before Keats died); in 1903, when Pessoa won the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize, *The Poetic Works of John Keats* was among the books the young Portuguese poet received as part of his prize (cf. JENNINGS, 1984: 39).



Figs. 21 & 22. BNP/E3, 78B-2^r & 3^r.

Song of the Dream-Spirits to Fanny

From the beach and from the billow
 Rapturously loud,
 From the zephyr that doth pillow
 All his softness on a cloud;
 5 From the murmur of the river,
 From the leaves that rustle ever,
 Joyously we come.

We are bright and we are many
 As the early drops of dew,
 10 And we come to little Fanny
 As the day to you;
 From the keenness of the mountain,
 From the sparkle of the fountain,
 Joyously we come.

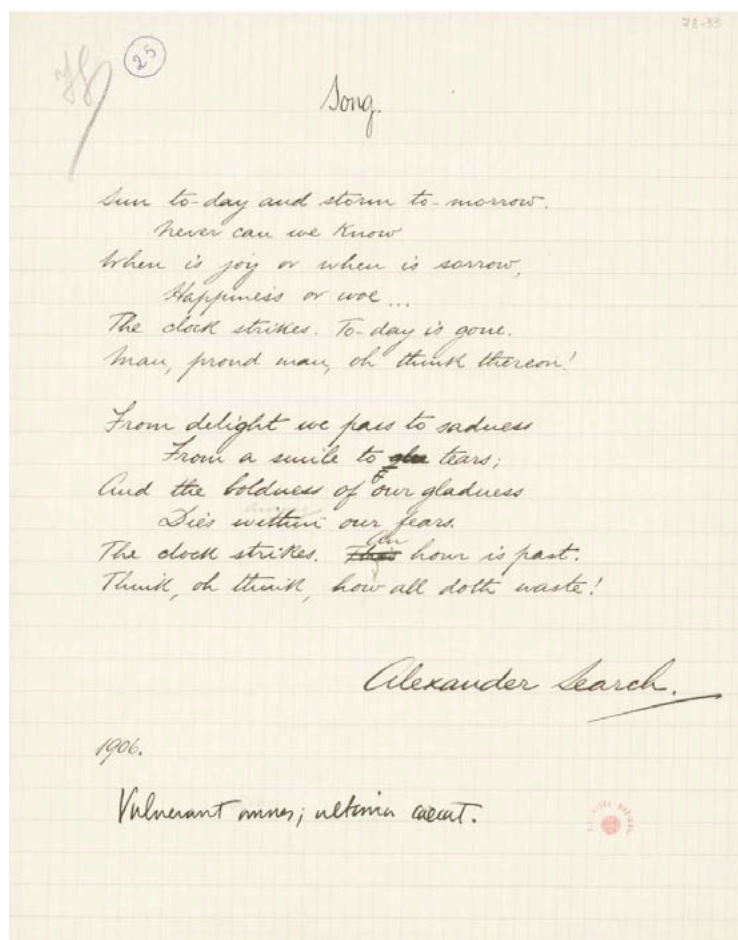
15 From the hill and from the valley,
 From the mountain and the vale;
 From the evening melancholy
 Where all hath a tale;
 19 From the sweetness of the meadow,
 20 From the coolness of the shadow,
 Joyously we come.

In the sadness of the willow,
 In the /homely/ nest
 We have dwelt and had a pillow
 25 In the poet's breast;
 And from all things dimly moving
 Human souls to bliss and loving
 Joyously we come.

Notes

- 19 sweetness [↑ /grassness/] as the second variant was explicitly doubted by the poet, we edit the initial one (though we understand it to also have been doubted, implicitly, by the mere existence of the second variant).

3.4. [78-33^r]. Dated 1906. Written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations both in black ink and in pencil, bearing the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner, there are two notes: "F[inal] I[image]" (in purple pencil), designating a collection of poems planned by Pessoa, and an encircled "25" (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 135). It should be noted that, though the list Poems of Frederick Wyatt (144P-2^r) only refers "Song" by this generic title, we are fairly certain that the "Song" in question is "Sun to-day," due to the following reasons: (1) "Song" is the given title on the manuscript of "Sun to-day"; (2) a poem is listed as "Song / Sun to-day" and as "Song-Sun to-day &c" in 48C-7^r and 49B-98^r, respectively; (3) the list Waves (48C-21^r) includes "Sun to-day" among its twelve poems—and only one of those pieces didn't make into the corpus of Wyatt listed in 144P-2^r (the sonnet "Blind Eagle"). Therefore, if reasons #1 and #2 associate the title "Song" with "Sun to-day," reason #3 shows that it is very likely that "Sun to-day" should have been attributed to Wyatt, as most of the poems in Waves; since Wyatt's corpus lists a "Song," one can deduce that it should be "Sun to-day." Under the date, the document displays the phrase "Vulnerat omnes, ultima caecat" (literally, "all hurt, the last blinds"), a variation of the Latin maxim "vulnerat omnes, ultima necat" ["all the (hours) hurt, the last one kills"], an epigraph a posteriori befitting the poem.

Fig. 23. BNP/E3, 78-33^r.

Song.

Sun to-day and storm to-morrow.
 Never can we know
 When is joy or when is sorrow,
 Happiness or woe...
 5 The clock strikes. To-day is gone.
 Man, proud man, oh think thereon!

 From delight we pass to sadness
 8 From a smile to tears;
 And the boldness of our gladness
 10 Dies among our fears.
 11 The clock strikes. An hour is past.
 Think, oh think, how all doth waste!

Notes

- 8 From a smile to <glee> tears;
 10 Dies within [↑ among] our fears.
 11 The clock strikes. <This> [↑ An] hour is past.

3.5. [78B-1^r]. Datable to c. 1907, for the oldest list in which the poem appears (48C-8^r) was created between 29 December 1907 and 2 January 1908 (cf. PESSOA, 1997: 258); moreover, Pessoa started using grid paper to copy poems attributed to Alexander Search in May 1907 (cf. PESSOA, 1997: 12), which reinforces our conjectured date (although the poem could have been written before 1907). Written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in pencil, bearing the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner, there are two notes: "F[inal] I[image]" (in purple pencil), designating a collection of poems planned by Pessoa, and an encircled "26" (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 136).

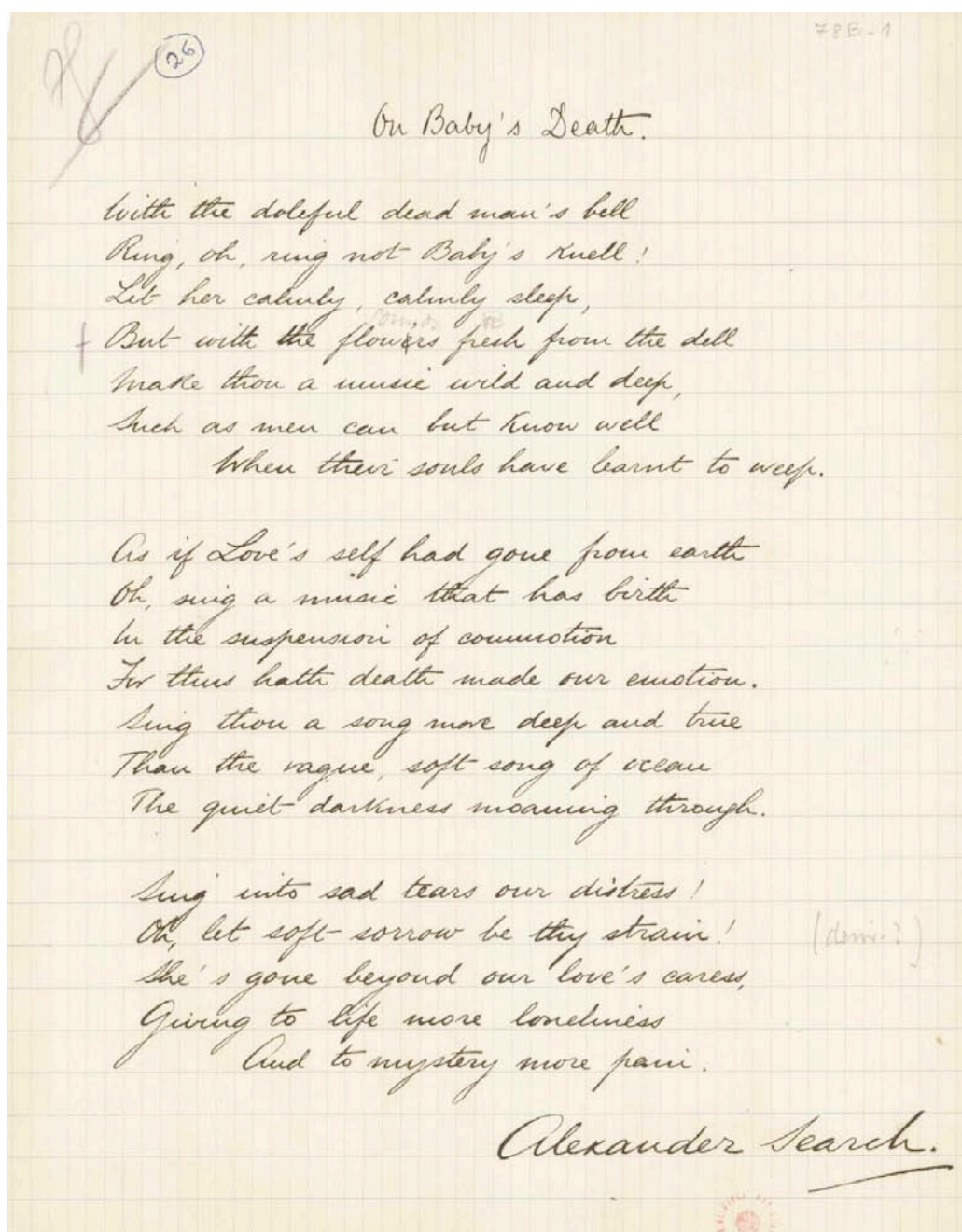


Fig. 24. BNP/E3, 78B-1^r.

On Baby's Death.

With the doleful dead man's bell
 Ring, oh, ring not Baby's knell!
 Let her calmly, calmly sleep,
 4 /But with the sounds on from the dell/
 5 Make thou a music wild and deep,
 Such as men can but know well
 When their souls have learnt to weep.

As if Love's self had gone from earth
 Oh, sing a music that has birth
 10 In the suspension of commotion
 For thus hath death made our emotion.
 Sing thou a song more deep and true
 Than the vague, soft song of ocean
 14 The quiet darkness moaning through.

15 Sing into sad tears our distress!
 16 Oh, let soft sorrow be thy strain!
 She's gone beyond our love's caress,
 Giving to life more loneliness
 And to mystery more pain.

Notes

- 4 flow<e>[↑]rs [↑ sounds] fresh <*far>/on\ from
 14 Though the first and third stanzas end in an indented line, the second doesn't appear to have any distinguishable indentations.
 16 To the right we read "(deriv.?)"—suggesting that Pessoa questioned the verse as being derivative.

3.6. [49B³-21^r, 78-104^r]. Dated "1907." There are two documents with versions of this poem, 49B³-21^r (A) and 78-104^r (B). **A**, a loose piece of paper, presents only the last verses of the poem in question, on top of another text titled "Moments" (not included here); the document was written in black ink and graphite pencil, with a blue pencil used to cross out the verses; **B**, the later version, was written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in graphite and purple pencils, bearing the signature "Alexander Search"; on the upper left corner, there are two notes: "F[inal] I[image]" (in purple pencil), designating a collection of poems planned by Pessoa, and an encircled "27" (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand; it also displays a crossed-out <Dec> before the indication of year. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 136). The initial image evoked by this song (the poet supporting his chin on his hands and looking to sea) would later be recreated by Pessoa in the opening poem of *Mensagem*, with incipit "A Europa jaz, posta nos cotovelos" (Europe rests, leant on elbows), first written in 1928 and published in 1934.

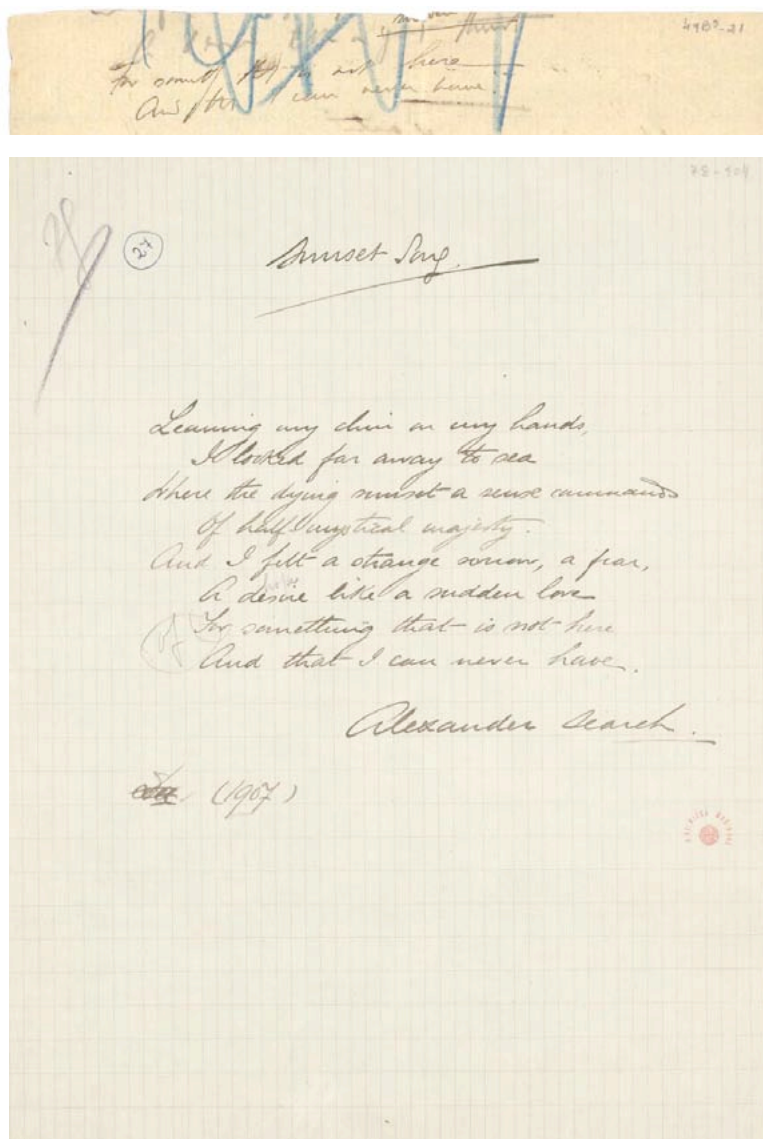


Fig. 25 & 26. BNP/E3, 49B3-21^r (detail), 78-104^r.

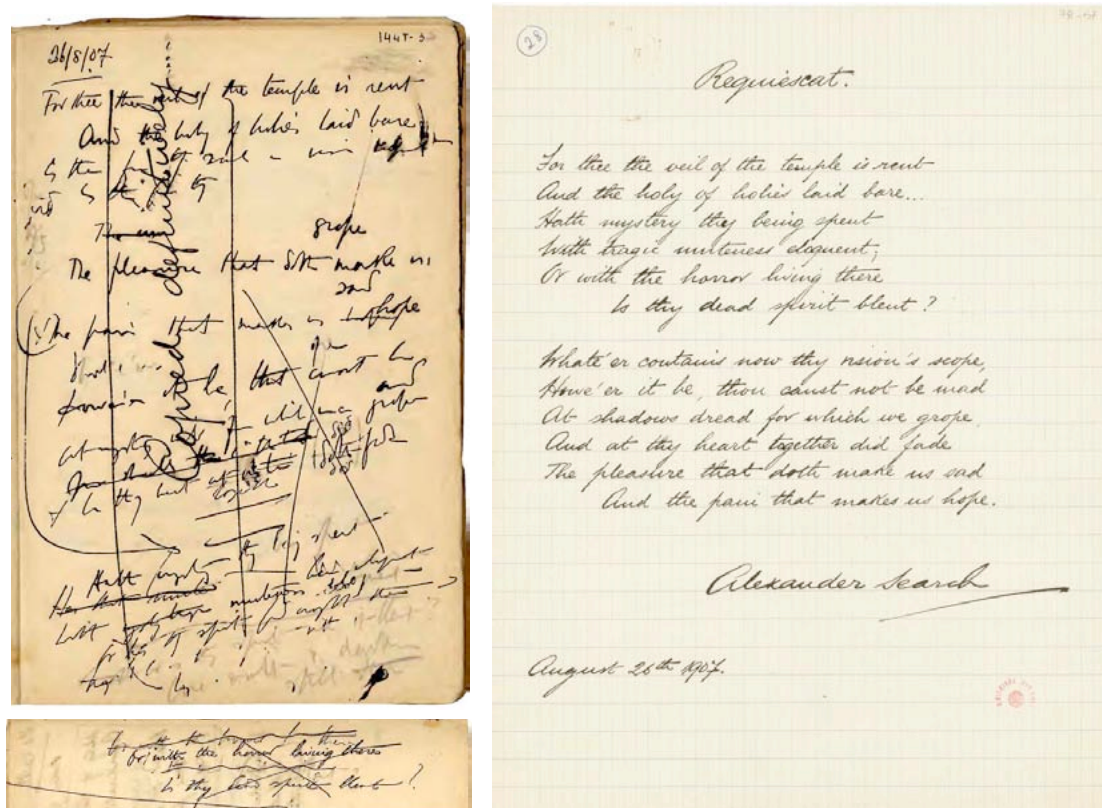
Sunset Song.

Leaning my chin on my hands,
 I looked far away to sea
 Where the dying sunset a sense commands
 Of half mystical majesty.
 5 And I felt a strange sorrow, a fear,
 6 A hope like a sudden love
 7 Of something that is not here
 And that I can never have.

Notes

- 6 **A** A desire like a <† thrust> [↑ sudden] *end of paper* **B** A desire [↑ hope] like a sudden love
 7 **A** For **B** [←Of] For

3.7. [144T-32^r & 31^v, 78-57^r]. Dated 26 August 1907. There are two documents with versions of this poem, 144T-32^r & 31^v (A) and 78-57^r (B). A comprises two pages of a notebook, written in black ink and pencil, with the lines pertaining to the poem entirely crossed out and displaying, on 144T-32^r, the date "26/8/07" and the note "copied definitively" perpendicularly to the verses; João Dionísio noted that, above the first verse, Pessoa indicated the rhyme scheme intended for the first stanza (abaaba) and, on the left margin of the same page, annotated the rhymes planned for the second stanza (ope ad ope ad ad ope); the last lines of the poem, on 144T-31^v, share the page with notes on science and religion; B, the later version, was written on grid paper in black ink, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" and the date "August 26th 1907"; on the upper left corner, there is an encircled "28" (in blue pen), seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 137). The title "Requiescat" is short for the Latin expression "Requiescat in pace" (commonly abbreviated as "R.I.P"), "a wish or prayer for a dead person" (New Oxford American Dictionary); Oscar Wilde has a well-known poem with the same title, originally published in 1881—though the edition of *The Poems* of Oscar Wilde extant in Pessoa's private library is from 1911 and, thus, posterior to Pessoa's "Requiescat."



Figs. 27 to 29. BNP/E3, 144T-32^r & 31^v (detail), 78-57^r.

Requiescat.

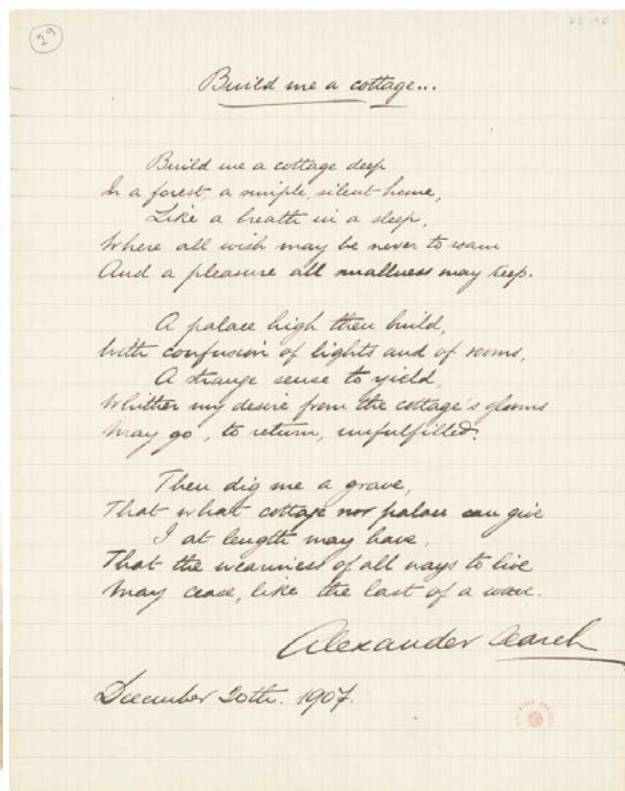
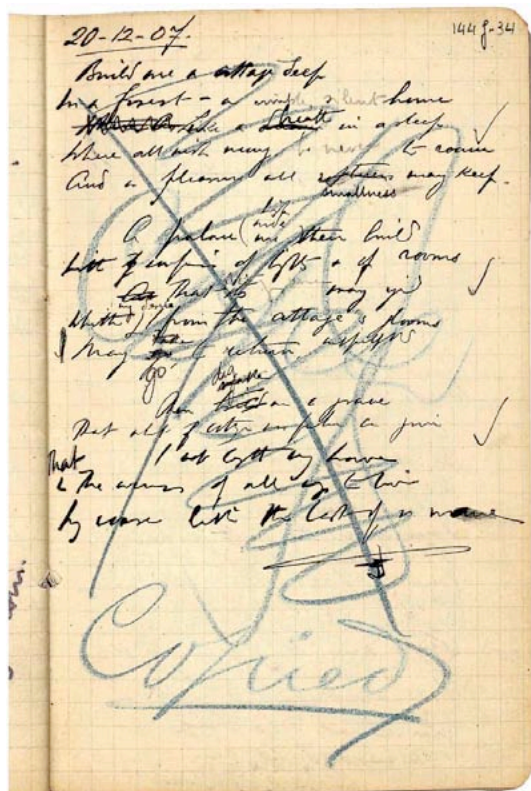
For thee the veil of the temple is rent
 2 And the holy of holies laid bare...
 3 Hath mystery thy being spent
 4 With tragic muteness eloquent;
 5 Or with the horror living there
 6 Is thy dead spirit blent?

 7 Whate'er contains now thy vision's scope,
 8 Howe'er it be, thou canst not be mad
 9 At shadows dread for which we grope,
 10 And at thy heart together did fade
 11 The pleasure that doth make us sad
 12 And the pain that makes us hope.

Notes

- 2 A bare B bare...
 3 A Is the form of soul a vain *repent [*bottom marg.* Hath mystery thy being spent] B Hath mystery thy being spent
 4 A Is this form thy □ [*bottom marg.* <Has that mute □ *being eloquent> [↓ With <mystery> tragic muteness <†>/eloquent\]] B With tragic muteness eloquent;
 5 A [*bottom marg.* <Or has thy spirit *found aught then?>] [31^v → <Or with the horror living there> [↓ Or with the horror living there]] B Or with the horror living there
 6 A [*bottom marg.* <Aught> Or is thy spirit with it blent [↓ <One>/Is\ doubt & *drunkenness still there]] [31^v → <Is thy dead spirit blent?> [↓ Is thy dead spirit blent?]] B Is thy dead spirit blent?
 7 A <The †> □ grope [↓ Whate'er □ ope] B Whate'er contains now thy vision's scope,
 8 A The pleasure that doth make us sad [↓ Howe'er it be, that canst be mad] B Howe'er it be, thou canst not be mad] *note that the first version of this line becomes verse 11.*
 9 A [←&] The pain that makes us <hope> [↑ hope] [↓ At mystery wild for which *we grope] B At shadows dread for which we grope,] *note that the first version of this line becomes verse 12.*
 10 A <Nor shadows there in the †> [↓ [←&] In thy heart <at one time> [↓ together] <doth> [↑<did>/did\] [↓<did>/do\] fade] B And at thy heart together did fade
 11 A Cf. verse 8 B The pleasure that doth make us sad
 12 A Cf. verse 9 B And the pain that makes us hope.

3.8. [144J-34^r, 78-96^r]. Dated 20 December 1907. There are two documents with versions of this poem, 144J-34^r (A) and 78-96^r (B). A is a page of a grid notebook, written in black ink, with emendations in pencil, displaying the date "20-12-07"; the poem was entirely crossed out in blue pencil—the same utensil with which the poet wrote the letters "c c," over the verses, and the word "copied," on the bottom margin; B, the later version, was written on grid paper in black ink, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" and the date "December 20th. 1907"; on the upper left corner, there is an encircled "29" (in blue pen), seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 137). Perhaps Pessoa was aware, in 1907, of Yeats's poem "The Lake Isle of Innisfree," although the collection of poems by Yeats extant in Pessoa's private library is from 1913 (cf. YEATS, 1913: 15).



Figs. 30 & 31. BNP/E3, 144J-34^r, 78-96^r.

Build me a cottage...

Build me a cottage deep
 2 In a forest, a simple, silent home,
 3 Like a breath in a sleep,
 Where all wish may be never to roam
 5 And a pleasure all smallness may keep.

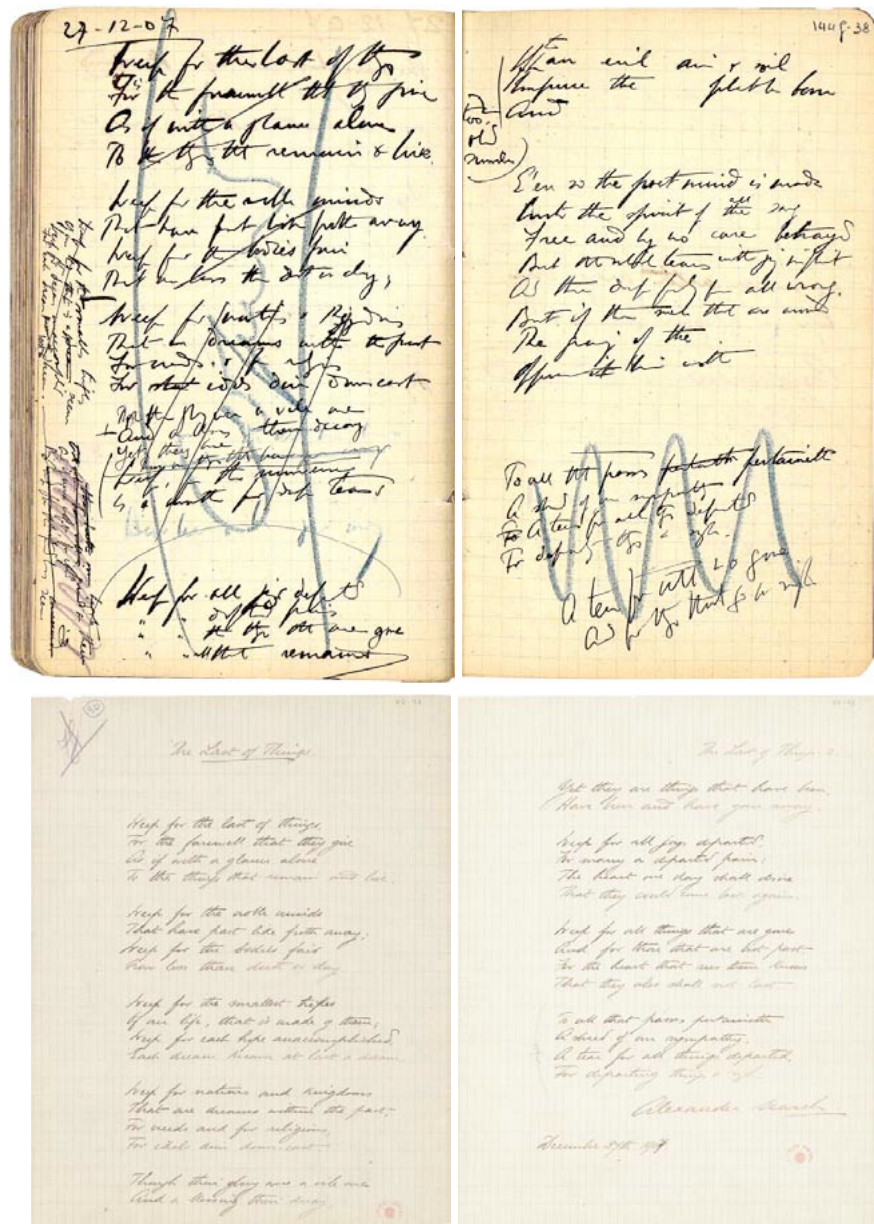
 6 A palace high then build,
 7 With confusion of lights and of rooms,
 8 A strange sense to yield,
 9 Whither my desire from the cottage's glooms
 10 May go, to return, unfulfilled.

 11 Then dig me a grave,
 12 That what cottage nor palace can give
 13 I at length may have,
 14 That the weariness of all ways to live
 15 May cease like the last of a wave.

Notes

2 A forest—a simple B forest, a simple
 3 A <Where †> Like a <dream> [† breath] B Like a breath in a sleep
 5 A all <softness> [↓ smallness] may keep. B all smallness may keep.
 6 A A palace *me [† made [† high]] then build B A palace high then build] in A, “*me” and “made” are within parentheses.
 7 A With <*p> confusion of lights & of rooms B With confusion of lights and of rooms,
 8 A <As> That its [† strange sense] may yield B A strange sense to yield
 9 A Whither [† my desire] from B Whither my desire from
 10 A <*I> May <go> [† <take>] [↓ go], to return, unfulfilled B May go, to return, unfulfilled.
 11 A Then <build> [† <make> [† dig]] me a grave B Then dig me a grave,
 12 A That what <*f> cottage B That what cottage
 13 A have B have,
 14 A [† That] the weariness B That the weariness
 15 A May cease like B May cease<, > like

3.9. [144]-37^v & 38^r, 78-97^r & 98^r]. Dated 27 December 1907. There are two documents with versions of this poem, 144]-37^v & 38^r (A) and 78-97^r & 98^r (B). A comprises two pages of a grid notebook, written in black ink, displaying the date "27-12-07"; save for the two stanzas on 38^r (belonging to a different poem), all lines were crossed out in black ink, purple pencil and blue pencil—the latter also used to write "copied" perpendicularly to the verses on 37^v; B, the later version, consists of two pieces of grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" and the date "December 27th. 1907" (on 98^r); on the upper left corner of 97^r, there are three inscriptions: "F[inal] I[image]," a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil), with a "Y" written over it (also in purple pencil), and an encircled "30" (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 138).



Figs. 32 to 35. BNP/E3, 144J-37^v & 38^r, 78-97^r & 98^r.

The Last of Things

1 Weep for the last of things,
2 For the farewell that they give
As if with a glance alone
To the things that remain and live.

5 Weep for the noble minds
6 That have past like froth away;
Weep for the bodies fair
8 Now less than dust or clay.

Weep for the smallest trifles
10 Of our life, that is made of them;
11 Weep for each hope unaccomplished,
12 Each dream known at last a dream.

Weep for nations and kingdoms
14 That are dreams within the past,
15 For creeds and for religions,
16 For idols dim down-cast.

Though their glory were a vile one
18 And a blessing their decay,
19 Yet they are things that have been,
20 Have been and have gone away.

21 Weep for all joys departed,
22 For many a departed pain:
23 The heart one day shall desire
24 That they could come back again.

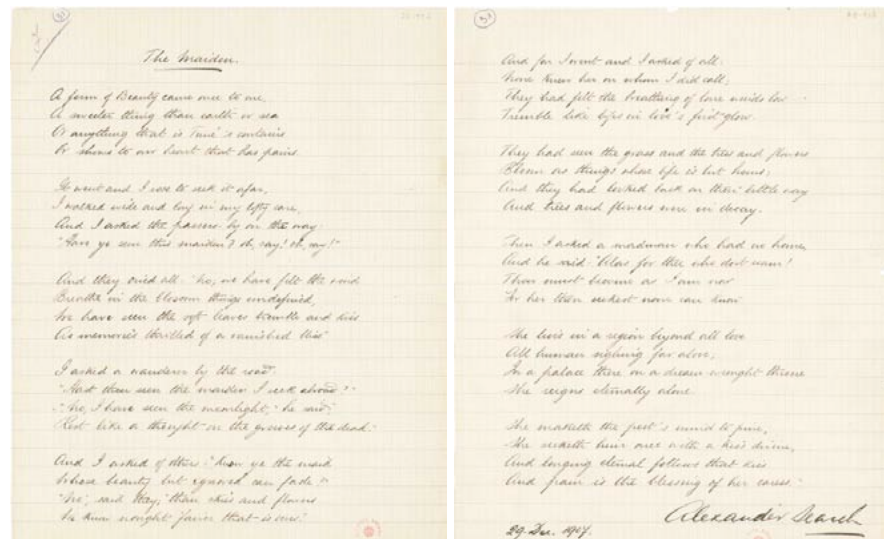
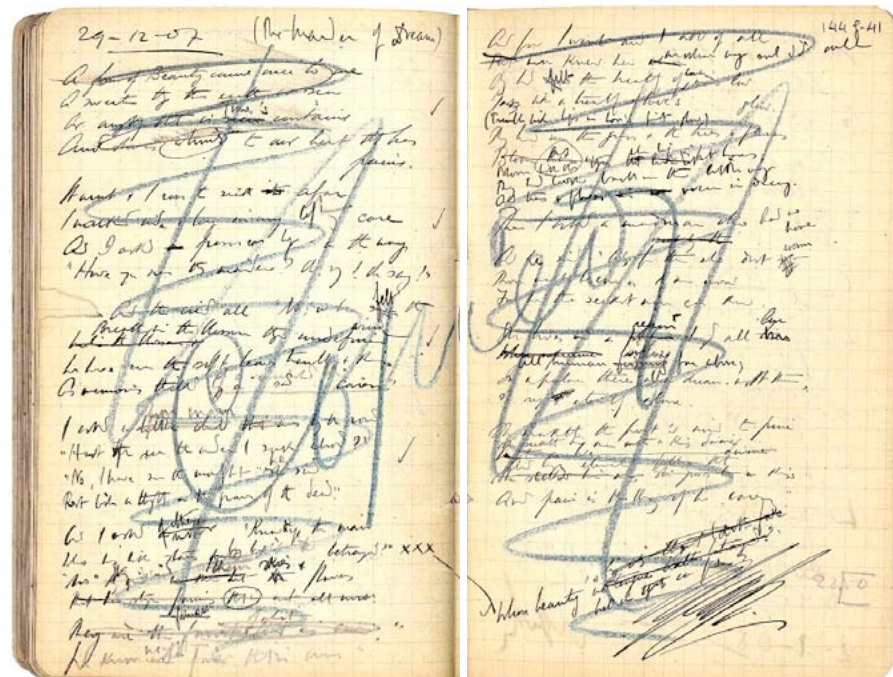
25 Weep for all things that are gone
And for those that are not past,
For the heart that sees them knows
That they also shall not last.

29 To all that passes pertaineth
30 A shred of our sympathy,
31 A tear for all things departed,
32 For departing things a sigh.

Notes

- 1 **A** things **B** things,
 2 **A** For [↑ 'Tis] the farewell **B** For the farewell
 6 **A** away **B** away;
 8 **A** That are less than dust or clay; **B** Now less than dust or clay.
 10 **A** [←Of our life, that is a <dream> *screen;] **B** Of our life, that is made of them;
 11 **A** [←Weep for dreams unaccomplished] **B** Weep for each hope unaccomplished,
 12 **A** [←For each dream [↑ known at] last a dream. **B** Each dream known at last a dream.] *in*
 A, this stanza is linked to other verses, barely legible, written on the same margin:
 □ <their death> *some heart
 <At *whose *being all is> † on them
 As if none wept, for *ignored
 *By <And *for *what □ *conceived.> [↓ *weep to the † *less seen]
 14 **A** with the past **B** within the past,
 15 **A** religions **B** religions,
 16 **A** For <*stat> idols dim down-cast **B** For idols dim down-cast.
 18 **A** /And a blessing their decay/ **B** And a blessing their decay,
 19 **A** been **B** been,
 20 **A** These are things that have gone away [↓ Have been and have gone away] **B** Have been
 and have gone away.
 21 **A** Weep, for the universe [↓ Weep for all joys departed] **B** Weep for all joys departed,
 22 **A** Is a *worth for *deep tears [↓ [Weep for] departed pains] **B** For many a departed pain
 23 **A** [Weep for] the things that are gone **B** The heart one day shall desire
 24 **A** [Weep for] all that remains **B** That they could come back again.
 25-28 *This quartet doesn't seem to exist in A, but Dionísio noted that it is possible that the stanza linked to*
 v. 12 was an incipient draft (see note to v. 12) (cf. PESSOA, 1997: 417).
 29 **A** <pertaineth> pertaineth **B** pertaineth
 30 **A** sympathy **B** sympathy,
 31 **A** <To> A tear for all things departed [↓ A tear for all † gone] **B** A tear for all things
 departed,
 32 **A** For departing things a sigh [↓ And for things that go a sigh] **B** For departing things a
 sigh.

3.10. [144J-40^v & 41^r, 78-102^r & 103^r]. Dated 29 December 1907. There are two versions of this poem, 144J-40^v & 41^r (A) and 78-102^r & 103^r (B). A comprises two pages of a grid notebook, written in black ink and pencil, displaying (on 40^v) the date "29-12-07" and the title "The Maiden of Dreams"; both pages were crossed out in blue pencil, which the poet also used to write the word "copied"; B, the later version, titled "The Maiden," consists of two pieces of grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" and the date "29 Dec. 1907" (on 103^r); on the upper left corner of 102^r, there are two inscriptions: "F[inal] I[image]," a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil) and an encircled "31" (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 139-140), whose also edited a loose fragment associated with "The Maiden" (see Annex 3.10A).



Figs. 36 to 39. BNP/E3, 144J-40^v & 41^r; 78-102^r & 103^r.

The Maiden

1 A form of Beauty came once to me,
A sweeter thing than earth or sea
3 Or anything that is Time's contains
4 Or shows to our heart that has pains.

5 It went and I rose to seek it afar,
6 I walked wide and long in my lofty care,
7 And I asked the passers-by on the way:
8 "Have ye seen this maiden? oh, say! oh, say!"

9 And they cried all: "No, we have felt the wind
10 Breathe in the blossom things undefined,
We have seen the soft leaves tremble and kiss
12 As memories thrilled of a vanished bliss."

13 I asked a wanderer by the road:
14 "Hast thou seen the maiden I seek abroad?"
15 — "No; I have seen the moonlight," he said,
"Rest like a thought on the graves of the dead."

17 And I asked of others: "Know ye the maid
18 Whose beauty but ignored can fade?"
19 "No", said they; "than skies and flowers
20 We know nought fairer that is ours."

21 And far I went and I asked of all:
22 None knew her on whom I did call;
23 They had felt the breathing of lone winds low
24 Tremble like lips in love's first glow.

25 They had seen the grass and the trees and flowers
26 Bloom as things whose life is but hours;
27 And they had looked back on their little way
28 And trees and flowers were in decay.

29 Then I asked a madman who had no home,
30 And he said: "Alas for thee who dost roam!
Thou must become as I am now
For her thou seekest none can know.

33 She lives in a region beyond all love
 34 All human sighing far above;
 35 In a palace there on a dream-wrought throne
 36 She reigns eternally alone.

37 She maketh the poet's mind to pine,
 38 She seeketh him once with a kiss divine,
 39 And longing eternal follows that kiss
 40 And pain is the blessing of her caress."

Notes

- 1 A to me B to me,
- 3 A that is <seen> [↑ Time's] contains B that is Time's contains
- 4 A And shows or hints to our heart B Or shows to our heart] in A, or hints is encircled.
- 5 A It went & I rose to seek <↑>/it\ afar B It went and I rose to seek it afar,
- 6 A in my [↑ lofty] care B in my lofty care,
- 7 A I asked <so> passers by on the way B And I asked the passers-by on the way:
- 8 A maiden? Oh, say! Oh, say!" B maiden<—>/?\ oh, say! oh, say!"
- 9 A cried all "No, we have <seen> [↑ felt] the wind B cried all: "No, we have felt the wind
- 10 A <↑ the blossom &> [↑ Breathe in the blossom] things undefined B Breathe in the blossom things undefined,
- 12 A thrilled <by a sad caress> [↑ of a vanished bliss.]" B thrilled of a vanished bliss."
- 13 A I asked a <little child> [↑ poor man] <that was> by the road B I asked a wanderer by the road:
- 14 A Ha<ve>/st\ <y>/thou\ B Hast thou
- 15 A —"No, I have seen the moonlight" <she> [↑ he] said B —"No; I have seen the moonlight," he said,
- 17 A And I asked another [↑ of others] "Know<st> ye the maid B And I asked of others: "Know ye the maid
- 18 A Who was like stars <*past> [↑ by light <*to>] betrayed?" [→Whose beauty <no tongue hath betrayed?"> [↑ by its thought doth fade] [↓ but in thought can fade]] B Whose beauty but ignored can fade?"
- 19 A "No" they cried [↑ they said] "<we know but> <the> [↑ than skies &] flowers B "No", said they; "than skies and flowers
- 20 A <That her strange fairness [↓ fairness] that is *not all ours"> [↓ <They are the fairest + [↑ of what] is ours>."] [↓ We know <not> [↑ nought] fairer that is ours"] B We know nought fairer that is ours."] in the first variant of A, that is is encircled.
- 21 A of all B of all:
- 22 A <But> none know her <whom> [↑ on whom] my soul did call B None knew her on whom I did call;
- 23 A They had <seen>/felt\ the breathing of [↑ lone] winds low B They had felt the breathing of lone winds low
- 24 A Pa<*ssing>/ss\ like a trembling of love's □ glow [↓ (Tremble like lips in love's first glow)] B Tremble like lips in love's first glow.

- 26 A <Bloom like [↑ as] a> [↓ Bloom like the things] <that *lived at> [↑ whose life is but hours;]
 B Bloom as things whose life is but hours;
 27 A They B And they
 28 A And trees & flowers <in †> were in decay. B And trees and flowers were in decay.
 29 A who <sat by the> had no home B who had no home,
 30 A dost <†> [↑ roam] B dost roam!
 33 A a <palace> [↑ region] beyond all <time> [↑ love] B a region beyond all love
 34 A <Whose supreme> [↓ All human <feigning> [↑ sighing] far above;] B All human sighing
 far above;
 35 A throne, B throne
 36 A She reigns [↑ <*all>] B c
 37 A pine B pine,
 38 A <With a love □ divine> [↑ She seeketh him once with a kiss divine] B She seeketh him
 once with a kiss divine,
 39 A And longing eternal follows that [↓ <She *seeks him on, she gives him a> kiss B And
 longing eternal follows that kiss

Annex 3.10A. [79-1^r] Loose piece of paper titled “D.”—perhaps indicative of the project “Delirium”; transcribed by Dionísio (PESSOA, 1997: 141).

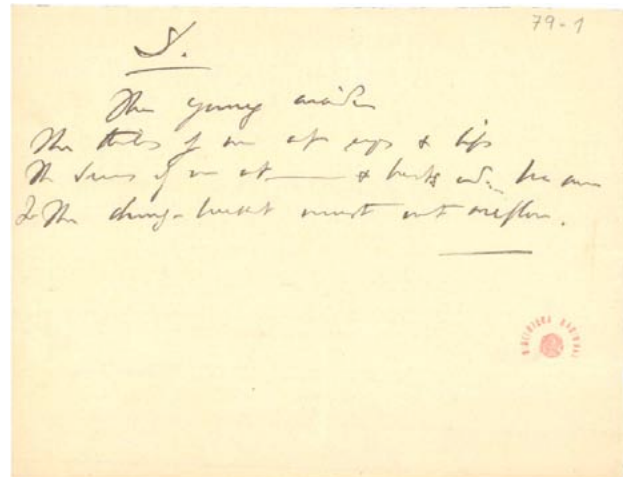
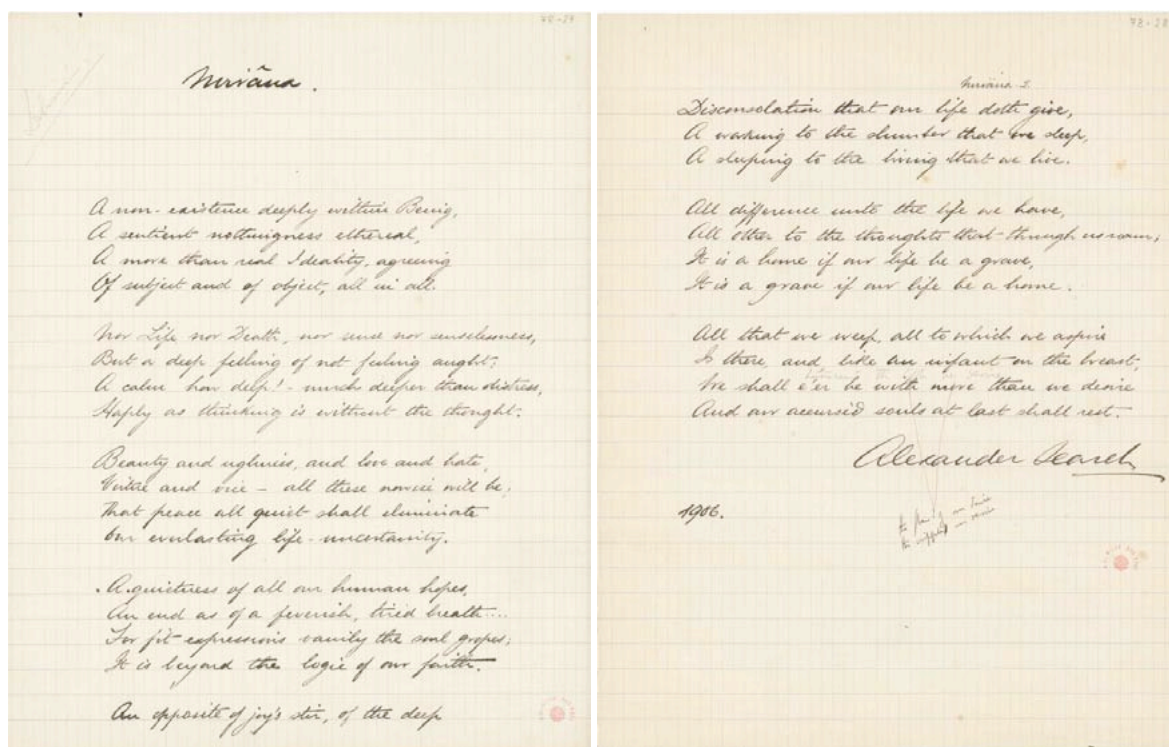


Fig. 40. BNP/E3, 79-1^r.

D.

The young maiden
 She thinks of me *after eyes & lips
 She dreams of me *after □ & *heart's end... her *arm
 [←*So] The *clung-bucket must not overflow.

3.11. [78-27^r & 28^r]. Dated "1906." Two pieces of grid paper written in black ink, with emendations in pencil and black ink on the second page, which also displays the signature "Alexander Search;" both pages present the title "Nirvâna," which is followed by the number "2" on 28^r. On the upper left corner of 27^r, one reads the note "Delirium" (in pencil), designating a collection of poems planned by Pessoa. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 131-132). While living in Durban, the young Pessoa studied the works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, with multiple references to Eastern thought, including the poem "Brahma"—in which Emerson develops a series of antinomies that may have inspired Pessoa's "Nirvâna" (EMERSON, 1902: 518).



Figs. 41 & 42. BNP/E3, 78-27^r & 28^r.

Nirvâna.

A non-existence deeply within Being,
A sentient nothingness ethereal,
A more than real Ideality, agreeing
Of subject and of object, all in all.

- ⁵ Nor Life, nor Death, nor sense nor senselessness,
But a deep feeling of not feeling aught;
A calm how deep!—much deeper than distress,
Haply as thinking is without the thought.

Beauty and ugliness, and love and hate,
 10 Virtue and vice—all these nowise will be;
 That peace all quiet shall eliminate
 Our everlasting life-uncertainty.

A quietness of all our human hopes,
 An end as of a feverish, tired breath...
 15 For fit expressions vainly the soul gropes;
 It is beyond the logic of our faith.

An opposite of joy's stir, of the deep
 Disconsolation that our life doth give,
 A waking to the slumber that we sleep,
 20 A sleeping to the living that we live.

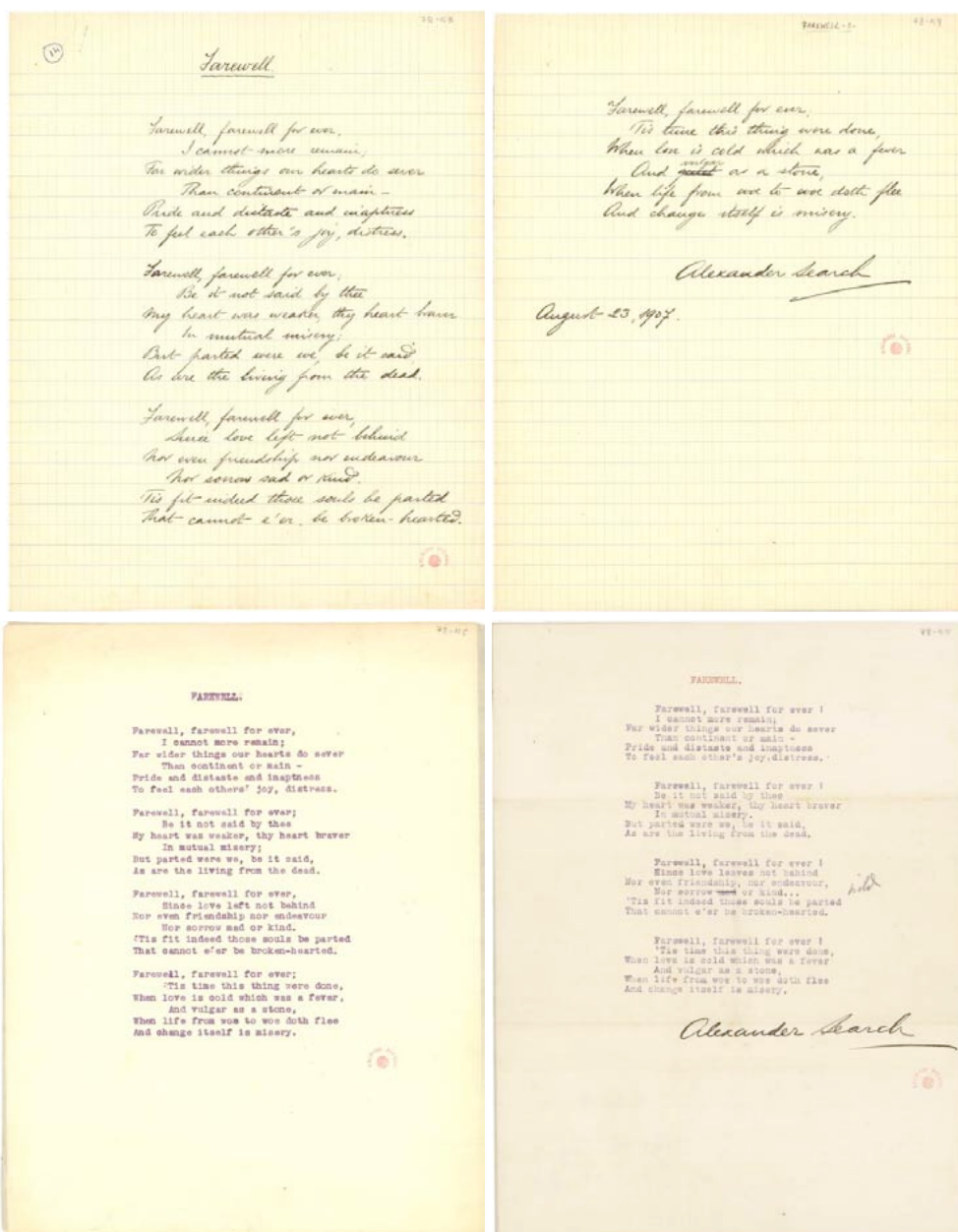
All difference unto the life we have,
 All other to the thoughts that through us roam;
 It is a home if our life be a grave,
 It is a grave if our life be a home.

25 All that we weep, all to which we aspire
 Is there, and, like an infant on the breast,
 27 We shall transcend the nipple we desire
 And our accursed souls at last shall rest.

Note

- 27 We shall e'er be with more than we desire [$\uparrow$ transcend the little we desire] [$\downarrow$ the flaw of our desire [$\downarrow$ the nipple<d> we desire]] *we diverge from previous editions of this verse: Freire edited the 1st variant "We shall e'er be with more than we desire" (PESSOA, 1995: 86); Dionísio, as well as the duo Pizarro and Ferrari (PESSOA, 1997: 132 and 2015: 28, respectively) decided for a combination of variants: the first four words of the first variant ("We shall e'er be"), together with the last variant, which he read as "the cripple we desire" (while we read it as "the nipple we desire"); we understand the third and last variants to be additions to the second—not to the first—variant, thus transforming the verse "We shall transcend the little we desire" and developing further the image of the "infant on the breast" from the previous verse; moreover, it should be noted that we were unable to find uses of the word "cripple" in Pessoa's poetry, but did find an instance of "nippled" in the poem "Antinous" (and, in this verse, we understand the poet to have written "nipple<d>", crossing out the termination in "d").*

3.12. [78-53^r & 54^r, 78-56^r, 78-55^r]. Dated 23 August 1907. There are three versions of this poem, 78-53^r & 54^r (A), 78-56^r (B) and 78-55^r (C). **A** comprises two pieces of grid paper, written in black ink, displaying (on 54^r) the date "August 23, 1907" and the signature "Alexander Search"; on the upper left corner of 53^r, there is an encircled "14" (in blue pen), seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. **B** and **C** are both typescripts on paper with the watermark "Jhannot et Cie / Linex Bank"; **C** presents a series of textual developments from **B**, plus the signature "Alexander Search" and an emendation in purple pencil, constituting the final known version of the poem. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 39-40). Pessoa also drafted a poem referred to as "Farewells, departures..." (in list 48C-17^r for example), which constitutes a different text, with a different date and, in its manuscript, with a different title, i.e. "Endings" (PESSOA, 1997: 287).



Figs. 43 to 46. BNP/E3, 78-53^r & 54^r, 78-56^r, 78-55^r.

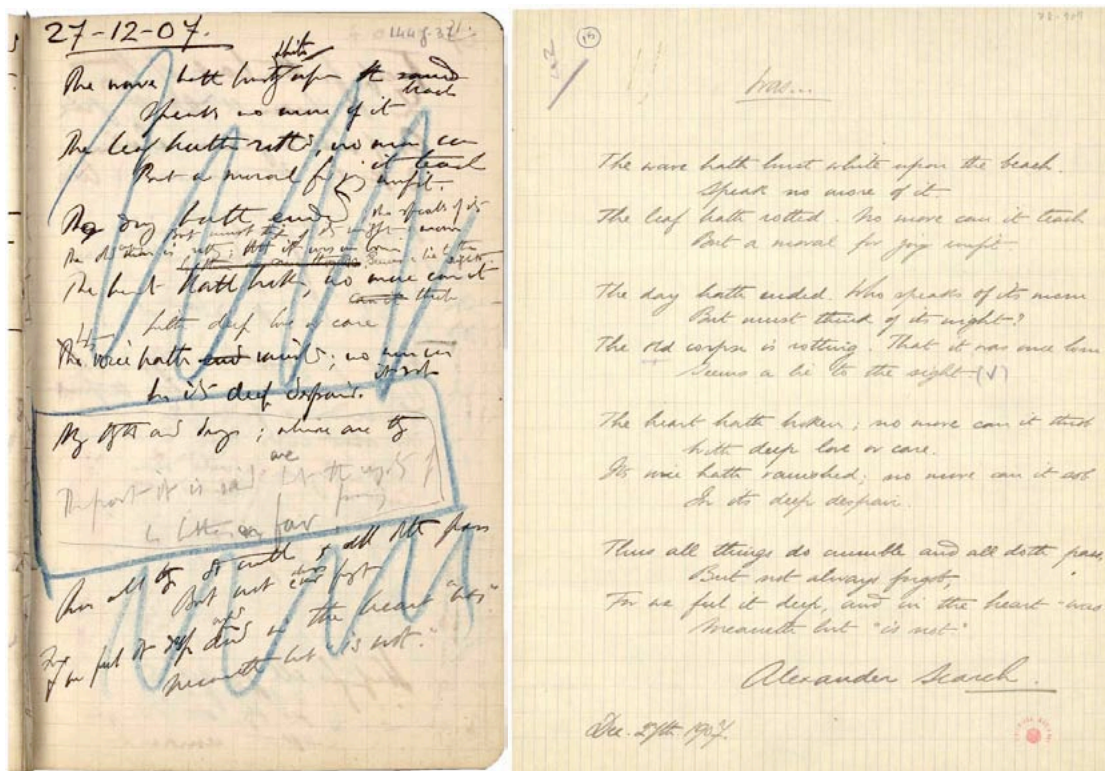
Farewell.

- 1 Farewell, farewell for ever!
 I cannot more remain;
 Far wider things our hearts do sever
 Than continent or main —
 5 Pride and distaste and inaptness
 6 To feel each other's joy, distress.
- 7 Farewell, farewell for ever!
 Be it not said by thee
 My heart was weaker, thy heart braver
 10 In mutual misery.
 But parted were we, be it said,
 As are the living from the dead.
- 13 Farewell, farewell for ever!
 14 Since love leaves not behind
 15 Nor even friendship, nor endeavour,
 16 Nor sorrow wild or kind...
 'Tis fit indeed those souls be parted
 That cannot e'er be broken-hearted.
- 19 Farewell, farewell for ever!
 20 'Tis time this thing were done,
 21 When love is cold which was a fever
 22 And vulgar as a stone,
 When life from woe to woe doth flee
 And change itself is misery.

Notes

- 1 **AB** for ever, **C** for ever!
 6 **A** other's **B** others' **C** other's
 7 **AB** for ever; **C** for ever!
 10 **AB** misery; **C** misery.
 13 **AB** for ever, **C** for ever!
 14 **AB** left **C** leaves
 15 **AB** friendship nor endeavor **C** friendship, nor endeavor,
 16 **A** sorrow sad or kind. **B** sorrow mad or kind. **C** sorrow <mad> [→wild] or kind...
 19 **AB** for ever; **C** for ever!
 21 **A** a fever **B** a fever, **C** a fever
 22 **A** <quiet> [↑ vulgar] **B** vulgar **C** vulgar

3.13. [144J-37^r, 78-101^r]. Dated 27 December 1907. There are two versions of this poem, 144J-37^r (A) and 78-101^r (B). **A** comprises a page from a grid notebook, written in black ink and pencil, displaying the date "27-12-07" and being almost entirely crossed out in blue pencil (except by one stanza, around which the poet drew a square also using the blue pencil; see annex 3.13A); **B**, the later version (titled "Was...") consists of a piece of grid paper written in black ink, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" and the date "Dec. 27th. 1907"; on the upper left corner of **B**, there are two inscriptions: "F," indicative of a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil) and an encircled "15" (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 311).



Figs. 47 & 48. BNP/E3, 144J-37^r, 78-101^r.

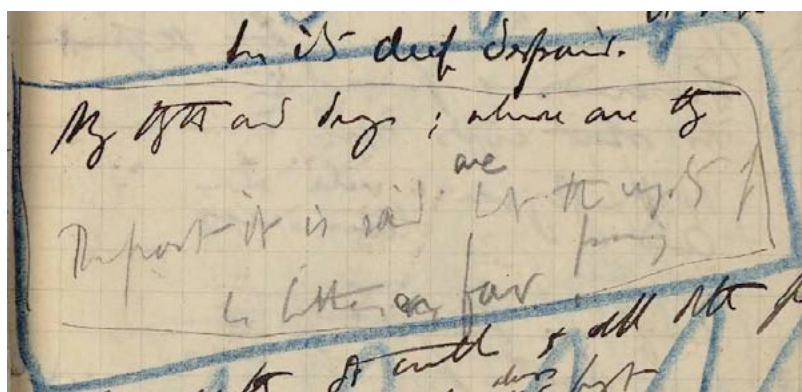


Fig. 49. BNP/E3, 144J-37^r. Detail.

Was...

- 1 The wave hath burst white upon the beach.
 Speak no more of it.
 3 The leaf hath rotted. No more can it teach
 But a moral for joy unfit.
- 5 The day hath ended. Who speaks of its morn
 But must think of its night?
 7 The /old/ corpse is rotting. That it was once born
 8 Seems a lie to the sight.
- 9 The heart hath broken; no more can it throb
 10 With deep love or care.
 11 Its voice hath vanished; no more can it sob
 In its deep despair.
- 13 Thus all things do crumble and all doth pass,
 14 But not always forgot;
 15 For we feel it deep, and in the heart "was"
 Meaneth but "is not."

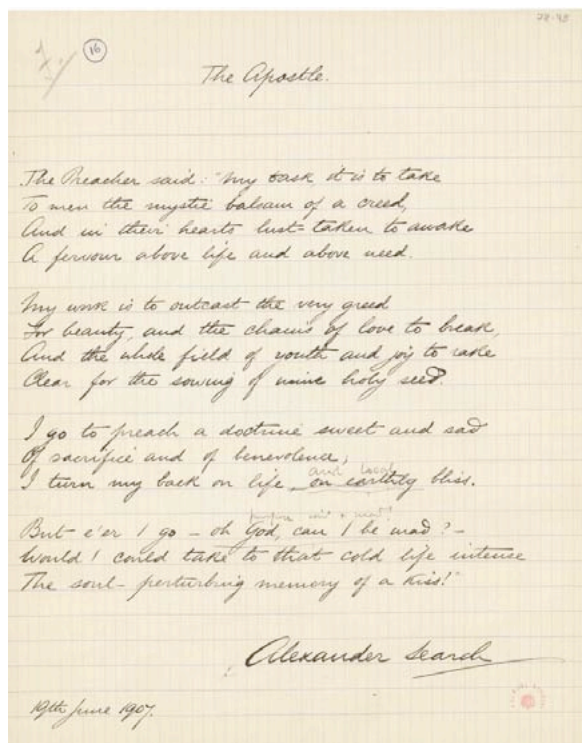
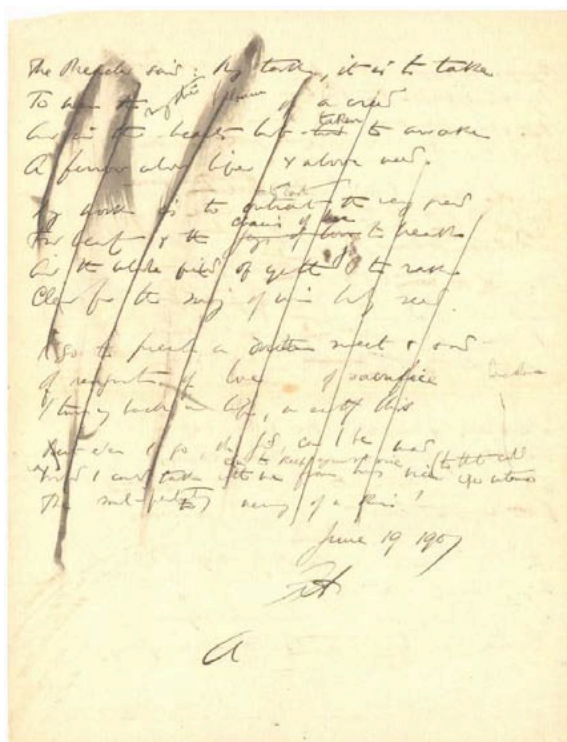
Notes

- 1 A burst [↑ white] upon the <sand> beach B burst white upon the beach.
 3 A hath rotted, no more B hath rotted. No more
 5 A <+>/The\ day hath ended; who speaks of its morn B The day hath ended. Who speaks of its morn
 7 A The old <man> [↑ corpse] is rotting; that it was B The /old/ corpse is rotting. That it was
 8 A <Is then or now thought?> [→Seems a lie to the sight] B Seems a lie to the sight.] *there is a check mark to the right of this verse, perhaps cancelling the hesitation in "/old/" in the previous line.*
 9 A broken, no more can it [↓ <can it>] throb B broken; no more can it throb
 10 A care B care.
 11 A <The> [↑ Its] voice hath <end> vanished B Its voice hath vanished;
 13 A pass B pass,
 14 A ever [↑ always] forgot B always forgot;
 15 A & [↑ For] we feel it deep and [↑ for] [↑ and] B For we feel it deep, and

Annex 3.13A. [79-101^r, detail] *Verses hardly legible but not crossed out in the paper featuring the first draft of "Was" (cf. PESSOA, 1997: 532). See Figure 49.*

My thoughts and days; [↓ are] *above *are *they
 The past it is said *but the mystery of passing
 Is bitter<as>/er\ *fair.

3.14. [79¹-5^v, 78-43^r]. Dated 19 June 1907. There are two documents with versions of this sonnet, 79¹-5^v (A) and 78-43^r (B), with the same date. **A**, a loose piece of paper, written in black ink and completely crossed out, bearing the signature "AS" (Alexander Search) and the single letter "A" (which could stand for the project of poems titled "Agony") on the lower part of the paper. **B**, the later version, written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in a finer black ink and the signature "Alexander Search"; on the upper left corner, **B** also displays two notes: "F" (in purple pencil), indicative of a planned compilation of poems, and the number "16" inside a circle (in blue pen)—the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Petrarchan sonnet with a rhyme scheme abab, baba, cde, cde). Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 243).



Figs. 50 & 51. BNP/E3, 79¹-5^v, 78-43^r.

The Apostle.

- 1 The Preacher said: "My task, it is to take
 2 To men the mystic balsam of a creed,
 3 And in their hearts lust-taken to awake
 A fervour above life and above need.

 5 My work is to outcast the very greed
 6 For beauty, and the chains of love to break,
 7 And the whole field of youth and joy to rake
 Clear for the sowing of mine holy seed.

 I go to preach a doctrine sweet and sad
 10 Of sacrifice and of benevolence;
 11 I turn my back on life and local bliss.

 12 But e'er I go—oh purpose void & mad!—
 13 Would I could take to that cold life intense
 14 The soul-perturbing memory of a kiss!"

Notes

- title* **A** □ **B** The Apostle
 1 **A** My task **B** "My task
 2 **A** creed **B** creed,
 3 **A** the [**B** their] hearts lust-/*trod/[↑ taken] to awake
 5 **A** is to /*outcast/ [↑ out cast] [**B** outcast] the very greed
 6 **A** beauty & [**B** beauty, and] the <joys of love> [↑ chains of love] to break. [**B** break,]
 7 **A** youth [↑ & joy] to rake. **B** youth and joy to rake
 10 **A** Of resignation, of love [] of sacrifice **B** Of sacrifice and of benevolence;
 11 **A** on life, on earthly bliss **B** on life<, /on earthly/> [↑ and local] bliss.
 12 **A** go, oh God, can I be mad **B** go—/oh God, can I be mad/? [↑ purpose void & mad!]
 13 **A** Would I could take with me from *his vice [↑ e'en to keep against vice] [→ to that cold
 life intense] [↑ benevolence] **B** Would I could take to that cold life intense
 14 **A** The soul-penetra[↓tra]ting memory of a kiss? **B** The soul-perturbing memory of a kiss!"

3.15. [78B-5^r]. Datable to before 1908 (probably c. 1905). Written on grid paper in black ink, bearing the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner, the document displays two notes: "F[inal] I[image]," a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil), and the number "13" inside a circle (in blue pen)—the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Shakespearean sonnet with a rhyme scheme abab, cdcd, efef, gg. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 290).

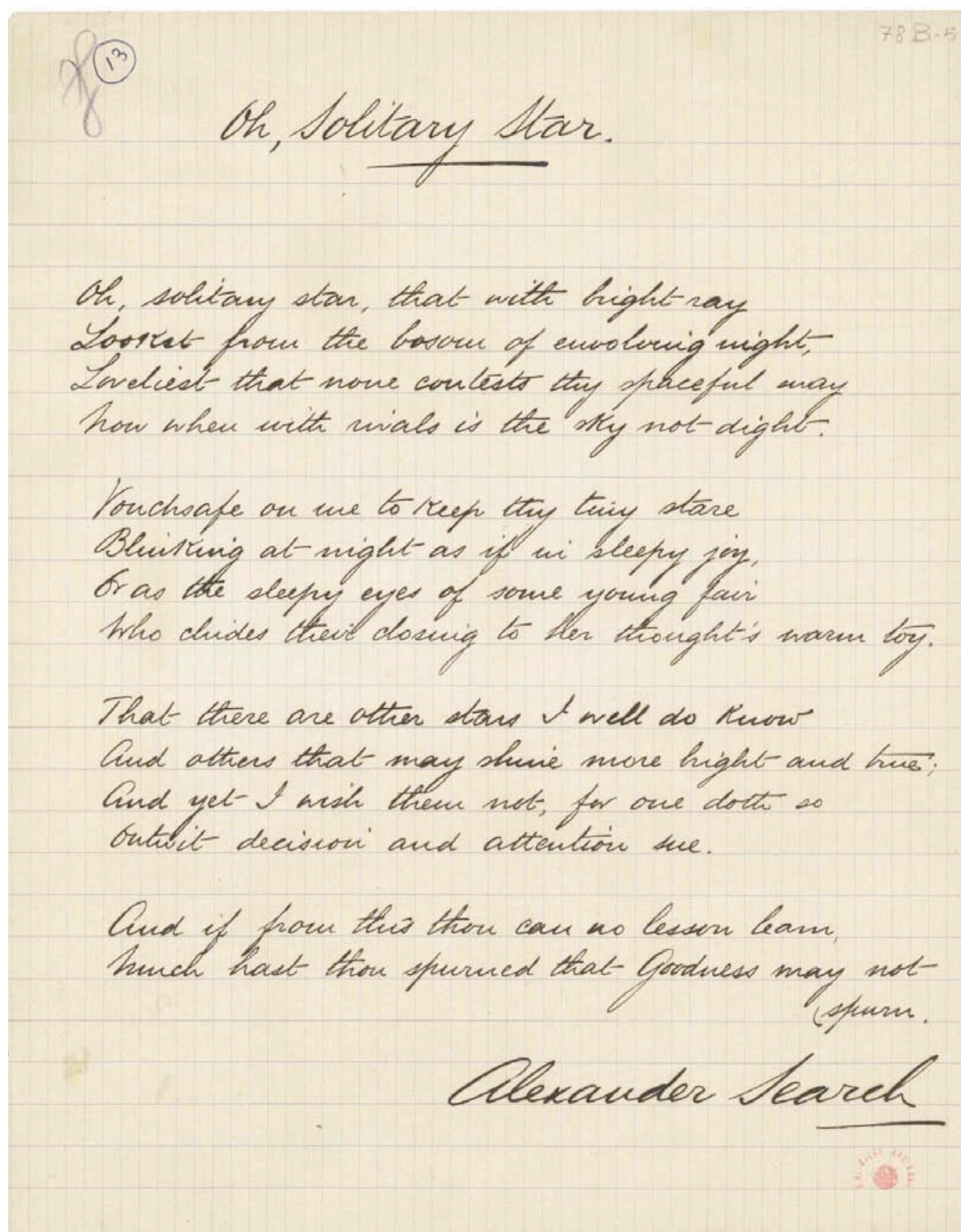


Fig. 52. BNP/E3, 78B-5^r.

Oh, Solitary Star.

Oh, solitary star, that with bright ray
Lookst from the bosom of envolving night,
Loveliest that none contests thy spaceful sway
Now when with rivals is the sky not dight.

5 Vouchsafe on me to keep thy tiny stare
 Blinking at night as if in sleepy joy,
 Or as the sleepy eyes of some young fair
 Who chides their dosing to her thought's warm toy.

10 That there are other stars I well do know
 And others that may shine more bright and true;
 And yet I wish them not, for one doth so
 Outwit decision and attention sue.

 And if from this thou can no lesson learn,
 Much hast thou spurned that Goodness may not spurn.

3.16. [77-66^r]. Dated "October, 1904." Written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in purple pencil, and bearing the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner, the document displays two notes: "F[inal] I[image]," a collection of poems planned by Pessoa (in purple pencil), and the number "17" inside a circle (in blue pen)—the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Petrarchan sonnet with a rhyme scheme abba, abba, cde, cde. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 289-290).

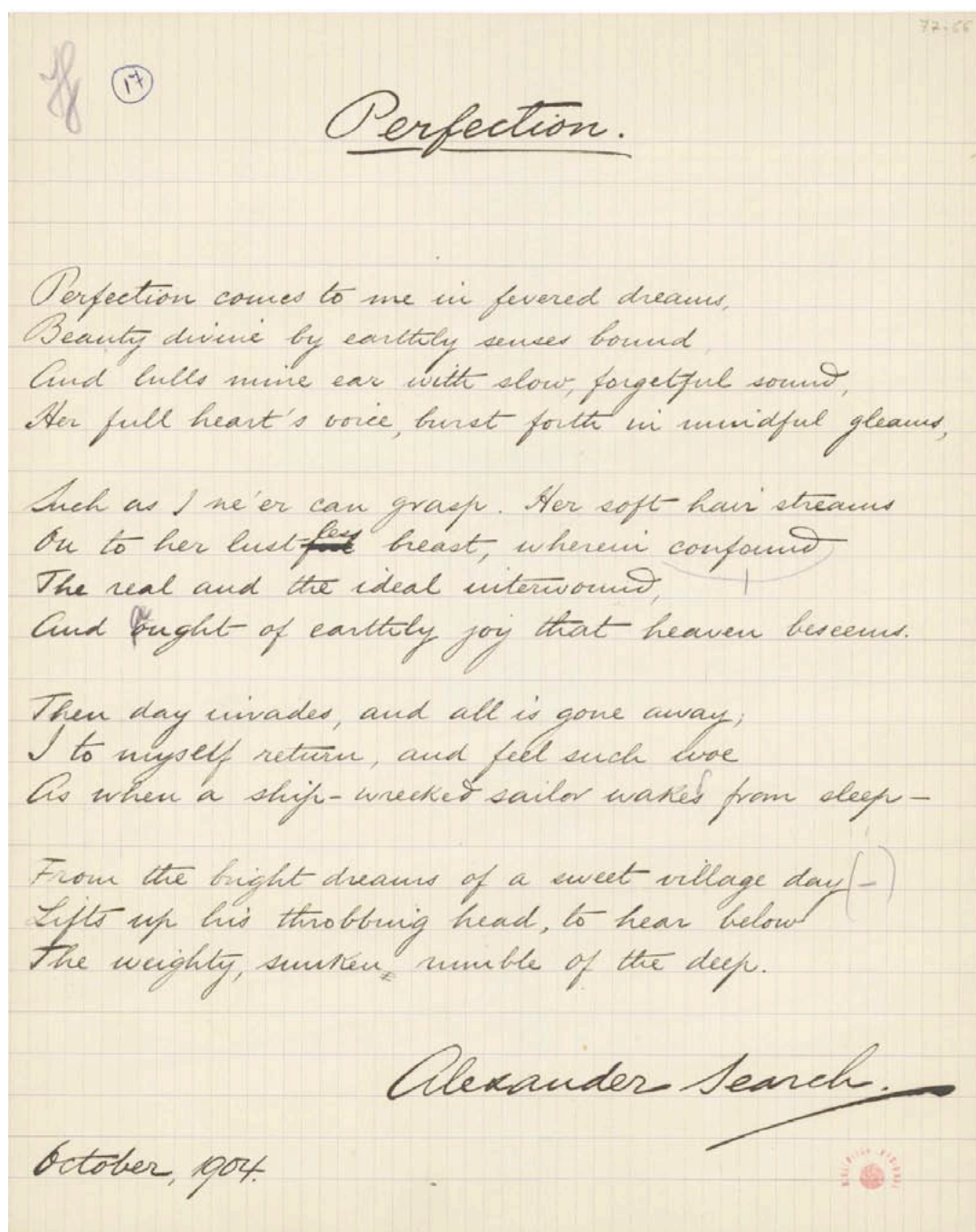


Fig. 53. BNP/E3, 77-66^r.

Perfection.

Perfection comes to me in fevered dreams,
 Beauty divine by earthly senses bound,
 And lulls mine ear with slow, forgetful sound,
 Her full heart's voice, burst forth in mindful gleams,
 5 Such as I ne'er can grasp. Her soft hair streams
 6 On to her lustless breast, wherein /confound/
 The real and the ideal interwound,
 8 And aught of earthly joy that heaven beseems.

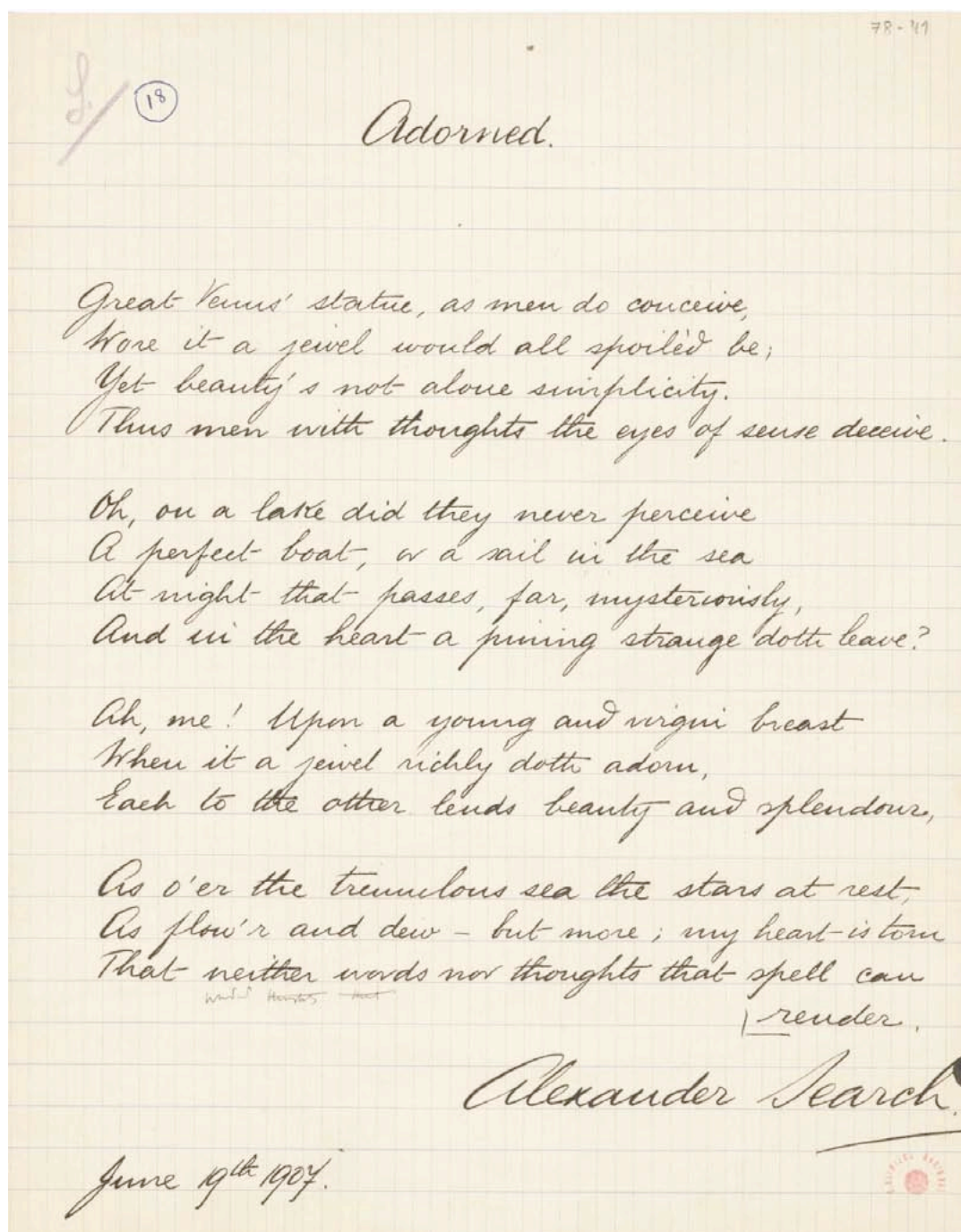
 Then day invades, and all is gone away;
 10 I to myself return, and feel such woe
 11 As when a ship-wrecked sailor waked from sleep —

 12 From the bright dreams of a sweet village day —
 Lifts up his throbbing head, to hear below
 The weighty, sunken rumble of the deep.

Notes

- 6 lust<ful>[↑less] breast,
 8 And <o>/a\ught
 11 wakes[↑d]
 12 village day (—)] the parentheses probably indicate hesitation.
 14 sunken<,> rumble

3.17. [78-41^r]. Dated "June 19th 1907." Written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in a finer black ink, and bearing the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner, the document displays two notes: "*S" (in purple pencil), probably indicative of a planned compilation of poems, and the number "18" inside a circle (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Petrarchan sonnet with a rhyme scheme abba, abba, cde, cde. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 243-244).

Fig. 54. BNP/E3, 78-41^r.

Adorned.

Great Venus' statue, as men do conceive,
Wore it a jewel would all spoiled be;
Yet beauty's not alone simplicity.
Thus men with thoughts the eyes of sense deceive.

5 Oh, on a lake did they never perceive
A perfect boat, or a sail in the sea
At night that passes, far, mysteriously,
And in the heart a pining strange doth leave?

Ah, me! Upon a young and virgin breast
10 When it a jewel richly doth adorn,
Each to the other lends beauty and splendour,

As o'er the tremulous sea the stars at rest,
As flow'r and dew—but more; my heart is torn
14 That neither words nor thoughts that spell can render.

Notes

- 14 That neither words [↓ worded thoughts that] nor thoughts] *regarding the variant in pencil, Dionísio considered that to be crossed out; nevertheless, the horizontal lines across thought and that may also be the bar of the letter "t"; given the uncertainty, we edit the first version of line 14.*

3.18. [78-35^r]. Dated "March 1907." Grid paper written in black ink, with emendations in pencil, and the signature "Alexander Search." On the upper left corner one reads: "*F" (in purple pencil) and "19" inside a circle (in blue pen); the latter is not in Pessoa's hand. Petrarchan sonnet with rhyme scheme abab, baba, cdc, dcd. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 292-293). It should be noted that, since the list Poems of Frederick Wyatt only refers "Sonnet" by this generic title, it is uncertain whether "Lady, believe me ever at your feet" was the poem Pessoa intended for this collection. In Pessoa's archive, there figure three loose poems titled "Sonnet": 1) "My days are sunless, as if winter were" (dated 5 August 1909), listed as "Sonnet (My days are sunless)" on 144V-50^r, and left untitled on its manuscript (49A²-34); 2) "Could I say what I think, could I express" (dated May 1904), titled "Sonnet" on its manuscript (77-71^r), and listed by its incipit on 48C-8^r, 48C-20^o, and 48B-100^r. 3) "Lady, believe me ever at your feet," consistently titled "Sonnet" both on its manuscript (78-35^r) and on list 48C-8^r. There are two other arguments to consider. Firstly, list 144V-50^r (datable to circa 9 May 1910) displays "My days are sunless" as still attributed to Search; on the same document, "Farewell" is the only listed poem to be later re-attributed to Wyatt. Secondly, list 48C-20/21 (from 28 March 1909 or later) notes "Could I say" as excluded from "Before Sense" (a Searchian project), but not reattributed to any other compilation (and none of the other poems excluded from "Before Sense" ended up in Wyatt's corpus); moreover, in the same document, eleven out of the twelve poems in the project "Waves" (also attributed to Search) are reassigned to Wyatt; only one the 12 poems in "Waves" is a sonnet—"Blind Eagle"—the only text that will not be attributed to Wyatt. Given these elements, we strongly believe that the most probable "Sonnet" in Wyatt's corpus is "Lady, believe me."

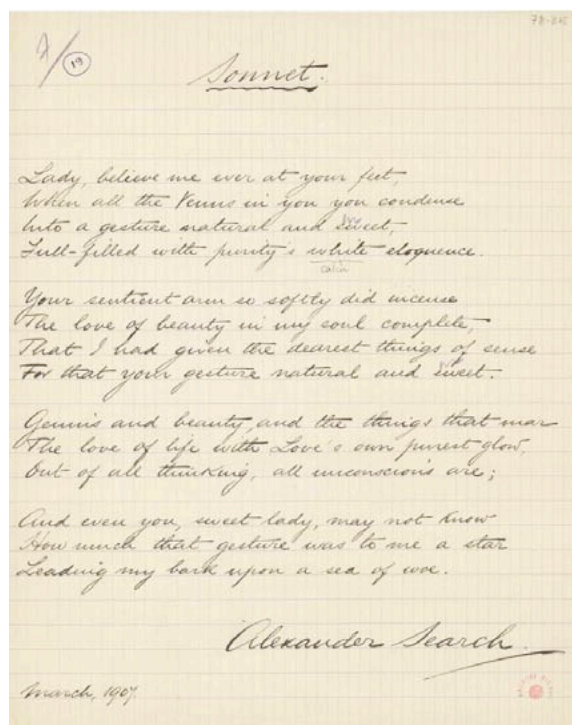


Fig. 55. BNP/E3, 78-35^r.

Sonnet.

Lady, believe me ever at your feet,
 When all the Venus in you you condense
 3 Into a gesture natural and meet,
 4 Full-filled with purity's calm eloquence.

 5 Your sentient arm so softly did incense
 The love of beauty in my soul complete,
 That I had given the dearest things of sense
 8 For that your gesture natural and meet.

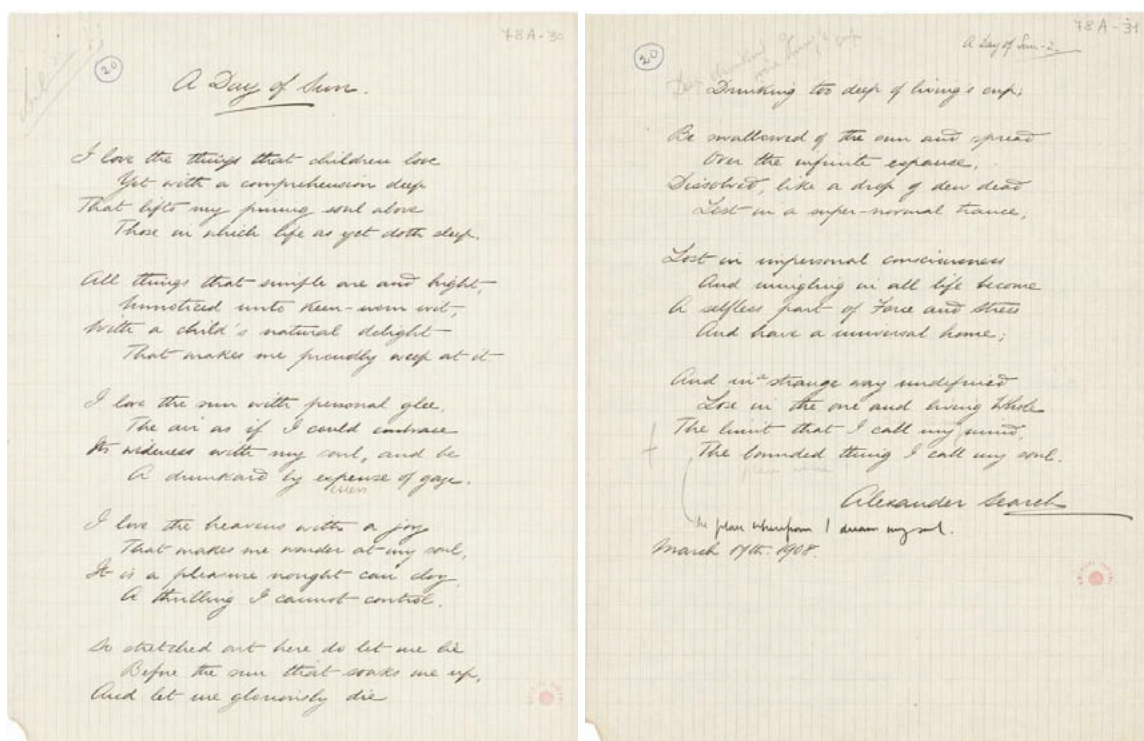
 Genius and beauty, and the things that mar
 10 The love of life with Love's own purest glow,
 Out of all thinking, all unconscious are;

 And even you, sweet lady, may not know
 How much that gesture was to me a star
 Leading my bark upon a sea of woe.

Notes

- 3 natural and sw[↑m]eet,
 4 /white/ [↓ calm] eloquence.
 8 natural and sw[↑m]eet.

3.19. [78A-30^r & 31^r]. Dated "March 17th. 1908." Written on two pieces of grid paper in black ink, with emendations in pencil, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" on 31^r. Both pages present the title "A Day of Sun," which is followed by "2" on the second page. On the upper left corner of 30^r, the document displays two notes: "Delirium" (in purple pencil), indicative of a planned compilation of poems, and the number "20" inside a circle (in blue pen), the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand and also inscribed on 31^r. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 208-209).



Figs. 56 & 57. BNP/E3, 78A-30^r & 31^r.

A Day of Sun.

I love the things that children love
Yet with a comprehension deep
That lifts my pining soul above
Those in which life as yet doth sleep.

5 All things that simple are and bright,
Unnoticed unto keen-worn wit,
With a child's natural delight
That makes me proudly weep at it.

I love the sun with personal glee,
 10 The air as if I could embrace
 11 Its wideness with my soul and be
 12 A drunkard by excess of gaze.

I love the heavens with a joy
 That makes me wonder at my soul,
 15 It is a pleasure nought can cloy,
 A thrilling I cannot control.

So stretched out here do let me lie
 Before the sun that soaks me up,
 And let me gloriously die
 20 Deep drinking of mere living's cup;

Be swallowed of the sun and spread
 Over the infinite expanse,
 Dissolved, like a drop of dew dead
 Lost in a super-normal trance;

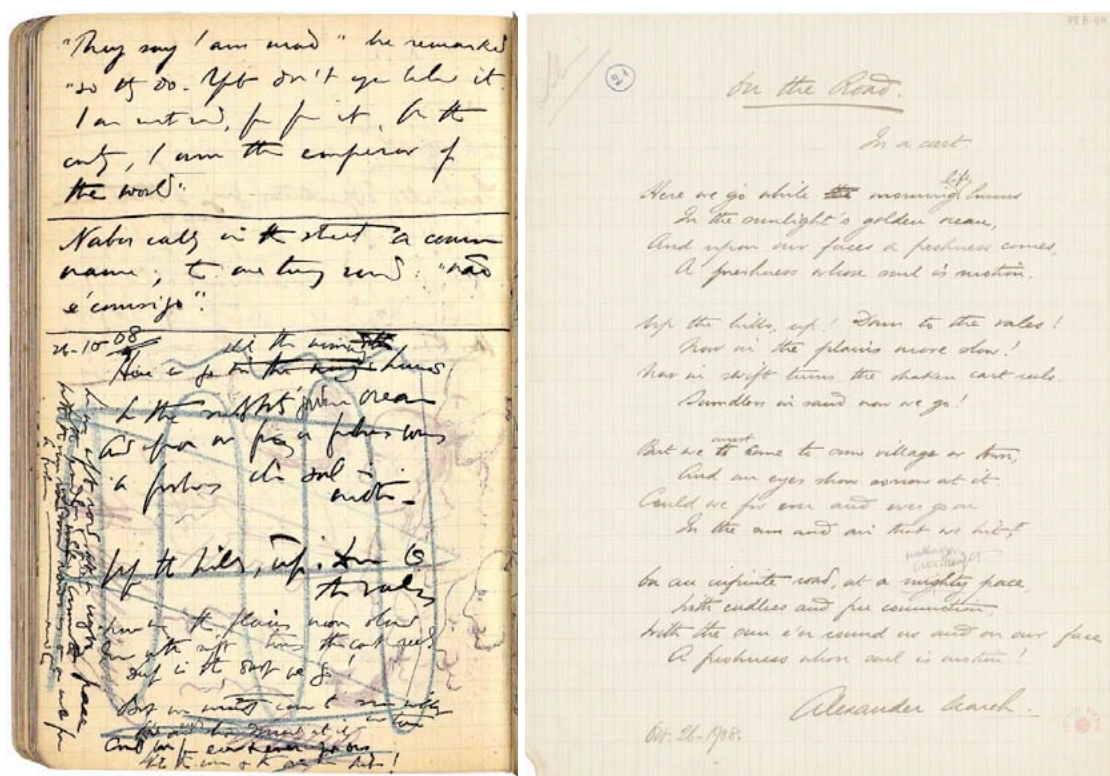
25 Lost in impersonal consciousness
 And mingling in all life become
 A selfless part of Force and Stress
 And have a universal home;

29 And in a strange way undefined
 30 Lose in the one and living Whole
 31 /The limit that I am to my mind,/
 32 /The place wherefrom I dream my soul./

Notes

- 11 soul<> and be
 12 expense [↓ excess]
 20 Drinking too deep of living's cup; [↑ Deep drinking of mere living's cup]
 29 In [↑ a] strange
 31 /The limit that I call to my [↑ am to my] mind,/
 32 /The bounded [↓ place whose] thing I call my soul. [↓ The place wherefrom I dream my soul]/

3.20. [144J-36^v, 78A-44^r]. Dated 26 October 1908. There are two documents with versions of this sonnet, 144J-36^v (A) and 78A-44^r (B), presenting the same date, though in different formats ("26-10-08" and "'Oct. 26-1908," respectively). **A** is a page from a grid notebook, written in two types of black ink and having the verses completely crossed out in blue pencil; the same document also displays, on its top half, two passages in prose, one beginning with "They say I am mad," and the other recounting an anecdote involving the Pessoa character [Gaudêncio] Nabos; on the lower right margin, we see drawings made in pencil. **B** is the later version, written on grid paper in black ink, with emendations in purple pencil and the signature "Alexander Search"; on the upper left corner, **B** also displays the preliminary line "In a cart" (between title and incipit) and two notes: "Delirium" (in purple pencil), indicative of a planned compilation of poems, and the number "21" inside a circle (in blue pen)—the latter seemingly not in Pessoa's hand. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 209-210).



Figs. 58 & 59. BNP/E3, 144J-36^v, 78A-44^r.

On the Road.

In a cart.

1 Here we go while morning life burns
 2 In the sunlight's golden ocean,
 And upon our faces a freshness comes,
 A freshness whose soul is motion.

 5 Up the hills, up! Down to the vales!
 6 Now in the plains more slow!
 7 Now in swift turns the shaken cart reels.
 8 Soundless in sand now we go!

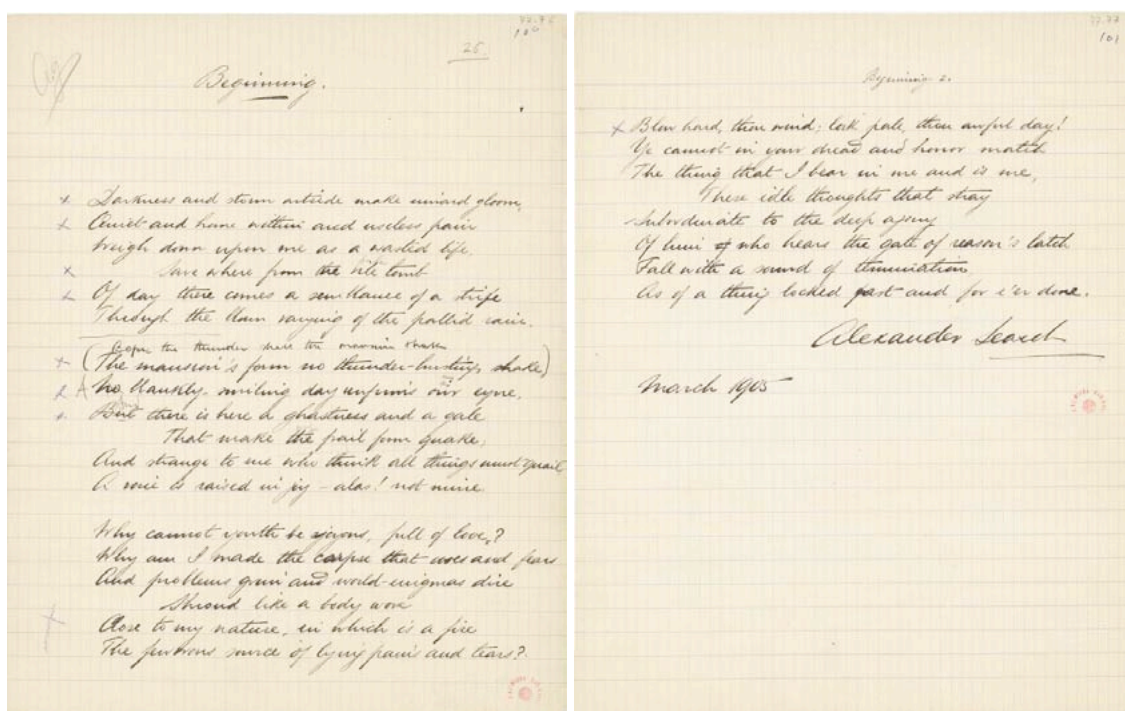
 9 But we must come to some village or town,
 10 And our eyes show sorrow at it.
 Could we for ever and ever go on
 12 In the sun and air that we hit;

 13 On an infinite road, at an unknown pace,
 14 With endless and free commotion,
 15 With the sun e'er round us and on our face
 16 A freshness whose soul is motion!

Notes

- 1 A <in this morning's> [↑ while the morning] [↑ doth] burns B while <the> morning [↑ life] burns
 2 A ocean B ocean,
 6 A slow B slow!
 7 A with swift turns the cart reels B in swift turns the shaken cart reels.
 8 A Deep in the *dust we go! B Soundless in sand now we go!
 9 A we must come to some village or town B we <to> [↑ must] <s>/c\ome to some village or town,
 10 A <*As>/And\ our [↑ eyes] show sorrow at it B And our eyes show sorrow at it.
 12 A With the *sun & the air we hit B In the sun and air that we hit<!/;>\
 13 A In an infinite road, at a mighty pace B On an infinite road, at a mighty [↑ unthought] [↑ unknown] pace,] in A, from this verse on, all lines are written on the left margin, perpendicularly.
 14 A commotion B commotion,
 15 A sun <round> [↑ <us>] <round> [↑ <me>] [↑ e'er] round us & B sun e'er round us and
 16 A A freshness □ motion B A freshness whose soul is motion!

3.21. [77-76^r & 77^r]. Dated "March 1905." Written on two pieces of grid paper in black ink, with emendations in another black ink and in pencil, bearing the signature "Alexander Search" on 77^r. Both pages present the title "Beginning," which is followed by "2" on the second page. On the upper left corner of 76^r, the document displays the inscription "Ag[ony]" (in purple pencil), indicative of a planned compilation of poems. Our transcription is based on Dionísio's (PESSOA, 1997: 107-108). Note that the purple pencil was also used to draw crosses (generally indicative of hesitation by Pessoa) on the left margin of the following verses: 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 17-18 and 19; we generally convey hesitation in the manuscript by placing a word within bars (/example/); given the amount of crosses in this document, though, we solely indicate the poet's hesitation regarding individual words, for the sake of legibility.



Figs. 60 & 61. BNP/E3, 77-76^r & 77^r.

Beginning

Darkness and storm outside make inward gloom,
 Quiet and home within and useless pain
 Weigh down upon me as a wasted life,
 4 Save where from the pale tomb
 5 Of day there comes a semblance of a strife
 Through the blown varying of the pallid rain.
 7 Before the thunder shall the mansion shake
 8 A blankly-smiling day unfirms my eyne,
 9 And there is here a ghastness and a gale
 10 That make /my frail form/ quake;
 And strange to me who think all things must quail,
 A voice is raised in joy — alas! not mine.

 13 Why cannot youth be joyous, full of love?
 Why am I made the corpse that woes and fears
 15 And problems grim and world-enigmas dire
 Shroud like a body wove
 Close to my nature, in which is a fire
 The fervorous source of lying pains and tears?

 Blow hard, thou wind; look pale, thou awful day!
 20 Ye cannot in your dread and horror match
 The thing that I bear in me and is me,
 These idle thoughts that stray
 Subordinate to the deep agony
 24 Of him who hears the gate of reason's latch
 25 Fall with a sound of termination,
 As of a thing locked past and for e'er done.

Notes

- 4 the vile [↑ pale] tomb
 7 (The mansion's form no thunder-bustings shake,) [↑ Before the thunder shall the mansion shake]
 8 <No> [←A] blankly-smiling day unfirms our [↑ the] [↑ my] eyne
 9 <But> [↑ And] there is here
 10 /the [↑ my] frail form/
 13 full of love<,>?
 24 Of him <of> who hears

Topographical Index

Documents from Fernando Pessoa's Archive

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1.1. [14E-96] | 3.8. [144J-34 ^r , 78-96 ^r] |
| 1.2. [14E-93] | 3.9. [144J-37 ^v & 38 ^r , 78-97 ^r & 98 ^r] |
| 1.3. [14E-94 ^r] | 3.10. [144J-40 ^v & 41 ^r , 78-102 ^r & 103 ^r] |
| 1.4. [14E-95] | 3.10A. [79-1 ^r] |
| 1.5. [133G-10] | 3.11. [78-27 ^r & 28 ^r] |
| 2.1. [144D ² -7 ^r] | 3.12. [78-53 ^r & 54 ^r , 78-56 ^r , 78-55 ^r] |
| 2.2. [144P-2 ^r & 3 ^r] | 3.13. [144J-37 ^r , 78-101 ^r] |
| 3.1a. [144J-43 ^r , 78A-1 ^r] | 3.14. [79 ¹ -5 ^v , 78-43 ^r] |
| 3.1b [48D-42] | 3.15. [78B-5 ^r] |
| 3.2. [78A-14 ^r to 16 ^r] | 3.16. [77-66 ^r] |
| 3.3. [78B-2 ^r & 3 ^r] | 3.17. [78-41 ^r] |
| 3.4. [78-33 ^r] | 3.18. [78-35 ^r] |
| 3.5. [78B-1 ^r] | 3.19. [78A-30 ^r & 31 ^r] |
| 3.6. [49B ³ -21 ^r , 78-104 ^r] | 3.20. [144J-36 ^v , 78A-44 ^r] |
| 3.7. [144T-32 ^r & 31 ^v , 78-57 ^r] | 3.21. [77-76 ^r & 77 ^r] |

“The Mad Fiddler”: Unpublished Documents

Kenneth David Jackson*

Keywords

Alterations, Critical Edition, Manuela Nogueira’s Private Collection, “The Mad Fiddler”, Typescript.

Abstract

A newly-found typescript of 47 pages of “The Mad Fiddler” belonging to Pessoa’s niece, Manuela Nogueira, is described and compared to two other typescripts in the Pessoa Archive held at the National Library of Portugal. The place of this typescript in the history of the composition of the poems of “The Mad Fiddler” is relevant, since it contains a few variants and likely precedes the version considered to be definitive in the critical edition (Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisbon, 1999).

Palavras-chave

Coleção particular de Manuela Nogueira, Dactiloscrito, Edição Crítica, “The Mad Fiddler”, Variantes.

Resumo

Um dactiloscrito de “The Mad Fiddler” recém-encontrado, com 47 pp., pertencente a Manuela Nogueira, sobrinha de Pessoa, é descrito e comparado aos outros dois dactiloscritos existentes no espólio pessoano na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Resgata-se a importância desse terceiro dactiloscrito na gênese de “The Mad Fiddler”, pois ele contém variantes e provavelmente precede a versão considerada como definitiva na edição crítica (Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisbon, 1999).

* Yale University, Department of Spanish & Portuguese.

A previously unexamined partial typescript of "The Mad Fiddler" in the private collection of Fernando Pessoa's niece, Manuela Nogueira, has become available for examination and comparison with other variants of this compilation of poems.¹ The list of contents evidences an advanced stage of preparation of "The Mad Fiddler" with 52 titled poems (see Annex). Four poems are multi-sectional, three of which have two sections ("Fever-Garden," "Horizon," and "The Sunflower") and one with three sections ("Summer Moments"). Typed on light brown paper, the document consists of 47 pages numbered 2 to 50,² up to and including the poem "Horizon," which is written by hand over a previously typed title, "The Peacock's Tail" in the section "Fever-Garden," the fifth of eight titled sections. The typed copies of the poems are clean and numbered in pencil in the upper right (2 to 50), with some corrections of mistakes in the typing and a few variants. In the poem "Lullaby," for example, the final "s" is crossed off in the typographical error "thous" and likewise an "e" is added in ink above the misspelled word "grive."

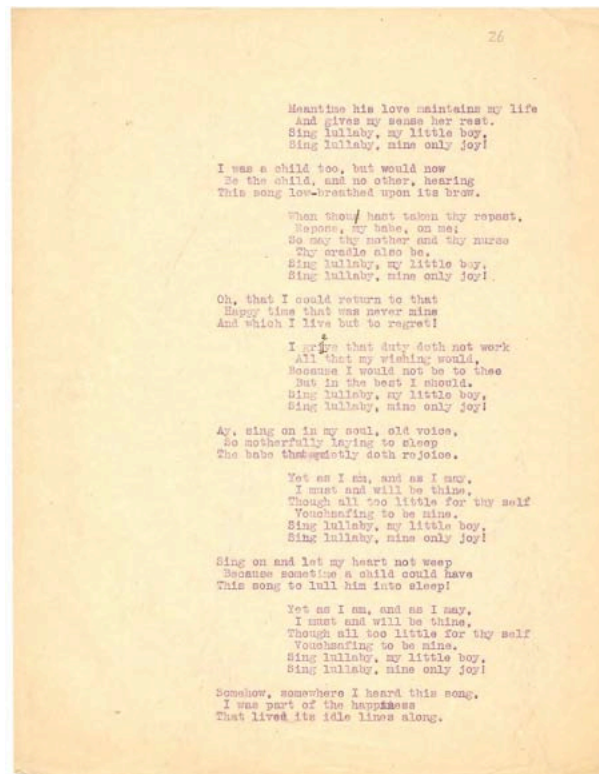


Fig. 1. Typescript of "Lullaby." Page numbered "26."
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

¹ Documents scanned by Jerónimo Pizarro, Patricio Ferrari, and Antonio Cardiello at Manuela Nogueira's apartment in Lisbon, in 2009.

² The first page is unnumbered; only two pages (pp. 16 and 21) have typescript material on the verso; pages 4, 7, and 10-11 are missing.

A correction made to the title "Her Hands Played Absently With Her Rings"—in which the word "Hands" has been crossed out and "Fingers" written in ink below it—also appears to correct an inadvertent mistake in typing the title, since the word "Hands" does not appear in any other variant.

Fig. 2. Typescript of second page of two of table of contents of "The Mad Fiddler."
Page numbered "3." Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

For some untitled poems, titles have been added in writing above individual typed poems. These include "Summer Moments" (the typed title, "Autobiography in the Sunlight," has been crossed out); "Rivers," added to the poem beginning "Many rivers run..."; "Far Away" written above the poem beginning "Far away, far away"; "Episode" written above the first verse "No matter what we dream"; and the title "Horizon" written by hand above the crossed-out title "The Peacock's Tail" that begins with the verse "Unheard-of fathoms in the deep sea...." (cf. Figs. 3-7).

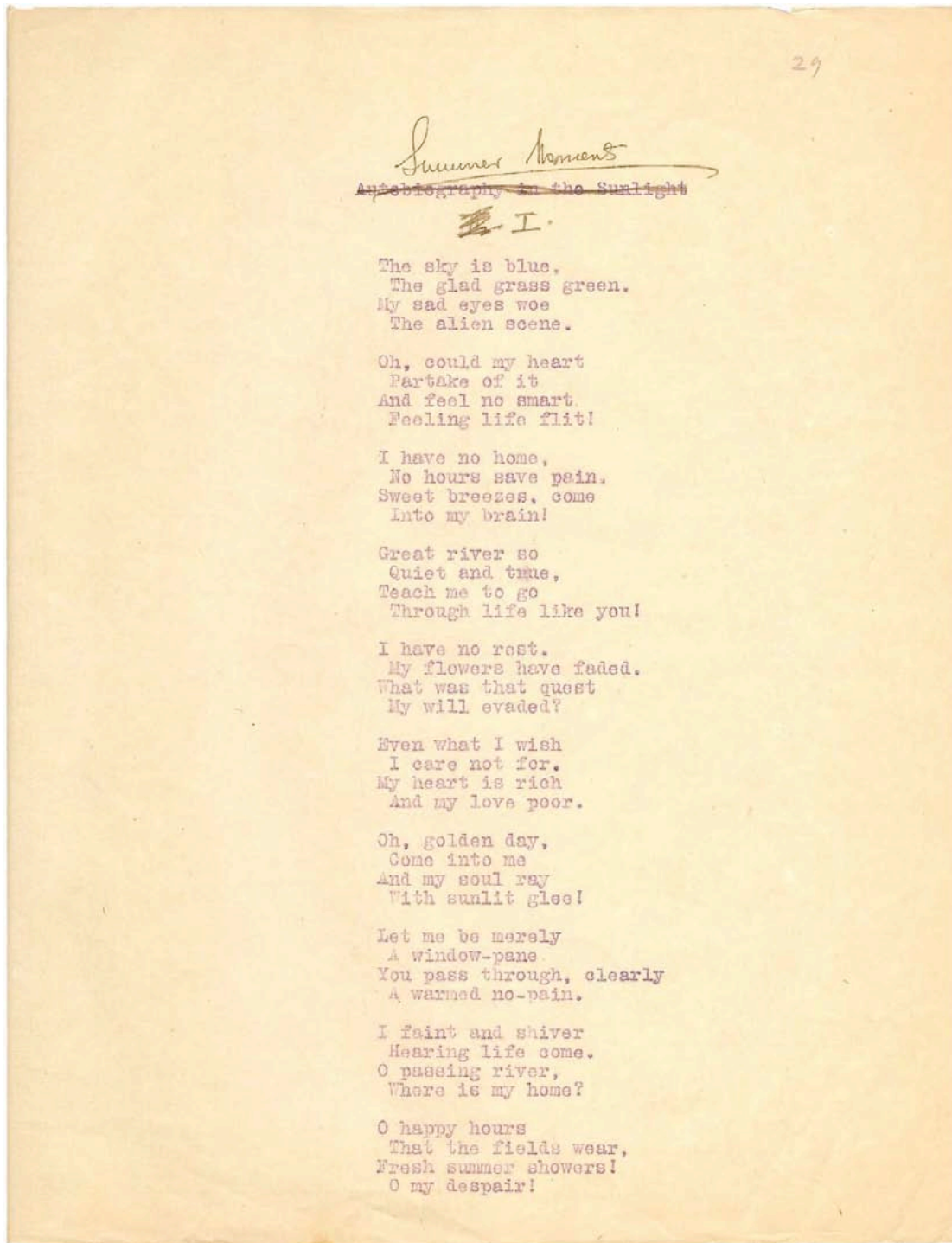


Fig. 3. Typescript of "Summer Moments." Page numbered "29."
 Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

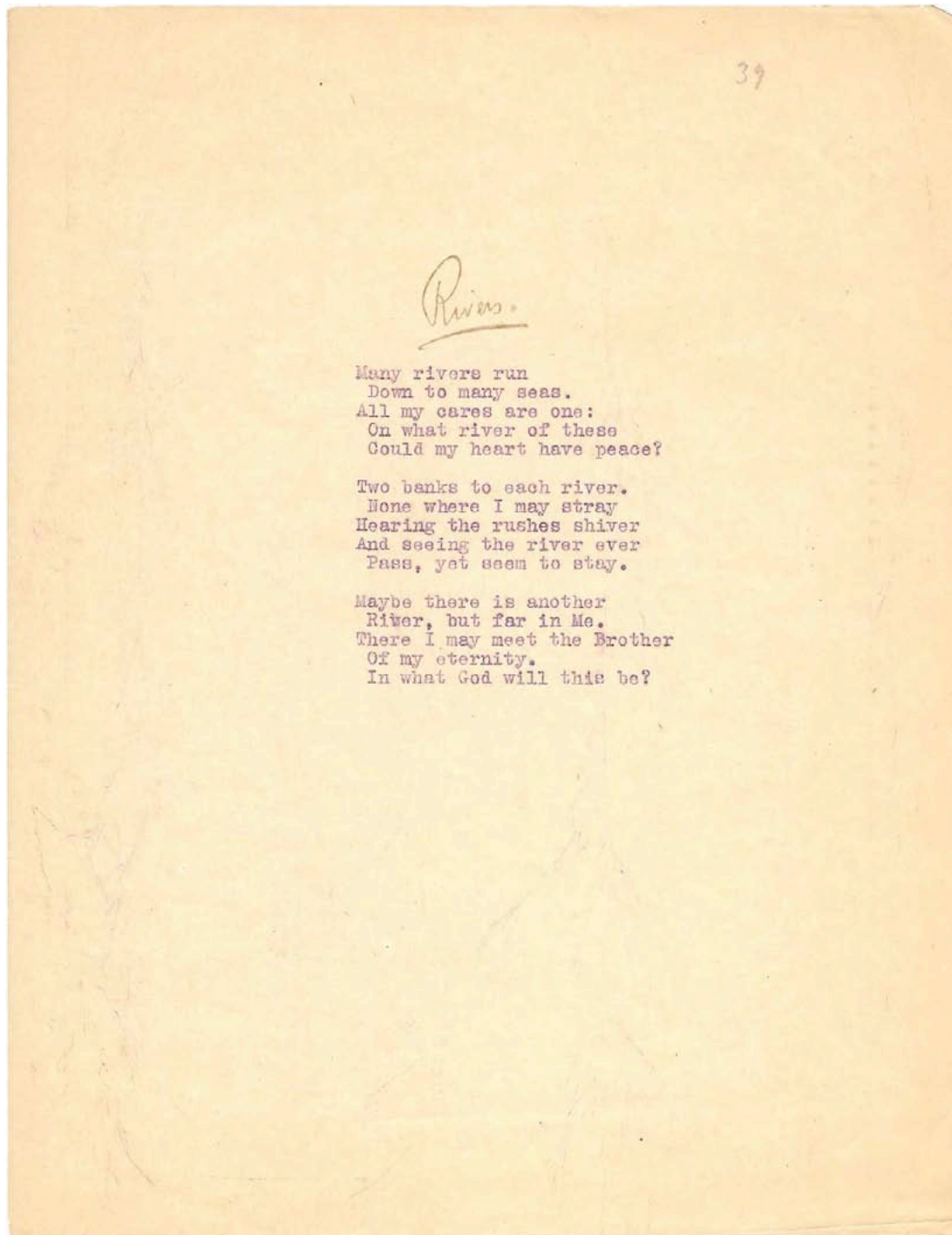


Fig. 4. Typescript of "Rivers." Page numbered "39."
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

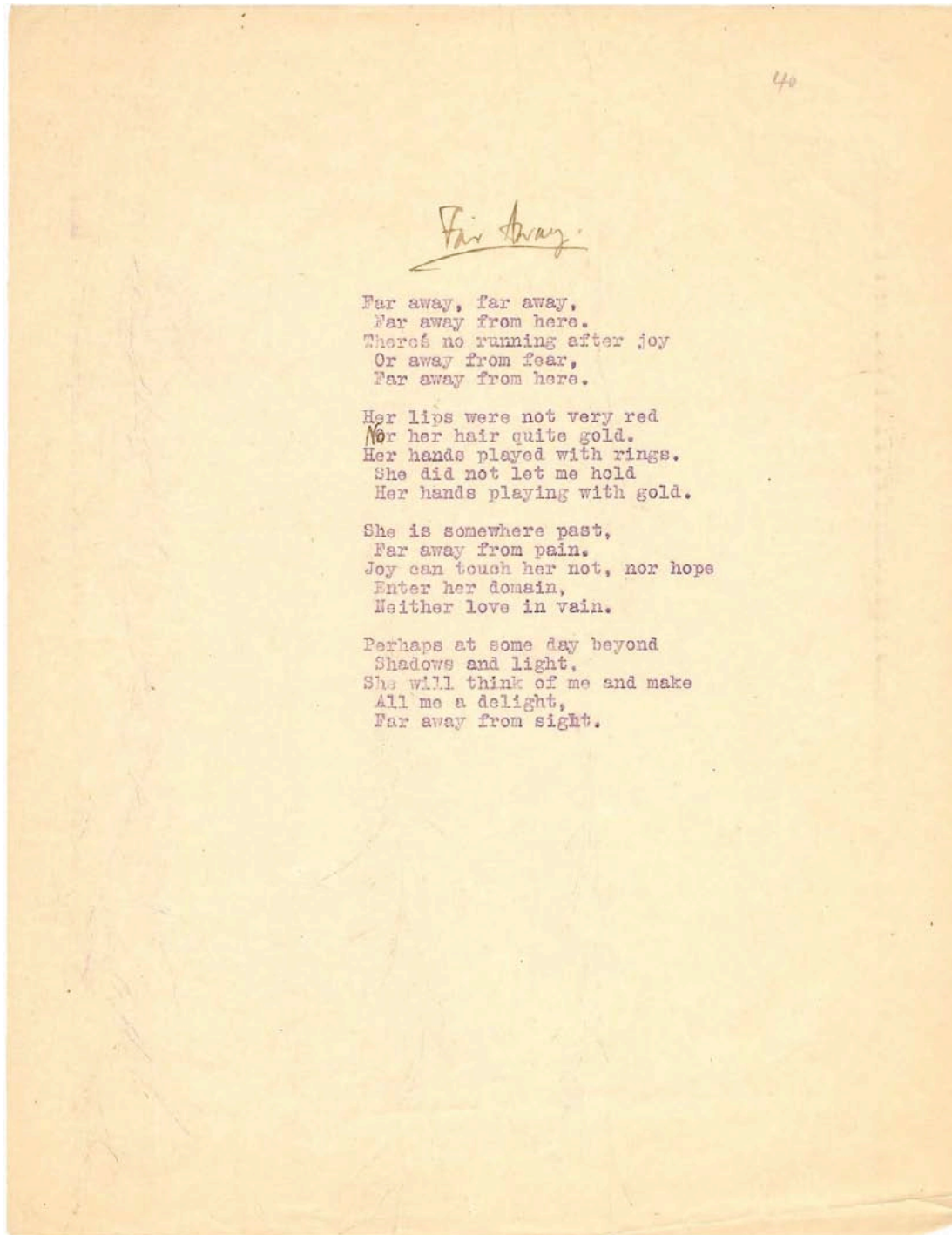


Fig. 5. Typescript of "Far Away." Page numbered "40."
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

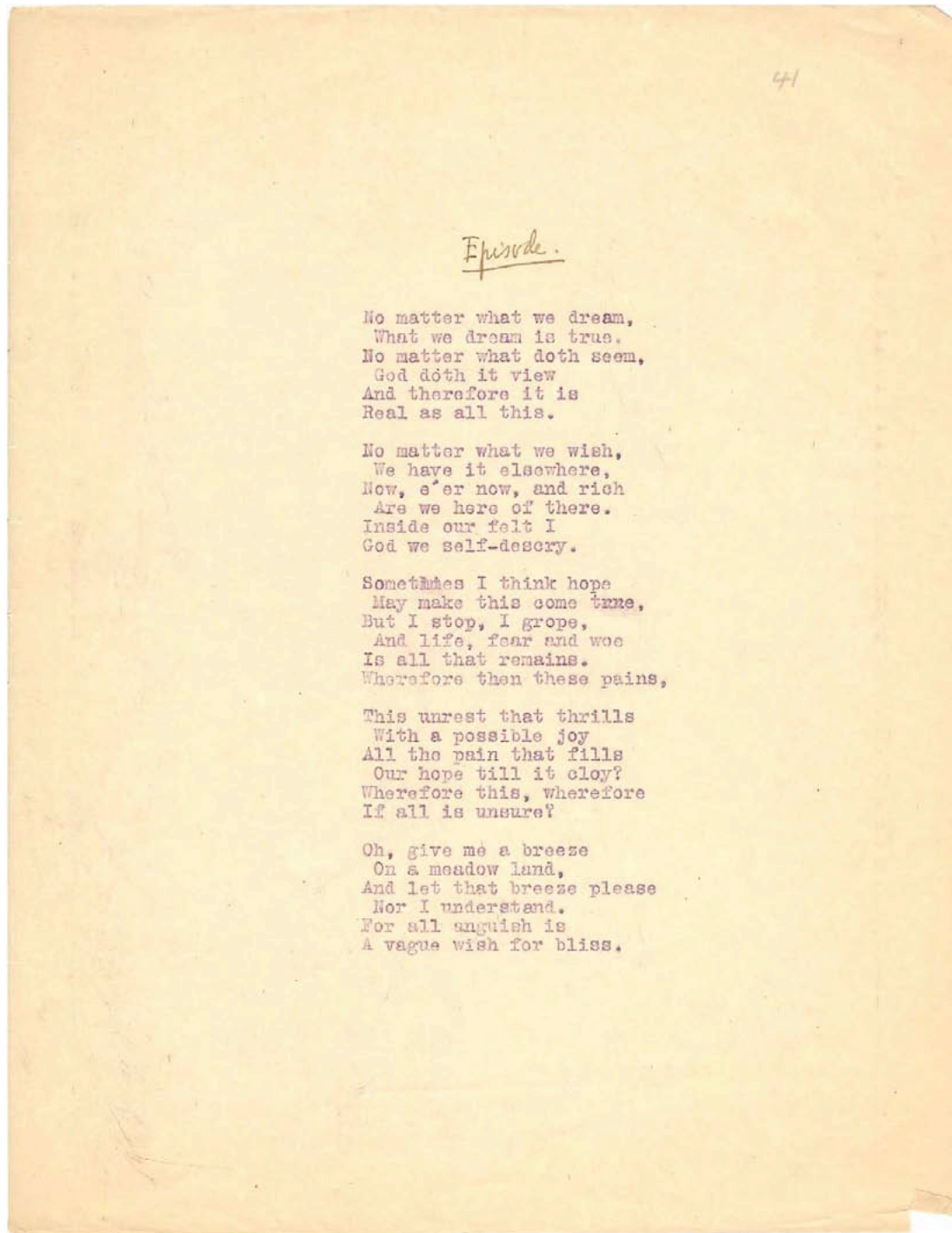


Fig. 6. Typescript of "Episode." Page numbered "41."
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

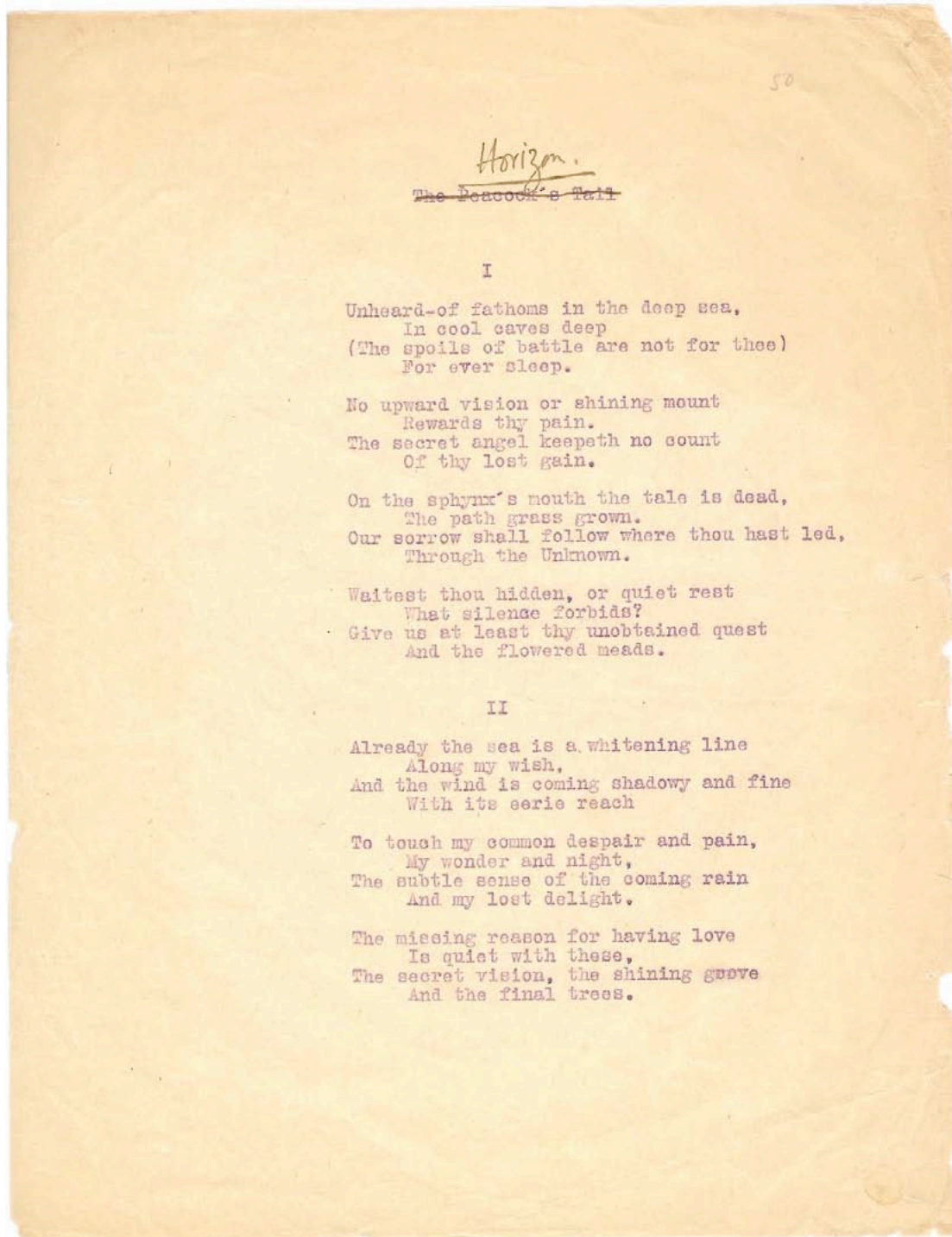


Fig. 7. Typescript of "Horizon." Page numbered "50."
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

In this typescript, aside from a handful of corrections, there are almost no changes to the text of the poems themselves. In "Emptiness," the word "deeper" in line 9 has been crossed off and two variants above it, both crossed out and hardly legible ("harder" and "emptier"), with a third variant ("vaguer") penned in the margin in ink. In the poem "Isis," the word "confluence" has been corrected in line 8, and the word "Outside" (that opens line 9) has been crossed off, with two variants: "Beside," above it, and "Beyond," underneath it.

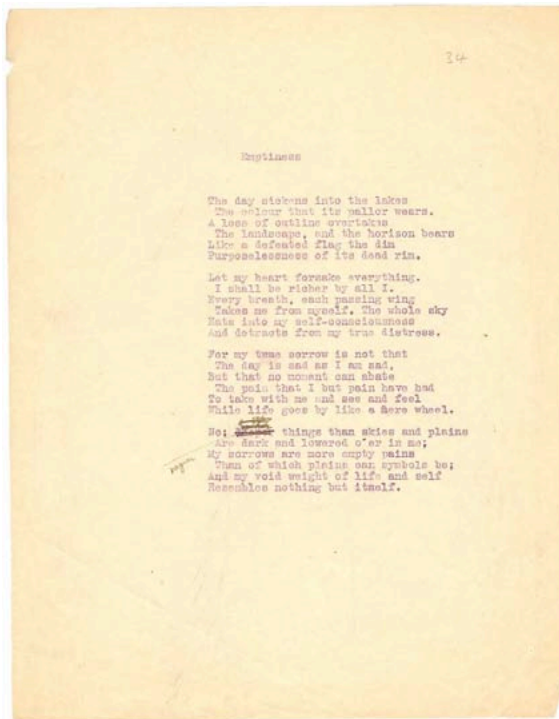


Fig. 8. Typescript of "Emptiness." Page numbered "34."

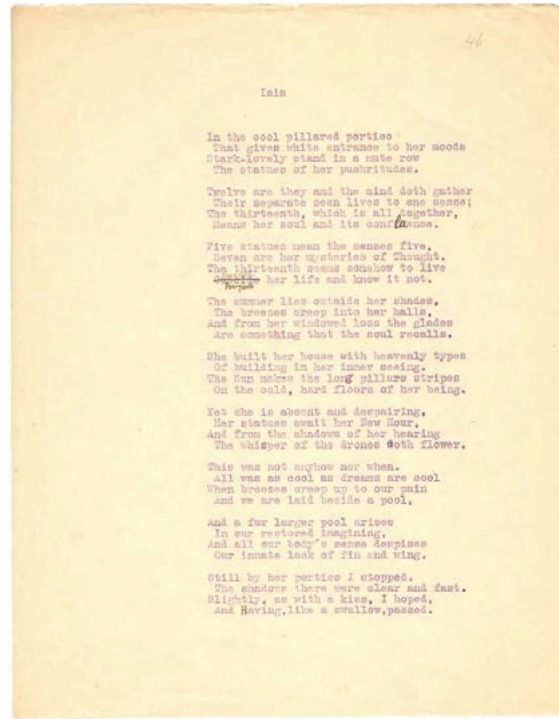


Fig. 9. Typescript of "Isis." Page numbered "46."

Both in Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

The Nogueira typescript shows that Pessoa continued to make alterations to the titles of poems, while arranging them, perhaps for the first time, from individual typed copies into a definitive sequence of numbered pages. If we examine two lists of contents from the Pessoa archive numbered (BNP / E3, 31A-1 and 31A-2) (cf. Figs. 10-12), we find that "Emptiness" has a previous title, "The Empty Box," and that the fourth section of the work carries the title "Four Songs," rather than "Four Sorrows." None of the four poems in that section has been assigned a title (cf. Fig. 10). The poem "The Hours" was previously titled "The Hours are Weary..."; "Song" was initially titled "Hope" and then "The Bridge"; and "The Bridge," before carrying the title of "The Interval," had been "Loophole" (cf. Figs. 11-12). One may thus conclude that, on the basis of the titles listed in the Nogueira index, the typescript was compiled after the two lists of incomplete titles in (BNP / E3, 31A-1 and 31A-2).

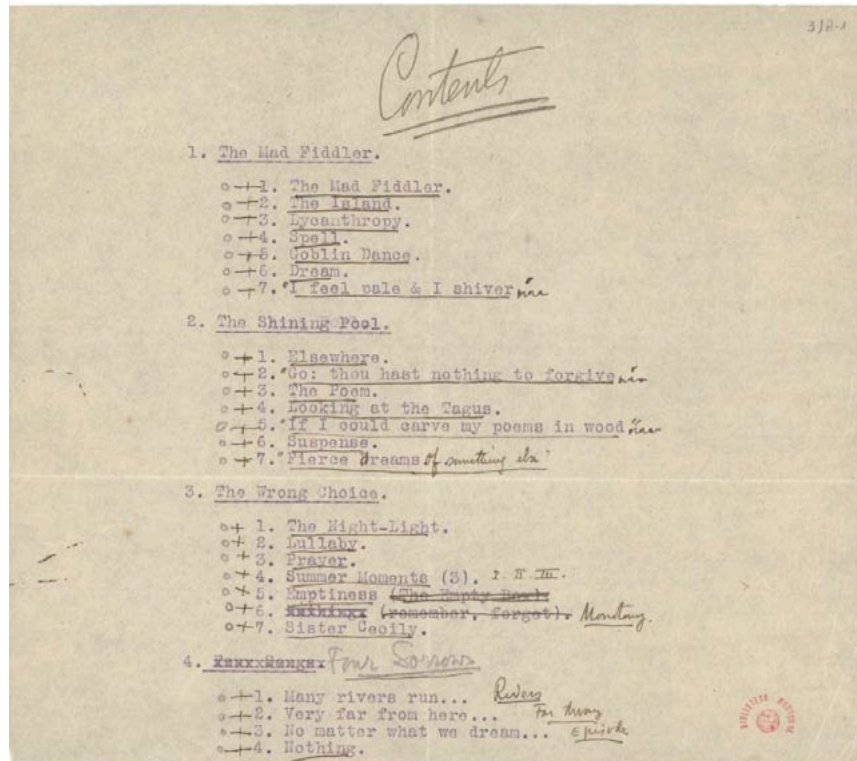


Fig. 10. Typescript of first page of the "Contents" of "The Mad Fiddler."
(BNP / E3, 31A-1r)

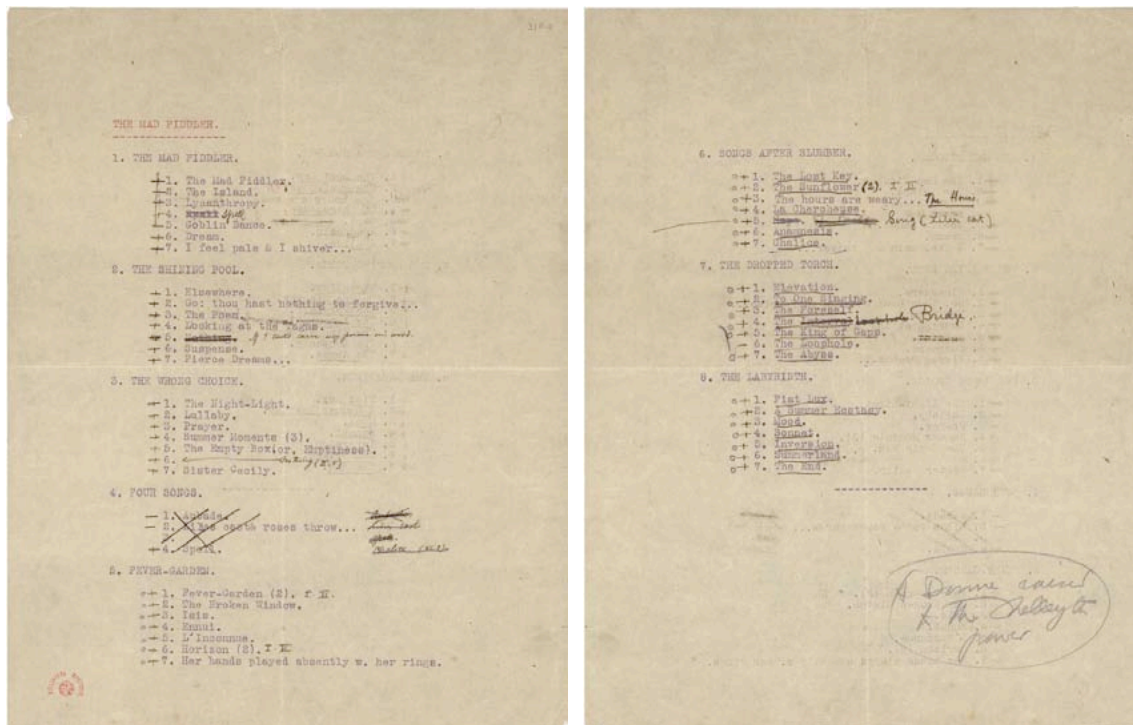


Fig. 11. Typescript of different first page of contents of "The Mad Fiddler."

Fig. 12. Verso of previous page of contents of "The Mad Fiddler."
(BNP / E3, 31A-2r & 31A-2v)

The importance of the Nogueira typescript is that it is identical to the typescript in the Pessoa archive numbered 31 (which is an electrostatic copy on darker paper). Not only small errors in the Nogueira pages—but even small unevenness in the type and darker impressions—have been carried over to typescript 31. The latter is an exact copy of the Nogueira pages, to which a different title page has been added, and the page numbers have been typed onto the copies.

**Fig. 13. Typescript of "Contents" of "The Mad Fiddler."
(BNP / E3, 31-2)**

3 31-3

Ennui 9
 L'Inconnue
 Horizon: I.
 II.
 81 Her ~~Hands~~ Played Absently With Her
 Fingers Rings
 VI. SONGS AFTER SLUMBER.
 The Lost Key
 The Sunflower: I.
 II.
 The Hours
 La Chereuse
 Song ✓
 Anamnesis ✓
 59 Chalice ✓
 VII. THE DROPPED TORCH.
 Elevation
 64 To One Singing
 The Foreself
 The Bridge
 The King of Gaps
 The Loophole
 The Abyss
 VIII. THE LABYRINTH.
 31-34 Fiat Lux
 A Summer Ecstasy
 Mood
 Sonnet
 Inversion
 Summerland
 The End

Fig. 14. Typescript of "Contents" of "The Mad Fiddler."
 (BNP / E3, 31-3)

Numerous other changes to typescript 31 have been made, both in typing and by hand. Thus one may conclude that the Nogueira typescript is an intermediary stage between the manuscript copies of the poems and the early tables of contents (illustrated by 31A), and later additions, comments, and corrections made by Pessoa on 31. More importantly, the later stage in typescript 31 is based on an exact copy of earlier typed poems now available in the Nogueira typescript.

It is possible that the clean Nogueira typescript is what Pessoa sent to Constable and Company in London, which was returned to him after their rejection. In the introduction to the critical edition (PESSOA, 1999), the editors comment on the bilingual publication of *O Louco Rabequista* by José Blanc de Portugal in 1988, in which Blanc explained that the edition had been based on sheets provided to him by Pessoa's family in 1964 or 1965, which he then returned. In 1997 he added in a comment to the editors of the critical edition that he had seen, in Pessoa's trunk, an envelope of clean typed sheets, unsigned, without anything added, along with a typed letter of rejection from Constable & Company (PESSOA, 1999: 8). The 49 sheets now available for analysis may well belong to the set of poems seen by Blanc de Portugal in the 1960s. A note in José Galvão's *Fontes Impressas da Obra de Fernando Pessoa*, following the first publication of the poem "The Sunflower," attests to the involvement of the family in providing materials: "Nota – Estes dois poemas inéditos ingleses foram cedidos amavelmente pelo coronel Francisco Caetano Dias, cunhado de Fernando Pessoa, que os retirou do fundo do famoso BAÚ" (GALVÃO, 1968: 113) ["Note: These two unpublished poems by Fernando Pessoa were kindly given to me by Pessoa's brother-in-law, colonel Francisco Caetano Dias, who took them out of the famous trunk"].

[Annex I]

The title page and list of contents of the Nogueira typescript are reproduced below:

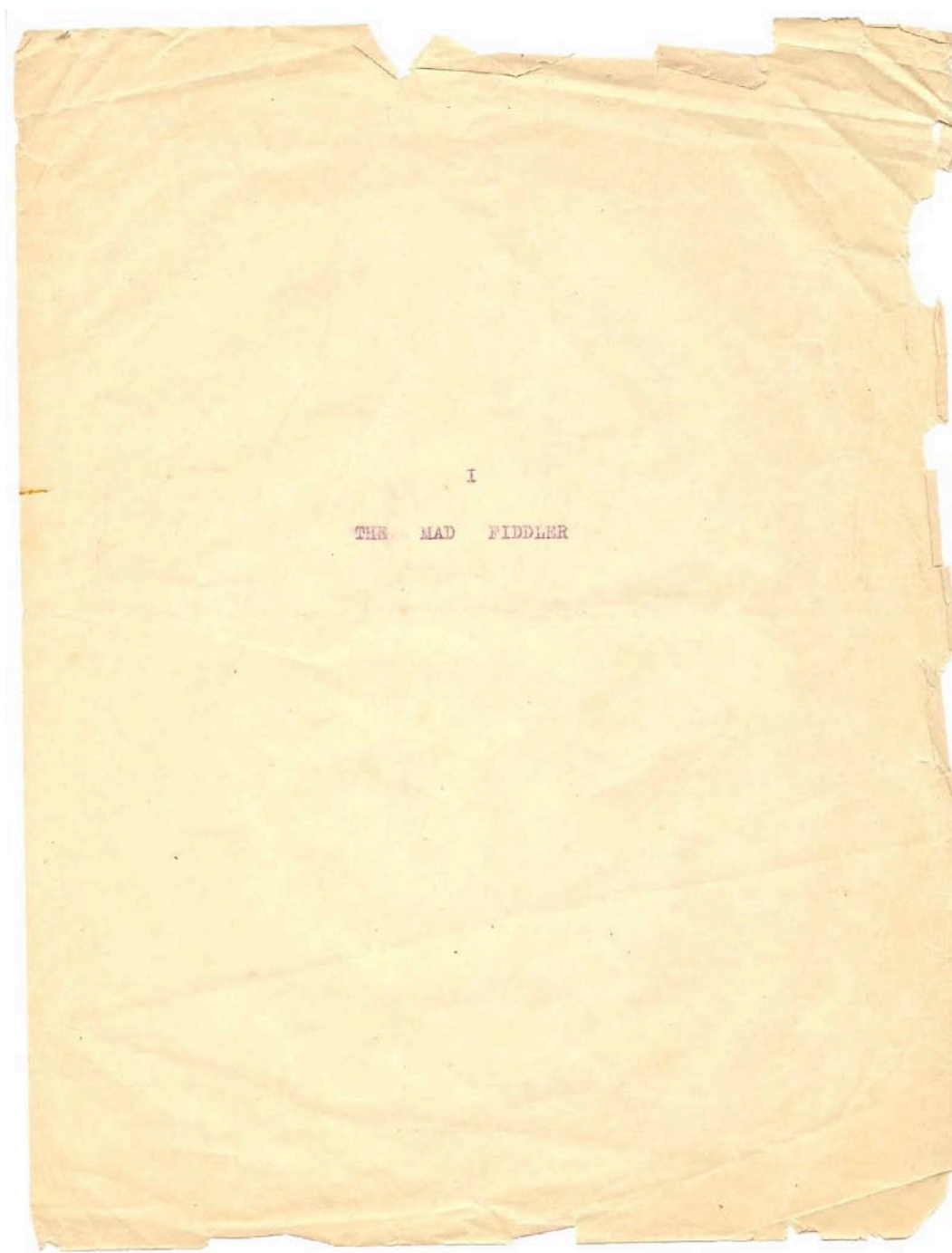


Fig. 15. Typescript of front of "The Mad Fiddler." Page unnumbered.
Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

2

CONTENTS

I. THE MAD FIDDLER.

The Mad Fiddler
 The Island
 Lycanthropy
 Spell
 Goblin Dance
 Dream
 "I feel pale and I shiver"

II. THE SHINING POOL.

Elsewhere
 "Go: thou hast nothing to forgive"..
 The Poem
 Looking at the Tagus
 "If I could carve my poems in wood".
 Suspense
 "Pierce dreams of something else"...

III. THE WRONG CHOICE.

The Night-Light
 Lullaby
 Summer Moments: I.
 II.
 III.
 Emptiness
 Monotony
 Sister Cecily

IV. FOUR BORROWS.

Rivers
 Far Away
 Episode
 Nothing

V. FEVER-GARDEN.

Fever-Garden: I.
 II.
 The Broken Window
 Isis

*O único q' fura
 nos poemas infelizes q'
 publicados? E.A.*

Fig. 16. Typescript of first page of two of the table of contents of "The Mad Fiddler."

Page numbered "2." Manuela Nogueira's Private Collection.

Note: The commentary in Portuguese written in black ink regarding the poem "Spell" is not in Pessoa's hand.

Bibliography

- GALVÃO, José (1968). *Fontes Impressas da Obra de Fernando Pessoa*. Lisbon: Gráfico Santelmo.
- PESSOA, Fernando (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda. Major Series, volume V, tome III.
- ____ (1988). *O Louco Rabequista*. Translated by José Blanc de Portugal. Bilingual edition. Lisbon: Editorial Presença.

“The Student of Salamanca”

an English translation

Nicolás Barbosa López*

Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, José de Espronceda, El estudiante de Salamanca, translation, Alexander Search.

Abstract

Fernando Pessoa planned and wrote –almost to its entirety– an English translation of “El estudiante de Salamanca,” a poem written by Spanish author José de Espronceda (1808 – 1842). This article introduces the first full transcription and publication of the translation, an annex of transcribed documents related to this project (Pessoa’s editorial plans, to-do lists, and observations about the poem), a full genetic annotation of all transcriptions, and images of the entire selection of manuscripts.

Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, José de Espronceda, El estudiante de Salamanca, tradução, Alexander Search.

Resumo

Fernando Pessoa planeou e escreveu –quase na sua totalidade– uma tradução para o inglês de “El estudiante de Salamanca”, poema escrito pelo autor espanhol José de Espronceda (1808 – 1842). Este artigo apresenta a primeira transcrição e publicação completas da tradução, um anexo de documentos transcritos relacionados ao projeto (planos editoriais de Pessoa, listas de tarefas e observações sobre o poema), todas as notas genéticas das transcrições e as imagens da seleção inteira de manuscritos.

Fernando Pessoa planned and executed –almost to its entirety– an English translation of “El estudiante de Salamanca,” a poem written by Spanish author José de Espronceda (1808 – 1842) and first published in the anthology *Poesías de don José de Espronceda* (Madrid: Imprenta de Yemes, 1840). The following presentation includes the first full transcription and publication of the translation, an annex of transcribed documents related to this project (Pessoa’s editorial plans, to-do lists, and observations about the poem), a full genetic annotation of all transcriptions, and fac-similes of the entire selection of manuscripts.

At the outset I wish to lay out a few parameters of the transcription process, some technical aspects of Pessoa’s translation, and critical elements of the context in which he wrote it. Overall, and based on the information that is available so far, we know that the Portuguese author managed to translate more than 90 per cent of the poem, and only slightly less than 150 verses are missing from the total 1,704. Most of these missing verses belong to the second, third, and fourth parts of the poem, leaving the first part as the only complete section of the translation. The scope of this transcription focused on almost 30 different folders previously identified by Patricio Ferrari, with the collaboration of Jerónimo Pizarro, and altogether, these folders contained the nearly 200 manuscripts that were reviewed, classified, and reorganized. Most of the translation, with a few isolated cases, was located in three folders –(BNP / E3, 74, 74A, and 74B)–, while other related documents were scattered throughout the rest of the selection. Due to the fragmentation of the manuscripts, a benchmark edition was needed in order to identify and reorganize the translated verses. Although Pessoa did not leave any kind of verse numbering, in a few manuscripts he did write the corresponding page numbers of his own Spanish edition: *Obras poéticas de Don José de Espronceda* (Paris: Librería de Garnier Hermanos, 1876). To ensure that the transcription would not reproduce any potential mistakes this edition may have had, a comparative reading was also done with the Instituto Cervantes’ digital version, which, in turn, is the result of a comparative transcription of the 1840 edition and Benito Varela Jácome’s critical edition (Madrid: Cátedra, 1979). In no way does this mean our work is complete. Not only could the translation of missing fragments still be found in other folders –or in apparently unrelated sections of Pessoa’s archive–, but also related documents or even more variants of extant passages.

Initially, Pessoa attributed the translation to Alexander Search, his only fictional author ever to write in English, French, and Portuguese. The acknowledgment appears below the title in the first page of Part I (see (BNP / E3, 74A-64) and also in two manuscripts that correspond to variants of verses in Parts I and II (see BNP / E3, 79-45 and 74A-91). In 1908 Charles James Search inherited some of his brother Alexander Search’s work, including this translation (see *Eu Sou Uma Antologia*, Lisboa: Tinta-da-china, 2013, p. 285 and *Un libro muy original*, Medellín: Tragaluz, 2014, p. 181). By the decade of 1920, however, the project was

no longer attributed to the Searches, but to Pessoa himself, as seen in the editorial plans of *Olisipo* (see BNP / E3, 137-124). Some disagreement persists about the possible authorship of Herr Prosit, the protagonist of Alexander Search's short story "A Very Original Dinner." As seen in the beginning of Part II, the appearance of this name right below the word "Translation" could indicate that, at some point, Pessoa envisioned him as the translator of the second part, yet this lacks further support. Not only are there mentions of Search in the same part allegedly attributed to Prosit, but the latter is nowhere to be found as a translator in any editorial lists, diary entries, or documents outside the world of "A Very Original Dinner."

Although no exact record of the date when Pessoa first encountered Espronceda's poetry has been found (nor an exact date when he began reading this poem), it is possible to estimate that his contact with this poet's work must have happened either in 1905, the last year of his time in Durban, South Africa, or right after his return to Portugal. This conclusion is based on the dating of Pessoa's earliest mention of "El estudiante de Salamanca," a 1906 reading list (see annex BNP / E3, 144N-14), and on his subsequent lists of editorial projects that mention an English version, the earliest of which dates back to *circa* 1906 (see annex BNP / E3, 48B-129). We can conclude that Pessoa began the translation shortly after finishing his reading, already with a future publication in mind. According to a diary entry of May 1907, we know that by the 9th he had "[a]lmost finished" the translation of the poem's first part (see annex BNP / E3, 28A-1). In total, Pessoa's translation appears in 19 lists extant in his archive, the latest of which dates back to *circa* 1931 (see annex BNP / E3, 167-181), indicating that for a period of at least 24 years he worked on or made plans regarding this project. In fact, 18 of these entries place "The Student of Salamanca" on either to-do lists of readings and writing, editorial lists of original English works, English translations (mostly of Portuguese literature), Portuguese translations of English literature, and poetry volumes that were to be published, plus another entry of potential screenplays for films.

These lists reveal the importance of this translation within the universe of Pessoa's writings as well as the context in which it was done. In the first place, unlike most of the projects that Pessoa ever included in his editorial lists, this translation was actually carried through near completion. Given the vast number of titles (stories, translations, and anthologies) left in the archive without ever being finished or even started, the translation of "El estudiante de Salamanca" stands out as one. This translation made part of a prospective publication of several poetry books in English, with such priority that it was meant to precede even Pessoa's own poetry attributed to Alexander Search: "The first book of poems to be published is the translation of Espronceda" (see annex BNP / E3, 78B-63). Interestingly, Pessoa envisioned Search's literary debut as translator rather than poet. In general, we also see how this project, inscribed within a series of similar

publications, reflects the Portuguese author's penchant toward translation: he had Portuguese-English and English-Portuguese projects such as the translation of Luís de Camões' sonnets, Edgar Allan Poe's poems, and Oscar Wilde's poems (see annex 133M-96), and Anthero de Quental's sonnets (see annexes BNP / E3, 144D-7 and 144E-8).

The context of literary influences in which Pessoa worked on his translation is also visible in these lists and diary entries. We can see that, for instance, during the days of May 1907 in which Pessoa claims to have worked on the first part of the poem, he also read novels and poetry in French, English, and Portuguese: Jacques Cazotte's *Le Diable amoureux*, Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, Eça de Queirós' *O Crime do Padre Amaro*, and Guerra Junqueiro's poem "A Morte de D. João" (see annex BNP / E3, 28A-1). This diary entry also reveals that only days after attempting to finish the first part of the poem, he was also working on "A Very Original Dinner," a parallelism that is also registered in a to-do list of 3 September 1907 (see annex BNP / E3, 133F-53), thus corroborating Alexander Search's predominance as the Pessoaan fictional author of that period.

Regarding the translation process itself, the dating of diary entries and manuscripts tells us that it took place between 1907 (as previously indicated) until approximately 1910. Besides being the only complete translation, the first part of the poem has a consistent handwriting, typical of Alexander Search, and is also the cleanest version in the sense that it was not written on torn paper or pieces of envelopes. As it usually occurs with Pessoa's work, the text is full of modifications, alternate versions, and rewritten stanzas. Among the fragments that Pessoa rewrote more than once, two cases stand out:

'Twas more than the hour of midnight,
As is told by ancient stories,
When all in sleep and in silence
Enwrapped is earth and gloomy,

(Part I, verses 1-4)

and

The night is serene and quiet
Crown'd by the stars in distance
Unbroken the blue of heaven
Even as transparent lawn,

(Part II, verses 1-4)

Interestingly, both examples constitute the first four verses of each part. In the first case, Pessoa rewrote the fragment up to four times, yet he barely made any changes in each version. In fact, the only adjustment is his hesitating between the use of "is" or "lay" in the line "Enwrapped is earth and gloomy." It is surprising that these four verses are, at the same time, the ones that Pessoa rewrote the most throughout the entire poem. And yet they show almost no changes. On the other

hand, the second example shows the more typical problems of poetry translation. Pessoa rewrote the whole stanza twice remaining ambivalent about the use of several words: “distance” instead of “farness,” “heaven” instead of “heavens” or “sky,” and “Even” instead of “Like.” He also oscillates between the use of “Crown’d” (one metrical syllable) or “Crownèd” (two metrical syllables) a decision driven by meter. The fact that the most rewritten fragments in the poem are initial verses could reveal Pessoa’s fixation with achieving strong openings, perhaps as an appeal to future readers or simply because he understood how his initial choices of rhythm and lexicon would determine subsequent decisions throughout the translation process (if we assume he wrote these verses before translating other stanzas of each part).

Despite the overall fragmentation, the Portuguese author left clear translated blocks of verses, that is, he appears to have mostly worked uninterruptedly through groups of stanzas rather than loose verses or even isolated stanzas. Thus in cases of multiple variants, it was not burdensome to determine which version provided a more well-rounded translation because it was possible to make a broader comparison between considerable blocks of work. Only in two cases (see Part III, verses 65 and 256) did I replace a single verse of a stanza considered more “definitive” with one found in a stanza considered a “variant”, since the former, in both cases, did not offer a translation for that specific verse. However, and as a final observation, the efforts to unify the manuscripts and present a legible translation do not ignore the fact that, in a typical Pessoaan fashion, this text does not intend to and cannot constitute the publishable version he envisioned (if such one version ever existed), but rather one of many pathways to his always elusive final draft.

*

El estudiante de Salamanca

The Student of Salamanca.¹

José de Espronceda

Part I.

Espronceda

Translated by Alexander Search.

Parte primera

*The Student of Salamanca.*²

Part the First.

*Sus fueros, sus bríos,
sus premáticas, su voluntad.
Quijote.- Parte primera.*

*His titles his courage
His parchments his own will.
Don Quixote – Part I.*

Era más de media noche,
antiguas historias cuentan,
cuando en sueño y en silencio
lóbrego envuelta la tierra,
5 los vivos muertos parecen,
los muertos la tumba dejan.
Era la hora en que acaso
temerosas voces suenan
informes, en que se escuchan
10 tácitas pisadas huecas,
y pavorosas fantasmas
entre las densas tinieblas
vagan, y aúllan los perros
amedrentados al verlas:
15 En que tal vez la campana

'Twas more than the hour of midnight³
As is told by ancient stories,
When all in sleep and in silence
Enwrapped is earth and gloomy,
When the living seem but dead men
And the dead their graves relinquish.
It was that hour when perchance
Terror-hushed voices formless
Sound, and trembling ears may listen
To still and hollow foot-falls,⁴
And when waste and dreadful phantoms
In the ill-penetrable darkness
Wander vaguely, and the watch-dogs
Mark with fearful howls their passing:
When haply the bell unswinging

¹ [74A-64^r]: See Fig. 1.

² [74A-65^r]: See Fig. 2.

³ There is a variant of this and the next three verses, entirely crossed out, in manuscript [15B³-65^v]: <'Twas more than the hour of midnight, | As is told by ancient stories, | When all in sleep and in silence | Enwrapped <is> [↑ lay] earth and gloomy.>. The translation is inserted among notes related to different writings. The page has a crossed-out title, HISTORIANS AND PHILOSOPHERS, and after the translated verses there are other phrases under the title Psychology. There is also a note in the right margin of the stanza: Adults. A second variant includes this and the next four verses, in manuscript [79-45^r]: 'Twas more than the hour of midnight, | As is told by ancient stories, | When all in sleep and in silence | Enwrapped is earth and gloomy | When the □ || Alexander Search | Alexander Search | A. Search | A. Search. A third almost identical variant of this and the following five verses is found in manuscript [74A-10^r]: 'Twas more than the hour of midnight | As is told by ancient stories. | When all in sleep and in silence | Enwrapped is earth and gloomy | And the living seem but dead men | And the dead their graves relinquish. At the end of the page, there is a signature by Alexander Search preceded by the formula Yours very truly. See note 2 regarding a fourth variant that includes these verses.

⁴ Up to this verse, there is a variant in manuscript [144N-11^r]: First part | The Student of Salamanca | FIRST PART | First part | *Sus fueros sus bríos* | *Sus premáticas su voluntad*. | *DON QUIJOTE – First Part* || 'Twas more than the hour of midnight, | As is told by ancient stories, | When all in sleep and in silence | Enwrapped <lay> [↑ is] earth, and gloomy, | When the living seems but dead men | And the dead their graves relinquish. | It was the hour when perchance | Terror-hushed voices formless | Sound, and trembling ears may listen | To still and hollow footfalls, [↓ Other *v[erses] here continued]

de alguna arruinada iglesia
 da misteriosos sonidos
 de maldición y anatema,
 que los sábados convoca
 20 a las brujas a su fiesta.
 El cielo estaba sombrío,
 no vislumbra una estrella,
 silbaba lúgubre el viento,
 y allá en el aire, cual negras
 25 fantasmas, se dibujaban
 las torres de las iglesias,
 y del gótico castillo
 las altísimas almenas,
 donde canta o reza acaso
 30 temeroso el centinela.
 Todo en fin a media noche
 reposaba, y tumba era
 de sus dormidos vivientes
 la antigua ciudad que riega
 35 el Tormes, fecundo río,
 nombrado de los poetas,
 la famosa Salamanca,
 insigne en armas y letras,
 patria de ilustres varones,
 40 noble archivo de las ciencias.
 Súbito rumor de espadas
 cruje y un ¡ay! se escuchó;
 un ay moribundo, un ay
 que penetra el corazón,
 45 que hasta los tuétanos hiela
 y da al que lo oyó temblor.
 Un ¡ay! de alguno que al mundo
 pronuncia el último adiós.

El ruido
 50 cesó,
 un hombre
 pasó
 embozado,
 y el sombrero
 55 recatado
 a los ojos
 se caló.

Within some ruined church-belfry
 Yieldeth full mysterious soundings
 Of curse and of malediction,¹²
 That on Saturdays³ doth summon
 The witches to their dread feast.
 The sky was unfair and gloomed,
 And not a star woke its shrouding,
 The wind howlèd drearily
 And in the air⁴ like phantoms
 Blackly in the night upjuttèd
 Solemnly lovely church-towers,
 And of the ancient Gothic castle
 The highly-built battlements,
 Where haply singeth or prayeth
 In his cumbrous fear the sentry.
 In fire, at the hour of midnight⁵
 All rested, and of its living
 Lock'd in their slumber was tomb that
 Ancient city by whose walls
 Rolleth Tormès, fruitful river
 In poetic love remembered,
 Widely-famèd Salamanca,
 Renowned in arms and in letters,
 Mother of illustrious men,
 Of sciences noble storehouse.
 Suddenly of swords the dashing
 Soundeth, and a moan is heard;⁶
 A moan of death-toil, a moan
 That pierceth unto the heart,
 That unto the marrow chilleth
 And makes tremble him that heard it,
 The moan of one that is giving
 To the world his last farewell.

The sound
 Is done,
 A man
 Pass'd on
 Cloak'd full,
 And his hat
 Careful
 Drew his eyes
 Upon.

¹ /Of curse and of malediction/

² [74A-66r]: See Fig. 3. E – I – 2] Indication in upper right corner.

³ /Saturdays/

⁴ /yonder in air/ [↑ in the /mute/ aire]

⁵ /In fire, at the hour of midnight/

⁶ [74A-67r]: See Fig. 4. E – I – 3.] Indication in upper right corner.

	Se desliza y atraviesa 60 junto al muro de una iglesia y en la sombra se perdió.	He glideth Close-press'd 'Gainst the wall Of a church, And in shadow Is gone.
65	Una calle estrecha y alta, la calle del Ataúd cual si de negro crespón lóbrego eterno capuz la vistiera, siempre oscura y de noche sin más luz 70 que la lámpara que alumbra una imagen de Jesús, atraviesa el embozado la espada en la mano aún, que lanzó vivo reflejo 75 al pasar frente a la cruz.	A narrow street and high-stretching, ¹ <i>La calle del Ataúd</i> , ² As if of black crape the blackest A gloomy eternal hood Covered it, always in darkness And at night not lighted more Than by the lamp that illumines ³ Of Jesus an image small, The maskèd wanderer doth traverse Holding yet in hand his sword Which threw back a sudden lightning In passing before the cross.
	Cual suele la luna tras lóbrega nube con franjas de plata bordarla en redor, y luego si el viento la agita, la sube disuelta a los aires en blanco vapor:	As hiding the moon when a cloud all of blackness With lining of silver's embroidered around ⁴ . And when the void stirs it 'tis torn into darkness And lo! to white vapour in air 'tis unbound:
80	Así vaga sombra de luz y de nieblas, mística y aérea dudosa visión, ya brilla, o la esconden las densas tinieblas cual dulce esperanza, cual vana ilusión.	E'en so, a vague phantom of dark and of lightness, A doubtful and airy, weird vision doth gleam A moment, then hide it the clouds in their nightness Too like sweet hope or a joy that did seem;
85	La calle sombría, la noche ya entrada, la lámpara triste ya pronta a expirar, que a veces alumbra la imagen sagrada y a veces se esconde la sombra a aumentar.	The street all in darkness, the night came already, The lamplet with sadness whose flame is now spent, At times that upflaming the image lights steady ⁵ Then shrinketh ⁶ and hideth the night to augment.
90	El vago fantasma que acaso aparece, y acaso se acerca con rápido pie, y acaso en las sombras tal vez desaparece, cual ánima en pena del hombre que fue,	The nightly, vague phantom awhile that appeareth, And then with a rapid dead footstep comes on, And then in the darkness awhile disappeareth Like the pining shadow of one who is gone, ⁷
	al más temerario corazón de acero recelo inspirara, pusiera pavor;	The spirit the boldest of steel to withstand it Had shrunk into caution, had stricken with fear,

¹ [74A-68^r]: See Fig. 5. E – I – 4.] Indication in upper right corner.

² [← 'Lit. Coffin Street.] Apparently Pessoa intended to include this as a note of the translation. Illegible word scratched beneath.

³ /illumines/

⁴ /around/

⁵ [74A-69^r]: See Fig. 6. E – I – 5.] Indication in upper right corner.

⁶ shrinketh] Word originally written but nonexistent, therefore corrected.

⁷ /,/

- 95 al más maldiciente feroz bandolero
el rezo a los labios trajera el temor.

Mas no al embozado, que aún sangre su
espada
destila, el fantasma terror infundió,
y, el arma en la mano con fuerza
empuñada,
osado a su encuentro despacio avanzó.
- 100 Segundo don Juan Tenorio,
alma fiera e insolente,
irreligioso y valiente,
altanero y reñidor:
Siempre el insulto en los ojos,
105 en los labios la ironía,
nada teme y toda fía
de su espada y su valor.
- 110 Corazón gastado, mofa
de la mujer que corteja,
y, hoy despreciándola, deja
la que ayer se le rindió.
Ni el porvenir temió nunca,
ni recuerda en lo pasado
la mujer que ha abandonado,
115 ni el dinero que perdió.
- 120 Ni vio el fantasma entre sueños
del que mató en desafío,
ni turbó jamás su brio
recelosa previsión.
Siempre en lances y en amores,
siempre en báquicas orgías,
mezcla en palabras impías
un chiste y una maldición.
- 125 En Salamanca famoso
por su vida y buen talante,
al atrevido estudiante
le señalan entre mil;
fuero le da su osadía,
le disculpa su riqueza,
- The fiercest, most cursing and blasphemous bandit
Had felt with its terror his lips find a prayer.

But not to the masked one, whose sword though yet
dripping
Hot blood, did the phantom inspire fear or dread,
But the weapon in hand with a strong firmness
gripping,
With boldness to meet it and slow did he tread.

Don Juan Tenorio the Second,
A proud and insolent spirit,
Impious, in courage his merit,
Quarrelsome in deed and word,
Always insult in his glances,
His lips e'er irony bearing.
Fearing nought, all things referring
To his valour and his sword.¹

A corrupted soul that sneereth
At one he courts, as if prizing,
He leaveth, to-day despising,
Her who was his yesterday.
Never a fear for the future,
Nor from the past ever sadden'd
By thoughts of her woman² he abandoned
Nor of money gambled away³.

Ne'er in dreams he saw the phantom
Of him in duel his victim,
Nor fearful care to afflict him.
His fearlessness ever woke.
Always in gambles, in lovings,
Always in bacchical orgies,
Impiously speaking⁴ he merges
A blasphemy in a joke.

Famous in all Salamanca⁵
For his beauty and life imprudent,
As the bold, the fearless student
Among a thousand he's known;
To all his boldness entitles,
And for all his wealth, his nature¹

¹ [74A-69a^r]: See Fig. 7. E – I – 6.] Indication in upper right corner.

² [↑woman]

³ lost at play [↑gambled away]

⁴ In impious speaking [↑Impiously speaking]

⁵ This and the next verse have a variant on manuscript [133N-20^o]: Famous in all Salamanca | For his life and his good fashion

- 130 su generosa nobleza,
su hermosura varonil.
Of noble, generous feature,
And manly beauty ature².
- Que en su arrogancia y sus vicios,
caballeresca apostura,
agilidad y bravura
135 ninguno alcanza a igualar:
Que hasta en sus crímenes mismos,
en su impiedad y altiveza,
pone un sello de grandeza
don Félix de Montemar.
Than whom in arrogance and vices
And hearing noble and knightly,
Courage and grace none more³ brightly
Can shine or equal by far:
For in his crimes very blackest,
Haughtiness and impious candour
Yet doth set a seal of grandeur
Don Felix de Montemar.
- 140 Bella y más segura que el azul del cielo
con dulces ojos lánguidos y hermosos,
donde acaso el amor brilló entre el velo
del pudor que los cubre candorosos;
tímida estrella que refleja al suelo
145 rayos de luz brillantes y dudosos,
ángel puro de amor que amor inspira,
fue la inocente y desdichada Elvira.
Beautiful, purer than the sky's pure blue
With sweet and languid eyes tenderly bright
Where haply love hath shone the soft veil through
Of modesty that hides their soul's delight,
A timid star that doth reflect unto
The earth brilliant and doubtful rays of light,
Love's angel pure, love to inspire unsated⁴
Such was Elvira innocent, ill-fated.
- Elvira, amor del estudiante un día,
tierna y feliz y de su amante ufana,
150 cuando al placer su corazón se abría,
como el rayo del sol rosa temprana;
del fingido amador que la mentía,
la miel falaz que de sus labios mana
bebe en su ardiente sed, el pecho ajeno
155 de que oculto en la miel hierve el veneno.
Elvira, that was once the student's love,
Happy and proud in her love's tender glows,
When first her heart did open⁵, when love did move,
As to the sun's warm ray the timely use,⁶
Of the false lover who such sweetness wove
She the false honey from his lips that flows
Gulps in her ardent thirst, her breast unthinking
That poison hid in honey she is drinking.
- Que no descansa de su madre en brazos
más descuidado el candoroso infante,
que ella en los falsos lisonjeros lazos
que teje astuto el seductor amante:
160 Dulces caricias, lánguidos abrazos,
placeres ¡ay! que duran un instante,
que habrán de ser eternos imagina
Not more serenely in its mother's arms⁷
The tender infant doth its rest receive⁸
Than she in the false net and full of charms
Her knowing lover amusingly doth weave
Caresses sweet, embraces, soft alarms,
Pleasures – alas! – which but a moment live
Elvira thinks eternally will shine

¹ [74A-68a']: See Fig. 8. E – I – 7.] Indication in upper right corner.

² ature] Although nonexistent in English, the word probably refers to the Portuguese *aturar*, which means to tolerate or bear.

³ so [↑more]

⁴ |unsated|

⁵ <hope>[↑open]

⁶ [74A-67a']: See Fig. 9. E – I – 8] Indication in upper right corner.

⁷ This and the next four verses have a variant on manuscript [74A-71'], which is torn in upper and right sides: □ mother's arms | The tender infant doth its rest receive | Than she in the false net [and] full of charms | That [↑ Her] □ lover cunningly doth weave | Caresses sweet, embraces, soft alarms

⁸ There is a variant for this and the next three verses on manuscript [74A-71']: The tender infant doth its rest receive | Than she with false net [and] full of charms | That [↑Her] □ lover amusingly doth weave | Caresses sweet, embraces, soft alarms

la triste Elvira en su ilusión divina.

In her illusion childlike and divine.

165 Que el alma virgen que halagó un encanto
con nacarado sueño en su pureza,
todo lo juzga verdadero y santo,
presta a todo virtud, presta belleza.
Del cielo azul al tachonado manto,
del sol radiante a la inmortal riqueza,
170 al aire, al campo, a las fragantes flores,
ella añade esplendor, vida y colores.

The virgin soul a pleasure did caress
With a sweet dream within its purity
Weathes all about with truth and holiness,
Thinketh in all virtue and charm to be.
In the blue sky's immense and spangled dress,
In the sun's deathless wealth she more doth see
And deep in air and fields and flowers sweet-scented
Their splendour, colour, life she sees augmented.

175 Cifró en don Félix la infeliz doncella
toda su dicha, de su amor perdida;
fueron sus ojos a los ojos de ella
astros de gloria, manantial de vida.
Cuando sus labios con sus labios sella
cuando su voz escucha embebida,
embriagada del dios que la enamora,
dulce le mira, extática le adora.

All in Don Felix lays the unhappy maid
Her happiness in love unquestioning¹
Unto her eyes his eyes that love betrayed
Are stars of glory, life's translucid spring.
And when his lips unto her lips are laid
When she to his voice rapt² is listening,
Soul-drunken of the god her heart that moves
She eyes him sweetly and extactic loves.

¹ [74A-66a^r]: See Fig. 10. E – I – 9.] Indication in upper right corner.

² <w>rapt

Parte segunda

Student of Salamanca.¹

Part II.

Translation.

Herr Prosit

.. *Except the hollow sea's.**Mourns o'er the beauty of the Cyclades.*Byron.- *Don Juan*, canto 4. LXXII.

Era más de media noche,
de luceros coronada,
terso el azul de los cielos
como transparente gasa.

The² night is serene and³ quiet⁴ ⁵
Crown'd by the stars in distance⁶
Unbroken⁷ the blue of heaven
Even as transparent lawn⁸,

5 Melancólica la luna
va trasmontando la espalda
del otero: su alba frente
tímida apenas levanta,

The moon⁹ in her melancholy
□ transposing¹⁰
Of the hill: her milky front
Timidly hardly she raiseth¹¹

10 y el horizonte ilumina,
pura virgen solitaria,
y en su blanca luz suave
el cielo y la tierra baña.

And the horizon illumines
Pure and¹² solitary virgin
And in her light white and tender¹³
Earth and¹⁴ heaven she doth bathe.

15 Deslízase el arroyuelo,
fúlgida cinta de plata
al resplandor de la luna,
entre franjas de esmeraldas.

On runs and slowly the brooklet¹⁵
A soft shiny streak of silver¹⁶
To the moon's □ shining
'Tween fringes¹⁷ of emerald.

¹ [74A-70r]: See Fig. 11.

² There is one crossed-out variant for this verse in manuscript [133N-20^v]: <The night is calm.>

³ [and]

⁴ There are two variants for this stanza. The first one is on manuscript [74A-71^v]: II. || The night is serene [and] quiet, | Crownèd w[ith] the silent stars | |Unbroken| the blue of heaven | Even as transparent lawn. The second one is on manuscript [74A-85^r], on whose verse Pessoa wrote p. 130 – 133, to indicate the corresponding pages of his Spanish edition. This manuscript also includes a first variant of the next two stanzas: The night is serene [and] quiet | And [→ is] crowned with the stars | □ the blue of the <skies> [↑ heavens] | Like transparent lawn. || And the melancholy moon | Is transposing □ | Of the hill □ | Timidly hardly doth raise, || And the horizon illumines | Pure and solitary virgin, | And with its white □ | □ earth and the sky.

⁵ [74A-90^r]: See Fig. 12. 130 – 131 – 132.] Indication in upper right corner: probably pages of Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁶ <&> Crown'd by the stars in the farness [↓ in distance]

⁷ [← Terso] Spanish word from Espronceda's original poem, indicating possible doubt regarding the translation.

⁸ Like unto [↑ Even as] transparent |lawn|

⁹ <M> The moon

¹⁰ <Is in her silence> transposing

¹¹ hardly <doth> [↑ she] raiseth

¹² [and]

¹³ in <its> [↑ her] light white [and] <soft> tender

¹⁴ [and]

¹⁵ runs <the> [↑ & slowly the] brooklet

¹⁶ A [↑ soft] shiny <belt> [↑ streak] of silver

¹⁷ <Be>'tween <franjās> [↑ fringes]

20	Argentadas chispas brillan entre las espesas ramas, y en el seno de las flores tal vez se aduermen las auras.	Soft sparkles ¹ of silver are gleaming Among ² the thickness of branches And in the bosom of flowers Awhile ³ the breezes are sleeping.
	Tal vez despiertas susurran, y al desplegarse sus alas, mecen el blanco azahar, mueven la aromosa acacia,	And then awakened in the ⁴ murmur ⁵ And thy ⁶ wings unfold, They ⁷ move the white orange blossom And the odorous acacia;
25	y agitan ramas y flores y en perfumes se embalsaman: Tal era pura esta noche, como aquella en que sus alas	They hath tremble branches and ⁸ flowers And as perfumes embalm ⁹ themselves: As ¹⁰ pure, is this night, so holy As that upon which their wings
30	los ángeles desplegaron sobre la primera llama que amor encendió en el mundo, del Edén en la morada.	The angels □ unfolded Over the first flame That Love in □ lighted In the paradise of ¹¹ Eden.
35	¡Una mujer! ¿Es acaso blanca silfa solitaria, que entre el rayo de la luna tal vez misteriosa vaga?	A woman! Is ¹² it perchance A sylph white and ¹³ solitary That on ¹⁴ the ray of the moon Haply mysteriously wanders?
40	Blanco es su vestido, ondea suelto el cabello a la espalda. Hoja tras hoja las flores que lleva en su mano, arranca.	White is her dress unloose ¹⁵ Her hair waves up her shoulder Leaf after leaf the flowers she cometh ¹⁶ That she has in hand, she scatters. ¹⁷
	Es su paso incierto y tardo,	[...] ¹⁸

¹ <Chispas> [↑ Soft sparkles]

² <Betw> Among

³ <Haply> [↓ Awhile]

⁴ Haply [↑ And then] awakened thy [↓ in the]

⁵ [74A-90^v]: See Fig. 13.

⁶ And <in> thy

⁷ <Lo> They

⁸ <And agitate> [↑ They hath tremble] branches [and]

⁹ And [← in [↓ as] perfumes] <hath> [↑ embalm]

¹⁰ /So [↑ As]/

¹¹ <□ of>

¹² woman <Is>! Is

¹³ [and]

¹⁴ /in [↑ on]/

¹⁵ dress [→ unloose]

¹⁶ [↓ The flowers she cometh]

¹⁷ <That her hand † the> [↓ That she has in hand,] she <tears off> [↑ scatters]. [↑ She scatters]

¹⁸ Verses 41-44 are missing.

inquietas son sus miradas,
mágico ensueño parece
que halaga engañoso el alma.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 45 | Ora, vedla, mira al cielo,
ora suspira, y se para:
Una lágrima sus ojos
brotan acaso y abrasais | Now, behold her ¹ , □ heaven ²
Now sighs □ now stops
A tear from her eyes
Poured and ³ burneth |
| 50 | su mejilla; es una ola
del mar que en fiera borrasca
el viento de las pasiones
ha alborotado en su alma. | Her cheek, it is a wave
Of the sea that in rude storms
The wind ⁴ of passions had mind
And shaken with her soul. |
| 55 | Tal vez se sienta, tal vez
azorada se levanta;
el jardín recorre ansiosa,
tal vez a escuchar se para. | Now she sits down,
Now arises hurry
The garden anxious she runs over ⁵
And now □ to listen. |
| 60 | Es el susurro del viento
es el murmullo del agua,
no es su voz, no es el sonido
melancólico del arpa. | It is the □ of the wind ⁶
And the murmur of □ water
'Tis not his voice nor the sound
Of the harp melancholical. |
| 65 | Son ilusiones que fueron:
Recuerdos ¡ay! que te engañan,
sombras del bien que pasó...
Ya te olvidó el que tú amas. | They are dreams that have ⁷ departed
Memories alas that do □ thee
Shadows of good that is passèd
He the ⁸ lover has forgot thee |
| 65 | Esa noche y esa luna
las mismas son que miraran
indiferentes tu dicha,
cual ora ven tu desgracia. | And oh, this night, this very ⁹ ¹⁰
Moon are the same that indifferent
Looked upon thy happiness
As now on ¹¹ thy misery |

¹ behold<,> her

² [74A-75^r]: See Fig. 14.

³ [and]

⁴ wind<s>

⁵ /she traverses [↑ runs over]/

⁶ [74A-75^v]: See Fig. 15.

⁷ illusions [↑ dreams that have]

⁸ He <who>[↑ the]

⁹ This stanza has a variant, which is the last stanza found on manuscript [74A-75^v]: And this moon [and] this night are | The very ones that had looked on | Your happiness indifferently | That <behold>[↑ now] thy burning behold

¹⁰ [74A-79^r]: See Fig. 16. The upper half of the manuscript has written and scratched Spanish words in what seems to be Pessoa's brainstorming for the translation of different terms: talante = | acaso = | tal vez = | nacarado = | cárdena =. Verse of manuscript has a scratched stanza which corresponds to verses 80-84 of Part I: <The street all □ | E'en so a vague shadow of dark [and] of lightness | A mystic [and] airy vague vision doth gleam | A moment, then hides it the <night's deepest †> shades in their nightness | Too like a sweet hope or deceiving vain dream,>

¹¹ As <they> now <th> on

70	¡Ah! llora sí, ¡pobre Elvira! ¡Triste amante abandonada! Esas hojas de esas flores que distraída tú arrancas,	Oh, weep, oh weep, poor Elvira Sad and ¹ abandoned mistress! These □ of those flowers That inattentive dost scatter
75	¿sabes adónde, infeliz, el viento las arrebató? Donde fueron tus amores, tu ilusión y tu esperanza;	Dost thou know unhappy maiden ² Whither ³ the wind away bears the □? Thither where thy ⁴ love began Thy illusion and ⁵ thy hopings,
	deshojadas y marchitas, ¡pobres flores de tu alma!	† alas! withered The poor flowers of thy soul
80	Blanca nube de la aurora, teñida de ópalo y grana, naciente luz te colora, refulgente precursora de la cándida mañana.	White cloud of morn ⁶ ⁷ Dyed with opal tint and ⁸ Rising light thee ⁹ doth adorn Forerunner □ Of morning □
85	Mas ¡ay! que se disipó tu pureza virginal, tu encanto el aire llevó cual la aventura ideal que el amor te prometió.	But, alas! how soon is gone ¹⁰ All your virgin purity Your charm the air hath undone Like the ideal □ Love promised yet never won.

¹ [and]

² /maiden/

³ Whither<>

⁴ <Where> Thither where <your> [† thy]

⁵ <And> Thy illusion [and]

⁶ *There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-82^r]: <White cloud of morning> | White □ of morn | □ | Rising light thee doth adorn | Precursor □ | Of the morning sweet & clear. After the end of stanza there is an indication of the page number in Pessoa's Spanish edition: page 134 end. The verse of the manuscript contains verses 106 to 108 of Part III, preceded by the page number of Pessoa's Spanish edition: p. 149. | <3º | I, my life. | That's very funny | I don't want it. Give me money | And you have her>*

⁷ [74A-91^v]: See Fig. 17. The upper section of the manuscript has scratched isolated words. In the verse of the manuscript, in the upper part it is written *Estudiante de Salamanca*, while in the lower part it is written *El Estudiante de Salamanca* | translated by A. Search. The last letters of the words *Salamanca* (both in the upper and lower part) and *Search* are missing. The manuscript, in fact, is torn, and the missing part corresponds to 74A-87^v. In the middle part we read several notes, which were probably written by Mário Nogueira de Freitas, Pessoa's cousin: *Made of the stuff of hates and way | amanhã anda aroda | Um † † que possui olhos podendo conter o rijo | † o † ao meu † | Mario Nogueira de Freitas | Freitas | Que pronuncia sin lengua boca | Qual la voz que del aspera roca | En los † <†> viento † | Freitas | Canto I. | amanhã | Jose de*

⁸ <†> Dyed with opal tint [and]

⁹ <The> Rising light [† thee]

¹⁰ *This stanza has two variants, one on manuscript [74A-81^r], which also includes the first word of the first word of the next stanza's first verse: But oh the † shaken | All your virgin purity | Your charm the air hath taken | Like the ideal □ | That love promised to awaken. || Leaves etc. The second variation is found on [74A-86^v]: But oh it hath not lasted | <Your>/All\ your virgin purity | Your pleasure the air hath blasted | Like the pleasure □ | That love did *promise, untasted.*

90	Hojas del árbol caídas juguetes del viento son: Las ilusiones perdidas ¡ay! son hojas desprendidas del árbol del corazón.	Leaves that from the tree have fallen ¹ Are playthings ² of the wind's art; Are dreams that lives hath stolen ³ Oh, they are leaves that have fallen From the worn tree of the heart.
95	¡El corazón sin amor! Triste páramo cubierto con la lava del dolor, oscuro inmenso desierto donde no nace una flor!	The heart loveless, unsighing! ^{4 5} A sad plain all covered with ⁶ The ⁷ lava of suffering A desert of vacant breadth ⁸ Whence ⁹ not a flower doth spring.
100	Distante un bosque sombrío, el sol cayendo en la mar, en la playa un aduar, y a los lejos un navío viento en popa navegar;	Distant a dark wood the sun ¹⁰ Sinking ¹¹ in the sea † † ¹² on the beach Afar a vessel doth run ¹³ Sailing with the wind reach;
105	óptico vidrio presenta en fantástica ilusión, y al ojo encantado ostenta gratas visiones, que aumenta rica la imaginación.	In ¹⁴ an optic glass doth present A phantastic illusion ¹⁵ And to charmed eyes is ¹⁶ † With ¹⁷ visions which doth augment The fancy in sweet confusion
110	Tú eres, mujer, un fanal transparente de hermosura: ¡Ay de ti! si por tu mal rompe el hombre en su locura tu misterioso cristal.	Woman thou art a head light Transparent of loveliness Woe to thee if for thy fright Man in breaketh ¹⁸ in his □ Thy ¹⁹ mystic crystal's delight.

¹ The first two verses of this stanza have a variant on manuscript [74A-103^v]: Leaves that from the tree have fallen, | Are the playthings of the wind:

² Are <the> playthings

³ Are <illusions lost [and]> [† dreams that *lives hath stolen]

⁴ The first three verses of this stanza have a variant, which corresponds to the last stanza in manuscript [74A-91^v]: Oh, for the heart without love | A sad □ | With all the lava □

⁵ [74A-86^r]: See Fig. 18.

⁶ covered <o'er> with

⁷ <With> the

⁸ breadt] Most likely an unintentional spelling lapse.

⁹ Where [↓ Whence]

¹⁰ <Afar off> [† Distant] a dark wood <wood> [† the sun]

¹¹ <The sun> sinking

¹² <On the beach> [† †]

¹³ And <†> afar off a vessel [† Afar a vessel doth run]

¹⁴ Originally written as the beginning of the second verse, Pessoa indicated with an arrow that the word In should begin the first one instead.

¹⁵ <dream> [† illusion]

¹⁶ <is> [† is]

¹⁷ <With> [† With]

¹⁸ <his> [† breaketh]

¹⁹ <Your> [† Thy]

- 115 Mas ¡ay! dichosa tú, Elvira,
 en tu misma desventura,
 que aun deleites te procura,
 cuando tu pecho suspira,
 tu misteriosa locura:
- 120 Que es la razón un tormento,
 y vale más delirar
 sin juicio, que el sentimiento
 cuerdamente analizar,
 fijo en él el pensamiento.
- 125 Vedla, allí va que sueña en su locura,
 presente el bien que para siempre huyó.
 Dulces palabras con amor murmura:
 Piensa que escucha al pérfido que amó.
- 130 Vedla, postrada su piedad implora
 cual si presente la mirara allí:
 Vedla, que sola se contempla y llora,
 miradla delirante sonreír.
- 135 Y su frente en revuelto remolino
 ha enturbiado su loco pensamiento,
 como nubo que en negro torbellino
 encubre el cielo y amontona el viento.
- Y vedla cuidadosa escoger flores,
 y las lleva mezcladas en la falda,
 y, corona nupcial de sus amores,
- But oh! Elvira livest^{1 2}
 In thy³ very □ sadness
 For even some human gladness
 When thy tender breast doth sigh
 Gives thee thy mysterious⁴ madness:
- For reason is but a hell⁵
 And rather 'vails it to rave
 Without mind, that to compel
 Thought upon feeling with⁶ grave
 Analysis coldy well.⁷
- Behold her, as she dreameth⁸ in her madness^{9 10}
 Present the happiness she ever lost
 Sweet words with love she murmurs without sadness:
 She thinks to hear the traitor¹¹ she hath loved.
- Behold her, □ implores¹²
 As if present there she saw him
 Behold her □
 Behold her madness □ to smile.
- And her mind in a □ confusion¹³
 Has ¹⁴ □ her confused thought and¹⁵ undefined
 Like clouds that in a black and¹⁶ whirl profusion
 Cover the sky and¹⁷ ponder to the wind,
- Behold her carefully choosing flowers¹⁸
 She takes them joined in the □
 And nuptial coronet of her¹

¹ <Livest> [↑ Livest] Variant indicated in the beginning of second verse.

² [74A-82']: See Fig. 19.

³ <your> [↑ thy]

⁴ <Doth give> [↑ Gives] thee thy <mystie> [↑ mysterious]

⁵ [74A-80']: See Fig. 20. p. 135] Page indication of Pessoa's Spanish edition, written on upper left corner.

⁶ <[and]> with

⁷ Analysis cold and fell. [↓ Analysis coldy well.]

⁸ as [↑ she] dream<s>[↑ eth]

⁹ There is a variant of this stanza, which corresponds to the first stanza in manuscript [74A-74^v]: Behold her □ | Presents the good that has for ever fled: | Sweet words with love she murmureth | □

¹⁰ [74A-87']: See Fig. 21. The back side of this manuscript has the missing letters of 74A-91', which would complete the words Salamanca and Search in the note El Estudiante de Salamanca | translated by A. Search.

¹¹ <lover> [↓ traitor]

¹² [74A-74^v]: See Fig. 22.

¹³ [74A-74^r]: See Fig. 23.

¹⁴ Has <†>

¹⁵ [and]

¹⁶ that [↑ in] a black [and]

¹⁷ [and]

¹⁸ [74A-72']: See Fig. 24.

se entretiene en tejer una guirnalda.

A garland she doth let her fingers weave².

140 Y en medio de su dulce desvarío
triste recuerdo el alma le importuna
y al margen va del argentado río,
y allí las flores echa de una en una;

[...]³

y las sigue su vista en la corriente,
145 una tras otras rápidas pasar,
y confusos sus ojos y su mente
se siente con sus lágrimas ahogar:

Y de amor canta, y en su tierna queja
entona melancólica canción,
150 canción que el alma desgarrada deja,
lamento ¡ay! que llaga el corazón.

She sings of love in her tender plaint⁴
A melancholy song her heart⁵ hath found
A song that leaves the soul and torn and⁶ faint
A plaint – alas – the heart □ wound

¿Qué me valen tu calma y tu terneza,
tranquila noche, solitaria luna,
si no calmáis del hado la crudeza,
155 ni me dais esperanza de fortuna?

What are to me thy calm
O tranquil night! oh solitary moon
If you cannot allay Fate's cruelty
Nor give me hope of Future⁷ boon?

¿Qué me valen la gracia y la belleza,
y amar como jamás amó ninguna,
si la pasión que el alma me devora,
la desconoce aquel que me enamora?

What are grace and⁸ beauty cost me
To feel a love no woman⁹ yet hath known
If the deep passion¹⁰ that my soul devours
He who makes me thy □ ignores.¹¹

160 Lágrimas interrumpen su lamento,
inclinan sobre el pecho su semblante,
y de ella en derredor susurra el viento
sus últimas palabras, sollozante.

Tears interrupt her plaint that she saith
She on her breast her¹² head drops heavily.
And around her the wind murmureth¹³
Its last words, in a sigh

.....¹⁴
.....

¹ <garland>[↑ coronet] of her <love>

² <She> [→ A] garland she doth [→ let her fingers] <to> weave

³ Verses 140-147 are missing.

⁴ [74A-89r]: See. Fig. 25. 136] Page indication of Pessoa's Spanish edition, written on upper left corner. Stanzas are not written in order.

⁵ /heart/

⁶ [and] torn [and]

⁷ me <of> [↑ hope] of <f>/F\uture

⁸ [and]

⁹ <[And] love you as no woman> [↑ To feel a love <as> [↑ no] woman

¹⁰ the [↑ deep] passion

¹¹ He knoweth not who [↓ He who makes me thy □ ignores.]

¹² <↑> [↑ She] on her breast <she> [↑ her]

¹³ [← the wind] murmureth

¹⁴ This ellipsis is meant to represent Elvira's last words. As our benchmark Spanish editions, we have not included these lines in the verse numbering.

.....

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>165 Murió de amor la desdichada Elvira,
 cándida rosa que agostó el dolor,
 süave aroma que el viajero aspira
 y en sus alas el aura arrebató.</p> | <p>Hapless Elvira how by love met death¹
 A candid rose that pain hath □ shaken
 A tender scent that the traveller doth breathe²
 And which the breeze upon its wings hath taken.</p> |
| <p>170 Vaso de bendición, ricos colores
 reflejó en su cristal la luz del día,
 mas la tierra empañó sus resplandores,
 y el hombre lo rompió con mano impía.</p> | <p>Vessel of benediction, colours bright
 Within its crystal daylight did reflect,
 But earth did choke its splendour and³ delight
 And man with impious hand its beauty wrecked.</p> |
| <p>175 Una ilusión acarició su mente:
 Alma celeste para amar nacida,
 era el amor de su vivir la fuente,
 estaba junto a su ilusión su vida.</p> | <p>One sweet illusion did her mind caress
 A heavenly soul to adoration⁴ born
 Love was the fountain of her livingness
 And to⁵ dream her □</p> |
| <p>Amada del Señor, flor venturosa,
 llena de amor murió y de juventud:
 Despertó alegre una alborada hermosa,
 y a la tarde durmió en el ataúd.</p> | <p>Loved of the Lord, a □ flower.
 She died – (alas!) –to love and youth so near⁶
 Gaily she woke to the sweet⁷ morning hour
 And in the evening slept within the⁸ bier.</p> |
| <p>180 Mas despertó también de su locura
 al término postrero de su vida,
 y al abrirse a sus pies la sepultura,
 volvió a su mente la razón perdida.</p> | <p>But from her⁹ madness also she awoke
 Upon the very ending¹⁰ of her □ days.
 And □ on the grave's brink
 Back to her mind her reason lost¹¹.</p> |
| <p>185 ¡La razón fría! ¡La verdad amarga!
 ¡El bien pasado y el dolor presente!...
 ¡Ella feliz! ¡que de tan dura carga
 sintió el peso al morir únicamente!</p> | <p>Cold reason! □ bitter truth¹²
 The good departed in the present pain
 She happy! Whom such †
 She felt the weight but *with the last hours</p> |
| <p>190 Y conociendo ya su fin cercano,
 su mejilla una lágrima abrasó;
 y así al infiel con temblorosa mano,
 moribunda su víctima escribió:</p> | <p>And knowing her end
 Her cheek did burn a tear
 And to the faithless lover with a hand
 Trembling his victim¹³ □</p> |

¹ [74A-84^r]: See Fig. 26.

² traveller [↑ doth breathe]

³ [and]

⁴ to <love> [→ adoration]

⁵ And <near> to

⁶ – (alas!) – <so full of love [and] of youth> [↑ to love [and] youth so near]

⁷ [↑ Gaily] She woke <with pleasures in the> [↑ to the sweet]

⁸ her [↑ the]

⁹ <the> [↑ her]

¹⁰ <en> [↑ very] ending

¹¹ her <her> [↑ reason lost]

¹² [74A-84^v]: See Fig. 27.

¹³ Trembling <she wrote> [↑ his victim]

- «Voy a morir: perdona si mi acento
vuela importuno a molestar tu oído:
Él es, don Félix, el postrer lamento
195 de la mujer que tanto te ha querido.
La mano helada de la muerte siento...
Adiós: ni amor ni compasión te pido...
Oye y perdona si al dejar el mundo,
arranca un ¡ay! su angustia al moribundo.
- 200 »¡Ah! para siempre adiós. Por ti mi vida
dichosa un tiempo resbalar sentí,
y la palabra de tu boca oída,
éxtasis celestial fue para mí.
Mi mente aún goza la ilusión querida
205 que para siempre ¡mísera! perdí...
¡Ya todo huyó, desapareció contigo!
¡Dulces horas de amor, yo las bendigo!
- »Yo las bendigo, sí, felices horas,
presentes siempre en la memoria mía,
210 imágenes de amor encantadoras,
que aún vienen a halagarme en mi agonía.
Mas ¡ay! volad, huid, engañadoras
sombras, por siempre; mi postrero día
ha llegado: perdón, perdón, ¡Dios mío!,
215 si aún gozo en recordar mi desvarío.
- »Y tú, don Félix, si te causa enojos
que te recuerde yo mi desventura;
piensa están hartos de llorar mis ojos
- I am dying; pardon me if each accent¹ 2
Flieth importune to molest thine ear;
It is³ the □ last lament
Of her to whom □ thyself hast been⁴ so dear
Death's hand already feel I in one⁵ beat
Farewell: I ask nor love's nor pity's tear
Listen and pardon me if as⁶ I die,
From her who dies her torture wrings a sigh.⁷
- Farewell, farewell for ever. As the stream⁸
Of life felt run softly once □ through⁹ thee,
And the □ from¹⁰ thy lips that came
Was a □ heavenly extasis for me.
My heart yet lightens in the dearest dream
That ever more – I lost □ oh misery!¹¹
All things with thee¹² are gone, all things did flit
Sweet hours of love, how do I bless thee yet!
- I bless thee, ay I bless thee, happy hours¹³
That from my memory never are away
Love's images alas charm my soul devours
That to¹⁴ my agony bring tears
But oh for ever go!
□ my last day
Is come: oh forgive, pardon me oh Lord¹⁵
If do love my madness to record.
- Should I, Don Felix be thine anger *reaping¹⁶ 17
Because I mind thee¹⁸ of mine own distress
Remember that mine eyes are worn with weeping

¹ if [→ each accent]

² [74A-77^v]: See Fig. 28.

³ It is/, Don Felix/The word out written below the name suggests Pessoa wished to remove it from the verse.

⁴ □ wert [↑thyself hast been]

⁵ <My> [↑ Death's] hand already <do I> feel [→ I in one]

⁶ [and] pardon [↑ me] if when [↑ as]

⁷ Two more incomplete variations of this verse are written down: My □ tears from me □ sigh. | From the dying □ wrings a sigh.

⁸ [74A-77^r]: See Fig. 29.

⁹ □ <for> [↑ through]

¹⁰ □ <mouth> from

¹¹ <oh woe is †> [↑ I lost □ oh misery!]

¹² things [← with thee]

¹³ [74A-76^r]: See Fig. 30. p. 138. | last = stanza] Page indication in the bottom of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

¹⁴ That <†> to

¹⁵ pardon, [↑ forgive] pardon me my [↑ oh] <I>/L\ord

¹⁶ And thou, Don Felix, [↑ <And> {↑ Should} I, D[on] F[elix] be thine anger *reaping]

¹⁷ [74A-88^r]: See Fig. 31.

¹⁸ That I should mind [↑ Because I mind thee] thee

220	lágrimas silenciosas de amargura, y hoy, al tragar la tumba mis despojos, concede este consuelo a mi tristura; estos renglones compasivo mira; y olvida luego para siempre a Elvira.	Tears, silent and □ tears ¹ of bitterness To-day yielding my body ² to earth's keeping This consolation give my † ³ With pity on these lines awhile Elvira then for ever do forget.
225	»Y jamás turbe mi infeliz memoria con amargos recuerdos tus placeres; goces te dé el vivir, triunfos la gloria, dichas el mundo, amor otras mujeres: Y si tal vez mi lamentable historia a tu memoria con dolor trajeres, 230 llórame, sí; pero palpita exento tu pecho de roedor remordimiento.	And never let of *one remember gory ^{4 5} With bitter memories thy ⁶ pleasures move May living give thee joys and triumphs glory ⁷ Pleasures the world and ⁸ other women love: And ⁹ if at times my lamentable story Came to thy mind a pain awhile ¹⁰ should prove Weep me, ah weep me but let thy heart ¹¹ Beat far from shred remorse's ¹² eating ¹² smart
235	»Adiós por siempre, adiós: un breve instante siento de vida, y en mi pecho el fuego aún arde de mi amor; mi vista errante vaga desvanecida... ¡calma luego, oh muerte, mi inquietud!... ¡Sola... expirante!... Ámame: no, perdona: ¡inútil ruego!	Farewell, farewell ¹³ for e'er; a moment slight ¹⁴ I feel of life and of love in within ¹⁵ my heart Love's fire yet burneth, and ¹⁶ my wandering sight Is vague and ¹⁷ troubled... □ give rest Unto my trouble oh ¹⁸ death! Alone □ Love me; no, pardon me; useless request!

¹ <Si> Tears, silent tears □ [↓ Silent [and] □ tears]

² To-day <when † my> [↑ yielding my body]

³ <Give this> [↑ This] consolation give <to> my /†/

⁴ /gory/

⁵ [74A-83r]: See Fig. 32. p 139 – 2s] Page indication beneath final verse corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁶ <your> [↑ thy]

⁷ Life give <you> [↑ thee] joys □ triumphs glory [↓ May living give thee joys [and] triumphs glory] There is a subtle variant of this and the next verse in manuscript [74A-88r]: May living give thee <pleasures> [↑ joys,] [and] triumphs glory | Pleasures the world, [and] other women love.

⁸ [and]

⁹ [And]

¹⁰ <brain> [↑ mind] a <pain awhile> [↑ pain awhile]

¹¹ There is a variant of this and the next verse in manuscript [74A-88v]: Weep me; but □ let thy breast | Unmoved by any remorseful unrest. Also, the upper part of the aforementioned page corresponds to verses 625-627 of Part IV. The middle area of the manuscript, introduced by the number 139 which suggesting the page of Pessoa's Spanish edition, consists of scratched verses that correspond to verses 236-243 of Part II: <Farewell, f. for <ever> [↑ e'er]; a moment slight | I feel of life, [and] <in my> [↑ of my] love the fire | Yet burns within me, and my wandering sight, | Is vague [and] troubled <.>.... □ | My trouble, oh death! Alone □ | Love me, no, pardon me; useless [→ desire] [↑ 'tis useless to require] | Farewell, farewell! thy heart has from me fled | – For me all [↑ things] in the □ are dead!>

¹² from <eat> shred remorse's¹² [↑ eating]

¹³ f[arewell]

¹⁴ [74A-78r]: See Fig. 33. After stanza Pessoa identified the page corresponding to his Spanish edition: p. 139 | stanza 3. In verse of manuscript he wrote Criminalidade em Hespanha

¹⁵ [and] of love in [↑ within]

¹⁶ The [↑ Love's] fire yet burneth, [and]

¹⁷ [and]

¹⁸ trouble [↑ oh]

¡Adiós! ¡adiós! ¡tu corazón perdí!
-¡Todo acabó en el mundo para mí!»—

Farewell, farewell! thy heart from me has fled!
For me all things within the world¹ are dead.

240 Así escribió su triste despedida
momentos antes de morir, y al pecho
se estrechó de su madre dolorida,
que en tanto inunda en lágrimas su lecho.

[...]²

Y exhaló luego su postrer aliento,
245 y a su madre sus brazos se apretaron
con nervioso y convulso movimiento,
y sus labios un nombre murmuraron.

Y huyó su alma a la mansión dichosa,
do los ángeles moran... Tristes flores
250 brota la tierra en torno de su losa,
el céfiro lamenta sus amores.

And her soul went unto the have³ ⁴
The angels their sweet home sad⁵ are the flowers
That earth doth yield⁶ around her □ grave;
The zephir mourns her love through the soft hours.

Sobre ella un sauce su ramaje inclina,
sombra le presta en lánguido desmayo,
y allá en la tarde, cuando el sol declina,
255 baña su tumba en paz su último rayo...

A willow over her its leaves inclines⁷
Giving her shade with languidness in day,⁸
And there at evening when the sun declines
Her grave is bathèd in its dying ray.

¹ that the world has [↑ within the world]

² Verses 240-247 are missing.

³ half [↑ have]

⁴ [74A-73ʳ]: See Fig. 34.

⁵ The angels <sweet> [↑ their sweet] <house>/home \ Sad

⁶ <†>/yield \

⁷ [74A-73ʳ]: See Fig. 35.

⁸ <And given it> [↑ Giving her] shade with languidness [↓ in day,]

Student of Salamanca¹

Parte tercera

Part III

Translation

Cuadro dramático

Sarg. ¿Tenéis más que parar?

Franco. Paro los ojos.

.....

Los ojos sí, los ojos: que descreo

Del que los hizo para tal empleo.

Moreto. *San Franco de Sena.*

Personas

Don Félix de Montemar.

Don Diego de Pastrana.

Seis jugadores.

	En derredor de una mesa	Sitting close around a table ²
	hasta seis hombres están,	Six men are □ descried
	fija la vista en los naipes,	Their sight on the □ fixed
	mientras juegan al parar;	At staking thy play the while,
5	y en sus semblantes se pintan	And in their pale countenances ³
	el despecho y el afán:	Ambit is seen and spite ⁴
	Por perder desesperados,	By losing weakly despairing
	avarientos por ganar.	And to gain eagerly wild. ⁵
	Reina profundo silencio,	A profound silence pervades ⁶
10	sin que lo rompa jamás	Broken by no noise or cry ⁷
	otro ruido que el del oro,	Save by □ the gold's or a voice's ⁸
	o una voz para jurar.	In cursing from time to time. ⁹
	Pálida lámpara alumbrá	A pallid lamp doth illumine
	con trémula claridad,	With a ¹⁰ tremulous pale light

¹ [74A-92']: See Fig. 36. The verse of this manuscript is a partial printed article on the properties of soap brand Sabão Ray.

² [74A-108']: See. Fig. 37. p. 96 (New Book)] Indication corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

³ There is a variant of this and the next seven verses in manuscript [74A-103']: And in their faces are painted | Despair [and] an eager strain | <When> [↑ For] losing desperate | And avaricious to gain || A profound silence doth reign | Which not a sound can *strike | Save the gold's cloath Or [↑ any] a voice to curse.

⁴ <† †> <Spite> <Aw> † is seen [and] spite [↓ are †]

⁵ <avaricious to gain> [↑ to gain eagerly †.]

⁶ <unbroken> [↑ †]

⁷ <Except by the> [↑ <Un>broken <scarcely> by no noise or cry]

⁸ <gold or> [← the gold's] [↑ or a voice's]

⁹ <A voice in curse or □ /†/> [↓ In cursing from time to time.]

¹⁰ <A> [↑ With a]

- 15 negras de humo las paredes The smoke-dark walls of that infernal¹
 de aquella estancia infernal. Den lost in the □ vile.²
 Y el misterioso bramido And the mysterious shrieking^{3 4}
 se escucha del huracán, Is heard of the storm outside
 que azota los vidrios frágiles Which lashes the trembling windows
 20 con sus alas al pasar. With its wings as it goes by.

*Escena I**I.*⁵*Jugador 1.*⁶

1

El caballo aún no ha salido.

The Queen is not but⁶*Jugador 2.*⁷

2

¿Qué carta vino?

Not the † then?⁷*Jugador 1.*⁸

1

La sota.

No, the knave⁸*Jugador 2.*⁹

2

Pues por poco se alborota.

For little you make a⁹*Jugador 1.*¹⁰

1

25 Un caudal llevo perdido:

A heap of money I've lost

¡Voto a Cristo!

I vow to Christ!

*Jugador 2.*¹¹

2

No juréis,
que aún no estáis en la agonía.Do not vow¹⁰
Your end has not yet □.*Jugador 1.*¹²

1

No hay suerte como la mía.

There never was luck like mine.

*Jugador 2.*¹³

2

¿Y como cuánto perdéis?

Well, how much have you lost now?¹¹*Jugador 1.*¹⁴

1

Mil escudos y el dinero

A thousand doubloons^{1 2}¹ /The walls with smoke blackened/ [↓The smoke-dark walls of that infernal]² /<Of that infernal> □/ [↑ <†> the] <misery> [↓ Den † in the □ †.]³ There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-108^v] followed by an indication of the beginning of Scene I: And the □ howling | Are [↑ Is] of the wind outside | That bashes the trembling windows | With its wings as it goes by. || Scene I⁴ [74A-107^r]: See Fig. 38.⁵ [74A-111^r]: See Fig. 39.⁶ The <knave> [↑ Queen] <has> [↑ is] [→ *wasn't]not <come> [↑ but]⁷ <What card is it then?> [↓ Not the † then?]⁸ [← No,] The <Queen> [knave †]⁹ a <scene>¹⁰ This and the next verse have a variant on manuscript [133N-20^v]: Do not vow | You are not you¹¹ There is a variant of this verse in manuscript [133N-20^v]: [← Don Felix,] Well, how much have you lost now?

30	que don Félix me entregó.	Don Felix gave me ^{3 4}
	<i>Jugador 2.^o</i>	2 ⁵
	¿Dónde anda?	Where is he? ^{6 7}
	<i>Jugador 1.^o</i>	1 ⁸
	¡Qué sé yo!	How do I know
	No tardará.	I don't know soon him will be ^{9 10}
	<i>Jugador 3.^o</i>	3 ¹¹
	Envido.	I stake this ¹²
	<i>Jugador 1.^o</i>	1 ¹³
	Quiero.	I stake you.
	<i>Escena II</i>	II. ¹⁴
	Galán de talle gentil,	A gallant of well figure ¹⁵
	la mano izquierda apoyada	His left hand □ rested ¹⁶
35	en el pomo de la espada,	On his sword's hilt
	y el aspecto varonil:	His aspect manly ¹⁷
	Alta el ala del sombrero	His □ †
	porque descubra la frente,	That his fore it † ¹⁸
	con airoso continente	With a □ †
40	entró luego un caballero.	Entered then a gentleman. ¹⁹
	<i>Jugador 1.^o (Al que entra.)</i>	1 ^o (To him who enters). ²⁰

¹ There is a variant of this verse in manuscript [74A-48^r]: A thousand [and] the †. The second one is in manuscript [74A-111^r]: A thousand † [and] □

² [133N-20^v]: See Fig. 40.

³ D[on] Felix <gave me> [† gave me]

⁴ [74A-48^r]: See Fig. 41. PAG 35 = 20] Indication of what apparently is a page equivalent between two Spanish editions.

⁵ [2]

⁶ This and the next verse have a crossed-out variant on manuscript [74A-48^r]: <Where is he?> | <How do I know? [-> How do I know?]>. In the same manuscript, this verse has another variant: Who's he?

⁷ [133N-20^v]: See Fig. 40.

⁸ [1]

⁹ [↓ <He'll *come soon>]

¹⁰ [74A-48^r]: See Fig. 41.

¹¹ [3]

¹² I <of> stake this] There is a crossed-out indication about the translation, apparently indicating doubt: <envido = I stake>

¹³ [1]

¹⁴ [II.]

¹⁵ <gentle †> [† well figure]

¹⁶ □ <† rested> rested

¹⁷ <And> his <aspect> [† aspect manly]

¹⁸ † <†>

¹⁹ <well>[†gentle]man.

²⁰ [74A-106^r]: See Fig. 42. On verse of manuscript Pessoa wrote down: 30, probably referring to the page of his Spanish version, followed by an illegible scratched word.

Don Félix, a buena hora
habéis llegado.

Don Félix
¿Perdisteis?

Jugador 1.^o
El dinero que me disteis
y esta bolsa pecadora.

45 *Jugador 2.^o*
Don Félix de Montemar
debe perder. El amor
le negara su favor
cuando le viera ganar.

50 *Don Félix (Con desdén.)*
Necesito ahora dinero
y estoy haziado de amores.
(*Al corro, con altivez.*)
Dos mil ducados, señores,
por esta cadena quiero.
(*Quítase una cadena que lleva al pecho.*)

Jugador 3.^o
Alta ponéis la tarifa.

55 *Don Félix (Con altivez.)*
La pongo en lo que merece.
Si otra duda se os ofrece,
decid.
(*Al corro.*)
Se vende y se rifa.

Jugador 4.^o (Aparte.)
¿Y hay quién sufra tal afrenta?

Don Felix, no time¹ were worse
For you to arrive.

Don Felix
You have lost?²

Player³
The money which you gave
And this very sinning purse.

2^o
Don Felix de Montemar
Is bound to lose. Love would fly him.⁴
Love his favour would deny him⁵
If he saw him win.

Don Felix⁶
To get⁷ money is now my task
Oh love I'm tied unto pain,
(*to them all*)⁸
Gentlemen, all⁹ for this chain
A thousand ducats I ask.

3.^o 10
You set the price high.

Don Felix¹¹
I set it as 'tis worth no more.
If any doubt you
Say it.

'Tis 'will' or it's true †

4^o12
□

¹ hour [↑ time]

² D[on] F[elix] – You<'ve lost> have lost?

³ P[layer]

⁴ Must lose. [↑ Bound to lose] Love would deny him. [↑ Love would fly him.]

⁵ His favour, ay! Love would fly him [↑ Love his favour would deny him]

⁶ D[on] F[elix]

⁷ <earn> [↑ get]

⁸ [↑ to thee all]

⁹ [← all]

¹⁰ [74A-48a^r]: See Fig. 43. 145] Indication at top of page. Does not correspond to the page number of Pessoa's Spanish edition.

¹¹ [Don] F[elix]

¹² [4^o]

	<i>Don Félix</i>	<i>Don Felix</i> ¹
	Entre cinco están hallados.	Among five □
	A cuatrocientos ducados	To 400 ducats
60	os toca, según mi cuenta.	□
	Al as deoros. Allá va.	The ace of swords! There ^{2 3}
	(Va echando cartas, que toman los jugadores en silencio.)	
	Uno, dos...	Goes one and ⁴ two.
	(Al perdidoso.)	
	Con vos no cuento.	You I don't count
	<i>Jugador 1.^o</i>	<i>1^o</i>
	Por el motivo lo siento.	I am sorry that you don't.
	<i>Jugador 3.^o</i>	<i>3^o</i>
	¡El as! ¡El as! Aquí está.	The ace! the ace! it is here
	<i>Jugador 1.^o</i>	<i>1^o</i>
65	Ya ganó.	He has won.
	<i>Don Félix</i>	<i>Don Felix</i> ⁵
	Suerte tenéis.	You are most ^{6 7}
	A un solo golpe de dados	Lucky. At one throw of dice ⁸
	tiro los dos mil ducados.	I stake a thousand ducats
	<i>Jugador 3.^o</i>	<i>3^{o9}</i>
	¿En un golpe?	In a throw?
	<i>Jugador 1.^o (A Don Félix.)</i>	<i>1^{o10}</i>
	Los perdéis.	You have lost? ¹¹
	<i>Don Félix</i>	<i>Don Felix</i> ¹²

¹ [Don] F[elix]

² There is a variant for this and the following seven lines in manuscript [74A-48a^r]: To the ace of diamonds. <there> There! | One, 2 | <With> You I don't count. || 1^o | I am sorry that I don't □ || 3^o | The ace, the ace it is here! || 1^o | It's won.

³ [74A-112^r]: See Fig. 44. 98] Page number corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁴ [and]

⁵ D[on] F[elix]

⁶ Although most of this dialogue is found in manuscript [74A-112^r], this stanza is a variant found in a different manuscript, [74A-96^r], and was used instead due to its more well-rounded translation. The variant of the former manuscript is: At a single throw [↑ cast] | A thousand ducats I □

⁷ [74A-96^r]: See Fig. 45. p. 98 († ed.)] Page number and publisher of Pessoa's Spanish edition, written in upper right corner. Indication written in lower right corner of text that continues in the back: over

⁸ There is a variant of this and the next two verses in manuscript [74A-48^r]: At a *sight <*of> *the † die | <The> 2000 ducats I | In †

⁹ [74A-112^r]: See Fig. 44.

¹⁰ <4>1^o

¹¹ A variant of this verse and the next two is found in manuscript [74A-96^r]: You have lost. || [Don] F[elix] | | Lost | My soul's □ | A little bit does not matter

¹² D[on] F[elix]

70	Perdida tengo yo el alma, y no me importa un ardite.	I have lost □ my soul And this little is no matter
	<i>Jugador 3.^o</i> Tirad.	3 ^o □
	<i>Don Félix</i> Al primer embite.	<i>Don Felix</i> ¹ □
	<i>Jugador 3.^o</i> Tirad pronto.	3 ^o □
75	<i>Don Félix</i> Tened calma: Que os juego más todavía, y en cien onzas hago el trato, y os lleváis este retrato con marco de pedrería.	<i>Don Felix</i> ² Keep cool I'll play you further, ³ A hundred ounces I'll stake For while this portrait you take With a frame of precious stones ⁴
	<i>Jugador 3.^o</i> ¿En cien onzas?	3 ^{o5} □
	<i>Don Félix</i> ¿Qué dudáis?	<i>Don Felix</i> ⁶ "What doubt you?" ⁷
	<i>Jugador 1.^o (Tomando el retrato.)</i> ¡Hermosa mujer!	1 ^{o8} Lovely woman.
	<i>Jugador 4.^o</i> No es caro:	4 ^{o9} 'Tis not dear.
	<i>Don Félix</i> ¿Queréis pararlas?	<i>Don Felix</i> ¹⁰ You wish to stalk them.
80	<i>Jugador 3.^o</i> Las paro. Más ganaré.	3 ^{o11} They are here. And I will win.
	<i>Don Félix</i>	<i>Don Felix</i> ¹

¹ D[on] F[elix]² D[on] F[elix]³ [74A-112^v]: See Fig. 46.⁴ etc | in other paper] Note beneath the last verse.⁵ [3^o]⁶ [Don Felix]⁷ [74A-100^r]: See Fig. 47. p.147.] Page number on upper left corner corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.⁸ [1^o]⁹ [4^o]¹⁰ [Don Felix]¹¹ [3^o]

Si ganáis
(*Se registra todo.*)
no tengo otra joya aquí.

If you do
[...]²

Jugador 1.^o (Mirando el retrato.)
Si esta imagen respira...

1^{o3}
This image, did breathe but shock her^{4 5}

Don Félix
A estar aquí la jugara
a ella, al retrato y a mí.

Don Felix⁶
If she was here I shall stalk her
Her and the portrait and⁷ me.

Jugador 3.^o
Vengan los dados.

[...]⁸

Don Félix
Tirad.

85 *Jugador 2.^o*
Por don Félix, cien ducados.

Jugador 4.^o
En contra van apostados.

Jugador 5.^o
Cincuenta más. Esperad,
no tiréis.

Jugador 2.^o
Van los cincuenta.

Jugador 1.^o
Yo, sin blanca, a Dios le ruego
por don Félix.

90 *Jugador 5.^o*
Hecho el juego.

Jugador 3.^o
¿Tiro?

Don Félix

¹ [Don Felix]

² Verse 81 is missing.

³ [1^o]

⁴ A variant of this verse is found in manuscript [74A-96^v]: This image, did breath but wake her!

⁵ [74A-100^v]: See Fig. 48.

⁶ [Don Felix]

⁷ [and] the portrait [and]

⁸ Verses 85-104 are missing.

Tirad con sesenta
de a caballo.

(Todos se agrupan con ansiedad alrededor de
la mesa. El Jugador 3.^o tira los dados.)

Jugador 4.^o
¿Qué ha salido?

Jugador 2.^o
¡Mil demonios, que a los dos
nos lleven!

Don Félix (Con calma al 1.^o)
¡Bien, vive Dios!

95 Vuestros ruegos me han valido.
Encomendadme otra vez,
don Juan, al diablo; no sea
que si os oye Dios, me vea
cautivo y esclavo en Fez.

Jugador 3.^o
100 Don Félix, habéis perdido
sólo el marco, no el retrato,
que entrar la dama en el trato
vuestra intención no habrá sido.

Don Félix
¿Cuánto dierais por la dama?

Jugador 3.^o 3^{o1}
105 Yo, la vida. I my life²

Don Félix Don Felix³
No la quiero. That won't do.
Mirad si me dais dinero, Just give me money and⁴ you
y os la lleváis. May take her.

Jugador 3.^o [...]⁵
¡Buena fama
lograréis entre las bellas
cuando descubran altivas,
110 que vos las hacéis cautivas,
para en seguida vendellas!

¹ [3^o]

² [74A-105]: See Fig. 49. 149] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

³ [Don Felix]

⁴ [and]

⁵ Verses 107b-123 are missing.

Don Félix

Eso a vos no importa nada.
¿Queréis la dama? Os la vendo.

Jugador 3.^o

Yo de pinturas no entiendo.

Don Félix (Con cólera.)

115 Vos habláis con demasiada
altivez e irreverencia
de una mujer... ¡y si no!...

Jugador 3.^o

De la pintura hablé yo.

Todos

Vamos, paz; no haya pendencia.

Don Félix (Sosegado.)

120 Sobre mi palabra os juego
mil escudos.

Jugador 3.^o

Van tirados.

Don Félix

A otra suerte de esos dados;
y al diablo les prenda fuego.

Escena III

III.¹

125 Pálido el rostro, cejjunto el ceño,
y torva la mirada, aunque afligida,
y en ella un firme y decidido empeño
de dar la muerte o de perder la vida,
un hombre entró embozado hasta los ojos,
sobre las juntas cejas el sombrero:
130 Vibrale el rostro al corazón enojos,
el paso firme, el ánimo altanero.
Encubierta fatídica figura.-
sed de sangre su espíritu secó,
emponzoñó su alma la amargura,

Pale in his □²
□ his glances although perturbed
Having in it a firm and willed intent
To give death □
A man did enter cloaked unto the eyes,
Upon his frowning brows and hat pushed low³
Unto his face his heart makes hatred⁴ rise
His step is firm, his spirit □
A maskèd figure □ fate⁵
The thirst of blood did parch his soul,
His spirit⁶ poisonèd □ a little hate,

¹ [III.]

² [74A-113^r]: See Fig. 50.

³ [← upon his frowning brows] And hat pushed low

⁴ /hatred/

⁵ <f> □ fate

⁶ <soul w> [↑ spirit]

- 135 la venganza irritó su corazón. Vengeance had¹ kindled his heart □ and² whole.
 Junto a don Félix llega- y desatento He comes beside Don Felix and³ abstract
 no habla a ninguno, ni aun la frente inclina; He speaks to no one nor his head he lows;
 y en pie delante de él y el ojo atento, And standing in front of him □
 con iracundo rostro le examina. He looks upon him with enraged brows.
 140 Miró también don Félix al sombrío Don Felix also looks upon the □
 huésped que en él los ojos enclavó, Appeared where □ eyes on his are bent
 y con sarcasmo desdeñoso y frío And with a sarcasm full □
 fijos en él los suyos, sonrió. Fixing his upon him □

Don Félix

[...]⁴

- Buen hombre, ¿de qué tapiz
 145 se ha escapado, -el que se tapa-
 que entre el sombrero y la capa
 se os ve apenas la nariz?

Don Diego

Bien, don Félix, cuadra en vos
 esa insolencia importuna.

Don Félix (Al Jugador 3.º sin hacer caso de Don Diego.)

- 150 Perdisteis.

Jugador 3.º

Sí. La fortuna
 se trocó: tiro y van dos.
 (*Vuelve a tirar.*)

Don Félix

Gané otra vez.

(*Al embozado.*)

- No he entendido
 qué dijisteis, ni hice aprecio
 de si hablasteis blando o recio
 155 cuando me habéis respondido.

Don Diego

A solas hablar querría.

Don Félix

- Podéis, si os place, empezar,
 que por vos no he de dejar
 tan honrosa compañía.
 160 Y si Dios aquí os envía
 para hacer mi conversión,

¹ /had/

² [and]

³ [and]

⁴ Verses 144-165 are missing.

no despreciéis la ocasión
de convertir tanta gente,
mientras que yo humildemente
165 aguardo mi absolución.

Don Diego (Desembozándose con ira.)
Don Félix, ¿no conocéis
a don Diego de Pastrana?

Don Félix
A vos no, mas sí a una hermana
que imagino que tenéis.

Don Diego
170 ¿Y no sabéis que murió?

Don Félix
Téngala Dios en su gloria.

Don Diego
Pienso que sabéis su historia,
y quién fue quien la mató.

Don Félix (Con sarcasmo.)
¡Quizá alguna calentura!

Don Diego
175 ¡Mentís vos!

Don Félix
Calma, don Diego,
que si vos os morís luego,
es tanta mi desventura,
que aún me lo habrán de achacar,
y es en vano ese despecho,
180 si se murió, a lo hecho, pecho,
ya no ha de resucitar.

Don Diego
Os estoy mirando y dudo

*Don Diego*¹
Ah! Don Felix? □ Know you not?²
Don Diego de Pastrana

Don Felix
Don Diego?³ Not you □ but man, a
Sister I think you have got.

[...]⁴

*Don Felix*⁵

□ pain⁶
□
She⁷ can't come to life again.

*Don Diego*⁸
I see and hear thee, and doubt⁹

¹ [Don Diego]

² [74A-93^r]: See Fig. 51. p.153.] Page number on upper left corner corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

³ D[on] F[elix] [↑ Don Diego?]

⁴ Verses 170-178 are missing.

⁵ [Don Felix]

⁶ [74A-57^v]: See Fig. 52. 154 top] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁷ <Well> She

⁸ [Don Diego]

⁹ [74A-101^r]: See Fig. 53.

- si habré de manchar mi espada
con esa sangre malvada,
185 o echaros al cuello un nudo
con mis manos, y con mengua,
en vez de desafiaros,
el corazón arrancaros
y patearos la lengua.
190 Que un alma, una vida, es
satisfacción muy ligera,
y os diera mil si pudiera
y os las quitara después.
Juego a mi labio han de dar
195 abiertas todas tus venas,
que toda su sangre apenas
basta mi sed a calmar.
¡Villano!

Whether I my sword shall soil
In that most curst blood, or coil
My fingers thy neck about
And with unmercy most brute^{1 2}
Setting defiance apart
To tear from thy breast thy heart³
And tread thy tongue under foot.
A soul, a life □⁴
A satisfaction too light
A thousand full, me I might
I'd give thee⁵, to take them again.
[...]⁶

(Tira de la espada; Todos los jugadores se interponen.)

Todos

Fuera de aquí
a armar quimera.

□^{7 8}
Making □ quarrels.

Don Félix (Con calma, levantándose.)

- Tened,
200 don Diego, la espada, y ved
que estoy yo muy sobre mí,
y que me contengo mucho,
no sé por qué, pues tan frío
en mi colérico brío
205 vuestras injurias escucho.

Don Felix⁹
Hold¹⁰
Your sword, Don Diego and¹¹ behold
That □
And □
I know not why, that so cold
In my courage □ bold¹²
To your insults I give ear?

Don Diego (Con furor reconcentrado
y con la espada desnuda.)
Salid de aquí; que a fe mía,

Don Diego¹³
Come *noth for by my faith¹

¹ This and the next three verses have a slight variant in manuscript [74A-101^r]: And with unmercy most brute, | Setting fair challenge apart, | To tear from thy breast thy heart | And tread thy tongue under foot.

² [74A-110^r]: See Fig. 54.

³ This verse has a partial scratched variant at the end of the page: <to tear them back>

⁴ life <all is †> □

⁵ I'd give [† thee]

⁶ Verses 194-198a are missing.

⁷ □ <Hold>

⁸ [74A-97^r]: See Fig. 55.

⁹ [Don Felix]

¹⁰ A variant of this and the next verse, with an exact "clean" version, is found in manuscript [74A-110^r]: Hold | <†>
Your sword, D[on] D[iego] [and] behold

¹¹ D[on] Diego [and]

¹² <bo> □ bold

¹³ [Don Diego]

- que estoy resulto a mataros,
y no alcanzara a libraros
la misma virgen María.
210 Y es tan cierta mi intención,
tan resuelta está mi alma,
que hasta mi cólera calma
mi firme resolución.
Venid conmigo.
- Don Félix*
Allá voy;
215 pero si os mato, don Diego,
que no me venga otro luego
a pedirme cuenta. Soy
con vos al punto. Esperad
cuenta el dinero... *uno... dos...*
(*A Don Diego.*)
220 Son mis ganancias; por vos
pierdo aquí una cantidad
considerable de oro
que iba a ganar... ¿y por qué?
Diez... quince... por no sé qué
225 cuento de amor... ¡un tesoro
perdido!... voy al momento.
Es un puro disparate
empeñarse en que yo os mate;
lo digo, como lo siento.
- Don Diego*
230 Remiso andáis y cobarde
y hablador en demasía.
- Of life to thee² I am †
And herself the virgin Mary³
Can □ save thee from death.
□
So pure and⁴ □ virgin
That even my rage doth cool
□
Come with me,^{5 6}
- Don Felix*⁷
In no time.
But Don Diego⁸ if you die
Let not another come by
To settle other accounts⁹ I'm
With you in a minute. Let me
Count this my money one, two.
- These are my earnings – for you
I lose here a quantity
Considerable of gold what most¹⁰
Routously I † gone and¹¹ why?
10; 15 all for some dry¹²
Tale of love...! a heaven¹³ lost!
□
Your action is rather silly
To rich the chance that I kill you
I tell you all as I feel it
- Don¹⁴ Diego.¹⁵*
You're cowardly and¹⁶ slow¹⁷
And □ of words a flood

¹ [74A-98^r]: See Fig. 56. 155] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

² <*you> [† thee]

³ M[ary]

⁴ [and]

⁵ Come with me, /in/

⁶ [74A-109^r]: See Fig. 57.

⁷ [Don Felix]

⁸ D[iego]

⁹ square accounts. [† settle other accounts]

¹⁰ gold [† what] most

¹¹ [and]

¹² <for I know not why> [† all for some dry]

¹³ treasure [† heaven]

¹⁴ D[on]

¹⁵ [74A-104^r]: See Fig. 58.

¹⁶ [and]

¹⁷ This verse has a variant in manuscript [133N-20^v]: You are cowardly [and] <†>. There is also a variant of this and the next three verses in manuscript [74A-102^r], on top of which there is the number 156, corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition: D[on] D[iego] | Slow you are | In an ever-wordy mood || D[on] F[elix] | True, D[on] D[iego] but cold blood | In fighting is ne'er too late.

Don Félix

Don Diego, más sangre fría:
para reñir nunca es tarde,
y si aún fuera otro el asunto,
235 yo os perdonara la prisa:
pidierais vos una misa
por la difunta, y al punto...

Don Diego

¡Mal caballero!

Don Félix

Don Diego,
mi delito no es gran cosa.
Era vuestra hermana hermosa:
240 la vi, me amó, creció el fuego,
se murió, no es culpa mía;
y admiro vuestro candor,
que no se mueren de amor
las mujeres de hoy en día.

Don Diego

245 ¿Estáis pronto?

Don Félix

Están contados.
Vamos andando.

Don Diego

¿Os reís?

(*Con voz solemne.*)

Pensad que a morir venís.

Don Felix¹

Ay, Don Diego, but cool² blood
For fighting is ne'er too late.
If things were the other³ way,
On your caption I'd pass,
You'd † but to ask a mass
For the deceased and⁴ the question

Don Diego⁵

Now there, Sir.⁶

Don Felix⁷

Don Diego, true
My crime is⁸ not very great
□
I saw her, she loved, the flame grew
She died, the⁹ fault is not mine
And your frankness I applaud
But no woman dies of love¹⁰
□

Don Diego¹¹

Are you ready?

Don Felix¹²

They are all told
Let us be going:

Don Diego¹³

You laugh?^{14 15}

Death is too near you¹⁶ to chaff!

¹ D[on] F[elix]

² D[iego], but cold [↑ cool]

³ <an>[↑ the] other

⁴ [and]

⁵ D[on] D[iego]

⁶ [133N-20^v]: See Fig. 40.

⁷ [Don Felix]

⁸ My crime <was> [↑ is]

⁹ died, <and> the

¹⁰ [→ But no woman dies of love]

¹¹ [Don Diego]

¹² [Don Felix]

¹³ [Don Diego]

¹⁴ There is a variant of this verse in manuscript [133N-20^v]: Laugh you?

¹⁵ [74A-95^r]: See Fig. 59.

¹⁶ <thee> you

(Don Félix sale tras de él,
embolsándose el dinero con indiferencia.)

Son mil trescientos ducados.

Last three one hundred in gold.¹

Escena IV

Scene VI.²

Los jugadores.

Jugador 1.³

Este don Diego Pastrana
es un hombre decidido.
Desde Flandes ha venido
sólo a vengar a su hermana.

1³

This □
[...]⁴

Jugador 2.⁵

¡Pues no ha hecho mal disparate!
Me da el corazón su muerte.

2⁵

He has quite foolishly willed
This death to my heart goes straight^{6 7}

Jugador 3.⁸

255 ¿Quién sabe? Acaso la suerte...

3⁸

Who knows □ perhaps Faith^{9 10}

Jugador 4.¹¹

Me alegraré que lo mate.

4¹¹

It will please me to know him killed.¹²

¹ [133N-20^v]: See Fig. 40.

² [74A-99^r]: See Fig. 60.

³ [1]

⁴ Verses 250-252 are missing.

⁵ [2]

⁶ This variant was chosen over the one in manuscript [74A-99^r] due to its more well-rounded translation. The one in the aforementioned page is: His deadly heart doth □

⁷ [74A-94^r]: See Fig. 61.

⁸ [3]

⁹ There is a variant of this verse in manuscript [74A-94^r]: Who were □ fate.

¹⁰ [74A-99^r]: See Fig. 60.

¹¹ [4]

¹² I'<d>/ll\ gladly [↑ It will please me] to /her/ [↑ know] him killed.

Parte cuarta

Part IV¹

Salió en fin de aquel estado, para caer en
 el dolor más sombrío, en la más
 desalentada desesperación y en la mayor
 amargura y desconsuelo que pueden
 apoderarse de este pobre corazón humano,
 que tan positivamente choca y se quebranta
 con los males, como con vaguedad aspira
 en algunos momentos, casi siempre sin
 conseguirlo, a tocar los bienes ligeramente
 y de pasada.

MIGUEL DE LOS SANTOS ÁLVAREZ.

La protección de un sastre.

Spiritus quidem promptus est;

caro vero infirma.

(S. Marc. Evang.)

Vedle, don Félix es, espada en mano,
 sereno el rostro, firme el corazón;
 también de Elvira el vengativo hermano
 sin piedad a sus pies muerto cayó.

Behold Don Felix with his sword in hand,²
 Serene his countenance and his heart well;
 Elvira's brother, who had vengeance plann'd,
 Dead at his feet and without pity fell.

5 Y con tranquila audacia se adelanta
 por la calle fatal del Ataúd;
 y ni medrosa aparición le espanta,
 ni le turba la imagen de Jesús.

He with a tranquil boldness doth advance
 Along the fatal street del Ataúd;
 Nor vision full of fear his mind doth³ entrance,
 Nor Jesus' image doth perturb his mood.

10 La moribunda lámpara que ardía
 trémula lanza su postrer fulgor,
 y en honda oscuridad, noche sombría
 la misteriosa calle encapotó.

The dying lamplet's ill-awaken'd light
 Tremulously doth its last gleam discover
 And with⁴ profoundest darkness, horrid night
 The street mysterious like a hood doth⁵ cover.

15 Mueve los pies el Montemar osado
 en las tinieblas con incierto giro,
 cuando ya un trecho de la calle andado,
 súbito junto a él oye un suspiro.

Montemar moveth his undaunted feet
 Within the darkness with uncertainty
 When having trodden part of the long street
 Suddenly next to him he hears a sigh.

Resbalar por su faz sintió el aliento,

He felt his breath upon his face to creep⁶

¹ [Part IV]

² [74B-30^r]: See Fig. 62. IV. 1.] Indication suggesting the passage belongs to the first stanzas of Part IV.

³ /Nor fearful vision doth his mind/ [↑ Nor vision full of fear his mind doth]

⁴ And <in> [↑ with]

⁵ hood <did> [↑ doth]

⁶ There is a variant of this and the following stanza in manuscript [74-95^v], which has number 159 on top of the page, indicating the page of Pessoa's Spanish edition: <He felt the breath over his face creeping | And in <his> spite [↑ of

- 20 y a su pesar sus nervios se crisparon;
mas pasado el primero movimiento,
a su primera rigidez tornaron.
- «¿Quién va?», pregunta con la voz serena,
que ni finge valor, ni muestra miedo,
el alma de invencible vigor llena,
fiado en su tajante de Toledo.
- 25 Palpa en torno de sí, y el impío jura,
y a mover vuelve la atrevida planta,
cuando hacia él fatídica figura,
envuelta en blancas ropas, se adelanta.
- 30 Flotante y vaga, las espesas nieblas
ya disipa y se anima y va creciendo
con apagada luz, ya en las tinieblas
su argentino bláncor va apareciendo.
- 35 Ya leve punto de luciente plata,
astro de clara lumbre sin mancilla,
el horizonte lóbrego dilata
y allá en la sombra en lontananza brilla.
- 40 Los ojos Montemar fijos en ella,
con más asombro que temor la mira;
tal vez la juzga vagarosa estrella
que en el espacio de los cielos gira.
- Tal vez engaño de sus propios ojos,
forma falaz que en su ilusión creó,
o del vino ridículos antojos
que al fin su juicio a alborotar subió.
- 45 Mas el vapor del néctar jerezano
- And in spite of him did his nerves contract,
But, past their first involuntary leap,
To their own iron hardness did retract.
- “Who goes?” he asks with his calm voice at length¹
That feigns not courage and is not afraid,
His soul full of indomitable strength
Full confident on his Toledan blade.
- He feels around him and with impious vigour
Curses, and boldly his bold walk resumes,
When towards him a vague and fateful figure
Wrapp’d in white garments mystically comes.
- Floating and vague the clouds thick and intense
It dispels, and animates itself, and grows
With an ill-wakened light and in the dense
Darkness its silver whiteness clearer shows.
- Now a² light dot of silver shining³
A planet without a stain⁴ of clear light
The gloomy horizon waketh wide⁵
And in the shade afar shines bright⁶
- His eyes upon her fixed, Montemar⁷
With more wonder than fear her doth behold;
Perchance he thinks her a slow-moving star
That through the space of heaven is on-rolled.
- Haply of his own eyes a strange delusion⁸
A lying form that in his dreams he made,
Or yet the wine’s ridiculous confusion⁹
Which his reason at last hath disarrayed.
- But never the Sherreyan nectar had

him did] his nerves contract | But past their first involuntary leaping | To their <iron> [↑ once iron] hardness did retract. || Who goes? he asked with his calm voice’s rigour | That neither feignèd courage nor □ | His |spirit| [↑ soul] full of |invincible| [↑ undaunted] vigour | □> Each stanza is preceded by numbers 4 and 5, respectively, apparently indicating a translation sequence established by Pessoa (they do not correspond to the ordinal number of each stanza within the poem).

¹ [74B-31r]: See Fig. 63. IV. 2.] Indication suggesting the passage belongs to a second group of stanzas of Part IV.

² [↑ Now] a

³ [74-95r]: See Fig. 64. 160 1 and 160 5] Page numbers on top and in the middle of the page, respectively, corresponding to Pessoa’s Spanish edition.

⁴ /planet/ [← without a stain]

⁵ /waketh wide/

⁶ the <shadow> [↑ shade] afar <off doth> [↓ shines bright]

⁷ [74B-31r]: See Fig. 63.

⁸ [74B-32r]: See Fig. 65. IV. 3.] Indication suggesting the passage belongs to a third group of stanzas of Part IV.

⁹ <illusion> [→ confusion]

- nunca su mente a trastornar bastara,
que ya mil veces embriagarse en vano
en frenéticas orgías intentara.
- 50 «Dios presume asustarme: ¡ojalá fuera,
-dijo entre sí riendo- el diablo mismo!
que entonces, vive Dios, quién soy supiera
el cornudo monarca del abismo.»
- 55 Al pronunciar tan insolente ultraje
la lámpara del Cristo se encendió:
y una mujer velada en blanco traje,
ante la imagen de rodillas vio.
- 60 «Bienvenida la luz» -dijo el impío-.
«Gracias a Dios o al diablo»; y con osada,
firme intención y temerario brío,
el paso vuelve a la mujer tapada.
- Mientras él anda, al parecer se alejan
la luz, la imagen, la devota dama,
mas si él se para, de moverse dejan:
y lágrima tras lágrima, derrama
- 65 de sus ojos inmóviles la imagen.
Mas sin que el miedo ni el dolor que inspira □
su planta audaz, ni su impiedad atajen,
rostro a rostro a Jesús, Montemar mira.
- La calle parece se mueve y camina,
70 faltarle la tierra sintió bajo el pie;
sus ojos la muerta mirada fascina
- del Cristo, que intensa clavada está en él.
- Y en medio el delirio que embarga
su mente,
y achaca él al vino que al fin le embriagó,
75 la lámpara alcanza con mano insolente
del ara do alumbraba la imagen de Dios,
- Sufficed his mind to alter and to stain
For full a thousand times¹ in orgies mad
Himself to □ he had tried in vain.
- “God wills² to frighten me! I would it were!³
He murmured laughing⁴ □ yes!
For then, of⁵ who I am would be aware
By God the hornèd monarch of the abyss.”⁶
- As he spoke this □ insult, with new light⁷
□
And the veiled woman clad in garb of white
Before the image kneeling he descried.
- “Welcome the light!” the impious student said,
“Thank God or thank the Devil”: and with bold
And firm intention, madly without dread,
Towards the veiled lady he his way doth hold.
- And while he walks, in seeming move away⁸
The light, the image and the lady fair,
But if he stop their motion do their stay:
And dolorously drops tear after tear.
- The image from its eyes immovable
□
His footsteps bold or his impiety quell
□
- The street seems to move on and shift with strange
motion
He feels underfoot the whole earth fail and swim;
His eyes the dead glance charms with mystic
commotion
Of Christ that intensely is fixed upon him.
- And plunged in the madness his mind that
diseases –
The wine’s (so he thinks) that his reason affrights –
The lamplet with insolet boldness he seizes
From the altar where God’s holy image it lights.

¹ /times a thousand and/ [↑ full a thousand times]

² God <wishes> [↑ wills]

³ [74-95^r]: See Fig. 64.

⁴ <said> [→ murmured laughing]

⁵ then, <by God,> [↑ of]

⁶ [↑ By God] the hornèd monarch of the abyss[.]”

⁷ [74B-32^r]: See Fig. 65.

⁸ [74B-33^r]: See Fig. 66. IV. 4.] Indication suggesting the passage belongs to a fourth group of stanzas of Part IV.

- y al rostro la acerca, que el cándido lino
encubre, con ánimo asaz descortés;
mas la luz apaga viento repentino,
80 y la blanca dama se puso de pie.
- Empero un momento creyó que veía
un rostro que vagos recuerdos quizá,
y alegres memorias confusas, traía
de tiempos mejores que pasaron ya.
- 85 Un rostro de un ángel que vio en un
ensueño,
como un sentimiento que el alma halagó,
que anubla la frente con rígido ceño,
sin que lo comprenda jamás la razón.
- 90 Su forma gallarda dibuja en las sombras
el blanco ropaje que ondeante se ve,
y cual si pisara mullidas alfombras,
deslízase leve sin ruido su pie.
- Tal vimos al rayo de la luna llena
fugitiva vela de lejos cruzar,
95 que ya la hinche en popa la brisa serena,
que ya la confunde la espuma del mar.
- También la esperanza blanca y vaporosa
así ante nosotros pasa en ilusión,
y el alma conmueve con ansia medrosa
100 mientras la rechaza la adusta razón.
- Don Félix*
«¡Qué! ¿sin respuesta me deja?
¿No admitís mi compañía?
¿Será quizá alguna vieja
devota?... ¡Chasco sería!
- 105 En vano, dueña, es callar,
- And holds to her face, that by syncing of white veil
hidden^{1 2}
□ in discourteous wise
But the light is put out by blowing sudden
And the lady in white to her feet did rise
- And but for a moment he thought he was seeing³
A face which □
And glad and⁴ vague memories did call into being
Of tunes that were better and⁵ now are no more
- The face of an angel he saw in sweet
dreaming
Like a sentiment that the spirit did flood,
That shadows the head □
That never by reason shall be⁶ understood.
- □ is decried
And as if the softest of carpets were treading
And noiseless and rapid her light⁷ foot doth glide
- □ to flee
That now □
And⁸ now that is merged in⁹ the foam of the sea.
- airy
Before us clean thus in illusion doth pass
And shaketh the soul with □
The while that firm reason its □ doth chase.
- [...]¹⁰
- Lady, 'tis vain □¹¹

¹ [And] holds to her face, that by <doubt> /syncing of white/ veil hidden

² [74A-28^v]: See Fig. 67. The lower half of the page has crossed out numbers.

³ [74A-28^r]: See Fig. 68. 161-162] Page numbers on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁴ [and]

⁵ [and]

⁶ <never> [↑ be]

⁷ [and] [↑ rapid] <light> her [↑ light]

⁸ [And]

⁹ [And] now /that is merged in/

¹⁰ Verses 101-104 are missing.

¹¹ [74A-27^r]: See Fig. 69. 162-163] Page numbers on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

- ni hacerme señas que no;
he resuelto que sí yo,
y os tengo que acompañar.
Y he de saber dónde vais
110 y si sois hermosa o fea,
quién sois y cómo os llamáis.
Y aun cuando imposible sea,
y fuerais vos Satanás,
con sus llamas y sus cuernos,
115 hasta en los mismos infiernos,
vos delante y yo detrás,
hemos de entrar, ¡vive Dios!
Y aunque lo estorbara el cielo,
que yo he de cumplir mi anhelo
120 aun a despecho de vos:
y perdonadme, señora,
si hay en mi empeño osadía,
mas fuera descortesía
dejaros sola a esta hora:
125 y me va en ello mi fama,
que juro a Dios no quisiera
que por temor se creyera
que no he seguido a una dama.»
- Del hondo del pecho profundo gemido,
130 crujido del vaso que estalla al dolor,
- Nor tell me¹ by signals “No”
I have resolved “yes” and² so
To follow you I am bound
And I shall know where you go³
If you be ugly or fair
□⁴
Even if it impossible were⁵
And were you Satan⁶ ⁷
With his flames and horns well⁸
Down to the bottom of hell
You in front and⁹ I behind
We would go, □ there’s a God
Even were Heaven to hinder it
I’ll do my pleasure □ even¹⁰
□
□ if¹¹ ¹²
Boldness¹³ in my wish there be
That¹⁴ it were discourtesy
So late *alone you to leave:
□¹⁵
I’d not wish by God I swear¹⁶
Any¹⁷ should think that from fear
□
Profound from her heart then¹⁸ a moan woe
expressing¹⁹
The break of the vessel that suffering did wear,

¹ <to make> [↑ tell me]

² [and]

³ <dwel> [↑ go]

⁴ Pessoa wrote a variant for verses 109-111 on manuscript 74A-24^r but crossed it out: <[And] I will know □ | If you are ugly or fair | What your name is † <†> [↑ who you] are>.

⁵ There is a divisory line below this verse.

⁶ This stanza has a variant in manuscript [74A-27^r]: And <we>/be\ you Satan, ev’s kind /no mind/ | With his flames [and] his horns fall | Down to the bottom of hell | You in front [and] I behind | We <will> [↑ <†> shall] go <by *God we will> | Although against us were Heaven

⁷ [74A-23^r]: See Fig. 70. p. 163.] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa’s Spanish edition.

⁸ horns [↓ <all> well]

⁹ [and]

¹⁰ [74A-27^v]: See Fig. 71.

¹¹ There is a more incomplete variant of this and the next three verses in manuscript [74A-27^v]: □ | If in my □ there is boldness | It were uncourteous coldness | <It were> □

¹² [74A-24^r]: See Fig. 72.

¹³ <If> Boldness

¹⁴ <†>/That\

¹⁵ [74A-27^v]: See Fig. 71.

¹⁶ I’d <†> not <†>/wish\ by God I swear

¹⁷ <That> Any

¹⁸ heart [↑ then]

¹⁹ [74A-22^r]: See Fig. 73. 163-164 (2).] Page numbers on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa’s Spanish edition.

- que apenas medroso lastima el oído,
pero que punzante rasga el corazón;
gemido de amargo recuerdo pasado,
de pena presente, de incierto pesar,
135 mortífero aliento, veneno exhalado
del que encubre el alma ponzoñoso mar;
Gemido de muerte lanzó y silenciosa
la blanca figura su pie resbaló,
cual mueve sus alas sífide amorosa
140 que apenas las aguas del lago rizó.
¡Ay el que vio acaso perdida en un día
la dicha que eterna creyó el corazón,
y en noche de nieblas, y en honda agonía
en un mar sin playas muriendo quedó!...
- 145 Y solo y llevando consigo en su pecho,
compañero eterno su dolor crüel,
el mágico encanto del alma deshecho,
su pena, su amigo y amante más fiel
miró sus suspiros llevarlos el viento,
150 sus lágrimas tristes perderse en el mar,
sin nadie que acuda ni entienda su acento,
el cielo y el mundo a su mal...
- Y ha visto la luna brillar en el cielo
serena y en calma mientras él lloró,
- Which timidly only the hearing impressing¹
But that □ the □ heart doth tear
A moan of a bitter remembrance departed
Of pain that is present, of trouble ill-known
□ venom upstart²
From the poisoned-sea that rests the³ spirit upon.
A moan as of dying she cast, then in silence
The figure of white moved on its feet
As a butterfly moves its wings without violence
That scarcely do touch on the lake-water's sheet
Woe to him who haply one day saw departed^{4 5}
The joy⁶ which eternal his heart did believe
And in night all of cloudness, in pain broken hearted
In a sea without shores did him⁷ dying receive.
Alone and with him in his breast □ taken^{8 9}
Eternal companion his own cruel pain
The magical pleasure of □ shaken
His sorrow his friend, his mistress most true;
He saw ah his sighings the wind to have taken^{10 11}
The¹² tears of his sadness be lost in the sea
And no-one to come to his weeping had shaken¹³
Insensible heaven and¹⁴ world to his misery
He has seen the moon to shine in the heavens^{15 16}
Serene and¹⁷ in calmness the while he did weep

¹ Which <only> [→ timidly only the hearing impressing]

² [74A-22^v]: See Fig. 74.

³ rests <on> [↑ the]

⁴ There is a more incomplete variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-34^r]: □ | The joy that eternal his heart did believe | □ | In a sea without shores □

⁵ [74A-21^r]: See Fig. 75.

⁶ The <+>/joy\

⁷ did [↑ him]

⁸ Alone [and] with him in his breast □ <taking> [↑ taken]

⁹ [74A-34^r]: See Fig. 76.

¹⁰ This stanza is preceded by an indication that says: elsewhere.

¹¹ [74A-21^r]: See Fig. 75.

¹² <His> [↑ The]

¹³ [And] no-one to come to his speaking to hearken [↑ his weeping had shaken]

¹⁴ *Elsewhile <sky> [↑ heaven]

¹⁵ There are two variants of this stanza. The first is found in manuscript [74A-34^v]: He has seen the moon to shine □ in heaven | Serenely [and] calmly the while he did weep, | He has seen upon earth men pass cold [and] even | □. The second is found in manuscript [74A-35^r]: □ the moon to shine □ in heaven | Serenely [and] calmly the while pain him did burn | □ | And none at his weeping his head did turn.

¹⁶ [74A-21^v]: See Fig. 77.

¹⁷ [and]

- 155 y ha visto los hombres pasar en el suelo He has seen men to pass □
y nadie a sus quejas los ojos volvió, And no-one the¹ eyes to □
- y él mismo, la befa del mundo temblando, Himself dreading the world's evil scorning^{2 3}
su pena en su pecho profunda escondió, His pain in his heart □ did hide
y dentro en su alma su llanto tragando And deep in his soul while he fed on his mourning
160 con falsa sonrisa su labio vistió!!!... A smile on his lips he made false to abide.⁴
- ¡Ay! quien ha contado las horas que Ah⁵ he who hath counted the hours time hath
fueron, banished^{6 7}
horas otro tiempo que abrevió el placer, The hours that over time joy made short in their stay
y hoy solo y llorando piensa cómo huyeron To-day lonely weeps he⁸ thinks how have vanished
con ellas por siempre las dichas de ayer; For ever with them □ they joys of yesterday.
- 165 y aquellos placeres, que el triste ha perdido, And⁹ they these sweet joys he has lost to have never¹⁰
no huyeron del mundo, que en el mundo Have fled not the world, for there □
están,
y él vive en el mundo do siempre ha vivido, And he lives in the world where he has¹¹ lived¹² ever
y aquellos placeres para él no son ya!! And for him those pleasures and¹³ joys are no more.
- ¡Ay! del que descubre por fin la mentira, Woe to him who at last □ lying^{14 15}
170 ¡Ay! del que la triste realidad palpó, Woe to him¹⁶ who the sad real did □
del que el esqueleto de este mundo mira, He who the skeleton of this world descrying
y sus falsas galas loco le arrancó... Its false greatness □
- ¡Ay! de aquel que vive solo en lo pasado...! Woe him who in the past lives only^{1 2}

¹ [And] no-one <+> the

² There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-21^v]: □ trembling | His pain in his heart profoundly did hide | [And] deep in his soul his □ dissembling | With a smile made of falseness his lips did dress.

³ [74A-35^r]: See Fig. 78. 164-165] Page numbers on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁴ With smile all of falseness his lips did /abide/ [↓ A □ on his lips he *made false to abide.]

⁵ There are two variants of this stanza. The first is found in manuscript [74A-31^r], which begins with an upper indication, 165, which corresponds to the page of Pessoa's Spanish edition: Oh, who has counted the hours | The hours that <before> pleasure made short | [And] to-day lonely weeping thinks how for ever [↑ /in there stay <gay>/] | With those <for ever> [↑ forever departed] joys of yesterday;. The second one is found in manuscript [74A-39^v]: Ah he who has counted the hours □ | That pleasure did shorten in times past away | [And] now □ | □ yesterday.

⁶ <banished> [↓ banished]

⁷ [74A-36^r]: See Fig. 79. 165] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁸ weeps [↑ he]

⁹ There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-31^r]: And those pleasures the □ | From the world are not fled, for there they are | [And] he lives in the world where ever he's | [And] those pleasures for him □

¹⁰ sweet <pl> joys he has lost | to have never |

¹¹ world [← where] [↓ he has]

¹² There is a number written in pencil on top of the word: 1.

¹³ [and]

¹⁴ There are two variants of this stanza. The first one is found in manuscript [74A-36^v]: □ | To him who the | sad reality | did <feel> □ | He who the skeleton □ | Its false glories madly from <its face> [↑ it did] <hath> [↑ <did>] <steal> tear. The second one is found in manuscript [74A-39^r]: Woe to him who finds that at last all is lying | □ | Who that skeleton of this vain world descrying | In rage its false □ from it □

¹⁵ [74A-31^v]: See Fig. 80.

¹⁶ This repetition of the first verse is marked with a line.

175	¡Ay! del que su alma nutre en su pesar, las horas que huyeron llamara angustiado, las horas que huyeron jamás tornarán...	To him who his soul in its pain □ The hours that have fled he will call sad and ³ lonely The hours that are gone and ⁴ will never return
180	Quien haya sufrido tan bárbaro duelo, quien noches enteras contó sin dormir en lecho de espinas, maldiciendo al cielo, horas sempiternas de ansiedad sin fin;	□ Who nights upon nights without sleep did spend □ Hours that are endless of woe without end;
	quien haya sentido quererse del pecho saltar a pedazos roto el corazón; crecer su delirio, crecer su despecho; al cuello cien nudos echarle el dolor;	[...]⁵
185	ponzoñoso lago de punzante hielo, sus lágrimas tristes, que cuajó el pesar, reventando ahogarle, sin hallar consuelo, ni esperanza nunca, ni tregua en su afán.	A poisonous lake of ice □⁶ His tears sad ⁷ that pain has made icy to grow Returning to drown him, □ No hope finding ever, nor break in his woe...
190	Aquel, de la blanca fantasma el gemido, única respuesta que a don Félix dio, hubiera, y su inmenso dolor, comprendido, hubiera pesado su inmenso valor.	That man the white ⁸ phantom's sad moan The only reply that Don Felix ⁹ □ Would have, and ¹⁰ its sorrow immense, Its value had weighed, and had understood ¹¹ .
195	<i>Don Félix</i> «Si buscáis algún ingrato, yo me ofrezco agradecido; pero o miente ese recato, o vos sufrís el mal trato de algún celoso marido. »¿Acerté? ¡Necia manía!	<i>Don Felix</i> ^{12 13} If some false are □ I offer me ¹⁴ thankful, zealous, But or that modesty's feigned ¹⁵ Or you are worried and ¹⁶ pained By a husband who is jealous. Said ¹ I true? □

¹ There is a variant of this and the next stanza in manuscript [74A-39^r]: Woe to him who lives in his past [and] there only | □ | The hours that are <past>/fled\ he will call, fined [and] lonely | The hours that once fled [and] that will not return. | □ | Who nights upon nights without sleeping did spend | □ | □ eternal of anxiety without end.

² [74A-38^r]: See Fig. 81. 165 -5-] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition (fifth manuscript belonging to that page).

³ [and]

⁴ [and]

⁵ Verses 181-184 are missing.

⁶ [74A-33^r]: See Fig. 82. 166] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁷ tears <born of sadness> [↑ sad]

⁸ man <of the> [↑ the white]

⁹ only <response> [↑ reply] that D[on] F[elix]

¹⁰ [and]

¹¹ /[and] had understood/

¹² D[on] F[elix]

¹³ [74A-37^r]: See Fig. 83. 166] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

¹⁴ <Myself> I offer [↑ me]

¹⁵ But <either> [↑ or] that modesty's <f> feigned

¹⁶ [and]

200	Es para volverme loco, si insistís en tal porfía; con los mudos, reina mía, yo hago mucho y hablo poco.»	'Tis to make me ² madness touch To insist on that □ mien; For with ³ dull people, my queen I speak little and act ⁴ much.
205	Segunda vez importunada en tanto, una voz de süave melodía el estudiante oyó que parecía eco lejano de armonioso canto:	A second time importuned this wrong ^{5 6} A voice of a soft melody like a dream The student heard, a speaking ⁷ that did seem The far-off echo of a worldless song
210	De amante pecho lánguido latido, sentimiento inefable de ternura, suspiro fiel de amor correspondido, el primer sí de la mujer aún pura.	The □ that love doth burn ⁸ A feeling beyond ⁹ words, of tenderness A faithful sigh of love that hath return ¹⁰ Of a woman yet pure ¹¹ , the first low "yes"
215	«Para mí los amores acabaron: todo en el mundo para mí acabó: los lazos que a la tierra me ligaron, el cielo para siempre desató»,	For me □ loves alas have ended ^{12 13} All in the world for me an end hath found ¹⁴ That bonds that me unto the earth blended ¹⁵ Heaven for ever □ hath unbound.
220	dijo su acento misterioso y tierno, que de otros mundos la ilusión traía, eco de los que ya reposo eterno gozan en paz bajo la tumba fría.	So spoke her accents mystic and □ Bringing the illusion of worlds we know not ¹⁶ Echo of them who have endless ¹⁷ repose In the cold tomb □ got.
	Montemar, atento sólo a su aventura, que es bella la dama y aun fácil juzgó, y la hora, la calle y la noche oscura lonely nuevos incentivos a su pecho son.	Montemar ¹⁸ , on his adventure thinking only ¹⁹ The fair is the lady □ The night and the hour and the night black and ²⁰ Are better incentives □ to his breast

¹ <Spoke> [↑ Said]² make <mad> [↑ me]³ /But [↑ For]/ With⁴ [and] /do [↑ act]/⁵ importuned [→ this /long [↓ wrong]/]⁶ [74A-40^r]: See Fig. 84. 166.] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.⁷ a <voice> [↑ speaking]⁸ <Of a loving breast> [↑ The] □ [→ that love doth burn]⁹ <without> [↑ beyond]¹⁰ of [→ love that hath return]¹¹ a [← woman] yet [→ pure]¹² loves <their> [↑ alas have] ended <have>¹³ [74A-40^v]: See Fig. 85.¹⁴ <found> [↓ hath found]¹⁵ <bond> [↑ blended]¹⁶ <far *pure> [↑ we know not]¹⁷ who<m> [↑ have] /eternal [↑ endless]/¹⁸ M[ontemar]¹⁹ [74-87^r]: See Fig. 86. 167 3] Page number on upper left corner of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.²⁰ [and] the hour [and] the night black [and]

- Hay riesgo en seguirme. -Mirad ¡qué reparo!
 -Quizá luego os pese. -Puede que por vos.
 225 -Ofendéis al cielo. -Del diablo me amparo.
 -Idos, caballero, ¡no tentéis a Dios!
- Siento me enamora más vuestro despego,
 y si Dios se enoja, pardiez que hará mal:
 véame en vuestros brazos y máteme luego.
 230 -¡Vuestra última hora quizá esta será!...
- Dejad ya, don Félix, delirios mundanos.
 -¡Hola, me conoce! -¡Ay! ¡Temblad por vos!
 ¡Temblad, no se truequen deleites livianos
 en penas eternas! -Basta de sermón,
- 235 que yo para oírlos la cuaresma espero;
 y hablemos de amores, que es más dulce
 hablar;
 dejad ese tono solemne y severo,
 que os juro, señora, que os sienta muy mal;
- la vida es la vida: cuando ella se acaba,
 240 acaba con ella también el placer.
 ¿De inciertos pesares por qué hacerla
 esclava?
 Para mí no hay nunca mañana ni ayer.
- Si mañana muero, que sea en mal hora
 o en buena, cual dicen, ¿qué me importa
 a mí?
- 245 Goce yo el presente, disfrute yo ahora,
 y el diablo me lleve si quiere al morir.
- ¡Cúmplase en fin tu voluntad, Dios mío!-,
 la figura fatídica exclamó:
- There's danger in following - □ evil
 - Perhaps then □
 - But Heaven you are¹ offending! – I stand by the Devil
 □
 □ fills me.²
 □
 □ kill me
 □
 □ Don Felix the world's □ treasures³
 - Hello! then she knows me! Oh tremble for you
 Oh tremble lest □ pleasures
 To pains eternal - □
 For I to hear them □ Lent are awaiting⁴
 Of love let us⁵ speak, 'tis sweeter
 And leave that tone severe and most solemn⁶
 Which, lady, I swear doth fit⁷ you most bad
 But life is but life: when its brief span is ended⁸
 In its⁹ last hour all pleasure has also its last.
 To cares most uncertain why let it¹⁰ be blended?
 For me there is neither nor future nor past.
 To-morrow, if dying, the hour be a bad one,
 Or good, as they tell me¹¹ – why then, what care I?
 The present enjoying, let that be a glad one;
 The Devil may take me as soon as I die.
 Thy will be done, oh God, at last, the figure¹²
 Fatidical and nightly¹ did exclaim

¹ you [↑ are]

² [74-87^v]: See Fig. 87. 167 5] Page number on upper left corner of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

³ [74A-32^r]: See Fig. 88. 167.6] Page number on upper left corner of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁴ There is a variant of this and the following verse in manuscript [74-88^r]: To listen to them □ | □ glad

⁵ <Let us speak>/Of love let us\

⁶ [74-88^r]: See Fig. 89. 167] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition. On back of paper: A sonnet is a □

⁷ doth <suit> [↑ fit]

⁸ [74-92^r]: See Fig. 90.

⁹ <her> [↑ its]

¹⁰ <her> [↑ it]

¹¹ <say> [↑ tell me]

¹² [74-93^r]: See Fig. 91. 168] Page number on top of page, indicating Pessoa's Spanish edition.

- Y en tanto al pecho redoblar su brío
 250 siente don Félix y camina en pos.
- Cruzan tristes calles,
 plazas solitarias,
 arruinados muros,
 donde sus plegarias
 255 y falsos conjuros,
 en la misteriosa
 noche borrascosa,
 maldecida bruja
 con ronca voz canta,
 260 y de los sepulcros
 los muertos levanta.
 Y suenan los ecos
 de sus pasos huecos
 en la soledad;
 265 mientras en silencio
 yace la ciudad,
 y en lúgubre son
 arrulla su sueño
 bramando Aquilón.
- Y una calle y otra cruzan,
 270 y más allá y más allá:
 ni tiene término el viaje,
 ni nunca dejan de andar,
 y atraviesan, pasan, vuelven,
 275 cien calles quedando atrás,
 y paso tras paso siguen,
 y siempre adelante van;
 y a confundirse ya empieza
 y a perderse Montemar,
 280 que ni sabe a dó camina,
 ni acierta ya dónde está;
- And in his breast redoubling all him insured
 Don Felix and after her he came.²
- They cross saddened streets,^{3 4}
 Solitary squares,
 Old and ruined walls,
 Where her horrid prayers
 And false demon calls,
 In the weird, unbright,
 Tempest-fillèd night,
 An accursèd witch
 With hoarse voice doth spread
 And from their still graves
 Lifteth up the dead;
 And the echoes follow⁵
 Of their footsteps hollow
 In the solitude,
 All the while in silence
 Doth the city hood,
 And with midnight moan
 Charmeth its reposing
 The North-wind alone.
- One street they cross and⁶ another⁷
 Still further and⁸ further over,
 Nor has the voyage an ending
 Nor cease they their midnight walk,
 And crossing, passing, turning⁹ a hundred¹⁰
 Streets behind them they let fall,
 And step after step they follow,
 And always they travel on:
 To fail and reason beginneth
 And lose himself Montemar
 Nor knows he whither he treadeth
 Nor where he is¹

¹ /Fatidical/ [and] [→ nightly]

² D[on] F[elix] and after her he <goes> [↑ came.]

³ This stanza has an almost identical variant in manuscript [74A-9^v]: They cross saddened streets, | Solitary squares, | Old and ruined walls, | Where her horrid prayers | And <wild> [→ false] demon calls | In the weird, unbright | Tempest fillèd night | An accursèd witch | With hoarse voice doth spread, | And from their still graves | Lifteth up the dead. | And the echoes follow | Of their footsteps hollow | In the solitude | All the while in silence | Doth the city hood | And with midnight <↑> [↑ moan,] | Its reposing charmeth | The North-wind alone.

⁴ [74-91^r]: See Fig. 92.

⁵ [74-91^v]: See Fig. 93.

⁶ [and]

⁷ [74A-9^v]: See Fig. 94. 168] Page number on top of page, indicating Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁸ [and]

⁹ /turning/

¹⁰ [74A-9^v]: See Fig. 95.

- y otras calles, otras plazas
recorre y otra ciudad,
y ve fantásticas torres
285 de su eterno pedestal
arrancarse, y sus macizas
negras masas caminar,
apoyándose en sus ángulos
que en la tierra, en desigual,
290 perezoso tronco fijan;
y a su monótono andar,
las campanas sacudidas
misteriosos dobles dan;
mientras en danzas grotescas
295 y al estruendo funeral
en derredor cien espectros
danzan con torpe compás:
y las veletas sus frentes
bajan ante él al pasar,
300 los espectros le saludan,
y en cien lenguas de metal,
oye su nombre en los ecos
de las campanas sonar.
- Mas luego cesa el estrépito,
305 y en silencio, en muda paz
todo queda, y desaparece
de súbito la ciudad:
palacios, templos, se cambian
en campos de soledad,
310 y en un yermo y silencioso
melancólico arenal,
sin luz, sin aire, sin cielo,
perdido en la inmensidad,
tal vez piensa que camina,
- And other streets he doth traverse,
Other squares, another city²
And he sees fantastic towers
From their lasting pedestal
To tear themselves and³ their massive
Black masses forward⁴ to move,
Leaning in their □ angles
Which unequally upon⁵
The earth □ their⁶ standing;
At their monotonous walk
The bells in the steeples shaken
With mystic tolling appal,
All the while in grotesque dances
To the noise⁷ funereal
Around him a 100 spectres⁸ ⁹
Dance with compass full of awe¹⁰:
And the □ their □
Lower □ him¹¹ as he doth pass
And the spectres □ salute him¹²
And in □
□
In the bell's echoes to sound.
- But □ the □ ceases
In¹³ silence, in dead peace all
Is plungèd and¹⁴ disappeareth
Suddenly □ the □ town:
Palaces temples are changed
In fields lonely □
And¹⁵ in a □ silent
□ melancholical
Without light nor air nor heavens
In immensity □ lost.
□ he thinks he is walking¹⁶

¹ <guess> [↑ where he is]

² /city/

³ [and]

⁴ /forward/

⁵ <up> unequally upon

⁶ <their> □ their

⁷ /noise/] *The original word in Spanish, estruendo, is written below, possibly as a sign of doubt upon the translation.*

⁸ <spirits> [↑ /phantoms/ spectres]

⁹ [74A-5^r]: See Fig. 96.

¹⁰ /full of awe/

¹¹ <before> him

¹² /salute him/

¹³ <And> In

¹⁴ [and]

¹⁵ [And]

¹⁶ [74A-4^r]: See Fig. 97. 170-171] *Page numbers on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.*

- 315 sin poder parar jamás,
de extraño empuje llevado
con precipitado afán;
entretanto que su guía
delante de él sin hablar,
320 sigue misterioso, y sigue
con paso rápido, y ya
se remonta ante sus ojos
en alas del huracán,
visión sublime, y su frente
325 ve fosfórica brillar,
entre lívidos relámpagos
en la densa oscuridad,
sierpes de luz, luminosos
engendros del vendaval;
330 y cuando duda si duerme,
si tal vez sueña o está
loco, si es tanto prodigio,
tanto delirio verdad,
otra vez en Salamanca
335 súbito vuélvese a hallar,
distingue los edificios,
reconoce en dónde está,
y en su delirante vértigo
al vino vuelve a culpar,
340 y jura, y siguen andando
ella delante, él detrás.
- «¡Vive Dios!, dice entre sí,
o Satanás se chancea,
o no debo estar en mí
o el Málaga que bebí
345 en mi cabeza aún humea.
- »Sombras, fantasmas, visiones...
Dale con tocar a muerto
y en revueltas confusiones,
350 danzando estos torreones
- Without ever □
By a strange force □
With precipitated □
And □ his guide
In front of him without talk¹
Goes mysteriously and² follows
With a rapid step and³ now
□
Upon the wings of the storm⁴
Vision sublime □
Sees to⁵ shine phosphorical
But □ livid lightning
In the dense □
Serpents of light, luminous
Offspring of the □:
And when he doubts if he sleepeth
If perchance he dreameth or □
Is mad, if so many □⁶
So many ravings are □
Again within Salamanca
Suddenly himself □
He distinguishes the buildings
Remembering where he is now
And in his whirling delirium
The wine □
And he swears, and⁷ on the thy trace
She in front and⁸ he behind.
- By God! to himself he said⁹ ¹⁰
Either □ Satan's joke
And myself □
Or □ in my head
The Málaga yet doth smoke
- Shadows and¹¹, illusions
'Tis their will dead bells to take
And in □¹² confusions
These towers I saw delusions

¹ /without talk/² <+> [↑ †] mysteriously [and]³ [and]⁴ /storm/⁵ <Phosphor> [↑ Sees to]⁶ [74A-4^v]: See Fig. 98.⁷ [and]⁸ [and]⁹ <he said> to himself he said¹⁰ [74-96^r]: See Fig. 99. 171] Page number on upper left corner of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.¹¹ [and]¹² *rev □

	al compás de tal concierto.	Dancing to this concert's tune.
355	»Y el juicio voy a perder entre tantas maravillas, que estas torres llegué a ver, como mulas de alquiler, andando con campanillas.	My mind □ Among so many marvels That these towers I □ saw Like hired mules □ Walking about with bells
360	»¿Y esta mujer quién será? Mas si es el diablo en persona, ¿a mí qué diantre me da? Y más que el traje en que va en esta ocasión, le abona.	And this woman who is she? ¹ But is she the very devil What the devil is it with me? Besides, the dress that I see Wearing *now ² , makes it true.
365	»Noble señora, imagino que sois nueva en el lugar: andar así es desatino; o habéis perdido el camino, o esto es andar por andar.	Noble lady, □ ³ 4 That in this place we are new □ ⁵ Either you have lost the way Or this is walking □
370	»Ha dado en no responder, que es la más rara locura que puede hallarse en mujer, y en que yo la he de querer por su paso de andadura».	□ she won't answer me ⁶ Which is the madness most rare That any a woman can have ⁷ □ □
375	En tanto don Félix a tientas seguía, delante camina la blanca visión, triplica su espanto la noche sombría, sus horribidos gritos redobla Aquilón.	Meanwhile that Don Felix ⁸ □ did follow ⁹ 10 In front of him walketh the vision in white Its horror doth treble the ¹¹ night □ hollow The ¹² north wind redoubles his howls that affright
	Rechinan girando las férreas veletas,	And ¹³ whirling do □ the □ of iron ¹ 2

¹ [74A-8^r]: See Fig. 100. 172] Page number on upper left corner of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

² <That> [↑ <The dress>] <+> [↑ Wearing *now]

³ There is a variant of this and the following verse in manuscript [74A-8^r]: Noble lady, I believe | You are newly in this town

⁴ [74-96^r]: See Fig. 99.

⁵ <To walk in this> □

⁶ There is a variant of this and the following two verses in manuscript [74A-8^r]: She won't answer me | Which is the madness most rare | That in women can be found

⁷ /in/ [↑ any] a woman can /be/ [↑ have]

⁸ D[on] F[elix]

⁹ There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-10^v]: □ | In front <th> □ the vision /of [↑ in]/ white | □ | The North-wind redoubles its howls that affright

¹⁰ [74-94^r]: See Fig. 101.

¹¹ th<a>/e\

¹² <Its> The

¹³ [And]

- crujir de cadenas se escucha sonar,
las altas campanas, por el viento inquietas
pausados sonidos en las torres dan.
- 380 Ruido de pasos de gente que viene
a compás marchando con sordo rumor,
y de tiempo en tiempo su marcha detiene,
y rezar parece en confuso son.
- Llegó de don Félix luego a los oídos,
385 y luego cien luces a lo lejos vio,
y luego en hileras largas divididos,
vio que murmurando con lúgubre voz,
- enlutados bultos andando venían;
y luego más cerca con asombro ve,
390 que un féretro en medio y en hombros
traían
y dos cuerpos muertos tendidos en él.
- Las luces, la hora, la noche, profundo,
infernally arcano parece encubrir.
Cuando en hondo sueño yace muerto el
mundo,
395 cuando todo anuncia que habrá de morir
- al hombre, que loco la recia tormenta
corrió de la vida, del viento a merced,
cuando una voz triste las horas le cuenta,
y en lodo sus pompas convertidas ve,
- 400 forzoso es que tenga de diamante el alma
quien no sienta el pecho de horror palpitar,
quien como don Félix, con serena calma
- And³ □ of chains is heard to resound
The bells on the towers □
□
- The noise of the footsteps of people □⁴ ⁵
□ marching with □ ground
From time on to time their marching detain
And⁶ say to pray in a □ sound
- Came to Don Felix⁷ □ to his hearing⁸
[...]⁹
- To him who the storm¹⁰ of life □ madly¹¹
□¹² at will of the wind
When a □ sadly
And in □¹³ find,
- Perforce, he a soul □ possesses
Who feels not his bosom with terror to beat
Who even □ as Don Felix with calmness

¹ There is a variant of this stanza and the first verse of the next one in manuscript [74-94^r], which contains indications 172 on top of page and 173 after first stanza, both indicating the page number in Pessoa's Spanish edition: □ riot | The clatter of chains □ | The bells upon high by the wind's fury unquiet | □ | | The □

² [74A-10^v]: See Fig. 102.

³ [And]

⁴ There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-10^v]: The sound of footsteps of people advancing | In orderly marching with □ | Who once and again their march □ | [And] seem to □ pray in □

⁵ [74-99^r]: See Fig. 103.

⁶ [And]

⁷ D[on] F[elix]

⁸ [74A-10^v]: See Fig. 102.

⁹ Verses 385-395 are missing.

¹⁰ <†> [↑ storm]

¹¹ [74-97^r]: See Fig. 104. 173] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

¹² <Of I> □

¹³ in <dot> □

ni en Dios ni en el diablo se ponga a pensar. □

- 405 Así en tardos pasos, todos murmurando, So in lagging steps and¹ all lowly saying
el lúgubre entierro ya cerca llegó, The funeral gloomy □
y la blanca dama devota rezando, And □ lady with devout praying
entrambas rodillas en tierra dobló. □
- 410 Calado el sombrero y en pie, indiferente His hat † indifferently² standing
el féretro mira don Félix pasar, Don³ Felix □ watches the □ to □
y al paso pregunta con su aire insolente Now with an insolent air is⁴ demanding
los nombres de aquellos que al sepulcro The names of the two whom they been to the
van. grave.
- Mas ¡cuál su sorpresa, su asombro cuál □⁵ 6
fuera,
cuando horrorizado con espanto ve When struck with horror and⁷ □ he doth see
que el uno don Diego de Pastrana era, That one □
415 y el otro, ¡Dios santo!, y el otro era él...! And t'other oh God the other was he.
- Él mismo, su imagen, su misma figura, The same, 'tis his visage, □ mirror⁸
su mismo semblante, que él mismo era The same countenance, the same it has⁹
en fin:
y duda y se palpa y fría pavora He doubts □ a cold terror
un punto en sus venas sintió discurrir. A while in his veins he felt to pass.¹⁰
- 420 Al fin era hombre, y un punto temblaron He was but a man and a moment¹¹ did tremble
los nervios del hombre, y un punto temió; The man's nerves, a moment with fear that did start¹²
mas pronto su antigua vigor recobraron, But soon they¹³ did the old vigour assemble
pronto su fiereza volvió al corazón. And soon all his courage returned to his heart.¹⁴
- Lo que es, dijo, por Pastrana, By Pastrana □¹⁵ 16

¹ [and]

² /in fact/ [↑ indifferently]

³ <The> Don

⁴ <Then> Now with [↑ an] insolent air [↑ is]

⁵ There is a variant of this stanza and the first three verses of the following one in manuscript [74-98^v]: <W>/But\ what his surprise, his □ | When stricken w[ith] horror astounded <he sees> [↑ doth see] | That one D[on] D[iego] □ | [And] the other God [and] the other was he. || The same □ his image his very figure | □ | He doubts [and]

⁶ [74-97^v]: See Fig. 105.

⁷ [and]

⁸ /error/ [↑ mirror]

⁹ <'tis> it has

¹⁰ <to flow> [↓ pass.]

¹¹ [and] a /while/ [↑ moment]

¹² /The nerves of the man, [and] a /while/ [↑ moment] he did fear/ [↓ The man's nerves, a moment <that> with fear [↑ that] did start]

¹³ soon <their> [↑ they]

¹⁴ /And <soon> [↑ soon]/ [↓ And soon all his courage returned to his heart.]

¹⁵ There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-2^v], which has number 174 on top of page, corresponding to the page of Pessoa's Spanish edition: By Pastrana, □ | □ | □ | To bury me, □

¹⁶ [74-100^r]: See Fig. 106.

- 425 bien pensado está el entierro;
mas es diligencia vana
enterrarme a mí, y mañana
me he de quejar de este yerro.
- 430 Diga, señor enlutado,
¿a quién llevan a enterrar?
-Al estudiante endiablado
don Félix de Montemar»-,
respondió el encapuchado.
- 435 -Mientes, truhán. -No por cierto.
-Pues decidme a mí quién soy,
si gustáis, porque no acierto
cómo a un mismo tiempo estoy
aquí vivo y allí muerto.
- 440 -Yo no os conozco. -Pardiez,
que si me llevo a enojar,
tus burlas te haga llorar
de tal modo, que otra vez
conozcas ya a Montemar.
- 445 ¡Villano!... mas esto es
ilusión de los sentidos,
el mundo que anda al revés,
los diablos entretenidos
en hacerme dar traspiés.
- 450 ¡El fanfarrón de don Diego!
De sus mentiras reniego,
que cuando muerto cayó,
al infierno se fue luego
contando que me mató.
- But the trouble is quite¹ vain
To bury me □; I'll complain
To-morrow □
- "Tell me, sir, who dress so sad
Whom to □ you bear?
- "The student □ and² mad
Don Felix³ de Montemar
Answered⁴ he who murmuring had.
- Rascal⁵, you lie – □^{6 7}
Tell me then □ who I'm
If you please, □
How I am at the same time
□
- I know you not, –⁸
Are you move my rage too far
Your □
In such way □
You'll know quite well Montemar.
- "Villain! □^{9 10}
An illusion of the senses
The world □
And the devils □
□
- "Don Diego¹¹, the bragging dunce!¹²
His silly lies I renounce¹³
When he got the death he willèd me
Down to hell he went at once
Believing that he had killèd me."

¹ is <†> [† quite]

² [and]

³ D[on] F[elix]

⁴ /Replied/ [† Answered]

⁵ There is a variant of this and the following stanza in manuscripts [74-100^r] and [74-100^v]: "Rascal, you lie" – □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | "I know you not" – | If you push any rage too far | □ | □ | You'll know quite well Montemar.

⁶ □ <No, 'tis true, →

⁷ [74A-2^r]: See Fig. 107. 175] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁸ – <†>

⁹ There is a slight variant of this verse in manuscript [74A-2^r]: Villain! □

¹⁰ [74-100^v]: See Fig. 108.

¹¹ D[iego]

¹² There is a slight variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-59a^r]: Don Diego, the bragging dunce! | His silly lies I denounce | When he got the death he willèd me | Down to hell he went at once | Believing that he had killed me

¹³ /de/[† re]nounce

	Diciendo así, soltó una carcajada, y las espaldas con desdén volvió: se hizo el bigote, requirió la espada, y a la devota dama se acercó.	[...] ¹
455		
	Con que, en fin, ¿dónde vivís?, que se hace tarde, señora. 460 -Tarde, aún no; de aquí a una hora lo será. -Verdad decís, será más tarde que ahora.	Well now at last where live you ² For it gets late, you'll *allow – Late not yet it shall be so In an hour ³ – That's very true It will be later than now.
	Esa voz con que hacéis miedo, de vos me enamora más: 465 yo me he echado el alma atrás; juzgad si me dará un bleo de Dios ni de Satanás.	And ⁴ that voice with which you frighten ⁵ Makes me love you but *the more: My soul □ □ □
	- Cada paso que avanzáis lo adelantáis a la muerte, 470 don Félix. ¿Y no tembláis, y el corazón no os advierte que a la muerte camináis?	By ⁶ every step you are brought Nearer to death □ bearing Don Felix ⁷ - Tremble you not Give your heart to you no thought That unto death you are nearing ⁸
	Con eco melancólico y sombrío dijo así la mujer, y el sordo acento, 475 sonando en torno del mancebo impío, rugió en la voz del proceloso viento.	With echo melancholical and ⁹ sad ¹⁰ So spoke she and ¹¹ her □ □ Roared in the voice of the tempestuous wind.
	Las piedras con las piedras se golpearon, bajo sus pies la tierra retembló, las aves de la noche se juntaron, 480 y sus alas crujir sobre él sintió:	Stones against stones did strike □ and ¹² hit Beneath his feet earth trembled and □ ¹³ The birds of night □ meet ¹⁴ And their wings cross over above be heard ¹⁵
	y en la sombra unos ojos fulgurantes	And ¹ in the shadow eyes with a gleaming

¹ Verses 454-457 are missing.

² [74A-1^r]: See Fig. 109. 176.] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

³ <It will be> [↑ In an hour]

⁴ [And]

⁵ [74A-1^v]: See Fig. 110.

⁶ [↑ By]

⁷ D[on] F[elix]

⁸ /coming [↓ nearing]/

⁹ [and]

¹⁰ [74A-43^r]: See Fig. 111. 176] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

¹¹ /the woman [↑ she]/ [and]

¹² [and]

¹³ [and] <did reel> □

¹⁴ <And the> [↑ The birds] of night <↑ meet> □ meet

¹⁵ /him [↑ above]/ be <↑> heard

- vio en el aire vagar que espanto inspiran,
siempre sobre él saltándose anhelantes:
ojos de horror que sin cesar le miran.
- 485 Y los vio y no tembló: mano a la espada
puso y la sombra intrépido embistió,
y ni sombra encontró ni encontró nada;
sólo fijos en él los ojos vio.
- Y alzó los suyos impaciente al cielo,
490 y rechinó los dientes y maldijo,
y en él creciendo el infernal anhelo,
con voz de enojo blasfemado dijo:
- «Seguid, señora, y adelante vamos:
tanto mejor si sois el diablo mismo,
495 y Dios y el diablo y yo nos conozcamos,
y acábase por fin tanto embolismo.
- »Que de tanto sermón, de farsa tanta,
juro, pardiez, que fatigado estoy:
nada mi firme voluntad quebranta,
500 sabed en fin que donde vayáis voy.
- »Un término no más tiene la vida:
término fijo; un paradero el alma;
ahora adelante.» Dijo, y en seguida
camina en pos con decidida calma».
- 505 Y la dama a una puerta se paró,
- He saw in air² to wander that strike fear on top
Ever upon him in □ seeing
Eyes full of horror that sans ceasing stare.
- He saw nor trembled to his sword he brought³ 4
His hand⁵ against the shadow boldly went⁶
But found nor shadow he, nor found he naught
Only those eyes he saw upon him bent⁷
- And his he raised impatiently to Heaven
And ground his teeth and⁸ cursed
And in him grew the infernal □
With angry voice blasphemingly⁹ he said:
- Lady go on and¹⁰ forward let me go¹¹
Better if you are the very devil
And God the Devil and I at length may know¹²
Each other and¹³ such confusion may at length
unravel.
- For of so much of sermon and¹⁴ of farce
Lady I swear that I am tired quite
Nothing my will most firm can □ makes weak or
scarce¹⁵
Know that, in fine, □
- An end no more hath life
A fixed ending and¹⁶ the soul a home
Now, forward He speaks and then¹⁷
Calmly the¹⁸ lady he doth come.
- Before a portal stopped the lady then¹

¹ [And]

² /in air/

³ He saw <them trembled not> [↑ nor trembled]: <his hand> [↑ *to his sword] he *brought

⁴ [74A-43^v]: See Fig. 112.

⁵ There is a mark possibly indicating the continuation of the first version and the variation.

⁶ <Upon his sword> [↑ His hand] [and] <boldly did> [↑ against the shadow boldly went]

⁷ <Only those eyes fixed on him> [↑ <But the> Only those eyes [↑ he saw] upon him bent]

⁸ [and]

⁹ Not to be read as “blasphemously”.

¹⁰ [and]

¹¹ [74A-41^r]: See Fig. 113. 177] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

¹² [and] I <each other> [↑ at *length] *my know

¹³ [← Each other] [and]

¹⁴ of <† †> [↑ so much] of sermon [and]

¹⁵ firm <can> [↓ can] □ /or scarce/ [↑ makes weak or scarce]

¹⁶ [and]

¹⁷ forward He /spoke/ [↑ speaks] [and] <follows> then

¹⁸ <He walks> Calmly <†> the

- y era una puerta altísima, y se abrieron
sus hojas en el punto en que llamó,
que a un misterioso impulso obedecieron;
y tras la dama el estudiante entró;
510 ni pajes ni doncellas acudieron;
y cruzan a la luz de unas bujías
fantásticas, desiertas galerías.
- Y la visión como engañoso encanto,
por las losas deslizase sin ruido,
515 toda encubierta bajo el blanco manto
que barre el suelo en pliegues desprendido;
y por el largo corredor en tanto
sigue adelante y síguela atrevido,
y su temeridad raya en locura,
520 resuelto Montemar a su aventura.
- Las luces, como antorchas funerales,
lánguida luz y cárdena esparcían,
y en torno en movimientos desiguales
las sombras se alejaban o venían:
525 arcos aquí ruinosos, sepulcrales,
urnas allí y estatuas se veían,
rotas columnas, patios mal seguros,
verbosos, tristes, húmedos y oscuros.
- Todo vago, quimérico y sombrío,
530 edificio sin base ni cimiento,
ondula cual fantástico navío
que anclado mueve borrascoso viento.
En un silencio aterrador y frío
- 'Twas an enormous portal whose doors did² □
Which at her word wide throve and³ without dim
To a mysterious impulse did obey:
After the lady went the student in:
Pages nor damosels did meet their way
At some dim⁴ candles' light they □
Fantastical, deserted galleries.
- The vision then like a deceiving pleasure⁵,
Over the flag-stones trod without a sound
Hidden under the mantle treasure⁶
Which in folds glideth⁷ o'er the ground
The while over the wide corridor's⁸ measure
She goeth on □
□⁹
□¹⁰
- And the pale lights like torches funeral¹¹
A languid light □ do cast,
And all around the shadows rise and fall
With movements unequal, wide and vast:
Here ruined arches dim and sepulchral,
Urns there and statues were seen to be placed,
Shattered columns, cloisters not secure,
Grassy and sad and humid and obscure.
- And all is vague, chimerical and dark,^{12 13}
A building sans foundation, nor designed¹⁴,
Reeleth and rolleth like a fancied bark
Which anchored swayeth the tempestuous wind,
In a deep silence cold and dread and stark

¹ [74A-59^r]: See Fig. 114.

² | 'Twas an | ever † portal [→ whose doors did <†>

³ [and]

⁴ dim<e>

⁵ <And> the vision [↑ then] like [↑ a] deceiving [→ pleasure]

⁶ /beneath [↑ under]/ the mantle <measure> [↑ treasure]

⁷ folds <†> [↑ glideth]

⁸ the [↑ †] corridor's

⁹ <The> □

¹⁰ After the blank space there is a crossed-out stanza: <The lights like torches funeral | A languid light [and] □ do cast | And all around the shadows rise [and] fall | With movement unequal [← wide] vast | Here ruined arches, dim [and] sepulchral | Urns there and statues were seen to be placed | Shattered columns, □ not secure | Grassy and sad and humid and obscure.>

¹¹ [74A-44^r]: See Fig. 115.

¹² There is a variant of this stanza in manuscript [74A-57^r]: All<'s> vague chimerical and dark doth float | An edifice sans base □ | Sways [and] □ like a fantastic boat | That *ancored moveth □ wind | In a deep silence, terrible □ | All things there lie □ | □ <sil> [↓ silent, /dead/] | Time runneth there, in sleep all buried.

¹³ [74A-44^v]: See Fig. 116.

¹⁴ /designed/

- 535 yace allí todo: ni rumor, ni aliento
humano nunca se escuchó; callado,
corre allí el tiempo, en sueño sepultado.
- Las muertas horas a las muertas horas
siguen en el reloj de aquella vida,
sombras de horror girando aterradoras,
540 que allá aparecen en medrosa huida;
ellas solas y tristes moradoras
de aquella negra, funeral guarida,
cual soñada fantástica quimera,
vienen a ver al que su paz altera.
- 545 Y en él enclavan los hundidos ojos
del fondo de la larga galería,
que brillan lejos, cual carbones rojos,
y espantaran la misma valentía:
y muestran en su rostro sus enojos
550 al ver hollada su mansión sombría,
y ora en grupos delante se aparecen,
ora en la sombra allá se desvanecen.
- Grandiosa, satánica figura,
alta la frente, Montemar camina,
555 espíritu sublime en su locura,
provocando la cólera divina:
fábrica frágil de materia impura,
el alma que la alienta y la ilumina,
con Dios le iguala, y con osado vuelo
560 se alza a su trono y le provoca a duelo.
- All things there lie: no sound to sense defined¹
Nor human breath was ever heard there: deep
In silence there time runs buried in sleep.
- And to dead hours do the dead hours succeed^{2 3}
In the inhuman clock □
And shades of horror that around do speed
□⁴
□
Of that dread dwelling dark and⁵ funeral
Like to a dreamèd shade fantastical⁶
They troop to see him who their peace doth fall.
- On him they fix their⁷ eyes'⁸ deep awful stare⁹
From the deep gallery's end □ in night
That like burning coals □ do shine afar
And courage self had stricken with affright.
[...]¹⁰
- A grand¹¹ satanic figure crime¹²
Erect his front, pine treadeth Montemar,
A spirit in his madness yet¹³ sublime
□
Frail fabric of the □ of time
The soul that holds it □
Makes him God's equal □
□

¹ /nor [↑ to] sense defined/

² There are three variants of this and the next two verses. The first one is found in manuscript [74A-51^r]: Dead hours [↑ to] dead hours succeed | In the □ | Forms of horror that /around [↑ awhirl]/ do speed. The second one is found in manuscript [74A-57^r]: Dead hours on dead hours succeed | In the □ | Forms of horror that around do speed. And the third one is found in manuscript [74A-59^v]: Dead hours [and] dead hours on each other follow | In the □ | <And> shapes of horror □

³ [74A-59^v]: See Fig. 117.

⁴ [74A-51^r]: See Fig. 118.

⁵ [and]

⁶ [74A-59^v]: See Fig. 117.

⁷ In an apparent lapse, the original says: they.

⁸ the[ir] [↑ eyes']

⁹ [74A-59^v]: See Fig. 119. The manuscript starts with a crossed-out stanza: <All vague, <qu> [↑ chimerical] □ dark | A building □ foundation □ | Reeeth and rolleth like a fancied bark | Which anchored swayeth the tempestuous wind | In a deep silence cold and dread and stark | All things there lie: no [↑ breath nor] sound defined | Nor human breath was ever heard there: *deep | <Sile> [↓ In silence there time runs buried in sleep.>

¹⁰ Verses 549-552 are missing.

¹¹ [← A] grand

¹² [74A-54^r]: See Fig. 120.

¹³ /all [↓ yet]/

- Segundo Lucifer que se levanta
del rayo vengador la frente herida,
alma rebelde que el temor no espanta,
hollada sí, pero jamás vencida:
565 el hombre en fin que en su ansiedad
quebranta
su límite a la cárcel de la vida,
y a Dios llama ante él a darle cuenta,
y descubrir su inmensidad intenta.
- Y un báquico cantar tarareando,
570 cruza aquella quimérica morada,
con atrevida indiferencia andando,
mofa en los labios, y la vista osada;
y el rumor que sus pasos van formando,
y el golpe que al andar le da la espada,
575 tristes ecos, siguiéndole detrás,
repiten con monótono compás.
- Y aquel extraño y único rüido
que de aquella mansión los ecos llena,
en el suelo y los techos repetido,
580 en su profunda soledad resuena;
y expira allá cual funeral gemido
que lanza en su dolor la ánima en pena,
que al fin del corredor largo y oscuro
salir parece de entre el roto muro.
- 585 Y en aquel otro mundo, y otra vida,
- A second Lucifer that doth □¹
By² the avenging bolt the wounded brow
A rebel soul that terror³ could not shake
□ but never conquerèd
The man in fine that in his □ doth break
The limit to life's □
[...]⁴
- Carolling lightly a light drinking song^{5 6}
He traverses⁷ □ maze
With bold indifference treading firm and⁸ strong
Scorns on his lips, with dauntless gaze:
And the □ noise his footsteps trace along
And the □
Sad echoes, following on He and⁹ beat
In monotonous equalness¹⁰ do repeat
- That foreign sound, that sound alone¹¹
That did the echoes of the mansion fill
In floor and ceiling re-echoed¹² □¹³
In its profoundest solitude doth thrill:
And dies away like a funereal moan¹⁴
Which from its pain the □
Which at the end of the wide corridor
And dark seems from the torn wall to □
- And¹⁵ in that other world and¹⁶ life^{17 1}

¹ [74A-53^r]: See Fig. 121.

² /From [↑ By]/

³ /fear [↑ terror]/

⁴ Verses 567-568 are missing.

⁵ /Mumbling with lightness song/ [↑ Carolling lightly a light drinking song]

⁶ [74A-47^r]: See Fig. 122.

⁷ He <cross> [↑ traverses]

⁸ [and]

⁹ [and]

¹⁰ <a> monotonous /compass [↑ equalness]/

¹¹ [74A-58^r]: See Fig. 123.

¹² <t> [↓ In floor [and] ceiling re-echoed]

¹³ The page starts with a cross-out variation of these first three verses: <And □ foreign [and] only sound | Which of that mansion doth the echoes fill, | In the floor □, in the ceiling doth resound>

¹⁴ d<y>/i\es away like a funereal /groan [↑ moan]/

¹⁵ [And]

¹⁶ [and]

¹⁷ There are two variants of this stanza. The first one is found in manuscript [74A-58^r]: And in that other /life/ [and] other /world/ | World all of shadows, life that is a <dream> [↑ sleep], | Life that with death made one □ | □ | <A> world, vague illusion □ | Of our /own/ world, □. The second one is found in manuscript [74A-50^r], which has an upper indication, 182, that corresponds to the page number of Pessoa's Spanish edition: And in that other world [and] other life | World of shadows, life that is a sleep | Life that □ | <t> □ | World □ | Of our own world and

	mundo de sombras, vida que es un sueño, vida, que con la muerte confundida, ciñe sus sienas con letal beleño; mundo, vaga ilusión descolorida	World all of shadow, life that is in ² sleep, Life that with death confounded ³ □ World, vague illusion □
590	de nuestro mundo y vaporoso ensueño, son aquel ruido y su locura insana, la sola imagen de la vida humana.	Of our world and a dream □ and ⁴ deep, Are that □ sound and its mad *in-strife ⁵ ⁶ The only images of human life.
	Que allá su blanca misteriosa guía de la alma dicha la ilusión parece, 595 que ora acaricia la esperanza impía, ora al tocarla ya se desvanece: blanca, flotante nube, que en la umbría noche, en alas del céfiro se mece; su airosa ropa, desplegada al viento, 600 semeja en su callado movimiento:	For there his white guide and ⁷ mysterious ⁸ Seems the illusion of the happy □ ⁹ , Which now the impious hope □ Now ¹⁰ , near to touching it □, A white, a floating cloud that in the dark Night on the wings of the soft wind doth move, Her graceful dress, abandoned to the wind Is like □:
	humo süave de quemado aroma que al aire en ondas a perderse asciende, rayo de luna que en la parda loma, cual un broche su cima al éter prende; 605 silfa que con el alba envuelta asoma y al nebuloso azul sus alas tiende, de negras sombras y de luz teñidas, entre el alba y la noche confundidas.	The □ smoke of a burnt incense Which in air to be dispelled ascends ¹¹ A ray of moonlight that in the □ ¹² Like to a brooch its top with ¹³ aether binds A sylph that to morn □ broke ¹⁴ And to the cloudy blue its wings extends Woven of blackest shadows and ¹⁵ of light Mixed between the morrow and ¹⁶ the night.
	Y ágil, veloz, aérea y vaporosa,	And light and rapid and aerial and ¹⁷ self-dispelling ¹⁸ ¹

□. *On the back of this paper*: Gustave Ficker 4 Rue de Savoie (VI^e) Occultist and Spiritiste Works - †† or some † like it

¹ [74A-42^r]: See Fig. 124.

² /a [↑ in]/

³ /confounded/

⁴ [and] a dream □ [and]

⁵ *There is one variant of this and the next verse in manuscript [74A-42^r]: <The>/Are\ □ sound [and] all its mad in-strife | The only image/s/ of □ human life.*

⁶ [74A-59a^r]: See Fig. 125. p. 180] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁷ [and]

⁸ [74A-58^v]: See Fig. 126.

⁹ <soul> [↑ <spirit>]

¹⁰ Now <tou>

¹¹ in <waves rises in air to be dispelled [↑ winds]> [↑ air to be dispelled ascends]

¹² loma] Pessoa wrote the originally Spanish word, possibly indicating doubt regarding the translation (hill).

¹³ /to [↑ with]/

¹⁴ /sylph/ that to morn □ /awoke [→ broke]/

¹⁵ [← Woven] of [↑ blackest] shadows /black all-woven/ [and]

¹⁶ [and]

¹⁷ [and] /swift [↑ rapid]/ [and] aerial [and]

¹⁸ *There is a variation of this stanza, most of it crossed out, in manuscript [74A-59a^r]: And agile, rapid, airy, <vaporous> | <That only toucheth> | <The magic vision of the veil of white: | [← The] faithful image of the □ | Which haply man in heaven will delight | Thought without formula and [← without name] numberless | That makes man pray and curse.>*

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 610 | que apenas toca con los pies el suelo,
cruza aquella morada tenebrosa
la mágica visión del blanco velo:
imagen fiel de la ilusión dichosa
que acaso el hombre encontrará en el cielo. | The floor with its ² □ quite
Crosses that darksome and most awful dwelling
The magic vision of the veil of white:
True ³ image □
That haply man in heaven will delight |
| 615 | Pensamiento sin fórmula y sin nombre,
que hace rezar y blasfemar al hombre. | Thought without formula and ⁴ without name,
That makes the lips and ⁵ prayer and curse to frame. |
| | Y al fin del largo corredor llegando,
Montemar sigue su callada guía,
y una de mármol negro va bajando | [...] ⁶ |
| 620 | de caracol torcida gradería,
larga, estrecha y revuelta, y que girando
en torno de él y sin cesar veía
suspendida en el aire y con violento,
veloz, vertiginoso movimiento. | |
| 625 | Y en eterna espiral y en remolino
infinito prolóngase y se extiende,
y el juicio pone en loco desatino
a Montemar que en tumbos mil descende.
Y, envuelto en el violento torbellino, | In an eternal spiral and ⁷ in a □ ⁸
Infinite it is prolonged and ⁹ doth extend
□
To he who tumbling doth descend
[...] ¹⁰ |
| 630 | al aire se imagina, y se desprende,
y sin que el raudo movimiento ceda,
mil vueltas dando, a los abismos rueda: | And while the □ never slows ^{11 12}
□ to the abyss he goes ¹³ |
| | y de escalón en escalón cayendo,
blasfema y jura con lenguaje inmundado, | And from step on to step falling ¹⁴
He swears and ¹⁵ curses with □ |
| 635 | y su furioso vértigo creciendo,
y despeñado rápido al profundo,
los silbos ya del huracán oyendo, | And growing in his furious whirl appalling ¹⁶
And to a □ hurled ¹⁷
Hearing already the □ storm's howling ¹⁸ |

¹ [74A-55r]: See Fig. 127. 181 | Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

² <With its feet scarcely touching> [↑ The floor with its]

³ /The faithful [↑ True]/

⁴ [and]

⁵ /mouth [↓ lips]/ [and]

⁶ Verses 617-624 are missing.

⁷ [and]

⁸ [74A-88^v]: See Fig. 128.

⁹ [and]

¹⁰ Verses 629-630 are missing.

¹¹ The number 7 appears at the end of the verse, an indication that this is the seventh verse of a stanza that Pessoa did not fully translate in this manuscript.

¹² [74A-50^r]: See Fig. 129. 182 – I | Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

¹³ The number 8 appears at the end of the verse, an indication that this is the eighth verse of a stanza that Pessoa did not fully translate in this manuscript. This verse is followed by a page indication of Pessoa's original Spanish edition: 182 2.

¹⁴ step <by *trembles> falling <going>

¹⁵ [and]

¹⁶ And [← growing in] his furious whirl <growing> [↑ appalling]

¹⁷ <And hurled> [↑ And to a] □ <a deep> [↑ hurled]

¹⁸ /howling/

- ya ante él pasando en confusión el mundo, □ world
 ya oyendo gritos, voces y palmadas, Already hearing □
 640 y aplausos y brutales carcajadas; □
- llantos y ayes, quejas y gemidos, Wailings and tears and complaints and moans¹
 mofas, sarcasmos, risas y denuesos, Sarcasms, □ laughter
 y en mil grupos acá y allá reunidos, And in a thousand groups □
 viendo debajo de él, sobre él enhiestos, He saw beneath him □
 645 hombres, mujeres, todos confundidos, And men and women □
 con sandia pena, con alegres gestos, With stupid sadness, with glad gestures
 que con asombro estúpido le miran That with² a stupid wonder look on him
 y en el perpetuo remolino giran. And in perpetual whirling □ are dim.
- Siente, por fin, que de repente para, He³ feels at last that to a stop is brought^{4 5}
 650 y un punto sin sentido se quedó; And for a while he is brought swound⁶
 mas luego valeroso se repara, But soon⁷ with courage he □
 abrió los ojos y de pie se alzó; His eyes he opened and⁸ his feet he found
 y fue el primer objeto en que pensara And the first object upon which he thought
 la blanca dama, y alrededor miró, Was the white lady and⁹ he looked around
 655 y al pie de un triste monumento hallóla, And by a sad monument's stone
 sentada en medio de la estancia, sola. Middle of¹⁰ the room he saw her sit, alone.
- Era un negro solemne monumento It was a black and¹¹ solemn monument¹²
 que en medio de la estancia se elevaba, That in the middle of the □¹³ rose
 y a un tiempo a Montemar, ¡raro portentó!, And Montemar at one time¹⁴ (strange portent!)
 660 una tumba y un lecho semejava: A tomb and bridal bed did it¹⁵ suppose
 ya imaginó su loco pensamiento And his mad thought fancied with horrid bent
 que abierta aquella tumba le aguardaba; That the open tomb awaited his repose;
 ya imaginó también que el lecho era And □
 tálamo blando que al esposo espera. □
- 665 Y pronto, recobrada su osadía, And □^{1 2}

¹ [74A-49r]: See Fig. 130. p. 182-183] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

² [← That] with

³ There is a variant of the first six verses of this stanza in manuscript [74A-49r]: He feels at last □ | □ | But □ | His eyes he opened [and] his feet he found: | And the first object upon which he thought | Was the white lady, and he looked around,

⁴ that <suddenly he stops> [↑ to a stop is brought]

⁵ [74A-46r]: See Fig. 131. 182-183] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁶ And <without sense a while did he> for a while he /was/ [↑ is] brought swound

⁷ But <after> soon

⁸ <Opened> His eyes [↑ he opened] [and]

⁹ [and]

¹⁰ <Her [and] †> [↑ Middle of]

¹¹ [and]

¹² [74A-59a^v]: See Fig. 117.

¹³ the <|> □

¹⁴ <To> [↑ [And]] Montemar [← at one time]

¹⁵ did [↑ it]

	y a terminar resuelto su aventura, al cielo y al infierno desafia con firme pecho y decisión segura: a la blanca visión su planta guía, 670 y a descubrirse el rostro la conjura, y a sus pies Montemar tomando asiento, así la habló con animoso acento:	Resolved □ adventure □ end Heaven and hell □ defies With a firm heart and ³ will that doth not bend. And to the vision white his way he hies □ ⁴ And Montemar as a seat he did seek At her feet, thus with accents brave did speak:
675	«Diablo, mujer o visión, que, a juzgar por el camino que conduce a esta mansión, eres puro desatino o diabólica invención:	“Devil, ⁵ woman or illusion ⁶ Because, to judge by the way That to this mansion doth stray You’re pure madness, a delusion Devil’s invention
680	»Siquier de parte de Dios, siquier de parte del diablo, ¿quién nos trajo aquí a los dos? Decidme, en fin, ¿quién sois vos? y sepa yo con quién hablo:	Whether by ⁷ God’s bidding ⁸ Or by ⁹ the Devil’s Who brought us hither ¹⁰ □ the two? Tell me in fine: who thou art ¹¹ Let me know to whom I speak:
685	»Que más que nunca palpita resuelto mi corazón, cuando en tanta confusión, y en tanto arcano que irrita, me descubre mi razón.	For more than ever my breast ¹² Resolvèd and firm doth beat ¹³ When in a ¹⁴ maze so complete In so angering a □ My reason shows ¹⁵ me
690	»Que un poder aquí supremo, invisible se ha mezclado, poder que siento y no temo, a llevar determinado	That a power, supreme here Invisible its being ¹⁶ doth bend A power I feel yet not fear, ¹⁷ Determined unto ¹ the end

¹ *There is a variant of the first five verses of this stanza in manuscript [74A-46’]:* But □ | And firm to see his adven[ture] to the end | Hell [and] heaven □ he doth defy | With a firm heart [and] with decision sure: | Towards the white vision □

² [74A-49’]: *See Fig. 132.*

³ [and]

⁴ <And> □

⁵ “Devil <or>,”

⁶ *There is a variant of this and the next four verses in manuscript [74A-45’]:* <†> [† Devil], woman <or thing> of evil, [→ dream,] | That to judge by the road | That to this mansion <doth> [† we] travel | Thou art madness pure [and] broad | Or invention of the Devil

⁷ <If from> [† Whether by]

⁸ [74A-45’]: *See Fig. 133.*

⁹ <If from> [† <Whether> Or by]

¹⁰ us <here> [† hither]

¹¹ /are you [† thou art]/

¹² <That> [† For] more than ever <† beat> [† my breast]

¹³ [and] firm <my heart> [† doth beat]

¹⁴ When <among> [† in a]

¹⁵ reason <†> shows

¹⁶ Invisible <is mixed> [† its being]

¹⁷ [† A] power I feel /[and] do not/ [† without] [↓ yet not] fear

	esta aventura al extremo.»	This my adventure to bear ² .
	Fúnebre	Mournful ³ ⁴
	llanto	Singing ⁵
695	de amor,	Love-found
	óyese	Is heard there
	en tanto	Upspringing ⁶
	en son	A sound ⁷
	flébil, blando,	Soft and feeble ⁸
700	cual quejido	Like the wailing
	dolorido	Unavailing
	que del alma	That the spirit
	se arrancó;	Hath drowned ⁹
	cual profundo	Like the sighing
705	¡ay! que exhala	That is loose ¹⁰
	moribundo	Of the dying
	corazón.	Heart's wound.
	Música triste,	Sad music vague
	lánguida y vaga,	Languid in motion
710	que a par lastima	Plugging the spirit ¹¹
	y el alma halaga;	In a deep ocean ¹²
	dulce armonía	Harmony holy
	que inspira al pecho	Breathing in us
	melancolía,	Sweet melancholy,
715	como el murmullo	Like the awaking
	de algún recuerdo	Of some remembrance
	de antiguo amor,	Of love grown old
	a un tiempo arrullo	Both love's soft speaking
	y amarga pena	And bitter sorrow
720	del corazón.	The heart doth hold.
	Mágico embeleso,	Magical □ ¹³ ¹⁴
	cántico ideal,	And ideal chaunt

¹ Determined <to> unto

² This [↑ my] adventure to /bear/

³ <Funeral> [↑ <Funereal> Mournful]

⁴ [74A-30^r]: See Fig. 134.

⁵ <*Song> *Singing

⁶ <The †> Upspringing

⁷ A <no> sound

⁸ <Weak> [↑ Soft] and [→ feeble]

⁹ /drowned/

¹⁰ <Profound> [↑ That is loose]

¹¹ /Paining yet making/ [↑ /Plugging the spirit/]

¹² The soul her [↑ /In a deep/] ocean

¹³ There is a variant of this and the following verse in manuscript [74A-17^r]: Magical □ | <And ideal chaunt> [↑ ideal] □,

¹⁴ [74A-30^v]: See Fig. 135.

	que en los aires vaga y en sonoras ráfagas	That in air doth wander ^{1 2} And in gusts ³ sonorous
725	aumentando va: sublime y oscuro, rumor prodigioso, sordo acento lúgubre, eco sepulcral,	Groweth more and ⁴ more Sublime and ⁵ obscure □ prodigious □
730	músicas lejanas, de enlutado parche redoble monótono, cercano huracán, que apenas la copa	Echo sepulchral ⁶ , Music to a distance ⁷ , □ Monotonous tolling ⁸ □ squall
735	del árbol menea y bramando está: olas alteradas de la mar bravía, en noche sombría	Which only the □ Of the tree doth □. And □ howl: Waves in commotion In the swaying ⁹ Ocean, In dark night the wind ¹⁰
740	los vientos en paz, y cuyo rugido se mezcla al gemido del muro que trémulo las siente llegar:	□ at all ¹¹ And whose □ roaring ¹² Is joined the □ Of the wall that trembling ¹³ Feels them to □
745	pavoroso estrépito, infalible présago de la tempestad.	□ ¹⁴ terrible Infallibly presaging Of the □ storm.
	Y en rápido <i>crescendo</i> , los lúgubres sonidos	And in □ ¹⁵ The □ ¹⁶ sounds
750	más cerca vanse oyendo y en ronco rebramar; cual trueno en las montañas que retumbando va,	More near are ever ¹⁷ growing And in a □ ¹⁸ hoarse Like in the mounts thunder That rumbling □ course

¹ There is a variant of this verse in manuscript [74A-30^v]: That in air □

² [74A-17^r]: See Fig. 136. 188] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

³ in <sonorous> [↑ gusts]

⁴ [and]

⁵ [and]

⁶ [← Echo] Sepulchral

⁷ Music <afar off> [↑ /in/ a distance] [→ to]

⁸ /doubling tolling/

⁹ /swaying/

¹⁰ /a/ [↑ dark] night <of *darkness> [↑ the wind]

¹¹ <† † † †> at all

¹² [74A-17^v]: See Fig. 137.

¹³ trembles [↑ trembling]

¹⁴ <† †> □

¹⁵ [74A-18^r]: See Fig. 138. 186] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

¹⁶ The <funerar> □

¹⁷ are [← ever]

¹⁸ a <hoarse> [↑ <†>] □

- 755 cual rujen las entrañas
de horrisono volcán.
- Y algazara y gritería,
crujir de afilados huesos,
rechinamiento de dientes
y retemblar los cimientos,
760 y en pavoroso estallido
las losas del pavimento
separando sus juntas
irse poco a poco abriendo,
siente Montemar, y el ruido
765 más cerca crece, y a un tiempo
escucha chocarse cráneos,
ya descarnados y secos,
temblar en torno la tierra,
bramar combatidos vientos,
770 rugir las airadas olas,
estallar el ronco trueno,
exhalar tristes quejidos
y prorrumpir en lamentos:
todo en furiosa armonía,
775 todo en frenético estruendo,
todo en confuso trastorno,
todo mezclado y diverso.
- Y luego el estrépito crece
confuso y mezclado en un son,
780 que ronco en las bóvedas hondas
tronando furioso zumbó;
y un eco que agudo parece
del ángel del juicio la voz,
en triple, punzante alarido,
785 medroso y sonoro se alzó;
sintió, removidas las tumbas,
crujir a sus pies con fragor
- Or as the shak'n earth under
A volcano's dread¹ force.
- and² shouting
Of □ bones the shocking
□ of teeth gnashing
And the foundations rocking
And in a fearful □
The ground's stones up-†
Their junctures, and³ then □ gaping
And slowly slowly unlocking
Montemar hears and⁴ the noise⁵
Nearer, nearer grows and⁶ now
□ skulls the bumping⁷
Already fleshless and⁸ □
And □ the earth to tremble
Of clashing winds the □
The □ waves to roar
□ thunder
□ sad □
But lamentations □
All in a harmony furious
All in a phrenetical □
All in confused trouble
All mingled and⁹ diverse.
- And sudden the □ groweth¹⁰
Confused and¹¹ mixed in a sound
Which hoarse in □ deepness¹²
With furious thundering did bound;
An echo that □ seemeth
Of th'angel of judgment the tone
In a □
Sonorous and fearful uprose¹³
He felt □ tomb-stones removed¹⁴
To¹ stroke at his feet

¹ A <vulca> [↑ volcano's] [← dread]

² [and]

³ [and]

⁴ [and]

⁵ [74A-18^v]: See Fig. 139.

⁶ [and]

⁷ □ <of> skulls the /crashing/ [↑ bumping]

⁸ Already <dry> [↑ fleshless] [and]

⁹ [and]

¹⁰ [74A-19^r]: See Fig. 140. 187] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

¹¹ [and]

¹² □ [→ deepness]

¹³ [and] fearful [→ uprose]

¹⁴ □ [→ tomb-stones removed]

	chocar en las piedras los cráneos con rabia y ahínco feroz, 790 romper intentando la losa, y huir de su eterna mansión, los muertos, de súbito oyendo el alto mandato de Dios.	The skulls on the stones to clatter ² With anger and fierce ³ □ To tear □ their gravestone And fly ⁴ from their mansion The dead, suddenly hearing The □ bidding of God.
	Y de pronto en horrendo estampido 795 desquiciarse la estancia sintió, y al tremendo tartáreo rüido cien espectros alzarse miró:	□ in a horrible crumbling ⁵ □ ⁶ to □ he □ And □ rumbling Full a hundred spectres rise he saw
	de sus ojos los huecos fijaron y sus dedos enjutos en él; 800 y después entre sí se miraron, y a mostrarle tornaron después;	Of their eyes the hollow □ And their fingers they pointed at him And then each one looked at his fellow And to show him □
	y enlazadas las manos siniestras, con dudoso, espantado ademán contemplando, y tendidas sus diestras 805 con asombro al osado mortal,	And their left hands ⁷ □ blending With a doubtful, fantastical air Looking on him, their right hands outstretching ⁸ To the mortal most bold ⁹
	se acercaron despacio y la seca calavera, mostrando temor, con inmóvil, irónica mueca inclinaron, formando enredor.	And some then approach and the □ ¹⁰ Skull □ With a moveless ironic contortion They bowed □ around
810	Y entonces la visión del blanco velo al fiero Montemar tendió una mano, y era su tacto de crispante hielo, y resistirlo audaz intentó en vano:	And then the vision of the veil of white ^{11 12} To the bold Montemar one ¹³ hand did stretch And icy cold was □ its grasp and ¹⁴ tight And to avoid he □ avoid its reach ¹⁵ :
815	galvánica, cruel, nerviosa y fría, histérica y horrible sensación,	Galvanic, cruel, nervous, cold Hysterical sensation horrible

¹ <Be> To² /clatter/³ [and] [→ fierce]⁴ <The dead> /[And] fly\⁵ [74A-19^v]: See Fig. 141.⁶ <The> □⁷ left <hands> hands⁸ /extending/ [↓ outstretching]⁹ <With> [↓ To the mortal most <w> bold]¹⁰ [and] the <yellow> □¹¹ There is a variant of this and the following verse in manuscript [74A-10^v]: In front □ <th> □ the vision /of [↑ in]/ white | The † and † its hands that †¹² [74A-20^r]: See Fig. 142.¹³ To [↑ the] bold Montemar /its/ [↑ one]¹⁴ [and]¹⁵ <tried in vain> [↓ avoid its reach]

	toda la sangre coagulada envía agolpada y helada al corazón...	That the whole blood icy and chill did ¹ hold And to the heart with horror ² doth compel.
820	Y a su despecho y maldiciendo al cielo, de ella apartó su mano Montemar, y temerario alzándola a su velo, tirando de él la descubrió la faz.	□ ³ From her did take his hand Montemar □ Taking it from her he her face laid bare
825	<i>¡Es su esposo!</i> , los ecos retumbaron, <i>¡La esposa al fin que su consorte halló!</i> Los espectros con júbilo gritaron: <i>¡Es el esposo de su eterno amor!</i>	'Tis her husband! the echoes □ out The wife at last her husband hath trove The spectres then with gladness □ did shout It is the husband of her endless love!!
	Y ella entonces gritó: <i>¡Mi esposo!</i> Y era (¡desengaño fatal!, ¡triste verdad!) una sórdida, horrible calavera, la blanca dama del gallardo andar...	She cried then My husband □ Fatal ⁴ disillusion □ A sordid and ⁵ horrible skeleton □
830	Luego un caballero de espuela dorada, airoso, aunque el rostro con mortal color, traspasado el pecho de fiera estocada, aún brotando sangre de su corazón,	And then a □ wearing ^{6 7} Good + though his face with the colour of ⁸ death His breast □ bearing □ yet.
835	se acerca y le dice, su diestra tendida, que impávido estrecha también Montemar: -Al fin la palabra que disteis, cumplida; doña Elvira, vedla, vuestra esposa es ya.	Approaches and ⁹ says his right hand extended Which fearless doth shake Montemar At last the promise you gave □ Doña Elvira □
840	-Mi muerte os perdono. Por cierto, don Diego, repuso don Félix tranquilo a su vez, me alegro de veros con tanto sosiego, que a fe no esperaba volveros a ver.	My death I do pardon: Don Diego ¹⁰ for certain ¹¹ Don Felix replied. □ I'm glad that I see you □ For truly I hoped not to see you again.
	En cuanto a ese espectro que decís mi esposa, raro casamiento venísme a ofrecer: su faz no es por cierto ni amable ni	And as to the spectre, my wife, in your saying The marriage you offer is rare and ¹² □ Her face to be sure is neither pretty nor □

¹ icy [→ [and] chill] / [and] / [→ did]

² heart [↓ with horror]

³ [74A-20^v]: See Fig. 143. 189] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁴ <+> [↑ Fatal] There is a mark at the beginning of the verse, possibly indicating doubt regarding the translation.

⁵ [and]

⁶ □ <with spurs golden> [↑ wearing]

⁷ [74A-25^v]: See Fig. 144. 189.] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

⁸ [← Good +] though <her> [↑ his] face [← with the colour of]

⁹ [and]

¹⁰ D[on] D[iego]

¹¹ [74A-25^r]: See Fig. 145.

¹² [and]

- hermosa,
 845 mas no se os figure que os quiera ofender. But don't you believe that I wish to offend.
- Por mujer la tomo, porque es cosa cierta,
 y espero no salga fallido mi plan,
 que en caso tan raro y mi esposa muerta,
 tanto como viva no me cansará.
 For my wife I take¹ her, because □
 [...]²
- 850 Mas antes decidme si Dios o el demonio But tell me before this³ if God or the Devil⁴
 me trajo a este sitio, que quisiera ver Brought me to this place, for⁵ to see
 al uno o al otro, y en mi matrimonio Or one or the other, and⁶ at my marriage revel
 tener por padrino siquiera a Luzbel: To have as⁷ a witness at least Lucifer:
- Cualquiera o entrambos con su corte toda, Or either or both with the court
 855 estando estos nobles espectros aquí, I □ these noble spectres all here
 no perdiera mucho viniendo a mi boda... Would not lose much by attending my wedding
 Hermano don Diego, ¿no pensáis así? Don Diego my brother do you⁸ not think so?
- Tal dijo don Félix con fruncido ceño,
 en torno arrojando con fiero ademán
 860 miradas audaces de altivo desdén, So speaking Don Felix⁹ with brows □ reining¹⁰
 al Dios por quien jura capaz de arrostrar. Around him did fling with fierce¹¹ countenance
 Bold glances of haughty counterfeit and¹² disdain
 To God against Whom he thinks
- El cariado, lívido esqueleto,
 los fríos, largos y asquerosos brazos,
 le enreda en tanto en apretados lazos,
 865 y ávido le acaricia en su ansiedad: The □ skeleton □ livid¹³
 y con su boca cavernosa busca With its arms cold, and large and¹⁴ loathsome traces
 la boca a Montemar, y a su mejilla □ then¹⁵ in with awful closening embraces
 la árida, descarnada y amarilla And □ lust
 junta y refriega repugnante faz. And with its cavernous mouth seeketh
 Montemar's mouth, and¹⁶ to his cheek its fellow
 Arid and fleshless, without warmth and¹⁷ yellow
 It joins and rubs □
- 870 Y él, envuelto en sus secas coyunturas, And he □¹

¹ For <my> [↑ my] wife I <take> [↑ take]

² Verses 847-849 are missing.

³ before [↑ this]

⁴ [74A-26^r]: See Fig. 146. Page begins with crossed-out illegible words.

⁵ place, <to> for

⁶ [and]

⁷ /for/ [↑ as]

⁸ D[on] D[iego] my brother do <not>/you\

⁹ D[on] F[elix]

¹⁰ [74A-26^v]: See Fig. 147.

¹¹ with [← fierce]

¹² [and]

¹³ [74A-3^r]: See Fig. 148.

¹⁴ [and]

¹⁵ <Enfold him> then

¹⁶ [and]

¹⁷ /Arid/ and fleshless, without warmth [and]

	aún más sus nudos que se aprieta siente,	□	
	baña un mar de sudor su ardida frente	□	
	y crece en su impotencia su furor;	□	
	pugna con ansia a desasirse en vano,		He fights in qualmcy in vain to release air
875	y cuanto más airado forcejea,		And the more angrily the fight doth tire
	tanto más se le junta y le desea		The more doth □ and the more doth desire him ²
	el rudo espectro que le inspira horror.		The horrid phantom that doth make him fear.
	Y en furioso, veloz remolino,		And in furious, □ whirling
	y en aérea fantástica danza,		In ³ aërial phantastical dancing
880	que la mente del hombre no alcanza		† the vision of man ⁴ hath no chancing
	en su rápido curso a seguir,		In its horrible course to attain ⁵
	los espectros su ronda empezaron,		The spectres their □ commenced ⁶
	cual en círculos raudos el viento		As the wind in circles wide motion
	remolinos de polvo violento		□ commotion
885	y hojas secas agita sin fin.		And ⁷ dead leaves □
	Y elevando sus áridas manos,		And their □ uplifting
	resonando cual lúgubre eco,		□
	levantóse con su cóncavo hueco		□ hollow
	semejante a un aullido una voz:		□
890	pavorosa, monótona, informe,		□ monotonous formless
	que pronuncia sin lengua su boca,		[...] ⁸
	cual la voz que del áspera roca		
	en los senos el viento formó.		
	«Cantemos, dijeron sus gritos,		“Oh! sing did they say ⁹ in their shouting ¹⁰
895	la gloria, el amor de la esposa,		The brides’ love and glory and ¹¹ blisses
	que enlaza en sus brazos dichosa,		For e’er ¹² in her arms that caresses
	por siempre al esposo que amó:		The husband her heart that ¹³ did more
	su boca a su boca se junte,		Her mouth to his mouth □ be joined
	y selle su eterna delicia,		And sealed their pleasure unending ¹⁴
900	suave, amorosa caricia		By this □ blending ¹⁵
	y lánguido beso de amor.		And languid kiss ¹⁶ of love.

¹ [74A-6^v]: See Fig. 149.

² □ /<desire> him/ [↓ [and] the more doth desire him]

³ <The> [↑ In]

⁴ /mind/ [↑ vision] /of man/

⁵ <To follow where’er it doth tend,> [↓ In its horrible course to attend]

⁶ <The spectres their> [↓ The spectres their □ commenced]

⁷ [And]

⁸ Verses 891-893 are missing.

⁹ they <cry> [↑ say]

¹⁰ [74A-12^v]: See Fig. 150. 192] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa’s Spanish edition.

¹¹ [and] glory [and]

¹² /With joy/ [↑ For e’er]

¹³ <For ever the> [↑ The husband] her heart <†> that

¹⁴ [← pleasure] <pleasure> [↑ unending]

¹⁵ <Of> <A> By <a> this □ <the †> [↑ blending]

¹⁶ languid [← kiss]

- »Y en mutuos abrazos unidos,
y en blando y eterno reposo,
la esposa enlazada al esposo
905 por siempre descansen en paz:
y en fúnebre luz ilumine
sus bodas fatídica tea,
es brinde deleites y sea
a tumba su lecho nupcial.»
- 910 Mientras, la ronda frenética
que en raudo giro se agita,
más cada vez precipita
su vértigo sin ceder;
915 más cada vez se atropella,
y en círculos se desata
violentos más cada vez:
- y escapa en rueda quimérica,
y negro punto parece
920 que en torno se desvanece
a la fantástica luz,
y sus lúgubres aullidos
que pavorosos se extienden,
los aires rápidos hienden
925 más prolongados aún.
- Y a tan continuo vértigo,
a tan funesto encanto,
a tan horrible canto,
a tan tremenda lid;
930 entre los brazos lúbricos
que aprémianle sujeto,
del hórrido esqueleto,
entre caricias mil:
- “And held by mutual embraces¹
In soft and² eternal reposing
The wife □
For ever in peace may³ they rest
And⁴ □
Their bridal a torch □
□
The grave □
- Meanwhile □⁵
□
□ enhances
This whirl without end
More every time
More every time it is whirl
Itself in circles unfurling
More violent every time.
- And a black dot⁶ it appeareth⁷
That around disappeareth
In the fantastical light
And its funeral howlings
□
The air ruffle are tearing⁸
More prolonged still.⁹
- To so □¹⁰
To a death’s¹¹ charm so haunting
To such horrible chaunting
To □
In the embraces lúbric¹²
Where with □ presses¹³
Mid¹⁴ a 1000 caresses
Of¹ the dread skeleton:

¹ [74A-12r]: See Fig. 151. 192] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa’s Spanish edition.

² [and]

³ peace <†> may

⁴ <And in f> [† And]

⁵ [74A-13r]: See Fig. 152. 192. :2:] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa’s Spanish edition.

⁶ black [† dot]

⁷ [74A-13v]: See Fig. 153.

⁸ <While> [↓ *The *air † are tearing]

⁹ More <long> prolonged [→ still.]

¹⁰ [74A-16r]: See Fig. 154. 193] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa’s Spanish edition.

¹¹ a [† death’s]

¹² etc] Word written below the last verse. This last verse is repeated, with no variations, in manuscript [74A-6r].

¹³ [74A-6r]: See Fig. 155.

¹⁴ <In> [† Mid]

935	Jamás vencido el ánimo, su cuerpo ya rendido, sintió desfallecido faltarle, Montemar; y a par que más su espíritu desmiente su miseria	His mind ever ² unconquered ^{3 4} His frame quailing already ⁵ □ unsteady ⁶ Felt Montemar to quail, ⁷ And the more that ⁸ his spirit Against ⁹ misery was rébel Matter weak and ¹⁰ feeble Beginneth to fail. ¹¹
940	la flaca, vil materia comienza a desmayar.	
945	Y siente un confuso, loco devaneo, languidez, mareo y angustioso afán: y sombras y luces la estancia que gira, y espíritus mira que vienen y van.	He feels a confused ¹² A wild □ emotion Calms and ¹³ deep commotion And a bitter woe: He sees lights and ¹⁴ shadows The whole mansion reeling And dim spirits wheeling Which do come and ¹⁵ go.
950	Y luego a lo lejos, flébil en su oído, eco dolorido lánguido sonó, cual la melodía	And soon at a distance Feeble in his hearing, An echo woe – hearing Languidly did sound, Like the melody
955	que el aura amorosa, y el aura armoniosa de noche formó:	Which the soft wind blowing ¹⁶ With love-music glowing ¹⁷ In ¹⁸ the night doth found. ¹⁹
	y siente luego su pecho ahogado	And he feels drownèd ²⁰ His weak breast ailing

¹ [← Of]² mind <never> [↑ <+>] [↑ ever]³ *There is a variant of this and the next five verses in manuscript [74A-6']:* His spirit ne'er conquered | His frame □ quailing | □ failing | And all the while his spirit | □ | Matter □⁴ [74A-15']: See Fig. 156. 193] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.⁵ His <body now> [↑ frame /already/] quailing [→ already]⁶ <He felt> □ <failing> unsteady⁷ <To lack Montemar> [↑ Felt Montemar to quail,]⁸ more [↑ that]⁹ <+> [↑ Against]¹⁰ <The> Matter weak [and]¹¹ faint. [↓ <fail> fail.]¹² [74A-7']: See Fig. 157.¹³ [and]¹⁴ [and]¹⁵ [and]¹⁶ Which <the amorous morning> [↑ the /night/ [↑ soft] wind blowing]¹⁷ <With dim music loving> [↑ With love-music glowing]¹⁸ <On> [↓ In]¹⁹ Below this verse there is an unidentifiable incomplete verse: □ elsewhere²⁰ [74A-6']: See Fig. 155.

- 960 y desmayado,
turbios sus ojos,
sus graves párpados
flojos caer:
la frente inclina
965 sobre su pecho,
y a su despecho,
siente sus brazos
lánguidos, débiles,
desfallecer.
- 970 Y vio luego
una llama
que se inflama
y murió;
y perdido,
975 oyó el eco
de un gemido
que expiró.
- Tal, dulce
suspira
980 la lira
que hirió,
en blando
concepto,
del viento
985 la voz,
- leve,
breve
son.
- En tanto en nubes de carmín y grana
990 su luz el alba arrebolada envía,
y alegre regocija y engalana
las altas torres al naciente día;
- And feebly failing,
His eyes in dimness,
His with □¹ eyelids
Fall with the *taint:
His front he bendeth
□
[...]²
- And a flame^{3 4}
That was kindled
And⁵ that dwindled
He descried;
And soon gone⁶
Heard the echo
Of a moan
□ died.
- So sweetly
[...]⁷
- And then in clouds of carmine and⁸ of red⁹
Its light¹⁰ the □ morn did □ gay
And with its gladness □ adorn
The □ the □ day

¹ His [→ <Of>] [↑ <heavily> with <heavy> □

² Verses 966-969 are missing.

³ There is a variant of this and the following three verses in manuscript [74A-6']: □ | His arms he feebleth | Languid and³ feeble | Weakly to faint. A second variant was crossed out in manuscript [74A-7']: <He saw flames | T □ kindle | And to dwindle | And to die>

⁴ [74A-11']: See Fig. 158.

⁵ [And]

⁶ There is a variant of this and the following two verses in manuscript [74A-7']: And <gone by> □ | Heard the echo | Of a sigh

⁷ Verses 979-988 are missing.

⁸ [And] then in clouds of carmine [and]

⁹ [74A-14']: See Fig. 159. 195] Page number on top of the page corresponding to Pessoa's Spanish edition.

¹⁰ <The †> [↑ Its light]

sereno el cielo, calma la mañana,
 blanda la brisa, trasparente y fría,
 995 vierte a la tierra el sol con su hermosura
 rayos de paz y celestial ventura.

Y huyó la noche y con la noche huían
 sus sombras y quiméricas mujeres,
 y a su silencio y calma sucedían
 1000 el bullicio y rumor de los talleres;
 y a su trabajo y a su afán volvían
 los hombres y a sus frívolos placeres,
 algunos hoy volviendo a su faena
 de zozobra y temor el alma llena:

1005 ¡Que era pública voz, que llanto arranca
 del pecho pecador y empedernido,
 que en forma de mujer y en una blanca
 túnica misteriosa revestido,
 aquella noche el diablo a Salamanca
 1010 había en fin por Montemar venido!...
 Y si, lector, dijeres ser comento,
 como me lo contaron, te lo cuento.

Serene the sky and¹ □ morn
 The breeze is soft, transparent, cold
 And the sun on earth² with its loveliness
 Pours rays of peace and³ heavenly happiness.

Fled is the night and with the night were going⁴ ⁵
 Its shadows and⁶ its women □
 And to its silence, to its calm were succeeding⁷
 The turmoil and⁸ the noise of □ streams
 And to the work and toil⁹ □
 Men and¹⁰ to their frivolous pleasures
 Some to-day into the task¹¹ returning full
 Of wearings and fear within¹² the soul:

‘Twas a report tearfully to affright¹³
 The sinning breast and¹⁴ hardened too far
 That in a woman’s form and¹⁵ in a white
 Mysterious tunic cloaked
 To Salamanca in the very night
 The Devil at last had come for Montemar¹⁶
 And reader, if thou say it is not true
 As they have told it now I tell you.

¹ [and]

² [And] the sun <poureth> [↑ on earth]

³ of <light> peace [and]

⁴ [and] w[ith] the night <*have fled> [↑ were going]

⁵ [74A-14r]: See Fig. 160.

⁶ [and]

⁷ [And] to its silence, to its calm <succeeded> [↑ were succeeding]

⁸ The <turmoil> [↑ turmoil] [and]

⁹ [And] to the work [and] <†> [↑ toil]

¹⁰ Men [↑ /Did/] [and]

¹¹ the <task> [↑ task]

¹² [and] fear <the> [↑ within]

¹³ [74A-29r]: See Fig. 161.

¹⁴ [and]

¹⁵ [and]

¹⁶ Devil [↑ at last] had come for Montemar <at last>

Annex of Related Documents

Editorial Plans and To-Do Lists

[144N-14^r]¹

21.

June 8th: Keats: Odes and other poems.

Laing: "Modern Science and² Modern Thought."

June 9th: Keats: Ibidem.

Weber: "History of European philosophy" – up to Protagoras.

Espronceda: "Estudiante de Salamanca."

June 10th: Keats. Espronceda.

June 11th: Espronceda.

June 12th: Laing. Keats: "Early Poems." Spectator 10 – Colin d'Harleville: "Vieux Célibataire."

[48B-129^r]³

"Da Necessidade e do method da Revolução."

"The Voyage." – Poem

"Dictionary of the English Language."

"Prometheus Rebound." – Dramatic poem.

"Marino" – A Tragedy.

"Principles of Ontology."

The World as Power."

"The Death of God." – Book of poems.

"Miscellaneous Poems." – Another book.

"On Sensation."

"The Realist."

"The Case of the Science Master."

"The Narrative of a Stranger."

"Edgar Allan Poe."

"Genera in Literature."

"On Art and Morality."

"Rational Graphology."

"The Voice of the Unknown."

"Jacob Dermot."

[48B-129^v]¹

"The Circle of Life."

¹ See Fig. 162. This manuscript is part of a "Reading Diary" that ranges from [144N-13] to [144N-17^r], and includes readings from April to August 26 of the same year. These pages were previously published in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006, pp. 618-620; as well as in *Cadernos*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisbon: INCM, 2009, pp. 217-218.

² [and]

³ See. Fig. 163. List on front and back of page dated from c. 1906-1907, previously published in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisbon: INCM, 2006, pp. 173-174.

"The Black Spider."
 "Espronceda – The Student of Salamanca." – Translation.
 "Mandinke."
 "Percy Bysshe Shelley."
 "On the Nose."
 "Essay on Free-Will."
 "Creation ex nihilo."
 "Essay on Impulse."
 "On the Infinite."

[28A-1^r]² Reading during the month of May.
 No note taken before the 6th.
 6th Abel Botelho: "O Barão de Lavos".
 7th finished the above.
 8th A. Quental: "Odes Modernas".
 Gomes Leal: "Claridades do Sul".
 António³ Nobre: "Despedidas".
 9th Cazotte: "Diable Amoureux".
 10th Poe: "Arthur Gordon Pym".
 11th Hollander: "Scientific Phrenology" (begun).
 Shakespeare⁴: "Merchant of Venice".
 12th Hollander (continued).
 13th Finished Eça de Queiroz: "O Crime do Padre Amaro".
 Guerra Junqueiro: "Morte de D. João".
 14th Hollander (continued).
 15th António⁵ Nobre: *Só* (half).
 16th Wurtz: Article on Lavoisier
 Haeckel: "Anthropogénie" ch. 1.
 Tennyson: Early Poems.
 18th Addison and Steele: "Spectator": 17 papers.
 19th □
 20th Haeckel: "Anthropogénie" (lessons 2, 3, 4, 5).
 A. Nobre: *Só* (finished)

[28A-1^v]⁶ *Work done*

¹ See Fig. 164.

² See Fig. 165. List dated from c. 1907. This diary was published in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006, pp. 622-623.

³ Ant[ónio]

⁴ Sh[akespeare]

⁵ Ant[ónio]

⁶ See Fig. 166.

9th May: Almost finished 1st part “Student¹ of Salamanca.”

10th May: continued same work.

13th May: continued.

14th no work done.

16th: about 600 words of “Very Original² Dinner.”

- [133M-96^r]³
1. Commercial Codes: 3 letter code.
5 figure code.
Ten code.
Elementary Code.
 2. Tratado de Pronuncia Ingleza.
 3. Gamage, or another, or elseways:
Table-football.
Table-cricket⁴.
Strategy.
Opposition.
Aspects⁵
Lomelino’s game.
 4. Lista de palavras hespanholas
 5. Compendio de Astrologia
 6. Anthologia sensacionista
 7. Livro em casa do Jayme.
 8. M. Nunes da Silva:
Conta a pagar + 1000.
Gramophone e discos.
Bath, crockery, etc.
 9. Frank Forbes-Leith.
Manuel Gouveia de Sousa.
 10. Livros que ainda tem
Da Cunha Dias.
Victor⁶ Hugo Nunes.
- [133M-96^v]⁷ 11. Traducção lettra romanzas (Victoriano⁸ Braga)

¹ St[udent]

² V[ery] O[riginal]

³ See Fig. 167. This makes part of a list with 65 books and projects that also includes manuscripts [133M-97] and [133M-98]. It is dated from c. 3 August 1907, and was published in *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisboa: INCM, 2009, pp. 434-438.

⁴ /Table-cricket/

⁵ /Aspects/

⁶ V[ictor]

⁷ See. Fig. 168.

⁸ Trad[ucção] lettra romanzas (V[ictoriano])

12. *Phenobracleygraphia.

13. Cosmopolis (ver¹ Caderno azul)

14. Small book on Shakespeare² - Bacon.
Larger [book on Shakespeare³ - Bacon.]

15. Anthologia Portuguesa

16. "All about Portugal" – a compilation (with⁴ possible articles from specialists)

17. Contos Quaresma – em livro ou folhetos.

18. Trad. Sonetos de Camões (inglez)
Poemas de Poe (Port)
Poemas⁵ em prosa de Wilde (Port.)

19. War poems, in English and in French.

20. M's rimes Sengo has. But examine.

21. Alvaro de Campos: Book: (perhaps with adv[ertisemen]ts⁶.)

22. Trad. "Estudiante de Salamanca"

[133F-53^v]⁷ Work for the 3rd September,

At least 500 words in the "Door."

Type up to page 50, at the least, "Very Original Dinner⁸."

Finish reading "Religio Medici"

Finish reading first part "Sartor

¹ v[er]

² Sh[akespeare]

³ Sh[akespeare]

⁴ w[ith]

⁵ [Poemas]

⁶ w[ith] adv[ertisemen]ts

⁷ See. Fig. 169. To-do list dated from 1907 and previously published in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006, p. 491.

⁸ V[ery] O[riginal] D[inner]

Type, finishing, the first canto of Espronceda.
Send off poem.¹

[49C¹-48^v]²

Books

The Portuguese Regicide and the Political Situation in Portugal.
(June-October.)

"The Mental Disorder of Jesus" – a Critique of Dr. Binet-Sanglé's *La Folie de Jésus*. (for Rationalist Press Association - ?)³

Espronceda. The Student of Salamanca.
Mors Dei: To be published in Lisbon

The Meaning of Rationalism.
(for Rationalist Press Association⁴)

Le Cas d'Exhibionnisme

Fear of Death – Poe.

[78B-63^r]⁵

Notes regarding the publication of poems.

1. The first book of poems to be published is the translation of Espronceda.
2. After this an original book of poems; this is to be formed of the poems in parts 2 and 3 of "Delirium" (as called on the sheets), namely those called "Meaning" and "Delirium" proper.
3. Then a book composed of the poems in the first part of "Delirium" (sheets) and called there "Oddities."
4. After this a book made up of the poems in the 5th part of "Delirium" (sheets) – "Agony."
5. Subsequently a book composed of the poems in part 4 of "Delirium" (sheets).

¹ This line is followed by two unrelated verses: There is a bed to shake | A toy [↑ joy] for *infants [and] for negroes.

² See Fig. 170. List dated from c. 1908 and published in *Obras de Jean Seul de Méluret*, ed. Rita Patrício and Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisboa: INCM, 2006, p. 40, and in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006, p. 243.

³ [→ (for R[atationalist] P[ress] A[ssociation] - ?)]

⁴ R[atationalist] P[ress] A[ssociation]

⁵ See Fig. 171. List dated from c. January – March 1908, and previously published in *Poemas Ingleses Tomo II*, ed. João Dionísio, Lisboa: INCM, p. 223.

6. After this a book of Songs, more lyrical, from the sheet-cover called "Lyrical Poems."
7. About this time a book of poems called "Nonsense;" see cover so named.
8. After all these¹, the "Death of God."
9. After "Death of God" a book containing earlier poems, "Old Castle," etc., etc.
10. Then a book containing other longer poems, such as "Vincenzo," "Voyage," etc.
11. Another volume: "Sonnets in Many Woods." (When to publish?)²

[48B-31^r]³ Traducções – Universal⁴ Anthology.

Espronceda –

A Oligarchia das Bestas⁵ - Decline and Fall.
O Triunpho do Radicalismo⁶
Fim de Outomno.

Portugal etc.

Francis Bacon

The Duke of Parma

[48B-53^r]⁷ *Volumes da Collecção Portuguesa não de vivos*⁸

Camões: Obras completas – 1 vol⁹.
Anthero de Quental – 1 vol¹⁰.
João de Deus – 1 vol¹.

¹ After [↑ all] these

² Abbreviation on lower right indicates text continues on the back side.

³ See Fig. 172. This list could be dated from c. 1913, based on the similarity with the lists published in *Obras* de Jean Seul de Méluret (2006).

⁴ Univ[ersal]

⁵ Oli[garchia] das B[estas]

⁶ Rad[icalismo]

⁷ See Fig. 173.

⁸ [→ não de vivos]

⁹ v[ol]

¹⁰ Anth[ero] de Quental – 1 v[ol]

Gil Vicente – 1 vol².
 Cancioneiros – 1 vol³.

Espronceda – 1 vol⁴.

Almeida Garrett – 1 vol⁵. (poesia) - [?]
 Alexandre Herculano (Historia⁶ de Portugal). [?]
 - (other things)

Gama Barros [?].
 Antonio Nobre. José Duro. Cesario Verde.

[48B-120^r]⁷ { Pela Republica.
 A Egreja
 Translation Espronceda.
 “Logical Basis of Anarchy.”
 “Death of God.”
 “Dictionary of the English Language.”
 “Narrative of the voyage of Beoldus, native.”⁸
 “Papers of the Nameless Club.”⁹?
 “Metaphysics.”
 “Essays.”
 “Nothing.” (Formerly “Sub Umbra”)
 “On Will.”

[48B-148^v]¹⁰ 2.
 Publicar talvez uma edição completa de Espronceda, Campoamor (?),
 etc.¹¹

[48I-10^r]¹ *Translations:*

¹ v[ol]

² v[ol]

³ v[ol]

⁴ v[ol]

⁵ v[ol]

⁶ Alex[andre] Herculano (Hist[oria]

⁷ See Fig. 174.

⁸ native[.]”

⁹ Club[.]”

¹⁰ See Fig. 175. List previously published in *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, 2006.

¹¹ The rest of this manuscript contains lists of other projects.

Estudiante de Salamanca.
 Sonnets of Camoens.
 Songs from the old Portuguese Song-Books.
 Spanish and Portuguese Sonnets. (Brazilian?)
 Portuguese Proverbs.
 Portuguese Folk Verse.

Articles (Thomas Crosse):

The Birthplace of Columbus.
 The Origin of the Discoveries.
 A Pre-Romantic (José Anastacio da Cunha).
 The Myth of King Sebastian.

[144D-7^v]²

-B.-

1. "Translated Verse." (chiefly for the Portuguese³)
2. "Translations."
3. "The Student of Salamanca."
4. Anthero de Quental: "Sonnets."
5. Junqueiro: "Patria."

[144D-6^r]⁴

-C-

1. "The Portuguese School of Poets."
2. "The Detective Story."
3. "History of a Dictatorship."
4. "History of Portuguese Literature."
5. "Forms of Fiction."

-D-

1. "The Book of Friar Maurice."
2. "Dictionary of the English Language." Bedlam⁵

[144E-8^r]⁶ Espronceda: "The Student of Salamanca."

¹ See Fig. 176. Lists dated from c. 1913-1914 or possibly 1915 (year associated to Thomas Crosse). Previously published in *Provérbios Portugueses*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari, Lisbon: Babel, 2010, pp. 13-14.

² See Fig. 177.

³ P[ortu]guese

⁴ See Fig. 178.

⁵ [↓ Bedlam]

⁶ See Fig. 179.

Anthero de Quental: "Sonnets."

[144T-51^r]¹ Typewriter Shifter.
Commercial Code.
Shorthand.
Cipher – advertise
(to be printed)
Stamps.
Gold. with² proof etc. (Sell for H^{ty})³
Very Original⁴ Dinner
Espronceda.
Other Tales.
Delirium.
Study. Psychology and⁵ Science.
Tit-Bits⁶ etc Anecdote.

Kuhne Book

[167-170^r]⁷ 1. "Portugal".
2. "Livro do Desasocego".
3. "Cancioneiro" (Livro I ou mais).
4. "A Tormenta".
5. (qualquer cousa em prosa).

1. "Mrs. Harris".
2. "Erostratus".
3. "The Mouth of Hell".
4. Little Book of Poems.
5. "The Student of Salamanca" (ahead).

1. Caeiro.
2. Edições Sá-Carneiro.

[137A-24^r]¹ "English Poems, I & II" (Antinous, Inscriptions). Fernando Pessoa.

¹ See Fig. 180.

² w[ith]

³ [→ (Sell for H^{ty})]

⁴ V[ery] O[riginal]

⁵ Psych[ology] [and]

⁶ T[it]-Bits

⁷ See Fig. 181.

"English Poems, III & IV" (Epithalamium, Five Songs). Fernando Pessoa.
 "English Poems, V." (Elegy). Fernando Pessoa.
 "English Sonnets, Book I." Fernando Pessoa.
 "English Sonnets, Book II." Fernando Pessoa.
 "Theory of Political Suffrage." Fernando Pessoa.
 "Prometheus Revinctus – A Dramatic Poem."² Fernando Pessoa.
 "How Napoleon Never Existed." (Pérès). Trad.
 "The Student of Salamanca". (Espronceda). Trad. Fernando Pessoa.
 "Sonnets of Camoens." Trad. Fernando Pessoa.
 "Sonnets of Quental." Trad. Fernando Pessoa.
 "Complete Poems of Alberto Caeiro." Trad. Thomas Crosse.
 "Songs" (Antonio Botto). Trad.
 "Songs from the Old Portuguese Song-Books". Trad. Fernando Pessoa.
 "The Duke of Parma – A Tragedy". Fernando Pessoa.
 "All About Portugal". Ed. Fernando Pessoa (special).
 "The Southern Review" (quarterly or half-yearly).

[71-50^v]³ Idea of the Directory.
 Idea of the Vocabulary, or Vocabularies.
 The Code, completed.
 Shorthand system, to be devised fully yet.
 Code⁴ Prod. Port. in some fit and appropriate system.
 Games, the ones invented.
 Condensing Code, apart from the one mentioned above.
 Will, etc. Course, or something of the sort.
 Espronceda (rather strange for the Propaganda⁵ side).
 The Great Anthology.
 The Propaganda Review, a proposition in itself.
 (The pamphlet containing the dictionary⁶ articles).
 (Cambridge Literary Agency).
 Such prominent agencies (and simple ones) as one thought of, either
 in England or near.

¹ See Fig. 182. List dated from c. 1921. It corresponds to the editorial plan of *Olisipo*.

² Poem<s>[.]

³ See Fig. 183. List dated from c. 1924-1925, which belongs to a series of film-related projects (in the era of silent films), previously published in *Argumentos para Filmes*, ed. Patricio Ferrari and Claudia Fischer, Lisbon: Babel, 2011, pp. 97-98.

⁴ C[ode]

⁵ Prop[aganda]

⁶ dict[ionary]

English Poems.

Journalistic free-lance work, of several sorts (one basis being work on Spanish & Portuguese elements).

(The Directory as made here for abroad – here before leaving).

--- The proposition¹ basis other than first thought of: not the bureau, but an intellectual property² thus conducted on a private and individual basis. --- £30 a month and, perhaps, an initial £100, would do quite well.

Films (completing the one begun³).

[133M-30^r]⁴ Commercial Code.⁵

Typewriter Fixings.

Song-writing.

System of Shorthand.

Espronceda.

~~Stamps to Foreign Countries.~~

~~III. Post Cards.~~

(Advertise for Cipher Agency – America).⁶

~~Tales and Sketches⁷.~~

Anecdotes (Portuguese).

~~Stamps here.~~

~~Portuguese peculiar stories.~~

1. System of Shorthands.

2. Look for door - in instead of out.

[167-181^r]⁸ Espronceda.

Three Pessimists.

The Famous Sonnets of the World. Edgar Poe.

Tempest.

Jekyll and Hyde.⁹

(one from each author)

¹ prop[osition]

² intell[ectual] prop[erty]

³ <be> *begun

⁴ See Fig. 184.

⁵ Commercial Code. [→ <Machine †>]

⁶ This line is surrounded by a square.

⁷ Ske[t]ches

⁸ See Fig. 185. List dated from c. 1931, and previously published in *A Educação do Stoico*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro, Lisboa: INCM, 2007, p. 64.

⁹ The /Great/ [↑ Famous] Sonnets of the World. [→ Edgar Poe. | Tempest. | Jekyll [and] Hyde.]

Thomas¹ Russell.
 Felix Arvers.
 Blanco White.
 Camillo² Pessanha.
 Angelo de Lima.
 Francis Thompson³
 Frei Fortunato de São Boaventura.⁴

Some are not celebrated outside the language they were written in, but it is enough that they were celebrated there.

Observations about "The Student of Salamanca"

[14⁶-58^r]⁵ Poems like Student⁶ of Salamanca indifferent⁷ morally, neither good nor bad. Yet they must make an effect on the moral man. Such is *to us good, because⁸ it elevates. A man reads it and⁹ admires purely, is *abdicated *from himself*. It is an *elevating and therefore¹⁰ a moral work. The sublime is always pure. It is as impossible for the sublime to be coarse as for gold¹¹ to resemble mud.

[55L-11^r]¹² The generation that followed the glory in life of Byron was □ by the admiration of the "romantic" character. I refer not only to the "romantic" character in books, but also and¹³ principally to what is¹⁴ called the "romantic" character in life and ¹⁵ habit. The word "romantic" means little¹⁶ more than kindred expressions for a kindred use as that unhappy term "fin de siècle" so □ by Nordau.¹⁷

¹ Tho[ma]s

² C[amillo]

³ Fr[ancis] Thom[pson]

⁴ Fr[ei] For[tunato] de S[ão] Boaventura.

⁵ See Fig. 186.

⁶ St[udent]

⁷ indif[feren]t

⁸ [because]

⁹ [and]

¹⁰ [and therefore]

¹¹ for /water/ [↑ gold]

¹² See Fig. 187.

¹³ [and]

¹⁴ what <many> is

¹⁵ [and]

¹⁶ means <no> [↑ little]

¹⁷ [↓ as that † term "fin de siècle" so □ by Nordau.]

Preliminary essay to translation of Espronceda.

Envelope Indication

[133H-63^v]¹ Espronceda (D. José de):

Obras poéticas.

Paris, 1876.

XIX-448.

enc.

¹ See Fig. 188.

"The Student of Salamanca"

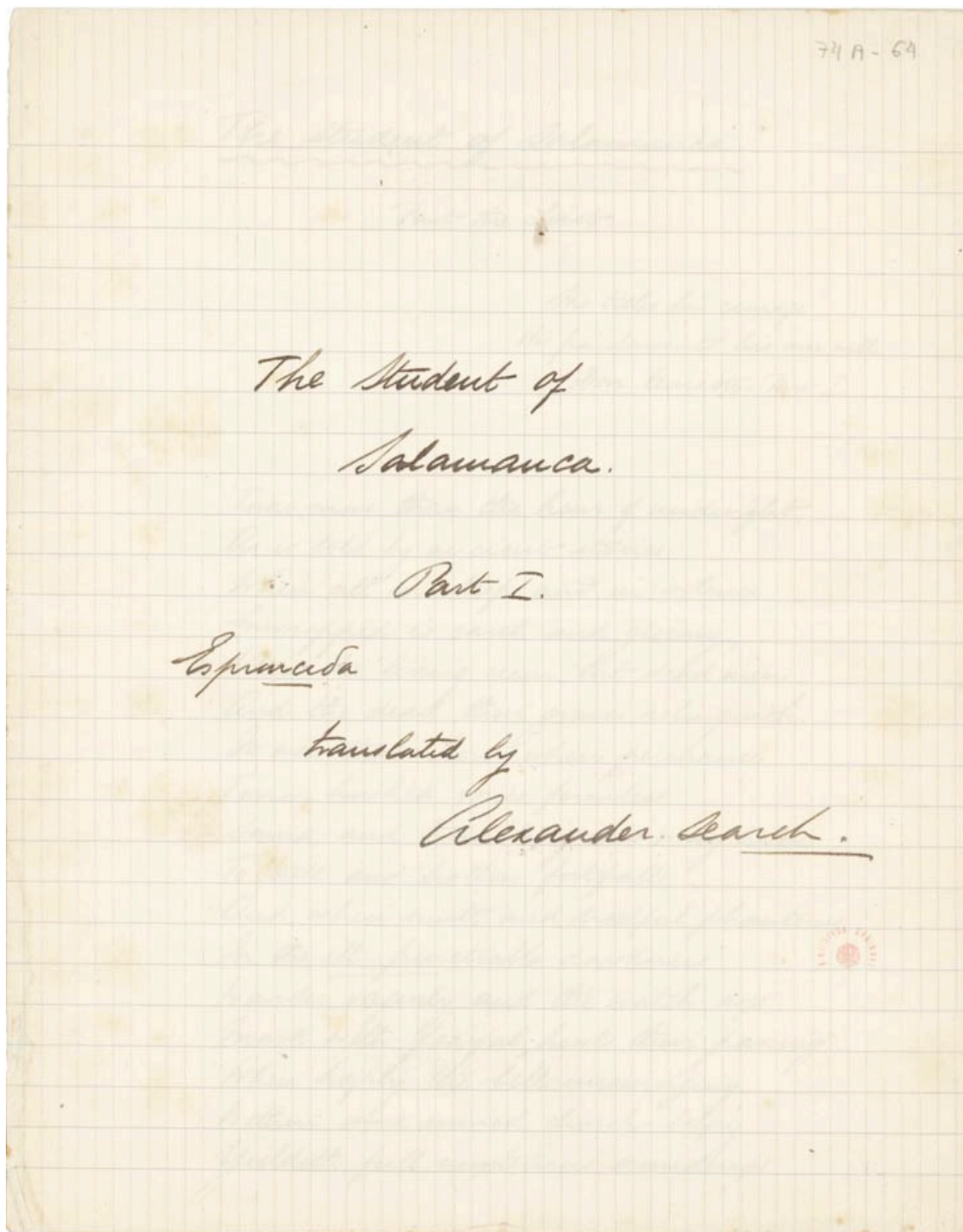


Fig. 1. BNP / E3, [74A-64]

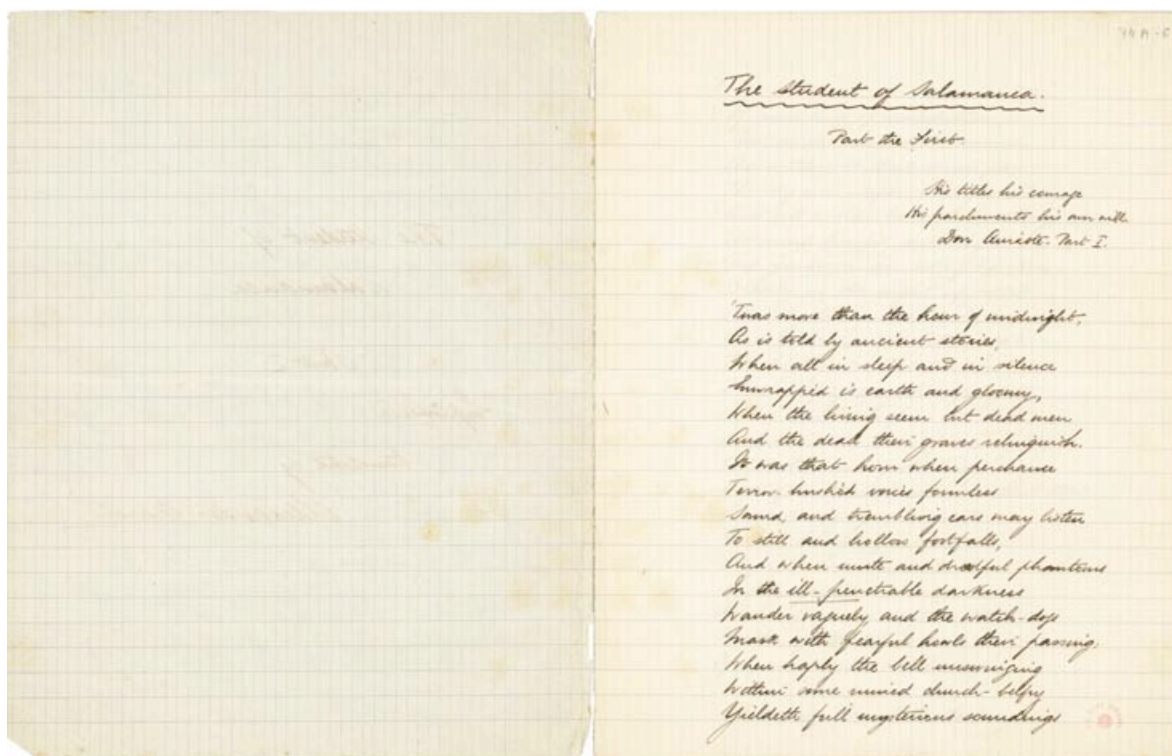


Fig. 2. BNP / E3, [74A-65']

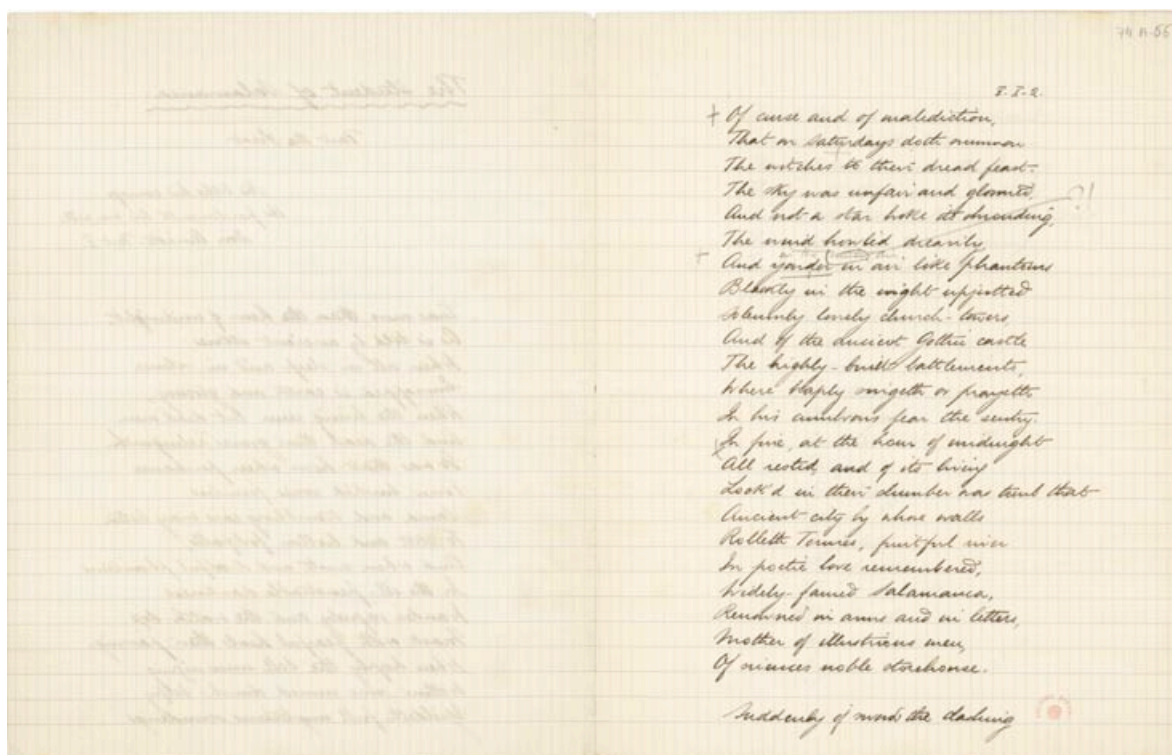


Fig. 3. BNP / E3, [74A-66']

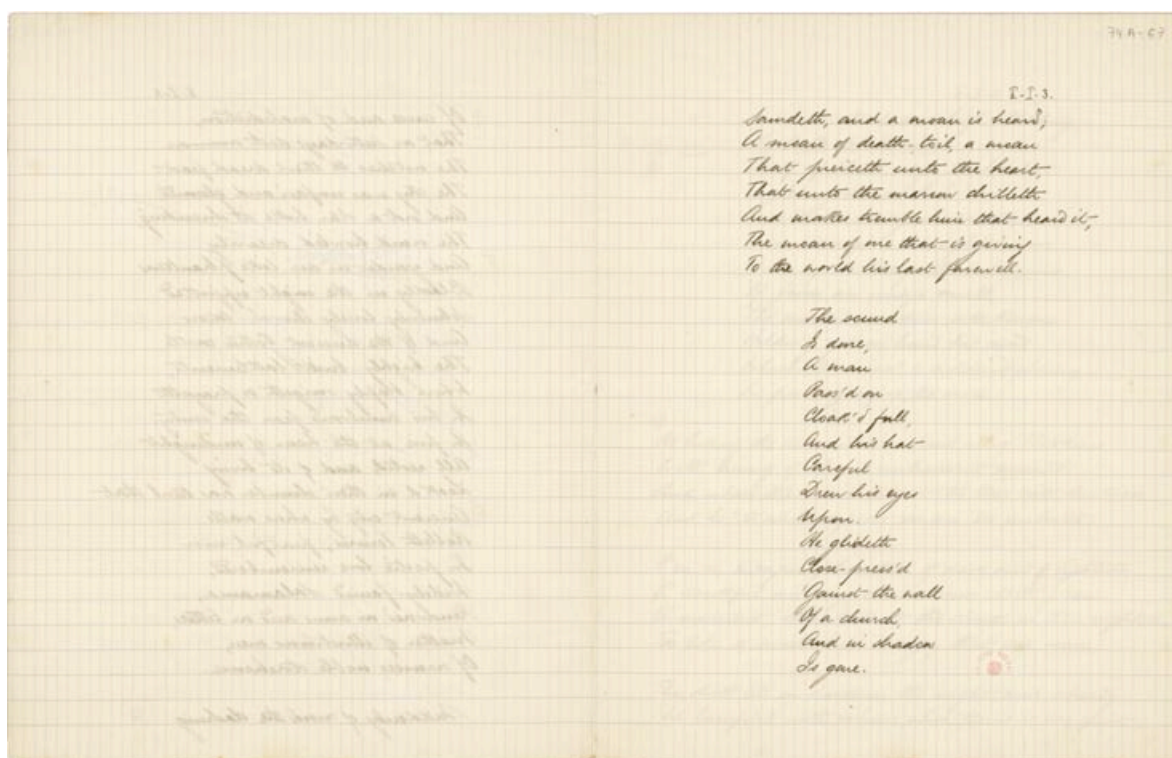


Fig. 4. BNP / E3, [74A-67']

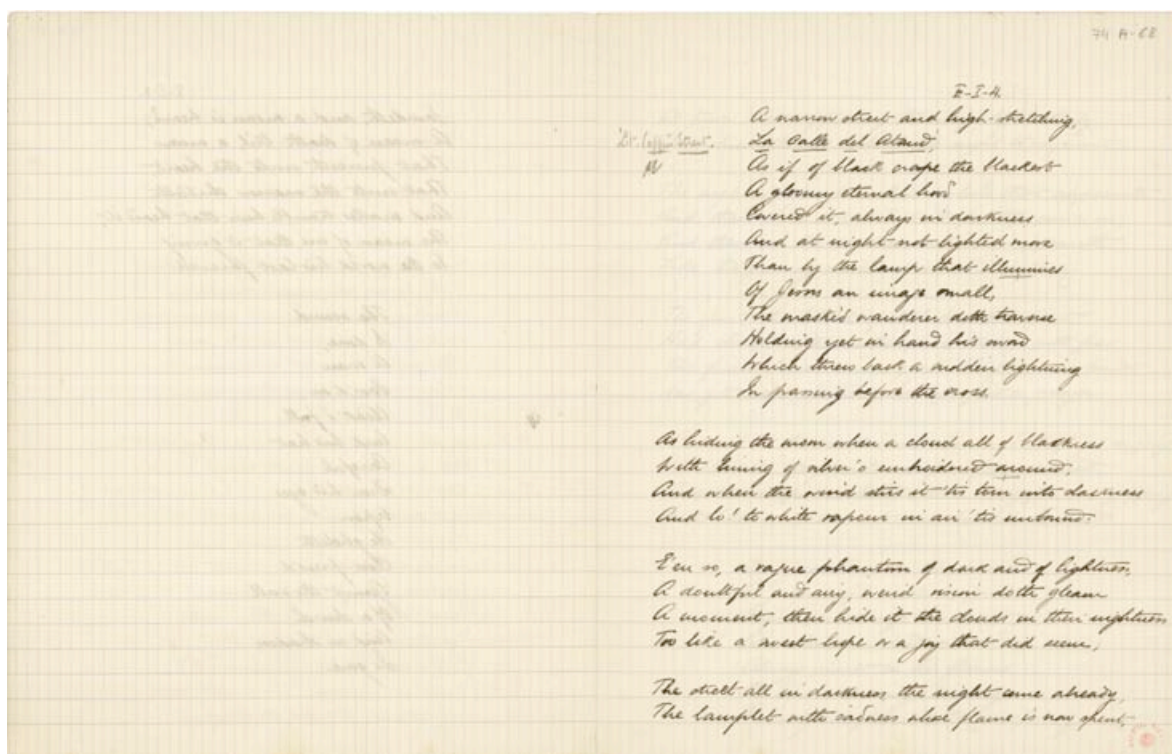


Fig. 5. BNP / E3, [74A-68']

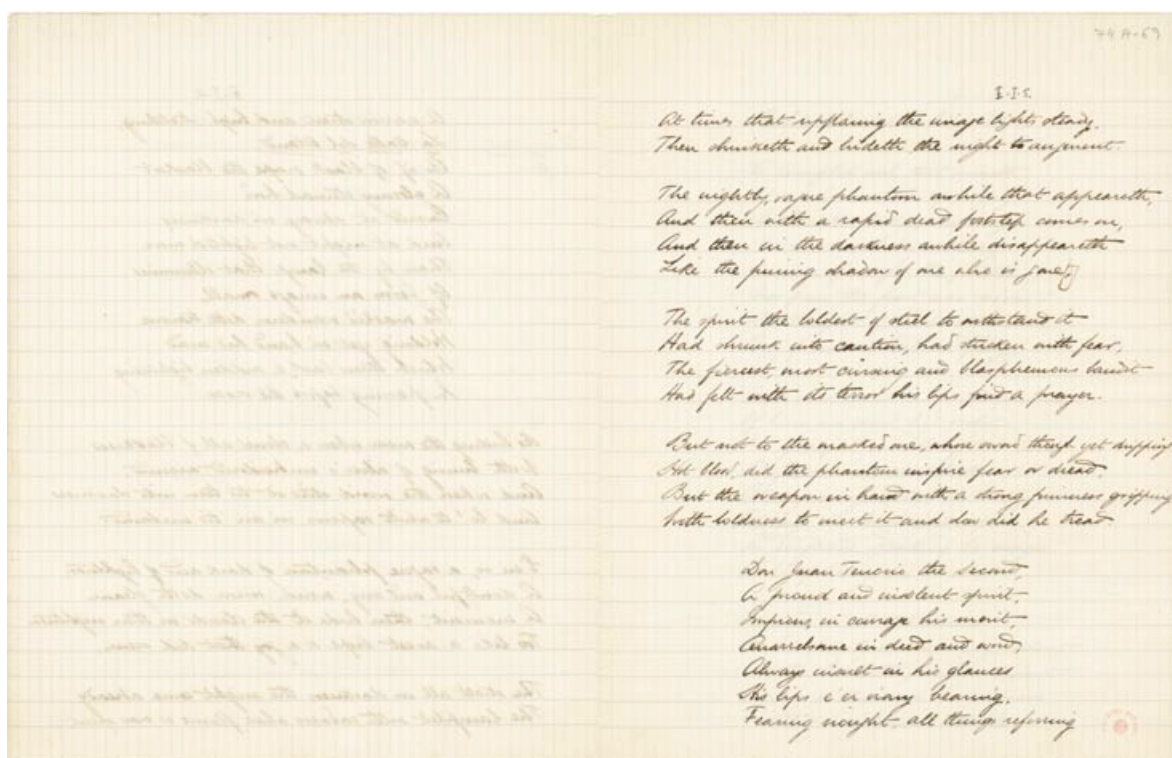


Fig. 6. BNP / E3, [74A-69]

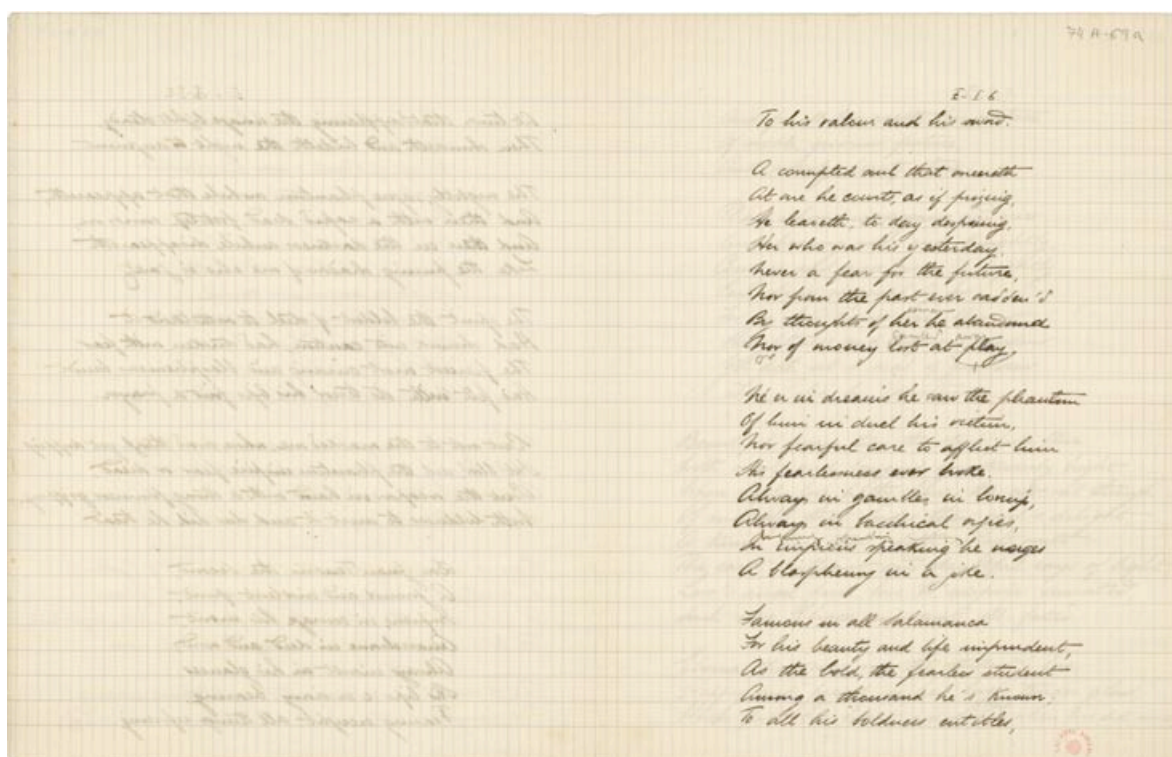


Fig. 7. BNP / E3, [74A-69a]

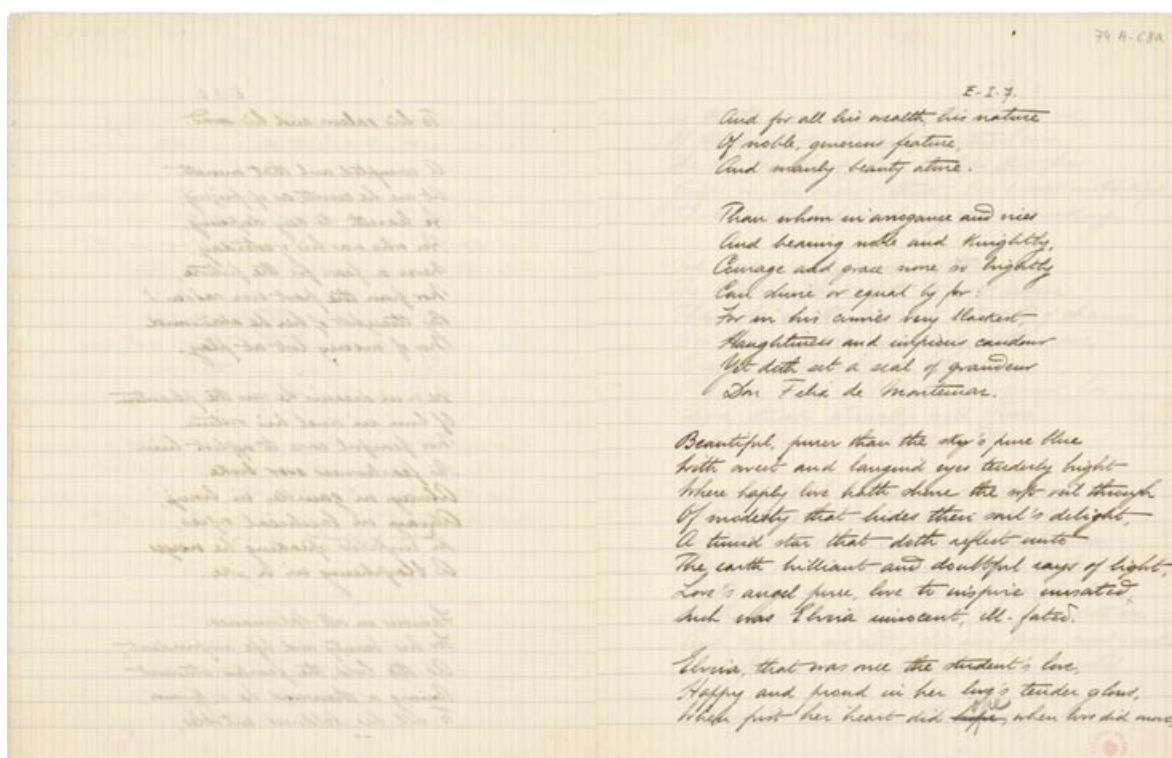


Fig. 8. BNP / E3, [74A-68a']

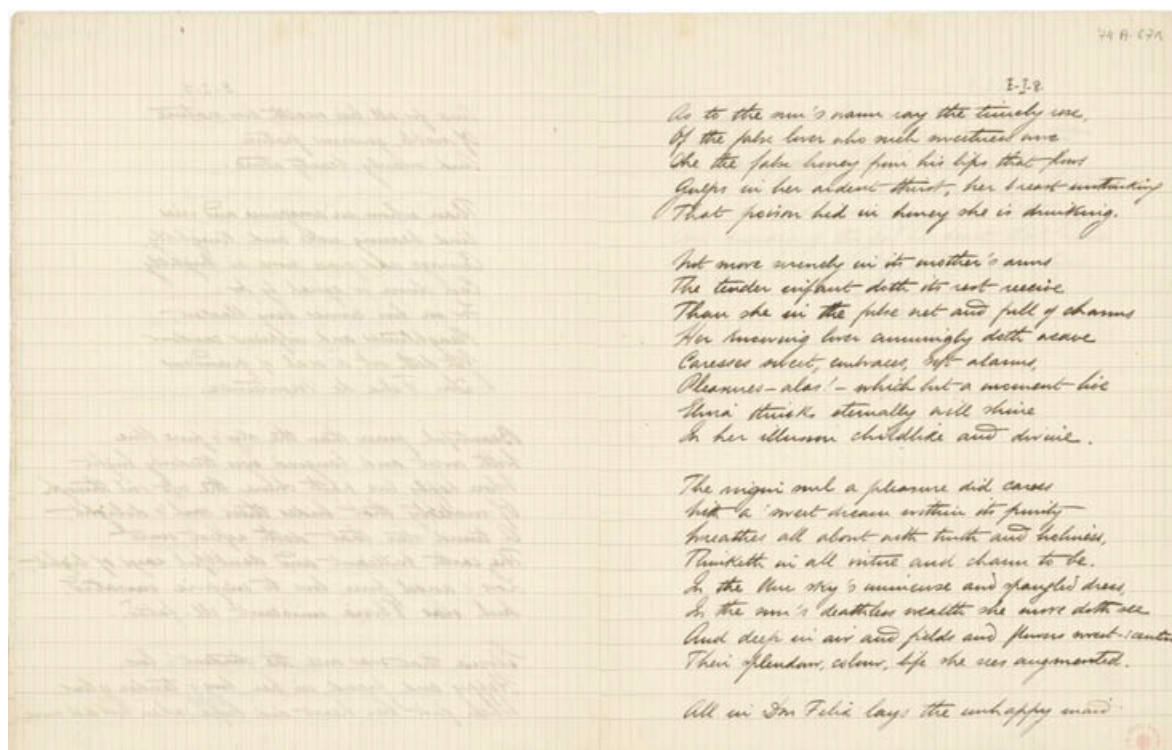


Fig. 9. BNP / E3, [74A-67a']

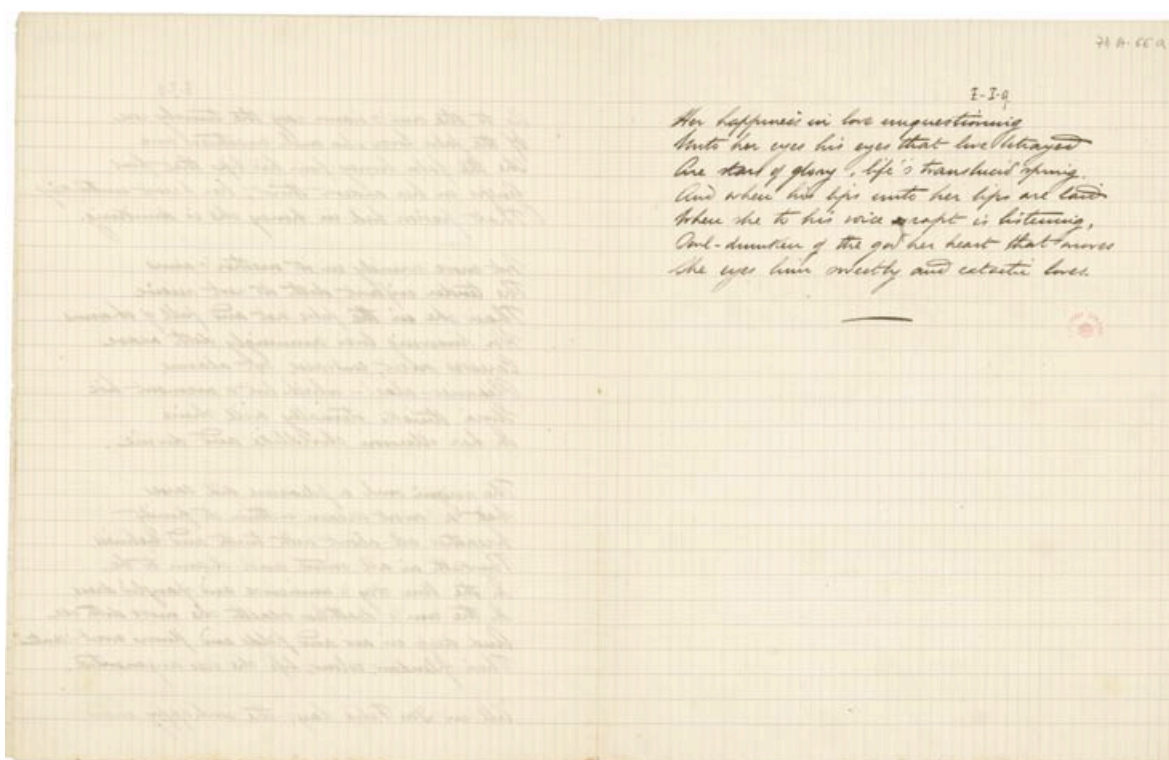


Fig. 10. BNP / E3, [74A-66a']

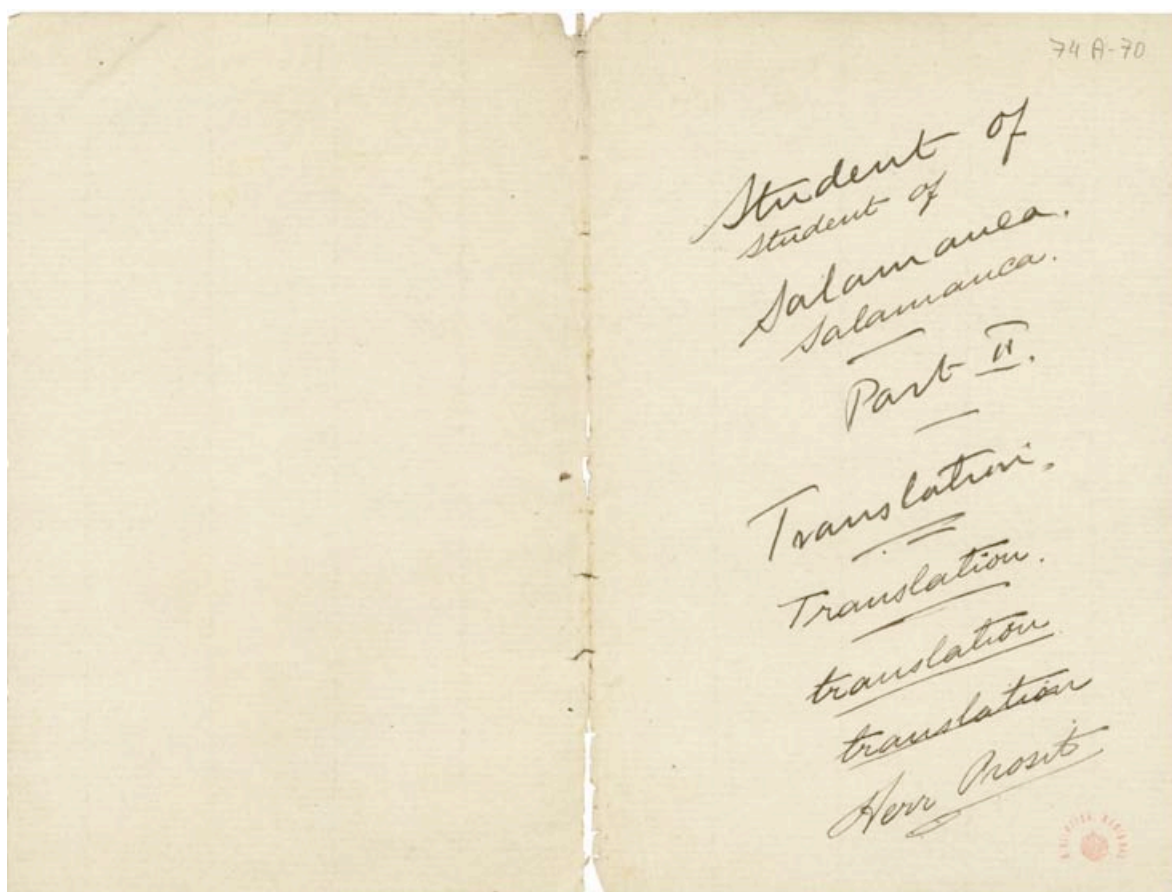


Fig. 11. BNP / E3, [74A-70']

74 A-90
130-031-132.

The night is serene & quiet
 & Crown's by the stars in the firmament
 (Tasso) Unbroken the blue of heaven
 Like unto transparent lawn,
 The moon in her melody
~~translucent~~ tramping
 Of the hill: her milky point
 Tending hardly ^{the} ~~the~~ summit
 And the hungry Minerva
 Pure & whitey virgin
 And in ~~the~~ ^{her} white & soft tender
 Earth & heaven of soft bath.
 As runs the ^{the} ~~the~~ huddled
 A ^{off} ~~the~~ ^{shiny} ~~the~~ ^{of} silver
 To the moon's shining
 Between ^{fringe} ~~fringe~~ of emerald.
 Off-sparks of silver are gleaming
~~Between~~ Among the thickets of branches
 And in the bosom of flowers
 Happy the bees are sleeping.
 While

Fig. 12. BNP / E3, [74A-90]

74 A-75

Now, tell her, leave
 One night new steps
 A tear from her eye is poured
 & beneath
 Her cheek, it is a wave
 Of the sea that is under stones
 The winds of passion's breath
 And shall with her soul.
 And she sits down, and cries
 The sudden answer (the answer)
 And love to life.

Fig. 14. BNP / E3, [74A-75']

It is the ^{of the end}
 An the summer of water
 The end is with the sand
 Of the long melancholic
 They are ^{days that have} ~~the~~ ^{departs}
 Memories also the ~~the~~
 Shadows of just the is passed
 In the heart to fight the
 And the heart the eye are
 The way and that we look on
 Your happiness in the
 That ~~but~~ ^{by} long behind

Fig. 15. BNP / E3, [74A-75']

~~Utterly~~ ~~there's~~
~~from~~ ~~utterly~~ ~~there's~~ ~~there's~~
~~with~~ ~~side~~ ~~is~~ ~~there's~~ ~~there's~~
 28 7 11
 White cloud of morn
 Edged with pal-let - &
 The rising light - ^{there} ~~doth~~ adorn
 Forerunner
 of morning 183-185
 But, alas! how soon is gone
 All your virgin purity,
 You charm the air with undone
 Like the ideal
 Love promised yet never won.
 Leaves that from the tree have fallen
 Are ~~the~~ playthings of the wind's art;
 Our ~~charms~~ ^{means that the heart is} ~~lost~~ ~~blown~~
 Oh, they are leaves that have fallen
 From the warm tree of the heart.
 Oh, for the heart without love
 A sad
 With all the love

Fig. 17. BNP / E3, [74A-91']

74 A-82

~~White cloud of morning~~
 White of moon

Rising light thee doth adorn
 Precursor
 Of the morning sweet + clear.

Page 184 end.

^{livest} But do! Elvira happily
^{lost} In your very sadness
 For even now human gladness
 When thy tender breast
 doth sigh
 Tells thee thy ^{mysterious} ~~simple~~
 madness:

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL

Fig. 19. BNP / E3, [74A-82']

P. 185 For reason is but a hell 74 A-80
 And rather veils it to save
 With at-mind, that to compel
 Thought upon fully & with grave
 Analysis cold and fell.
 Analysis coldly well.

Fig. 20. BNP / E3, [74A-80']

Behold her, as ^{she} dreams ^{it} in her madness 74 A-82
 Present the happiness she ever lost
 Sweet words with love she murmurs without
 The thinks to hear the ^{sadness} ~~love~~ ^{trouble} she hath loved.

Fig. 21. BNP / E3, [74A-87']

Behold her
 Present the god that has for ever fled:
 Sweet words with love she murmurs

Behold her, implore
 As if present there she saw him
 Behold her x
 Behold her madon to smile.

Fig. 22. BNP / E3, [74A-74']

And her mind in a 74A-74
 As ~~time~~ her confused thought + undefined
 Like clouds that ⁱⁿ black + white confusion
 Cover the sky & ^{hand} to the mind,

Fig. 23. BNP / E3, [74A-74]

74A-72
 Behind her carefully choosing flowers
 She takes them joined in the
 And imperial garland ^{coronet} of her ~~love~~
 That garland she doth ~~let her~~ to weave.

Fig. 24. BNP / E3, [74A-72]

136

74A-89

What are to me thy calm
 O tranquil night! or solitary moon
 If ye cannot—away! Fate's cruelly—
 No give me ^{hope} of future boon?

What are ye a leaf cut by the
 To give a ^{no} ⁱⁿ ^{win} ^{no} ^{into} ^{known}
~~to give a no win no into known~~

If the ^{day} ~~france~~ ^{france} ~~put~~ ^{my} ~~me~~ ^{deems}
 He ~~knows~~ ^{the} ~~ask~~ ^{the}
 He also ~~will~~ ^{is} ~~to~~ ^{the} ~~gnosis~~

Deeds interrupt her plaint—
 But in her breast ~~she~~ ^{her} ~~head~~ ^{deeds} ~~heavily~~
 And ~~around~~ ^{her} ~~humming~~ ^{the} ~~and~~
 The last words, in a sigh

The sigh of love & in her tender plaint
 A melody of song her heart better found
 A song that bears the soul & time & fate
 A plaint—also—the heart around

Fig. 25. BNP / E3, [74A-89']

74 A-84

Hapless thine love by her soft death
 A candid rose that pain hath shaken
 A tender scent that the traveller ^{out} ~~beats~~ ^{beats}
 And which the breeze upon its wings hath ^{taken}

Vessel of benediction, colour bright
 Within its crystal daylight did reflect,
 But earth did choke ^{v-splendour} ^{delight}
 And man with unpruned hand
 its heart ~~wrecked~~

One sweet illusion did her mind caress
 A heavenly soul to love ^{adoration} ^{love}
 Love was the fountain of her livingness
 And near to dream her

Lover of the land, a flower.
 She died (alas!) - ^{to love + youth so near} ^{full of love + of youth}
 She woke with pleasure in the morning
 And in the evening slept ^{in the} ^{hour} ^(the) ^{hour}
 But ~~from~~ ^{the} ^{her} ^{madness} ^{also she makes}
 Up ^{the} ^{end} ^{of} ^{her} ^{day}
 And ^{in the} ^{man's} ^{brink}
 Back to her mind her ^{from} ^{lost} ^{her}

Fig. 26. BNP / E3, [74A-84]

Cós'kara ! bitter truth
 The food departed and the present
 She happy ! have such ^{pain} ^{mouth}
 She felt the weight of the ^{last} ^{day}
 And among her ^{and}
 Her cheek did have a tear
 And to the faithful lover with a hand
 Trembling ^{his} ^{writing} ~~the~~ ~~note~~

Fig. 27. BNP / E3, [74A-84']

I am dying; pardon me if each accent
 Fleeth impetuous to modest-thine ear;
 It is, Oh Felicia, the last-lament
 of her to whom myself ^{has been} ~~was~~ so dear.
 Death's ^{hand} ~~hand~~ already doth feel beat
 Farewell: I ask no love's nor pity's tear
 distill & pardon ^{me} if when I die,
 My tears from me right.
 From the dying — wings a rip
 from her who dear has been my life

Fig. 28. BNP / E3, [74A-77]

74A-77

Farewell, farewell for ever. In the stream
 of life I felt run softly once thru for thee,
 And the mouth from thy lips that came
 has a heavenly extreme for me.

My heart oft lightens in the dearest
 dream That ever men — in the vision!
 All things are gone with thee, all thy sight
 Quits him of love, he so / thou the yet!

Fig. 29. BNP / E3, [74A-77]

(Was the, my I Was the, happy times 74 A-76
 That from my many years are away
 Love's images also claim my old services
 But ~~the~~ to my eyes bring tears
 But I am not
 -
 Is come: oh ^(forgive) pardon me ^{my last day} my last day
 If do love my madness to record.
 p. 138.
 Last stanza

Fig. 30. BNP / E3, [74A-76']

74 A-88
 (Was the, my I Was the, happy times
 That from my many years are away
 Love's images also claim my old services
 But ~~the~~ to my eyes bring tears
 But I am not
 -
 Is come: oh ^(forgive) pardon me ^{my last day} my last day
 If do love my madness to record.
 p. 138.
 Last stanza

Fig. 31. BNP / E3, [74A-88']

And never let of remember ^{my} 74 A-83
 bitter bitter memories ^{the} pleasures
 Life ^{there} ^{you} ^{is} ^{the} ^{glory}
 may ^{be} ^{the} ^{glory} ^{glory}
 Pleasure to ^{and} ^{other} ^{women} ^{love}
 of at times, by lamentable thing
 Come to ^{be} ^a ^{pain} ^{with} ^{red} ^{spine}
 Weep on, at work on but let the heart
 Beat for for ^{some} ^{remorse} ^{smart}
 — p 139-25

Fig. 32. BNP / E3, [74A-83']

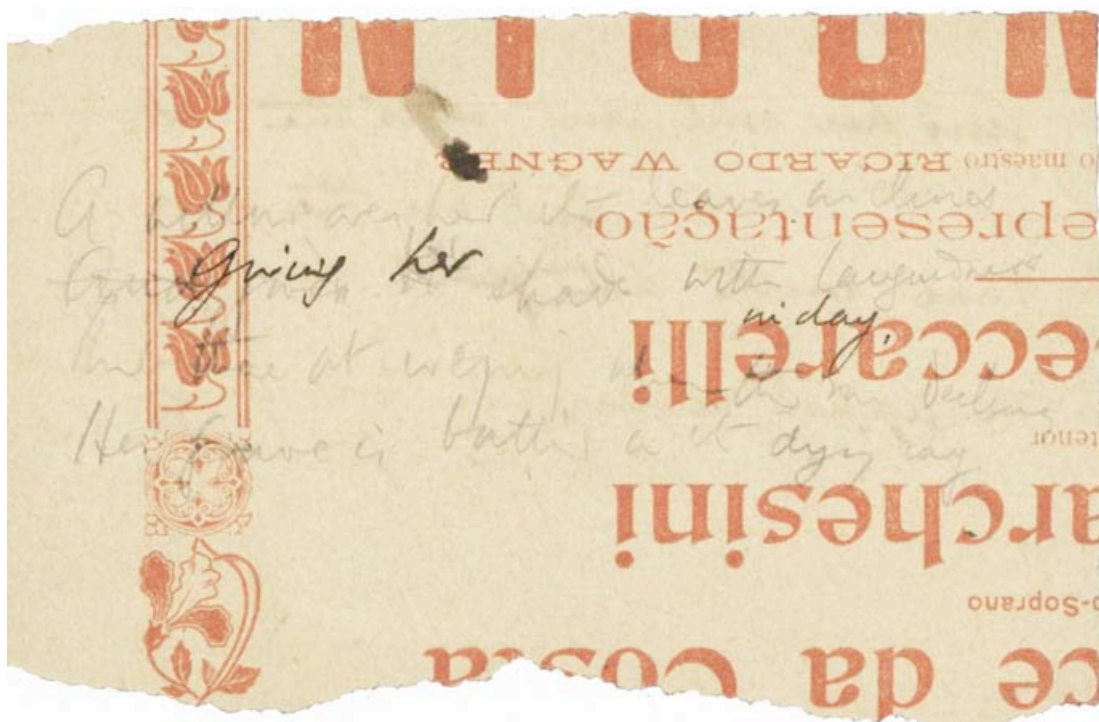


Fig. 35. BNP / E3, [74A-73v]

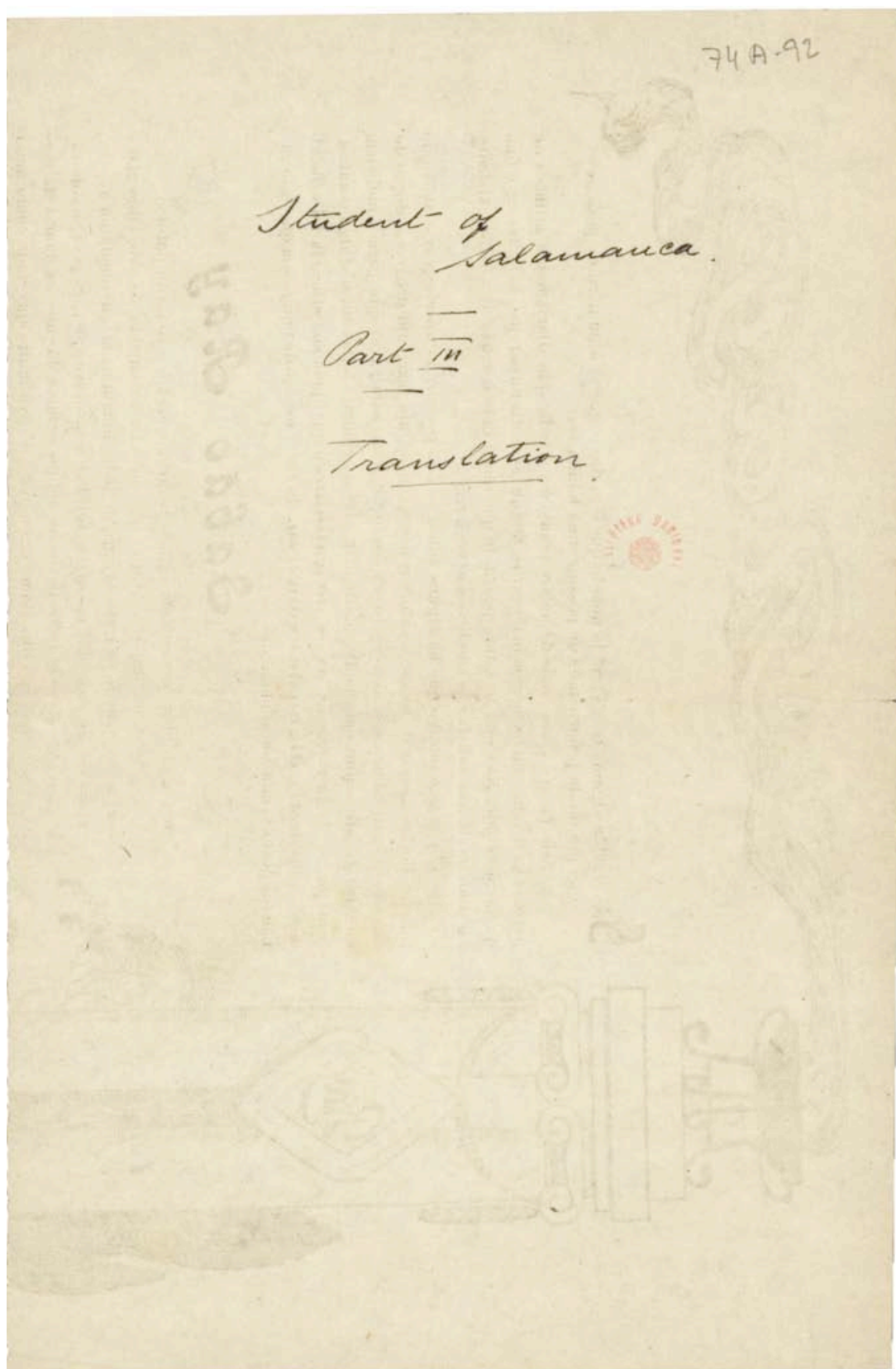


Fig. 36. BNP / E3, [74A-92]

p. 96 (New Bull) Part in 74 A-108
 sitting down around a table
 Their work are done
 their gift for the friend
 at study; they play the while

 and in their pale countenances
~~of the~~ ~~ambit~~ ~~is~~ ~~seen~~ ~~of~~ ~~spots~~
~~of the~~ ~~ambit~~ ~~is~~ ~~seen~~ ~~of~~ ~~spots~~
 by long, nearly departing
 to gain eyes high!
 And ~~arising~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~floor~~

 A profound silence pervades the
~~broken~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~noise~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~city~~
~~except~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~noise~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~city~~
 Save by the gods or a voice's
~~A~~ ~~man~~ ~~in~~ ~~course~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~city~~
 In coming from time to time.
 A public lamp with illumine
 the chamber, but light
 the walls with smoke blacked
 of that infernal
 The moth-dark walls of the infernal
 Den of human ~~noise~~ ~~the~~ ~~noise~~
 Den lost in the ~~noise~~ ~~the~~ ~~noise~~.

Fig. 37. BNP / E3, [74A-108']

74A-107

And the mysterious thing
Is heard of the storm outside
Which catches the heavy shadows
With its rays as it goes by.



Fig. 38. BNP / E3, [74A-107]

I.

74 A-111

The ^{Queen} ~~is~~ ¹ ~~has~~ ^{out} ~~come~~ ^{half}

What ² ~~can~~ ^{is} it ~~then~~?

~~but~~ ³ ~~the~~ ^{have} ~~Queen~~

² For ~~little~~ ^{you} ~~with~~ ^a ~~small~~

A ¹ ~~heap~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{lost} —

I ¹ ~~run~~ ^{to} ~~Christ~~ ² ~~do~~ ^{not} ~~run~~

Your ² ~~end~~ ^{has} ~~not~~ ^{yet}

There ¹ ~~never~~ ⁱⁿ ~~hell~~ ⁱⁿ ~~any~~

hell, ² ~~how~~ ^{much} ~~has~~ ^{you} ~~lost~~ ^{now}?

A ¹ ~~thousand~~ ^{quit} ~~of~~ ^{more}

—

—

Fig. 39. BNP / E3, [74A-111']

You are cowardly ~~and~~ ^{but}

Are you ready? They are all here
Let us be going: Long ago?
Last thirteen hundred in gold.

~~Don~~ ^{the night is calm}
I won't do
Do not now
You are not yet

Don Felix,

Well, How much have you lost now?
A thousand dollars
When is he? You do know

Barbosa

Thirteen in all Salamanca
The his life and his good fortune

Now then, Sir.
Don Diego, then
My crime was not very great
I saw her, she loved, & then grew
She died, and the fault is not mine
and your ~~phantom~~ I appear

But no woman dies of love

Fig. 40. BNP / E3, [133N-20"]

[illegible]

Fig. 41. BNP / E3, [74A-48^r]

74A-48a

145-

3°

You eat the piece high

F:

I eat it as to with no use

If any salt you

By it. This end of the line (line are out)

F:

Amay fine

To the sweets

To the and deamed, there there!

Mr. 2 but you I don't eat

1°

I am my aty salt

He are, there ^{3°} it is here! →

1°

He is now

Fig. 43. BNP / E3, [74A-48a]

98
 3.
 74A-112

 The ace of diamonds! There
 You see - ^{the} if you I don't count -
 10
 I am sorry that you lost -
 The ace! the ace! ³⁰ it is here
 He has won. ¹⁵
 D.F.

 At a single throw ^{lost}
 A thousand ducats I
 30
 In a throw?

 You have lost - ^{lost} -
 D.F.
 I have lost - ^{my soul}
 And the little is no matter
 30
 D.F.
 30
 D.F.
 Keep cool


Fig. 44. BNP / E3, [74A-112']

p. 98 (large ed) ^{74A-96}

You are most
 lucky. At one throw of dice
 I should a thousand sweets

You have lost.

E.

Lost? My soul!
 A little bit does not matter

Fig. 45. BNP / E3, [74A-96']

I'll play you further
 A hundred times, I'll state
 For what the point of the
 Little game of pieces - done
 etc
 in the paper.

Fig. 46. BNP / E3, [74A-112^v]

74 A-100
 p.147. — "What don't you?"
 lovely woman.
 Tr. not dear.
 You wish to stalk the.
 they are here.
 And I will win. If you do
 I've no more friends, you see

Fig. 47. BNP / E3, [74A-100']

001-A HF
 "What don't you?" —
 This image, did heart not mine
 lovely woman.
 Tr. not dear.
 If she wishes, I shall stalk her
 You wish to stalk the.
 they are here.
 And I will win. If you do
 I've no more friends, you see

Fig. 48. BNP / E3, [74A-100'']

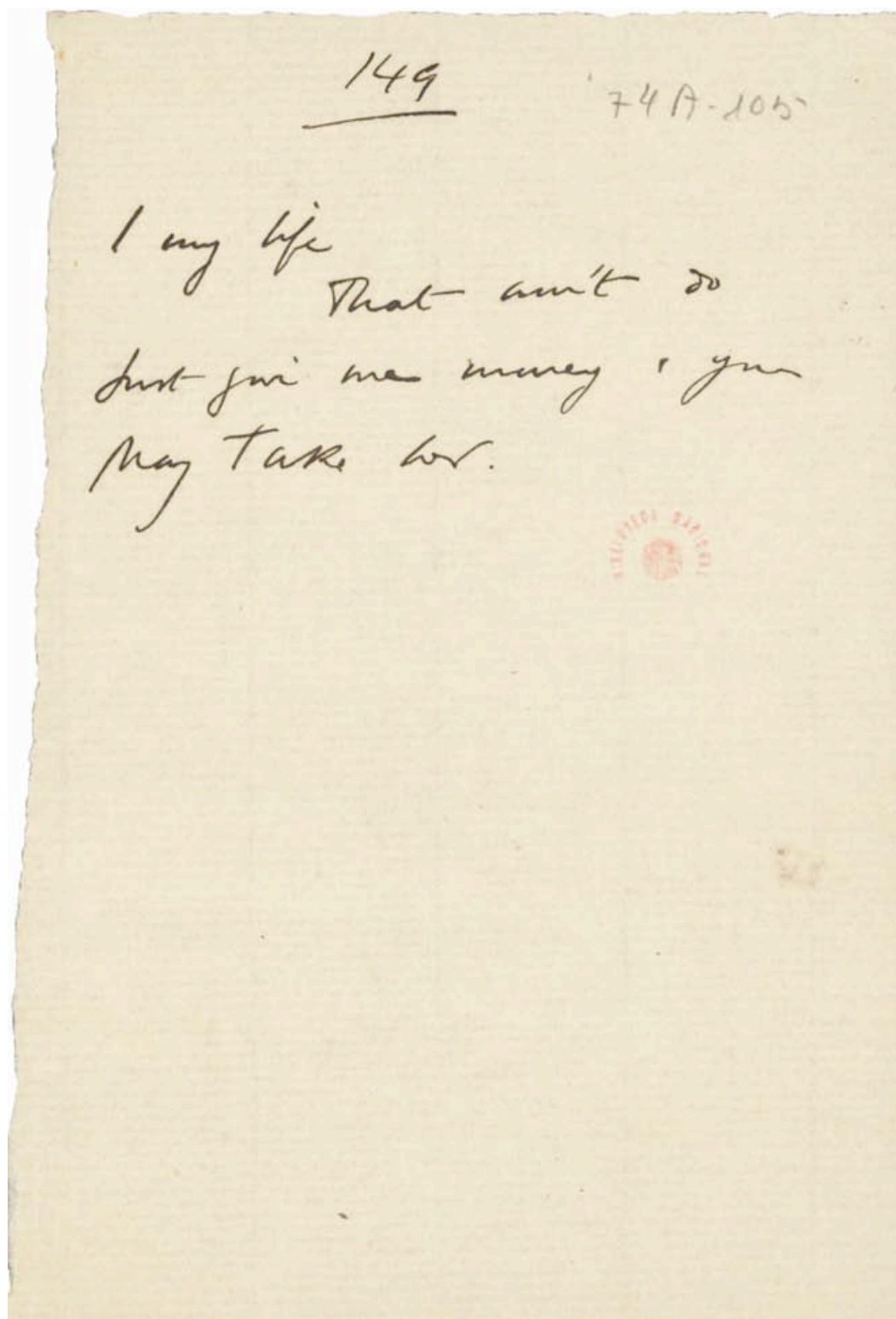


Fig. 49. BNP / E3, [74A-105']

p. 151. 74A-113

Pale in his
 his glances, although perturbed
 Having in it a firm & will intent
 To give death

A man did enter cloaked into the eyes,
 And hat pushed low upon his frowning brow:
 Into his face his heart makes hatred rise
 His step is firm, his spirit

A man's figure ~~of~~ fate
 The thrust of Word did parch his soul,
 His spirit ~~of~~ fuming with hate,
 Revengeance had kindled his heart & whole

He comes beside Don Felix & abstract
 He speaks to no one nor his head he bows;
 And standing as far from him
 He looks upon him with enraged brows.

Don Felix also looks upon the
 Appeared where Eyes on his are bent
 And with a sarcasm full
 Fixing his upon him

Fig. 50. BNP / E3, [74A-113']

p. 153. 74A-93
 Ah! Don Felis? know you not-
 Don Diego de Pastora
 D.B. Mr. you but man, a
 Sister! think you have got.

Fig. 51. BNP / E3, [74A-93]

11
 154 top
 pain
~~but~~ she won't come to life again.
 self
 of course that would be
 things

Fig. 52. BNP / E3, [74A-57v]

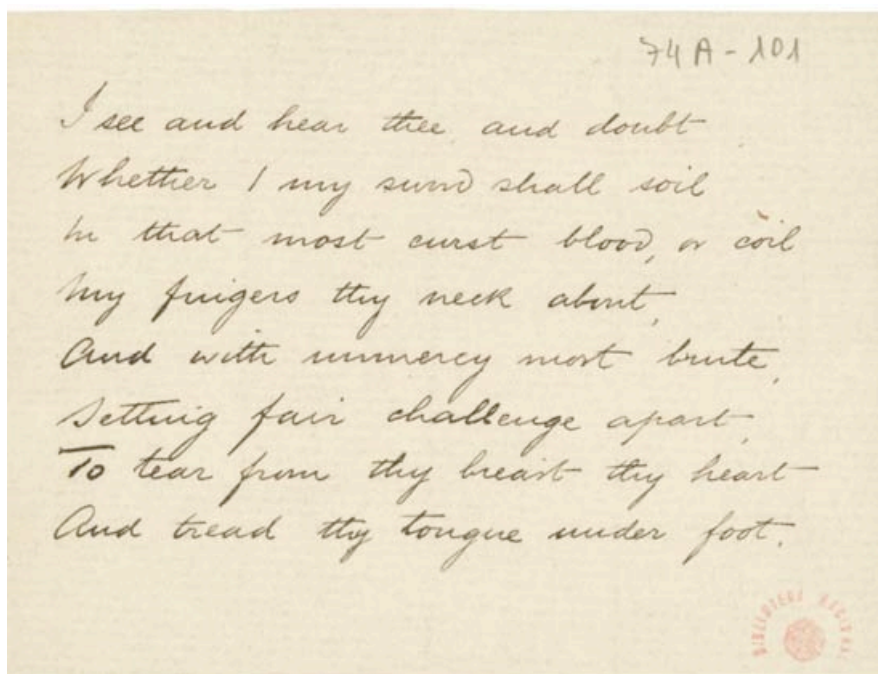


Fig. 53. BNP / E3, [74A-101']

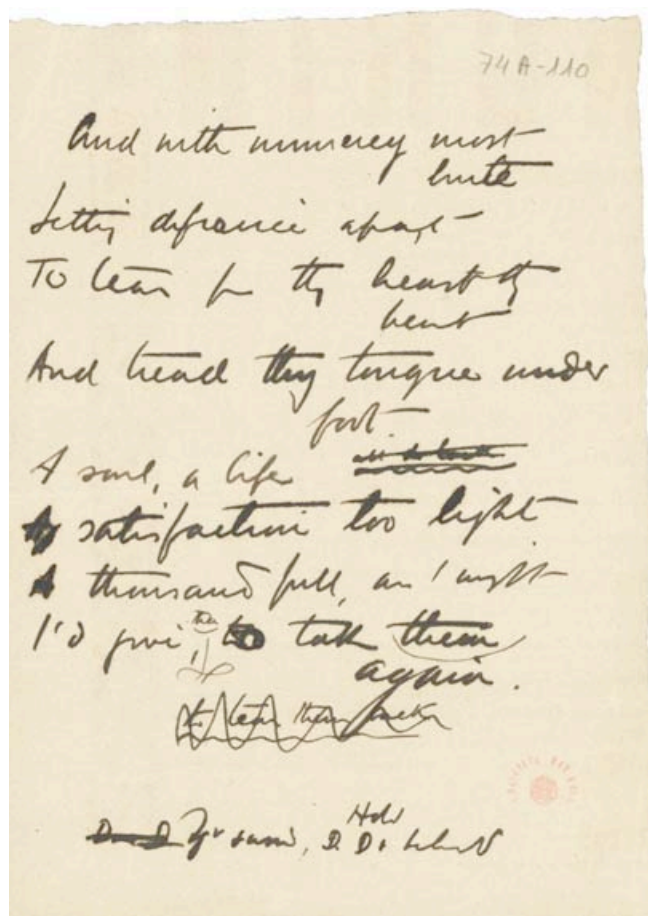


Fig. 54. BNP / E3, [74A-110']

74A-97

~~How~~
 Making quarrels.
 You sword, D. Diego & behav
 That—
 And
 I know not why, that is all
 In my image to be
 To your mind— I see can

Fig. 55. BNP / E3, [74A-97]

153- 74A-98

Come with ~~the~~ by my faith
 Of life to ~~the~~ I am day
 And hand the ~~you~~ the
 Can sum the ~~for~~
 death

I am + why
 That even you debt can

Fig. 56. BNP / E3, [74A-98]

74 A-109

Come with me, I'll
 be no tin
 But - Don D. if you die
 Let - not - another
 To ^{settle the accounts} square accounts. I'm
 with you in a minute let me
 Cannot this be wrong way, the
 There are my money - for you
 I lose here a quantity
 Considerable of gold ^{what} most
 Provoked I stand for & why?
 10 & 15 ^{off for some time} ~~from the bank~~
 Tale of me I have lost?

Your act is rather silly
 To risk the chance that I kill you
 I tell you all as I feel it

Fig. 57. BNP / E3, [74A-109]

Fig. 58. BNP / E3, [74A-104^r]

74A-95

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-10-2001 BY 60322 UCBAW

You laugh?
Death is too near ^{you} ~~the~~
to Chaff!

Fig. 59. BNP / E3, [74A-95^r]

Scene VI. 74.A-99

This

He has quite fully will
 His death heart with

When the heart
 I will please to be
 Will please to be
 killed.

Fig. 60. BNP / E3, [74A-99']

n. 158. 74A-94
 this death to my
 heart for the with
 when am
 take.

Fig. 61. BNP / E3, [74A-94']

74B-30
IV.1

Behold Don Felix with his sword in hand,
 Serene his countenance and his heart well;
 Elvira's brother, who had vengeance planned,
 Dead at his feet and without pity fell.

He with a tranquil boldness doth advance
 Along the fatal street del Ataud,
^{his vision full of fear his spirit doth}
 Nor fearful vision doth his mind entrance,
 Nor Jesus' image doth perturb his mood.

The dying lamplight's ill-awaken'd light
 Tremulously doth its last gleam discover
 And ~~the~~ ^{with} profoundest darkness, horrid night
 The street mysterious like a hood ~~doth~~ ^{doth} cover.

Montemayor moveth his undaunted feet
 Within the darkness with uncertainty
 When having trodden part of the long street
 Suddenly next to him he hears a sigh.

He felt the breath upon his face to creep
 And in spite of him did his nerves contract,
 But past their first involuntary leap,
 To their own iron hardness did retract.

Fig. 62. BNP / E3, [74B-30']

74B-31
IV. 2
"Who goes?" he asks with his calm voice at length
That feigns not courage and is not afraid;
His soul full of indomitable strength
Full confident on his Toledan blade.

He feels around him and with unprisoned vigour
Curses, and boldly his bold walk resumes,
When towards him a vague and fateful figure
Wrapp'd in white garments mystically comes.

Floating and vague the clouds thick and intense
It dispels, and animates itself and grows
With an ill-wakened light and in the dense
Darkness its silver whiteness clearer shows.

His eyes upon her fixed, Montemar
With more wonder than fear her doth behold;
Perchance he thinks her a slow-moving star
That through the space of heaven is on-rolled.

Fig. 63. BNP / E3, [74B-31']

Now
 Let God be of never shining
 A planet of clear light without a stain
 The gloomy horizon maketh wide
 And in the ~~shadow~~ ^{shade} afar ~~of~~ ^{off} ~~the~~ ^{the} light

 "God ~~wishes~~ ^{will} to frighten me! I would
 it were!
 He ~~hath~~ ^{unmurmured} laughing yes!
 For then, by far, the ~~man~~ ^{man} holds to know
 The human monarch of the
 abyss

Fig. 64. BNP / E3, [74-95^r]

IV.3. 74B-32

Haply of his own eyes a strange delusion
 A lying form that in his dreams he made,
 Or yet the wine's ridiculous illusions *confusion*
 Which his reason at last hath disarrayed.

But never the Sereyan nectar had
 Sufficed his mind to alter and to stain
 For *full a thousand times* times a thousand and in orgies mad
 Himself to he had tried in vain.

As he spoke this insult, with new light

And a veiled woman clad in garb of white
 Before the image kneeling he descried.

✓ "Welcome the light!" the impious student said,
 "Thank God or thank the Devil": and with bold
 And firm intention, madly without dread,
 Towards the veiled lady he his way doth hold.



Fig. 65. BNP / E3, [74B-32]

IV. 4.

74 B-33

And while he walks, in seeming move away
The light, the image and the lady fair,
But if he stop, their motion do their stay:
And dolorously drops tear after tear

The image from its eyes immovable.

His footsteps bold or his impiety quell

The street seems to move on and shift with strange motion
He feels underfoot the whole earth fail and swim;
His eyes the-dead glance charms with mystic commotion
Of Christ that intensely is fixed upon him.

And plunged in the madness his mind that diseases -
The wine's (so he thinks) that his reason affrights -
The lamplight with insolent boldness he seizes
From the altar where God's holy image it lights.



Fig. 66. BNP / E3, [74B-33']

162.
I hope to be free, at by ^(young white)
in discountous rise
But the life is put out by ^{sudden}
and the lay is white to be put out rise

Fig. 67. BNP / E3, [74A-28^v]

74 A-28

=161-162=

And but for a moment he thought—he was seeing
A face which
And glad & young memories did call with being
Of times that were better & now are no more
The face of an angel he saw in sweet dreaming
Like a sentiment—that the spirit did flood,
That shadows the heart
That never by reason shall ~~never~~ be understood.

—

is described
And as if the softest of carpets were treading,
And noiseless ^{rapid} ~~light~~ ^{light} ~~let~~ ^{let} foot-dusts glide
to flee
That now
& now (that is merged in) the foam of the sea.

—

air
Before us ~~seen~~ ^{seen} these in illumined ~~with~~ ^{with} glass
And shaketh the soul with
The while that faint reason to ~~disturb~~ ^{disturb} chase.

=

Fig. 68. BNP / E3, [74A-28^r]

162-163 74 A-27

Lady, the same —
 And ~~let~~ ^{tell me} by signals "No"
 I have ~~reduced~~ ^{reduced} "Yes" & so
 To prove you I am bound
 And I shall remain where you ~~shall~~ ^{shall}
 If you be ~~up~~ ^{up} or ~~down~~ ^{down}
 Even if it ~~impossible~~ ^{impossible} were
 And ~~be~~ ^{be} your ~~saturn~~ ^{saturn} or ~~5~~ ⁵ ~~th~~ th
 With his ~~names~~ ^{names} & his ~~house~~ ^{house} — all
 Down to the bottom of hell
 You in front & I behind
~~shall~~ ^{shall} ~~go~~ ^{go} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~hell~~ ^{hell}
 Although you ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~hell~~ ^{hell}

Fig. 69. BNP / E3, [74A-27]

p. 163. And now you Satan
 with his flames and horns
 will
 Down to the bottom of hell
 You in front & I behind
 we will go, there's a God
 Even more Heaven to hinder it

Fig. 70. BNP / E3, [74A-23']

114 to by please even

if it may the children
 of our uncastles as well
 as

115) not with by for I mean
 that any shall think but
 for fear

Fig. 71. BNP / E3, [74A-27']

163 74 A-24
 I will know
 What you have in the state
 of women in my wish there be
 that it were discounting
 so late also you to leave.

Fig. 72. BNP / E3, [74A-24']

163-164 (2). 74 A-22
 Profound from her heart ^{then} a moan well-
 expressing
 The heart of the vessel that suffering
 which ~~only~~ ^{did wear} only the hearing impressing
 But that the heart
 doth tear
 A moan of a bitter remembrance
 departed
 of pain that is present, of trouble
 ill-known

Fig. 73. BNP / E3, [74A-22']

¹⁶⁴⁻¹⁶⁵ ^{74A-35}
 the moon to the ⁵ heaven
 serene & calmly to what part his ¹⁰ ~~is~~
 And now ~~at~~ his weeping to his ¹⁵ ~~is~~ turn.
 Himself dreading the world and scorning
 his pain in his heart ²⁰ his link
 his sleep in his soul while he felt on his ²⁵ ~~morning~~
 little smile all of fulness his lips ~~is~~ abide
 a ³⁰ ~~in~~ his lips he made fast to abide.

Fig. 78. BNP / E3, [74A-35']

¹⁶⁵ ^{74A-36}
 Ah he who hath counted the hours time
 The hours that on time ¹⁰ ~~hath~~ ^{hath} ~~been~~ ^{banished}
 To-day lonely weeps ¹⁵ ~~he~~ ^{in their day} ~~thinks~~ ^{how have}
 Forever with them — the joys of yesterday.
 As they the most flying, he has lost (to have never)
 How fast was the world ²⁰ ~~for there~~
 And he lives in the world ²⁵ ~~who~~ ^{he} ~~lived~~ ^{lived} ever
 And for him those pleasures & joys are no
 more.

Fig. 79. BNP / E3, [74A-36']

have to him who at last
 — who he had read Sir going
 the the the relation of the end
 the future greatness doing
 =

Fig. 80. BNP / E3, [74A-31^v]

168 = 5 = 74 A-38
 have him who is the part his only
 To him who his soul in its pain
 The hours that have past he will call
 sad & lonely
 The hours that are gone & will never
 return
 —
 who upon upon with sleep or
 spend
 Hours that are endless of our with end;
 —

Fig. 81. BNP / E3, [74A-38^r]

166

74 A-33

A person's lake of ice
 his team ~~long of~~ ^{fat} ~~that~~ ^{make} ~~pair~~ ^{right from}
 Returning to drink him
 No hope for him, and break is his
 woe...

That man of the ~~phantom~~ ^{phantom} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~woman~~
 The ~~my~~ ^{rely} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~it~~
 hold him, & to show more, could not
 the value had been, & had understood)

Fig. 82. BNP / E3, [74A-33]

166

74 A-37

If some false are
 myself! ~~offer~~ ^{we} ~~vanity~~ ^{vanity}, zealous,
 but either that ~~and~~ ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~feign~~ ^{feign}
 Or you are ~~varied~~ ^{varied}, ~~fair~~ ^{fair}
 by a husband who is jealous

~~And~~ ^{And} I true?
 To make ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~warmer~~ ^{warmer} ~~tones~~ ^{tones},
 To mix it with ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~me~~ ^{me},
 With one ~~people~~ ^{people}, ~~you~~ ^{you} ~~green~~ ^{green},
 I speak little & much.

Fig. 83. BNP / E3, [74A-37]

74A-40 116.
 A second time unperturbed ^{the long}
 A voice of a soft melody, like a dream
 The student heard, a ^{speaking} ~~voice~~ that did
 The far-off echo of a wordless song.
 Of a long heart ~~but love~~ ^{long}
 A feeling, without words, of tenderness
 A faithful sigh of love that ~~hath~~ ^{return}
 Of a true woman yet, the first love
 "yes."

Fig. 84. BNP / E3, [74A-40']

For me ^{alas have} ~~loves~~ ^{there} ~~and have~~
 All in the world for me an end ^{found} ~~hath found~~
 That binds that we want the ^{earth} ~~earth~~ ^{bound}
 Heaven for ever ^{hath} ~~unbound~~.
 To speak her accents mystic and
 Bring the dream of worlds for me ^{endless}
 Solo of ~~those~~ ^{eternal} ~~eternal~~ ^{refuge}
 In the cold tomb ^{get}.

Fig. 85. BNP / E3, [74A-40']

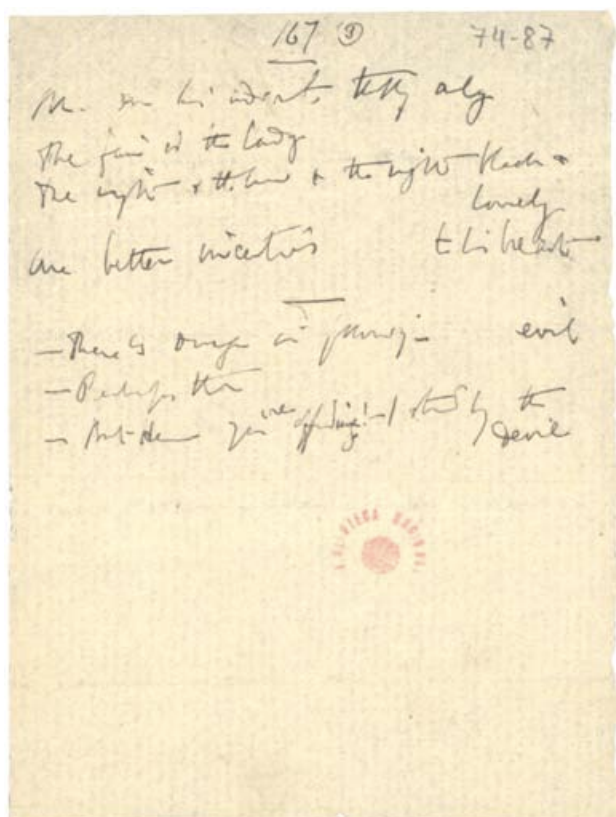


Fig. 86. BNP / E3, [74-87°]

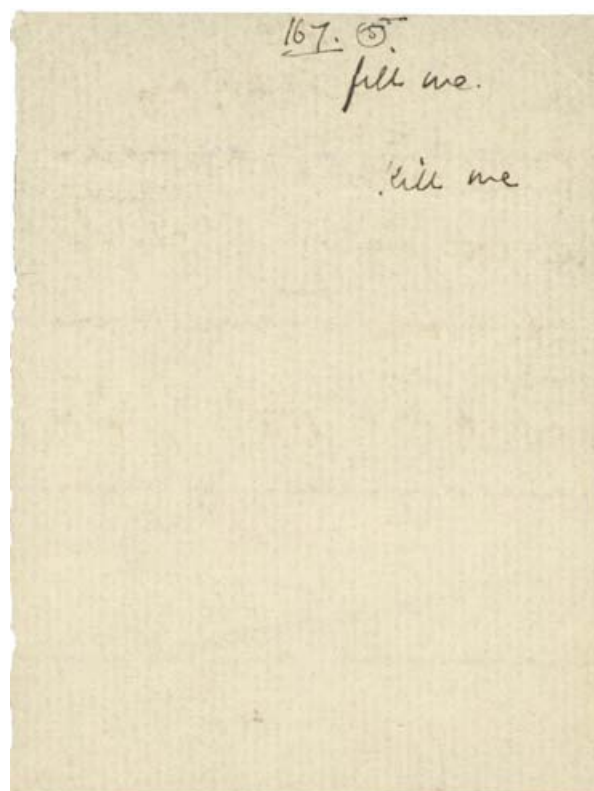


Fig. 87. BNP / E3, [74-87°]

167- 6. 74 A-32
 In fact the world's treasure
 - Hullo! He the Runs on! Oh terrible
 for you
 Oh terrible test pleasure
 To pains eternal -
 For I to hear the Gent an awaiting
 Afterward as speak, his meet



Fig. 88. BNP / E3, [74A-32']

167. 74-88
 To listen to them
 And learn that tone severe with glad
 Which, lady, I mean At ^{the} you must find.



Fig. 89. BNP / E3, [74-88']

74-92

But life is but life: when its brief span is
ended
in her last hour all pleasure has also
its last.
To cares most uncertain why let her
be blundered?
For we there is neither nor future nor
past.
—
To-morrow, if dying, the hour be a bad one,
Or good, as they say - why then, what care I?
The present enjoying, let that be a glad
one;
The Devil may take me as soon as I die.

Fig. 90. BNP / E3, [74-92]

74-93

168
Thy will be done, oh God, at last, the fierce
Fatidical & mighty di exclaim
And in his heart redoubt all his griefs
D. F. felt and after her he ~~was~~ came.

Fig. 91. BNP / E3, [74-93]

74-91

They cross saddened streets,
 Solitary squares,
 Old and ruined walls,
 Where her horrid prayers
 And false demon-calls,
 In the weird, unbright,
 Tempest-filled night,
 An accursed witch
 With hoarse voice doth spread
 And from their still graves
 Lifteth up the dead;

Fig. 92. BNP / E3, [74-91']

And the echoes follow
 Of their footsteps hollow
 In the solitude,
 All the while in silence
 Doth the city brood
 And with midnight moan
 Channette its reporing
 The North-wind alone.

Fig. 93. BNP / E3, [74-91']

They cross saddened streets, p. 168.
 Solitary squares,
 As and ruined walls,
 Where her hoarse prayers
 And ~~wild~~ demon-calls false
 In the weird, unlight
 Tempest-filled night
 An accursed witch
 With hoarse voice both spread,
 And from their still paces
 Lifteth up the dead,
 And the echoes follow
 Of their footsteps hollow
 In the solitude
 All the while in silence
 Over the city hush
 And with midnight ~~moon~~ ^{moon}
 The ~~uprising~~ ~~channeling~~
 The North wind alone.

One street they cross & another
 Still further & further on
 Now has the ~~way~~ an ending
 No cease they their midnight walk,

Fig. 94. BNP / E3, [74A-9']

74A-9

And coming, passing time a hundred
 Streets behind them they let fall,
 And step after step they follow,
 And always they travel on:
 To fail in reason, beginning
 And lose himself in time
 Nor knows he whether he treadeth
 Nor ~~where~~ ^{where he is}
 And other streets he doth traverse,
 Other squares, another ^{city}
 And he sees fantastic towers
 From their lasting pedestal
 To lead themselves + their massive
 Black masses forward to move,
 Leaning in their angles
 Which ~~are~~ ^{are} unequally upon
 The earth ~~therein~~ ^{therein} their standing;
 At their monstrous ~~is~~ ^{is} walk
 The bells in the steeples shaken
 With mystic tottering appeal
 All the while in grotesque dances
 To the ^{noise} ~~extremes~~ ^{extremes} funeral

Fig. 95. BNP / E3, [74A-9]

Project 74A-5

Around him a 100 ~~specters~~
 Dance with companion full of awe;
 And the ~~the~~ there
 Lower ~~before~~ him as he ~~the~~ pass
 And the ~~specters~~ salute him
 And in

 In the bell's echoes to sound,
 But- the ceases
 And in silence, in dead peace all
 Is plung'd & 'disappeareth
 Sudden to town;
 Palaces temples are chag'd
 In fields lovely
 & in a silent
 With light - nor are nor beams
 In immensity lost.

Fig. 96. BNP / E3, [74A-5']

170-171 74 A-4
 he thinks he is walking
 without ever
 by a stage free
 with precipitous
 and his guide
 in front of him not talk
~~from~~ ~~very~~ ~~slowly~~ & follows
 with a rapid step & now
 upon the edge of the stone
 rising within
~~the~~ ~~stone~~ ~~to~~ ~~shine~~ phosphoric
 but his light
 in the dense
 Serpents of light - luminous
 offspring of the
 And when he walks of his sleep
 of freedom to dream of

Fig. 97. BNP / E3, [74A-4']

to me, if so my
 to my range, me
 You with Salamanca
 suddenly himself
 He outgrows the bridge's
 Remedy when he is now
 And in his whole delivery
 The time
 And he means & on the way
 He is just to be behind.

Fig. 98. BNP / E3, [74A-4']

171

74-96

By far! ~~the~~ said to himself he said
 Either Satan's joke
 Or myself
 Or lying head
 The Malaga yet don't smoke

Shadows & phantoms, Minnion's
 To them will do bells & toll
 And in our confusion
 These towers I saw delusion's
 Lure; & this concert's tunes

by ~~my~~ ^{my} ~~mind~~
 Any so my maw
 That-there towers I saw
 Live brief miles
 Half what with bells

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL

Fig. 99. BNP / E3, [74-96]

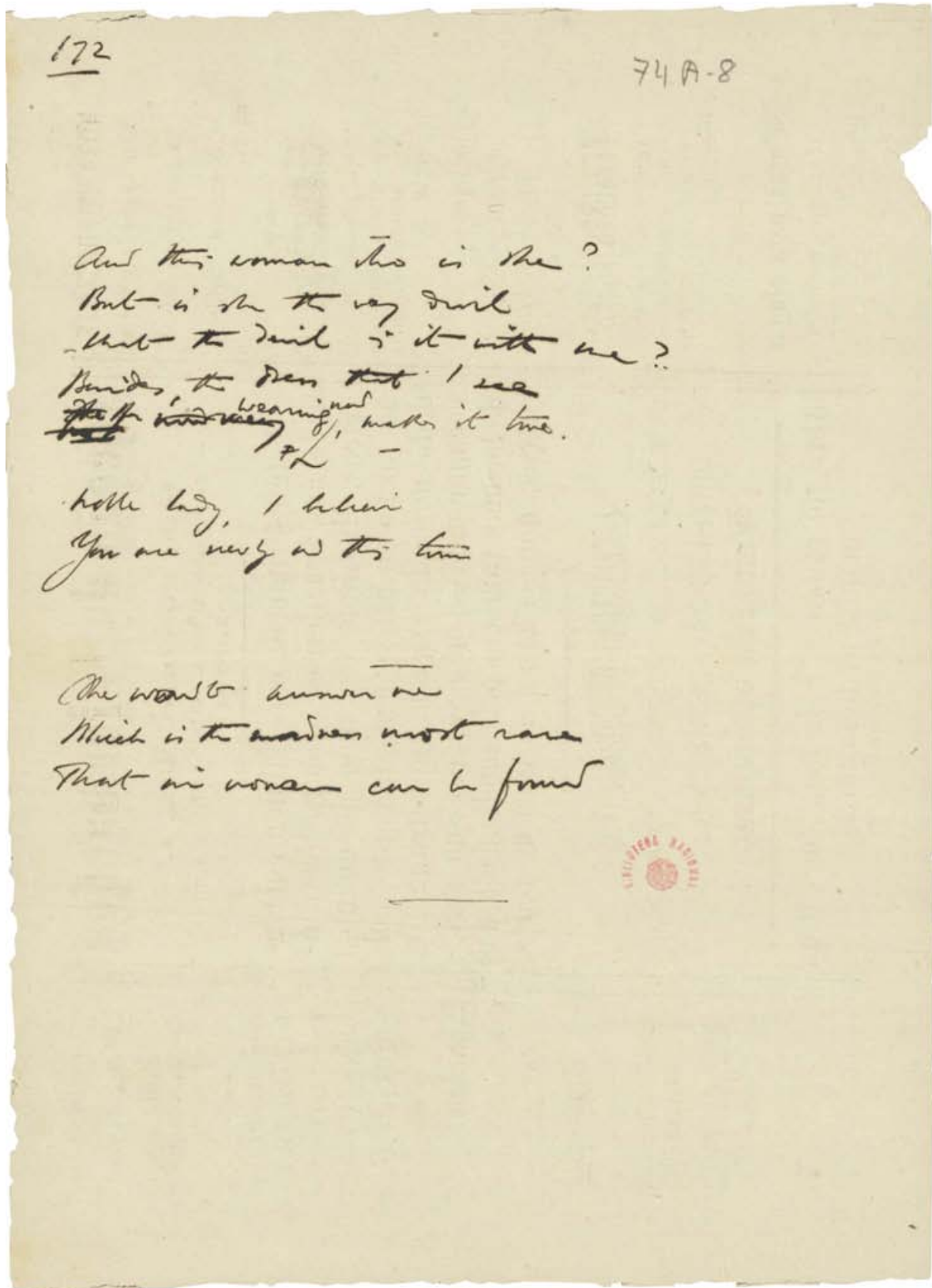


Fig. 100. BNP / E3, [74A-8]

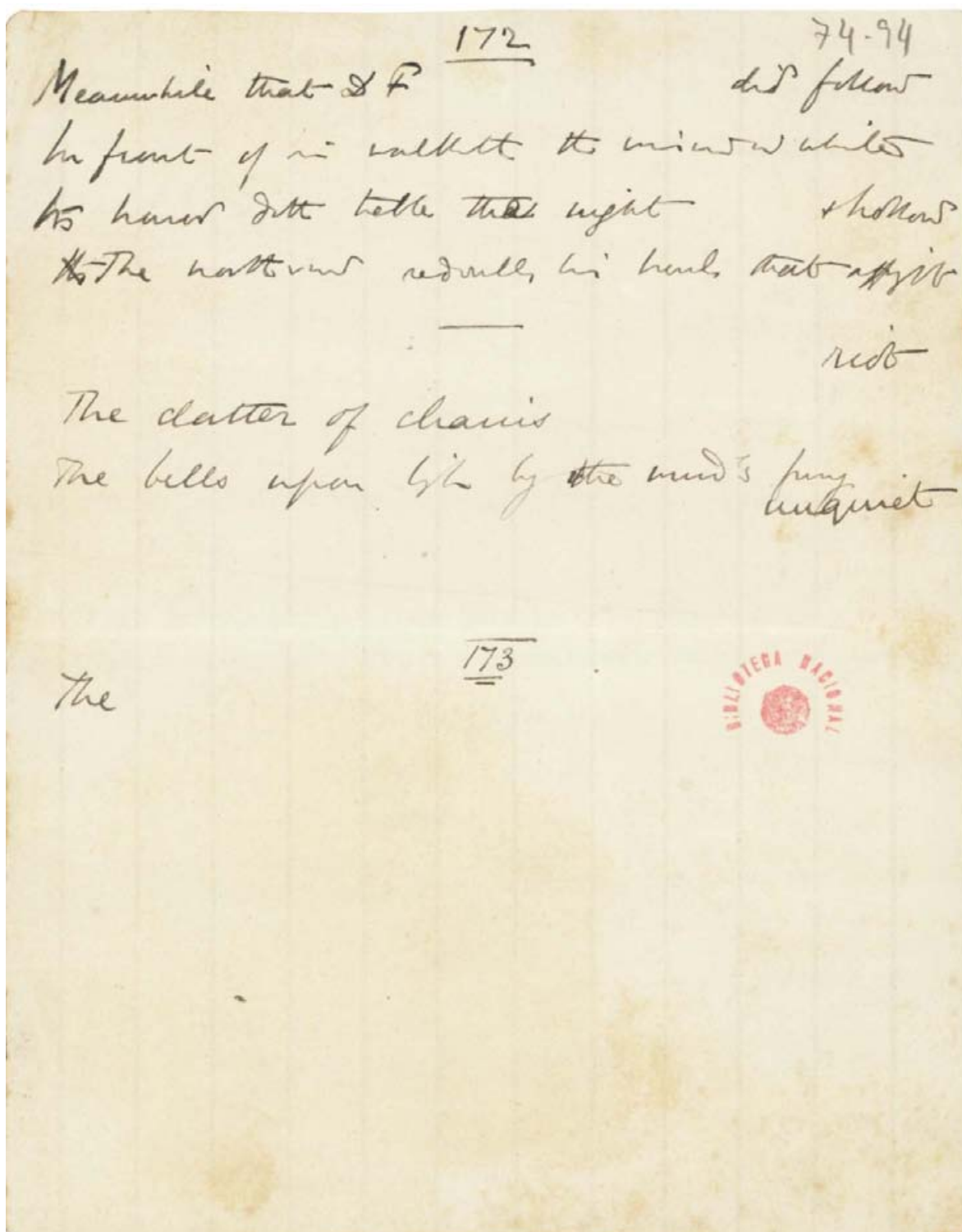


Fig. 101. BNP / E3, [74-94]

In front the vision (if) white
 The horse and redoubt its horns that affright
 of whirling do the of iron
 & of chains is heard to resound
 the bells on the towers
 The sound of footsteps of people advancing
 loudly marching with
 like iron and giving their march
 & seems to pray in
 Came to D.F. to this hearing
 that you may
 the student of Salamanca

Fig. 102. BNP / E3, [74A-10']

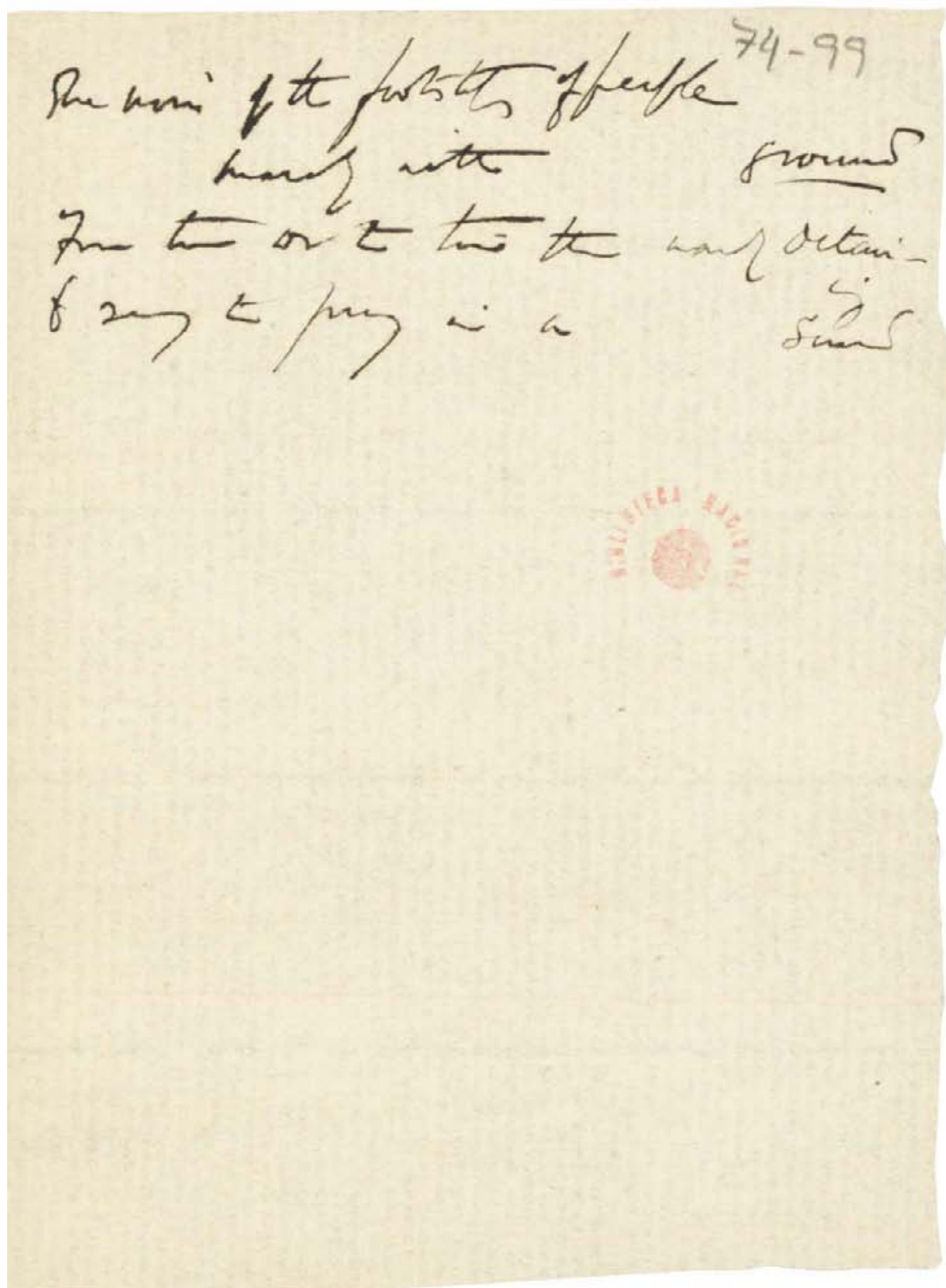


Fig. 103. BNP / E3, [74-99']

To him the ~~the~~ ^{blow} 173 74-97
 of ~~the~~ 14 ^{madly}
 at will of the wind
 when a ^{sadly}
 And in ~~the~~ ^{find,}
 Perforce, he a mil — ^{possesses}
 He feels not his bow with barrel & beat —
 He can — & Felix with calmness
 So in ^{lady} steps & all lady saying
 The funeral song
 And lady with death prayer
 His hat increased in ^{in difficulty} ~~in~~ ^{to} standing
 And Felix watches the ^{to}
 How soon with his last air ^{lamenting}
 The names of the two as they hear to the grave.

Fig. 104. BNP / E3, [74-97]

when struck with hands + he with see
 That we
 as t'other d go to other in he.

The same, 'Eis li trieg, must
error
 The same Antenor, the same ~~that~~ it was
 He doubts ^{and terror}
 As while in his veins he felt to ~~pass~~ ^{pass}.
 He is to a heart a while ^{moment} of touch
 The nerves of the heart, ^{moment} a while to suffer
 But no ~~the~~ is the ^{moment} to suffer as
 As the

The man's nerves, ^{get}
 a moment ~~that~~ with fear ^{start}
 And soon all his energy returns
 to his heart

Fig. 105. BNP / E3, [74-97v]

174.

74-100

By Pastana

But the trouble is ~~for~~ quite vain
 To bring me; I'll complain
 To-morrow

—

"Tell me, sir, who dress so sad
 Whom to you bear?"

— The student & maid
 D. F. de Martensan
 [Answered] Replied he who morning had.

—

— "Rascal, you lie" —

Fig. 106. BNP / E3, [74-100]

74A-2

127 175

- I know you not, - ~~Sanctus~~

Am you move my rope too far
 Your
 In such way
 You'll know quite well Montemar -
 William!

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL

II

Rascal, you lie - ~~No, this time~~ -
 Tell me then who I'm
 If you please,
 How I am at the same time

Fig. 107. BNP / E3, [74A-2]

— I know you not —
 If you push any rage to far

You'll know quite well Montemaior
 Villain!

An usurper of the senses
 The world
 And the devil

"Don D, the happy dance!
 His nilly he, I denounce
 When he get the death he will
 Soon to hell he went at once
 Believ' that he had killed me."

Fig. 108. BNP / E3, [74-100°]

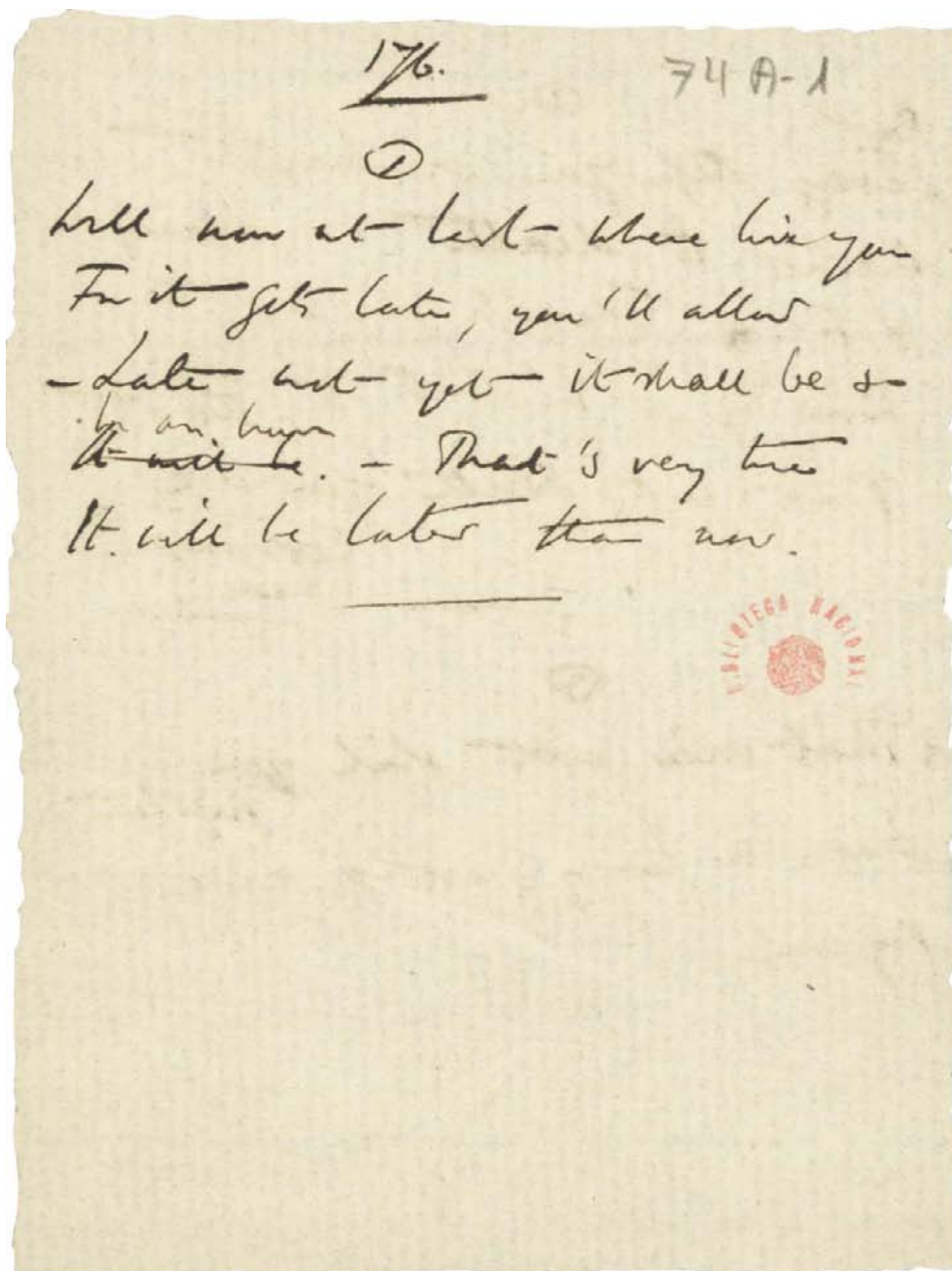


Fig. 109. BNP / E3, [74A-1']

③

Every step you are by the
 nearer to death beauty
 S. F. * Tremble you not
 Give your heart to your ^{own} thought
 That into death you are
 ———— coming nearing ?

④

& That voice with still you
 makes me love you but the more:
 My soul

Fig. 110. BNP / E3, [74A-1']

176 74A-43
With echo melancholical & sad
To speak ^{the} ~~the~~ ~~word~~ & her
Roused in the voice of the tempestuous wind
Stones against stones it strike & hit
Beneath his feet earth trembled & did ~~not~~ ~~not~~
~~The~~ ~~kind~~ of night ~~for~~ ~~meet~~ meet
And the boy was above L. S. heard
& in the shadow² eyes with a gleaming
He saw in air to wander the ~~still~~ ~~feared~~ ^{the} ^{air}
Ever upon him in seeing
Eyes full of horror that saws ceaseless stores.

Fig. 111. BNP / E3, [74A-43^r]

next tremor — & his soul
 he saw ~~the terrible~~ ^{his heart} he thought
~~before his mind & body~~
 But first as shall be, our faith be right
 that if they ^{be} ~~then~~ ^{ever} ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ his heart
 by their own free will
 And his he raised impatiently to Heaven
 As grows his teeth & curse
 And in him grow the infernal
 With any more clapping he said:

Fig. 112. BNP / E3, [74A-43^v]

177
 74 A-41
 Lady go on + forward let us go
 Better if you are the very devil
 And get to the end of the ^{at length} by knot
 of end. cupping by at length unraveled.
 Far of ^{so much} of summer + of peace
 Lady I mean the I am this gentle
 And by my will must find ^{can} ^{make with us some} or scarce
 Know the, in fine,
 An end no more have life
 A fair ending of the end a home
 Now, forward ^{the spirit} + ^{the other}
 The ~~black~~ Carly ~~to~~ the lady to come.

Fig. 113. BNP / E3, [74A-41^r]

74 A-59

Before a portal stopped the lady then
 Was an enormous portal ^{where 20,000}
 Which at her end high ²⁵ ~~above~~
 To a mysterious impulse did they
 After the lady went the student
 Pages nor daemons did meet
 Their way
 At some dim candles light they
 Fantastical deserted galleries
 Then the vision ^{then} like a deceiving pleasure
 Over the flag-stones trod without
 A sound
 Hidden ^{under} beneath the mantle ^{stream}
 Which in fold ^{ghost} ~~glide~~ over the
 The while over the ^{void} ~~consider's~~ measure
 She goeth on
 The
 The light like torches funeral
 A languid light & ^{as} cast
 And all around ^{the} shadows up & fall
 With movements unequal ^{side} vast
 Here ruined arches, dips & apulchral
 Thus there and statues were seen
 To be placed
 Shattered columns, ^{not}
 Grassy and mud and humid ^{secure}
 And obscure.

Fig. 114. BNP / E3, [74A-59]

74 A-44

"And the pale lights like torches funeral
 A languid light do cast,
 And all around the shadows rise and
 fall
 with movements unequal, wide and
 vast;
 Here ruined arches dim and sepulchral,
 urns there and statues were seen to
 be placed,
 Shattered columns, cloisters not secure,
 Grassy and sad and humid and
 obscure.

Fig. 115. BNP / E3, [74A-44']

"And all is vague, chimerical and dark,
 A building sans foundation, nor de-
signed,
 Reeleth and rolleth like a fancied bark
 Which anchored wayeth the tempestuous
 wind,
 In a deep silence cold and dread and
 stark
 All things there lie; no sound nor sense
defined
 Nor human breath was ever heard there:
 In silence there time runs buried in
 sleep.

Fig. 116. BNP / E3, [74A-44']

183

It was a black & solemn
 monument -
 That in the middle of the
 to rose
 To maintain ^{at an} ~~this~~ (strange
 patent?)
 A kind and brutal but
 did suppose
 And his mad thought fancied
 with hard lent -
 That the 'yea' tomb awaited
 his repose;
 And

And to dead him so the dead
 low succeed
 In the inhuman dark
 And shades of horror that around
 do spread

Like to a dreamt scene
 fantastical
 They long to see him who
 their peace doth
 fall.

Fig. 117. BNP / E3, [74A-59a^v]

74A-51

Dead hours, ^{to} dead hours
 meets
In the

Forms of hour that ^{awhirl} around
do speed

Of that death dwelling dark
• funeral



Fig. 118. BNP / E3, [74A-51^r]

74A-54

A Grand Satanic figure
 Erect his front, ^{erine} fine treadeth
 A spirit in his madness ^{Montemar} { all- }
 sublime } 40

Trail false of the
 The soul that holds it ^{of time}

Makes him God's equal

Fig. 120. BNP / E3, [74A-54']

74 A-53
A second sunder that dith-
From the arising with the rounded
A wild soul that ^{terror} ~~fear~~ ^{how} ~~can~~
not shake
but never conquers
The man in fire that in his
The limit to life's ^{dark break}

Fig. 121. BNP / E3, [74A-53^r]

74A-47

Caring, lightly a spot
 mumbling with lips
 He ~~transcends~~ ^{drinking} song
 with low indifference hands
 firm & strong
 down on his lips, with
 dauntless face:
 And the ^{man} his
^{pottery} have along
 And the
 And echoes, following on the
 & beat-
 in X minutes on ^{equality} compass do
 repeat

Fig. 122. BNP / E3, [74A-47]

74A-58

~~And that foreign & only sound~~
~~Which of that mansion doth the echoes fill~~
~~In the floor, in the ceiling & the room~~

That foreign sound, that sound alone
 That did the echoes of the mansion
~~fill~~ fill
 In floor & ceiling & echoes
 In its profoundest solitude doth thrill:
 And dies away like a funeral ^{moan} groan
 Which from its pain the ...
 Which at the end of the wide corridor
 And dark seems from the tower wall to

And in that other life & other world
 hark all of shadows, life that is a ^{sleep} ~~dream~~
 Life that with death made one

A hark, vague illusion
 Of an am world,

Fig. 123. BNP / E3, [74A-58']

74 A-42
 I see that other world & life
 but all of shadow, life that is (a) sleep,
 life that with death confounded.

 Look, vague this is
 of an world & a dream & deep,
 where sun & all its moods in strife
 the only image(s) of human life.

Fig. 124. BNP / E3, [74A-42']

In there his white guide & mysterious
 seems the illusion of the happy ^{spirit} ~~good~~,
 which now the imperious hope
 now ~~too~~, near to touching it
 A white, a floating cloud that in
 the dark
 bright in the wings of the soft wind ~~delto~~
 Her graceful dress, abandoned to the wind ^{move}
 to like

The smoke of a burnt incense
 which in ~~air~~ ^{air} to be ~~disfused~~ ^{ascends} ~~ascends~~ ^{ascends}
 A ray of moonlight that in the ^{cloud} ~~cloud~~ ^{luna?}
 Like to a hawk its top to aether ^{with} ~~birds~~ ^{birds}
 A nymph that ~~to~~ ⁱⁿ ~~moon~~ ^{above} ~~above~~ ^(noRe)
 And to the cloudy blue its wings extend
 Of shadows black all-woven & of light
 Mixes between the moon & the night.

Fig. 126. BNP / E3, [74A-58"]

And light ^{repts} & swift & aerial ^{self} & dispelling
~~The~~ ^{the} ~~low~~ ^{low} ~~with its~~ ^{with its}
~~with its feet~~ ^{quite} ~~touching~~
 Crosses that darksome and most awful dwelling
 The magic vision of the veil of white;
 The faithful image
 That happy man in heaven with delight
 Thought without formula ~~without~~ without name
 The maker the ^(up) ~~up~~ & prayer & curse & praise.

Fig. 127. BNP / E3, [74A-55']

be an eternal spirit & in a
 infinites it is prolonged, with eternal
 to be the truly with desire
 139.
 Farewell of for ~~for~~ a moment of light
 I feel of life & in ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the}
 You bring again me and my wandering sight
 to rage & troubled...
 my trouble, old death! alone
 Love me, no pardon me, useless desire
 Farewell, farewell, thy heart ~~thy heart~~ ^{thy heart} ~~thy heart~~ ^{thy heart}
 - For me ~~all~~ ^{all} in the ~~are~~ ^{are} dead!

keep me; but let thy heart
 unruined by any remorseful unrest.

Fig. 128. BNP / E3, [74A-88']

182 And in that other world & other life 74 A-50
 Mills of shadow, life that is a sleep
 Life that
 &
 hurls
 Of our own world and

182 ----- ①
 And while the never slows
 to the abyss he goes

182 ②
 And from step on to step by ~~down~~ falling
 He swears & curses with
 And his furious gurgling whirl appallingly
~~And hurls~~ ~~down~~ ~~world~~
 Hear! already the storm's howling
 already ~~by~~ ~~world~~

Fig. 129. BNP / E3, [74A-50']

p. 182-183 74 A-49

Whinnings and tears and complaints
 and moans,
 Sarcasms, laughter
 And in a thousand groups
 He saw beneath him
 And men and women
 with stupid sadness, with glad gestures
 that with a stupid wonder look on him
 And in perpetual whirling are dim.
 He feels at last
 But
 His eyes he opened & his feet he found:
 And the first object upon which he thought
 lay the white lady, and he looked
 around,

Fig. 130. BNP / E3, [74A-49]

But
and firm to me his as a ^{74 A-46} ~~black~~ ^{black}
~~hall~~ & heaven he ~~was~~ ^{is} ~~defy~~
with a firm heart & with ~~decision~~ ^{sure}
Towards the white ~~bird~~ ^{bird}

182-183
He feels at last that ~~he is~~ ^{he is} ~~in a state of~~ ^{in a state of}
And ~~for a while~~ ^{for a while} he was ~~in a state of~~ ^{in a state of} ~~thought~~ ^{thought}
But ~~after~~ ^{after} ~~some~~ ^{some} with ~~courage~~ ^{courage} he
Opens his ^{he opens} eyes & his feet he ~~finds~~ ^{finds}
And the ~~first~~ ^{first} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~upon~~ ^{upon} ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~thought~~ ^{thought}
Was the white ~~bird~~ ^{bird} & he looked ~~around~~ ^{around}
And ~~of~~ ^{of} a sad ~~moment~~ ^{moment} ~~stone~~ ^{stone}
~~He~~ ^{He} ~~thought~~ ^{thought} ~~of~~ ^{of} the ~~room~~ ^{room} he ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~it~~ ^{it}, alone.



Fig. 131. BNP / E3, [74A-46']

And
 Resolved adventure and
 Heaven and hell defies
 With a firm heart & will that doth
 And to the vision white his ^{not} ~~any~~ ^{be} ~~lie,~~

And Montemayor as a stat^e ~~to~~ did seek
 at her feet, thus with accents ^{have} ~~had~~ ^{said} ~~speaks~~:

"Devil ~~of~~ woman or illusion
 Becoming to judge by the way
 That to this morning doth day
 You're from a dream, a delusion
 Devil's invention

Fig. 132. BNP / E3, [74A-49^v]

183-184. 74A-75

~~Devil~~
~~that~~ woman dream, ~~or thing~~ of evil
 That to judge but by the road
 That to this mansion ~~the~~ travel
 Then art madness pure & hoar
 Or invention of the Devil

Whether
~~by~~ ~~from~~ ~~of~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~Devil's~~
~~by~~ ~~from~~ ~~of~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~Devil's~~
 Who brought us here ^{hither} ~~the~~ ~~two~~?
 Tell me in fine: who ^{there} ~~are~~ ~~you~~
 Let me know to whom I speak:

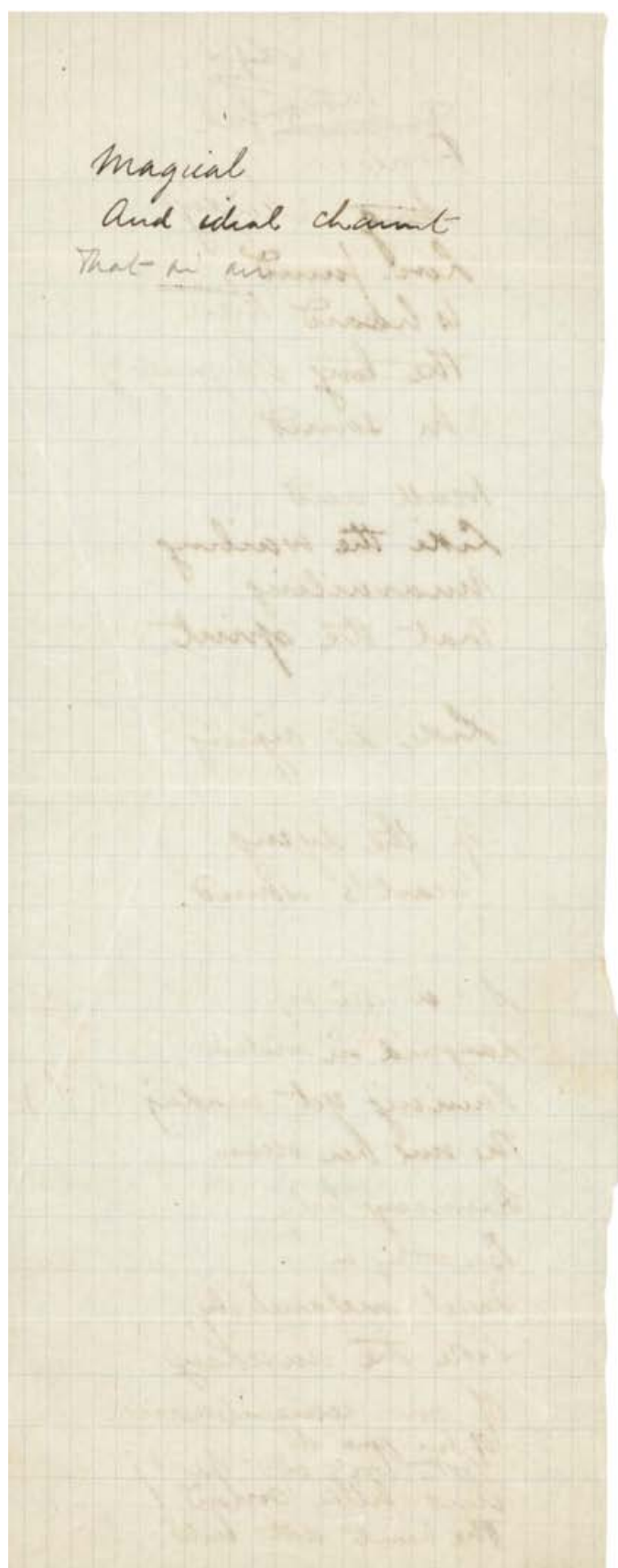
For
 That make than ever ~~the~~ ^{my} ~~beats~~ ^{heart}
 Resolved & firm ^{the} ~~my~~ ~~heart~~ ^{beats}
 When ~~any~~ ^{in a} ~~maye~~ ^{maye} so complete
 In so angling in
 My reason ~~to~~ shows me
 That a Power supreme here
 Provides ~~it~~ ~~having~~ ~~the~~ ~~beard~~
 Over I feel ^{without} ~~so~~ ~~not~~ ~~fear~~,
 Determined ~~to~~ ~~hunt~~ ~~the~~ ~~end~~
 This Adventure to ~~be~~ ^{bear}.

Fig. 133. BNP / E3, [74A-45']

1844 74A-30
~~Funeral~~ ^{monumental}
~~Funeral~~
~~Long~~ Sighing.
 Love found
 Is heard then
 the long Wakening.
 A sound
 weak and feeble
 Like the wailing
 Unavailing
 That the spirit
 Hark + Dream
 Like the sighing
 That is long
 Of the dying
 Heart's wound.

 Sad music vague
 languid in motion
 Daring yet making (?)
 The one her ocean
 Harmony holy
 Breathing in us
 Sweet melancholy,
 Like the awaking
 Of some remembrance
 Of love from the
 But love's soft heart
 And bitter soul
 The heart at the hold.

Fig. 134. BNP / E3, [74A-30]

Fig. 135. BNP / E3, [74A-30^v]

188 74A-17

Magical
~~accidental dream~~ ideal,
 That w. an' st. ~~water~~
 As i' ~~just~~ ^{just} ~~serious~~ ^{serious}
~~in the same way~~
 Author & dream
 . prodigious
 (Sepulchral Ect),
~~miniature of a~~ ^{of a} ~~state~~
 .
 Monuments (dilig. turning).
^{squall}
 What of the
 of the ~~tree~~ ^{tree} ~~etc.~~
 And ^{howl}:
 leaves in ~~commotion~~
 in the ~~very~~ ^{very} ~~beast~~
 in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~night~~ ^{night} ~~of the~~
~~they~~ ^{they} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~all~~

Fig. 136. BNP / E3, [74A-17']

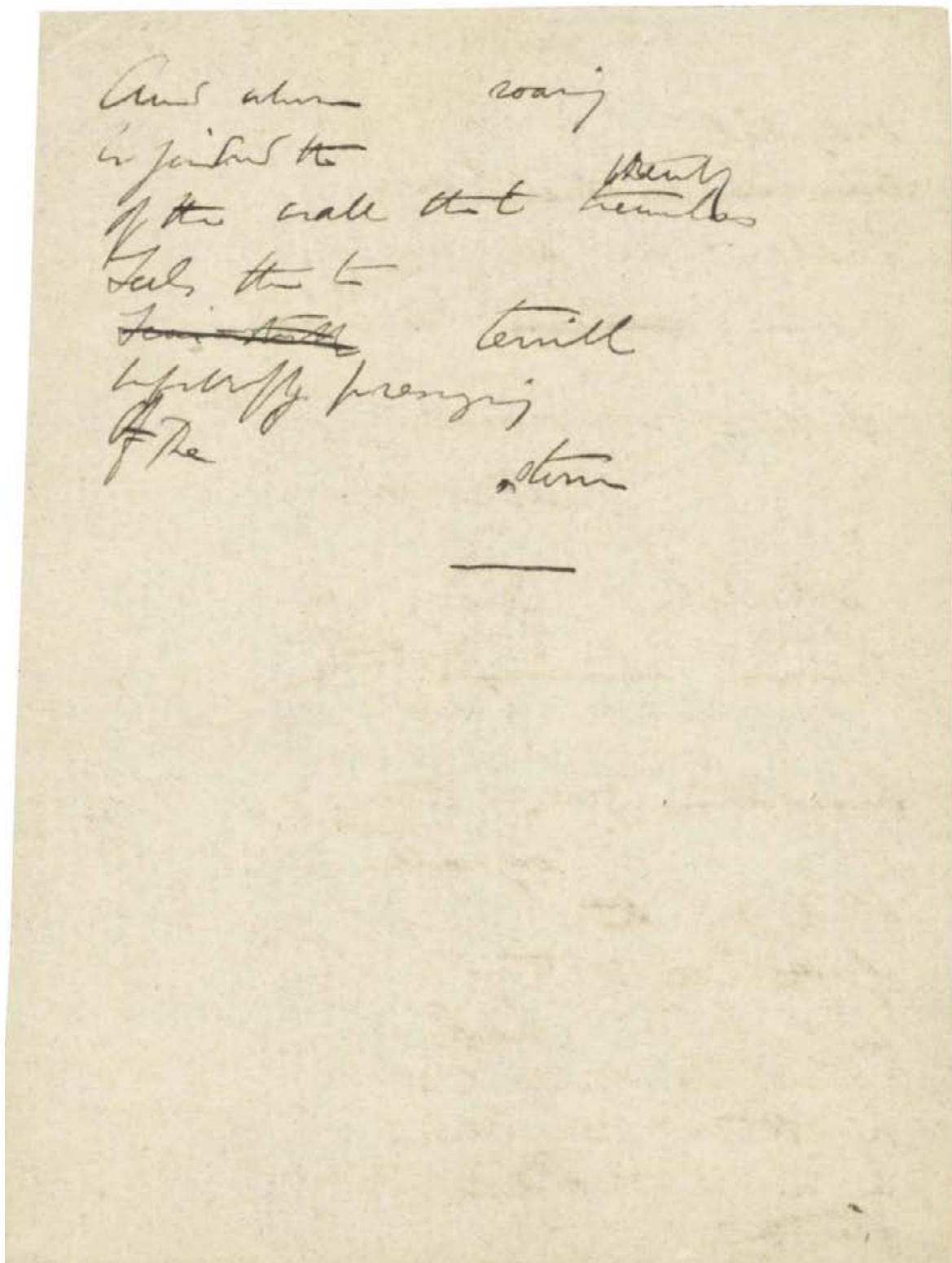


Fig. 137. BNP / E3, [74A-17']

186

74 A-18

And in
 The ~~found~~ ^{sounds}
 There hear are ever growin'
 And is a ~~hoarse~~ ^{scat} hoarse
 Like in the mountains thunder
 That runneth course
 Or as the shak' in earth under
 A ~~great~~ ^{mean} dread force.

f. ^{x shouting}
 loves the shocking
 of teeth gnashing
 As the furies roar
 As in a fearful
 The ground's shivers of - ^{gaping}
 Their joints, & the
 As they shak' unlock

Fig. 138. BNP / E3, [74A-18']

Montemar hears & the noise
 nearer, nearer grows & now
 the ~~thunder~~ ^{thunder} to ~~crash~~ ^{crash}
 already ~~off~~ ^{flashes} &
 and ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~trouble~~
 of dark mid the
 the ~~lower~~ ^{lower} to ~~soar~~
 thunder
 but ~~laurels~~ ^{so}
 All in a hazy furrow
 All in parenthesis
 All in capricious trouble
 All night & diene.

Fig. 139. BNP / E3, [74A-18"]

and sudden ^{187.} ~~the~~ 74 A-19
 Confused & under in a sound furness
 While home in deepness
 With pain the day as bound;
 An echo the seemeth
 of the 'age of gold' the tone
 In a
 Somers & fearful uproar;
 He felt truth: thus removed
 To strike at his feet
 The words on the stone to datter
 With awe & fierce
 To tear then granitic
 The boys from the home
 The dead, smoking hearth
 The body of God.

Fig. 140. BNP / E3, [74A-19]

And a humble crumbly
 The to he
 And crumbly
 Till a loud specter in he saw
 Of their eyes the hollow
 And then fixing the point at him
 And the each one looks out his
 And to show him follows
 as his left hand ready
 with a dull, faint, air
 looking on him, they spit words
 like a mortal man to words ^{exactly} ~~automatically~~
 And now the approach & the ~~gotten~~
 shall
 with a nervous voice content
 By band around

Fig. 141. BNP / E3, [74A-19"]

188, 74A-20

And the the river of the sea of white
 To/has mountain it-hand and stretch
 And as cow on it-grap & typ-
 As to and L — and ~~that~~ in vari.
 — and the reach
 Salvanic, cruel, never cold
 Hyaral sent him
 That the whole that very ~~chill~~ ^{chill} ~~hold~~
 As to the best ^{with} ~~himself~~ the compel

Fig. 142. BNP / E3, [74A-20']

189

From her did take to L's mountain
 Taking it from her he had face his
 bare
 'This her husband! the actress
 The wife at last he had with ^{out} those
 The specter to with glances ^{id}
 This the husband of her and ^{thant} love!!
 She said the My husband
 (Fate) ~~disillusion~~ ^{disillusion}
 A wife & a woman skeleton

Fig. 143. BNP / E3, [74A-20"]

189.
 And then a
 just me though ~~his~~ face was the colour of death
 his heart wearing
with sparse golden
beings
yet
 Approaches & says his right hand
 which fearless it shake extended
 At last the promise in face Montemar
 Amor Elvira

Fig. 144. BNP / E3, [74A-25']

74A-25

My death I do ponder: SD for certain
 In Felix's report.
 I'm glad that I see you
 For truly I hoped not to see you again.
 And as to the spectacle, my wife, in your
 The marriage you offer is rare begin
 Her face to be sure is written pretty well
 But don't you believe that I wish to offend.
 For ~~my~~ ^{take} ~~her~~ ^{her}, because

Fig. 145. BNP / E3, [74A-25']

~~Barbosa~~ 74A-26
 But tell me before ^{this} I go as to send
 Bright on to this place, to go to see
 by one of the other, & my margin reveal
 To have got a witness at least I suspect:
 Or either of both had the count
 / there with spectacles all here
 would not have much by attending wedding
 I.D. by both do appear not that so.

Fig. 146. BNP / E3, [74A-26']

So speak I.F. with him remaining
 Around him as by with counter-
 force
 But glances of half-embarrassment
 To go against when he thinks /

Fig. 147. BNP / E3, [74A-26'']

74 A-3

The skeleton livid
 with its arms cold, and large
 withouton trace
 of ~~fold~~ ^{with} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~it~~ ⁱⁿ ~~fold~~
 closing embraces
 And lost
 And with its cavernous mouth
 seeth
 Mountain's mouth, & to his cheek
 it fell
 And and fleshless, ~~with~~ ^{without} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~fold~~
 yellow
 to join and rub

Fig. 148. BNP / E3, [74A-3']

And he ^{burns} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{fire}
 He fights in ^{the} ^{great} ⁱⁿ ^{vain} ^{to} ^{release} ^{him}
 And the more ^{angry} ^{the} ^{fight} ^{death}
 The more ^{death} ^{the} ^{phantom} ^{that} ^{death}
 The ^{phantom} ^{that} ^{death} ^{make} ^{him} ^{far}.
 And in ^{prison}, ^{wholly}
~~the~~ ^{the} ^{aerial} ^{phantom} ^{dancing}
 the ^{the} ^{mind} ^{of} ^{man} ^{with}
^{no} ^{chancing}
 To ^{follow} ^{where} ^{it} ^{death} ^{touch}
 The ^{specter} ^{there}
 In ^{its} ^{horrible} ^{course} ^{to} ^{attain}
 The ^{specter} ^{there} ^{commenced}
 As ^{the} ^{mind} ⁱⁿ ^{wild} ^{ide} ^{visions}
 & ^{dead} ^{visions}
 And ^{then} ^{uplifting}
^{hollow}
^{phantoms} ^{phantoms}
^{sings}

Fig. 149. BNP / E3, [74A-6^v]

"Oh! sing did thy song in the church 192
 The bride's love & glory & bliss
 With joy in her arms the caresses
 The husband's her heart ~~the~~ did move
 Her mouth for his words be joined
 And sweetest pleasure ~~pleasure~~ ^{superior}
~~of any & this~~ ^{blending}
 And Rapture's Kiss of love.

Fig. 150. BNP / E3, [74A-12']

III 192 74 A-12
 "And held by mutual embraces
 In soft & eternal reposing
 The wife
 For ever in peace ~~be~~ may they rest
~~And wife~~
 Their bridal a torch

 The grave

Fig. 151. BNP / E3, [74A-12']

192. :2:
 74 A-13
 Meanwhile
 enhances
 As white with end
 more every time
 more every time it is white
 itself in arcs impurely
 more white every time.

Fig. 152. BNP / E3, [74A-13']

And a Rank of it appears
 That round disappears
 in the first light
 And its primeval body
 that
 more deeply are tearing still.

Fig. 153. BNP / E3, [74A-13'']

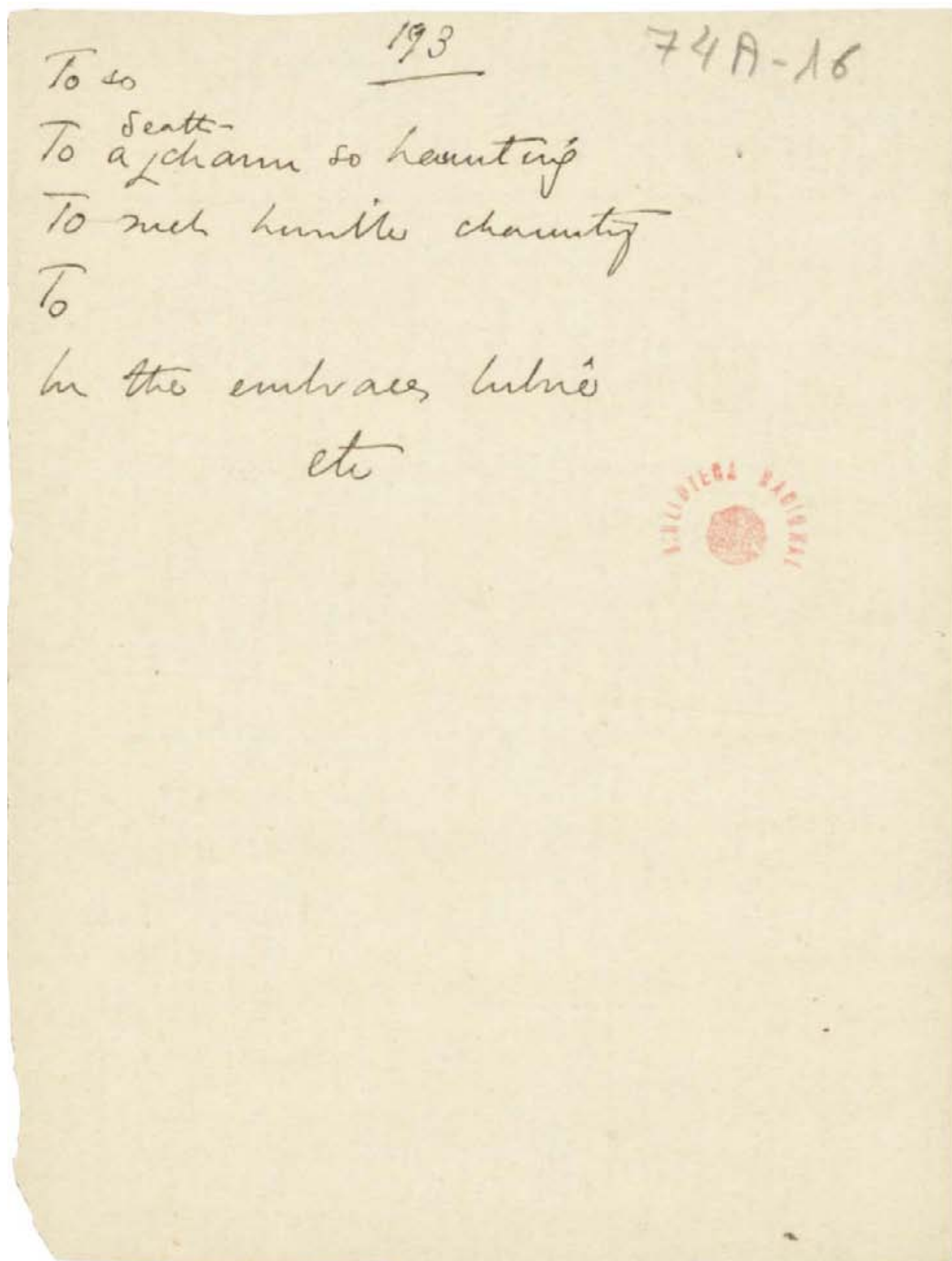


Fig. 154. BNP / E3, [74A-16']

74 A-6

And he feels drowned
 His weak heart ailing
 And fully failing,
 His eyes in dimness,
 His ~~mouth~~ eyelids
 Fall with the faint,
 His front he bendeth
 .
 His arms he feebleth
 Languid & feeble
 Heavily to faint.
 .
 In the embraces where
 Where with pressed
 This a 1000 caresses
 Of the dread Meliton:
 His spirit ne'er conquered
 His frame quailing
 And all the while his spirit
 Matter

Fig. 155. BNP / E3, [74A-6']

193 74 A-15
 His mind ~~never~~ ^{even} captured
 this ~~from~~ ^{from} already quail already
 he felt ~~the~~ ^{failing} unsteady
 To ~~back~~ ^{left} ~~Montemore~~ ^{quail}
 and the more ^{that} his spirit
~~at~~ ^{misery} was rebel
 The matter weak & feeble
 Begun to faint.
 Just fail.



Fig. 156. BNP / E3, [74A-15']

He feels a confused 74A-7
 A wild another
 Calms & deep comfort
 And a bitter woe:
 He sees lights & shadows
 The whole mansion reeling
 And dim spirits wheeling
 Which do come & go.

 And soon at a distance
 Fells in his hearing,
 An echo we-hearing
 Dargingly did sound,
 Like the melody
 Which the amorous young
 Little ^{little} ^{love} ^{music} ^{clay} ^{long} ^{long}
 On the night-doth found.
there

 He ^{may} ^{stand}
 And ^{to} ^{desired}
 And ^{to} ^{die}
 Heard the ^{echo}
 Of a sigh

Fig. 157. BNP / E3, [74A-7]

1914 74A-11
And a flame
That was kindled
& that dwindled
He despaired;
And soon you
Heard the echo
Of a moan.
died.
So sweetly



Fig. 158. BNP / E3, [74A-11']

1875

& then in clouds of cammi & of red
~~The light~~ more is gay
As into its shades adorn
The day
Screen the sky &
The haze is soft, transparent, white
Of the sun ^{the} ~~front~~ ^{east} with its twinkling
Pure rays of ~~light~~ ^{life} & long happiness

Fig. 159. BNP / E3, [74A-14^v]

74 A-14
 This is the right row - the right hand
 the shadow & it comes
 & to it - when to it calm ^{here nearly}
 the ~~stream~~ ^{stream} & the noise of stream
 & to the work & ~~the~~
 then & to the further pleasure
 come to-day it to ~~the~~ ^{the} nets full
 of meaning & fear ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ the mind:

Fig. 160. BNP / E3, [74A-14^r]

That in a woman's form + in .74A-29
 a ~~white~~
 mysterious time ~~disappeared~~
 To Salamanca in the very night
 The Devil had come for Monte-
 man at last—
 And reader, if there any it is
 not the
 As thy hand turn it in I tell
 it you.

 'Twas a report tearfully to
 a right—
 The missing heart—
 answered too far

Fig. 161. BNP / E3, [74A-29']

Related Documents

144N-14
21.

June 8th: Keats: Odes and
other poems.
Lairg: "Modern Science
+ Modern Thought."

June 9th: Keats: Ibidem.
Weber: "History of Eu-
ropean philosophy" - up
to Posthumus.
Espronceda: "Estudiante
de Salamanca."

June 10th: Keats: Espron-
ceda.

June 11th: Espronceda.

June 12th: Lairg. Keats: "Early
Poems". Spectator 10-
Colin & Harleville:
"Vein Célatane".

Fig. 162. BNP / E3, [144N-14']

"Da Necessidade e do Methodo da ^{48B-129}
 Revolucao."
 "The Voyage." - Poem.
 "Dictionary of the English Language."
 "Prometheus Rebound." - Dramatic poem.
 "Marino: A Tragedy."
 "Principles of Ontology."
 "The World as Power."
 "The Heath of God." - Book of poems.
 "Miscellaneous Poems." - Another book.
 "On Sensation."
 "The Realist."
 "The Case of the Science Master."
 "The Narrative of a Stranger."
 "Edgar Allan Poe."
 "The Successors of Poe."
 "Genera in Literature."
 "On Art and Morality."
 "Rational Graphology."
 "The Voice of the Unknown."
 "Jacob Desmot."

Fig. 163. BNP / E3, [48B-129]

"The Circle of Life."
"The Black Spider."
"Espronceda - The Student of
Salamanca." - Translation.
"Mandinka."
"Percy Bysshe Shelley."
"On the Rose."
"Essay on Free-will."
"Creation ex nihilo."
"Essay on impulse."
"On the Infinite."

Fig. 164. BNP / E3, [48B-129^v]

28A-1

Reading during the month of May.

no note taken before the 6th

6th Abel Botelho: "O Barão de Lavos."

7th finished the above.

8th A. Oriental: "Odes modernas."

Gomes Leal: "Claridades do sul."

Ant. Nobre: "Despedidas."

9th Cazotte: "Diabre Amoureux."

10th Poe: "Arthur Gordon Pym."

11th Hollander: "Scientific Phrenology" (begun)

Sh: "Merchant of Venice."

12th Hollander (continued).

13th finished Eça de Queiroz: "O Crime do Padre Amaro."

Guerra Junqueira: "Morte de D. João."

14th Hollander (continued)

15th Ant. Nobre: "Ló" (half).

16th Wurtz: Article on Lavoisier.

Haeckel: "Anthropogénie" ch. 1.

Tennyson: Early Poems.

18th Addison } "spectator": 17 papers.

Steele }

19th —

20th Haeckel: "Anthropogénie" (lessons 2, 3, 4, 5).

A. Nobre: "Ló" (finished).

Fig. 165. BNP / E3, [28A-1']

Work done
9th May: Almost finished 1st
part "St. of Salamanca."
10th May: continued same work.
13th May: continued.
14th no work done.
16th about 600 words of "V.O. Summer."

Fig. 166. BNP / E3, [28A-1^v]

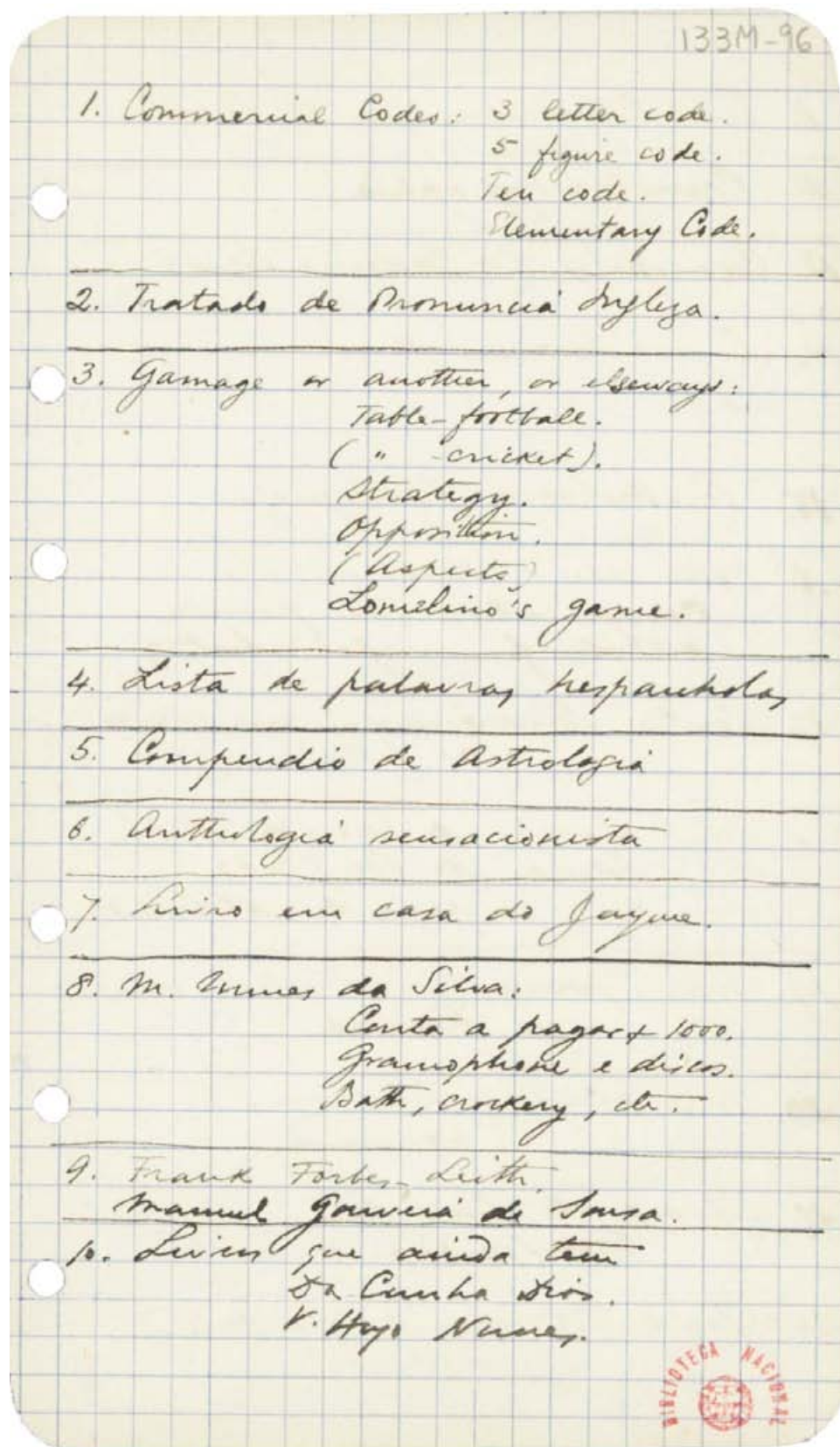


Fig. 167. BNP / E3, [133M-96]

11. Trad. *littera romanza* (v. Braga)
12. *Phonetractography*.
13. *Compendio* (v. Caderno azul)
14. Small book in th. Bacon.
Large " " " "
15. *Anthologia Portuguesa*
16. "All about Portugal" - a
Compilation (w. pretty
articles, from specialists)
17. *Contos Quaresma* - em livro
e folhetos.
18. Trad. *Sonetos de Camões* (ingls)
Poemas de Poe (Port)
" *em prosa de Wilde* (Port)
19. War poems, in English and
in French.
20. *My mine* : *Says he*, Port
examined.
21. *Alvaro de Campos*
Book (perhaps w. notes)
22. Trad. "Estudante de Sala-
manca"

Fig. 168. BNP / E3, [133M-96']

Work for the 3rd September,

At least 500 words in the "Door."

Type up to page 50, at the least,

"V. O. D. "

Finish reading "Religio Medici"

Finish reading first part "Zartor

Type, finishing, the first canto

of Espronceda.

Send off poem.

*Now is a bit to shake
a little of the spirit.*

Fig. 169. BNP / E3, [133F-53']

Books.

The Portuguese Republic and the Political
 Situation in Portugal. (Hume-
 (at home))

"The Mental Disorder of Jesus" - a
 Critique of Dr. Bonifacio's La
Folia de Jesus. (for RPA-3.)

Exposition. The Student of
 Salamanca.

Monsieur: To be published in Lisbon

The Meaning of Rationalism.
 (for R.P.A.)

~~Le Cas d'Exhibition.~~
~~Gen of Genes~~
~~for~~

Fig. 170. BNP / E3, [49C¹-48^v]

78B-63

Notes regarding the publication of poems.

1. The first book of poems to be published is the translation of *Espronceda*.
2. After this an original book of poems; this is to be formed of the poems in parts 2 and 3 of "Delirium" (as called on the sheets), namely those called "Meanings" and "Delirium" proper.
3. Then a book composed of the poems in the first part of "Delirium" (sheets) and called there "Oddities".
4. After this a book made up of the poems in the 5th. part of "Delirium" (sheets) - "Agony".
5. Subsequently a book composed of the poems in part 4 of "Delirium" (sheets).
6. After this a book of song, more lyrical, from the sheet-cover called "Lyrical Poems".
7. About this time a book of poems called "Nonsens"; see over so named.
8. After^{all} these, the "Death of God".
9. After "Death of God" a book containing earlier poems, "Old Castle"; etc., etc.
10. Then a book containing other longer poems, such as "Vincings"; "Voyage"; etc.
11. Another volume: "Sonnets in Imagery" *Imagery* (when to publish?)

over

Fig. 171. BNP / E3, [78B-63]

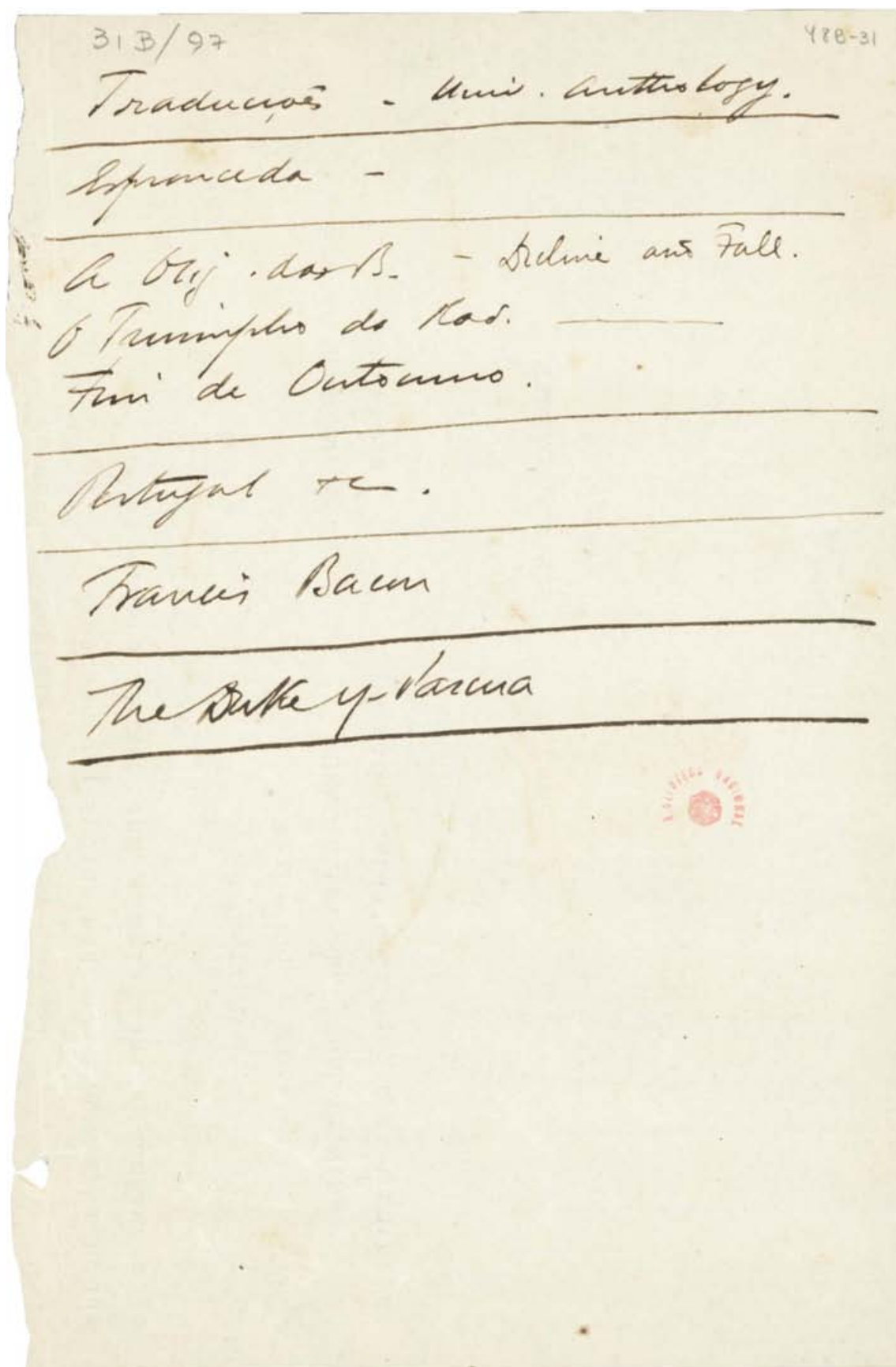


Fig. 172. BNP / E3, [48B-31]

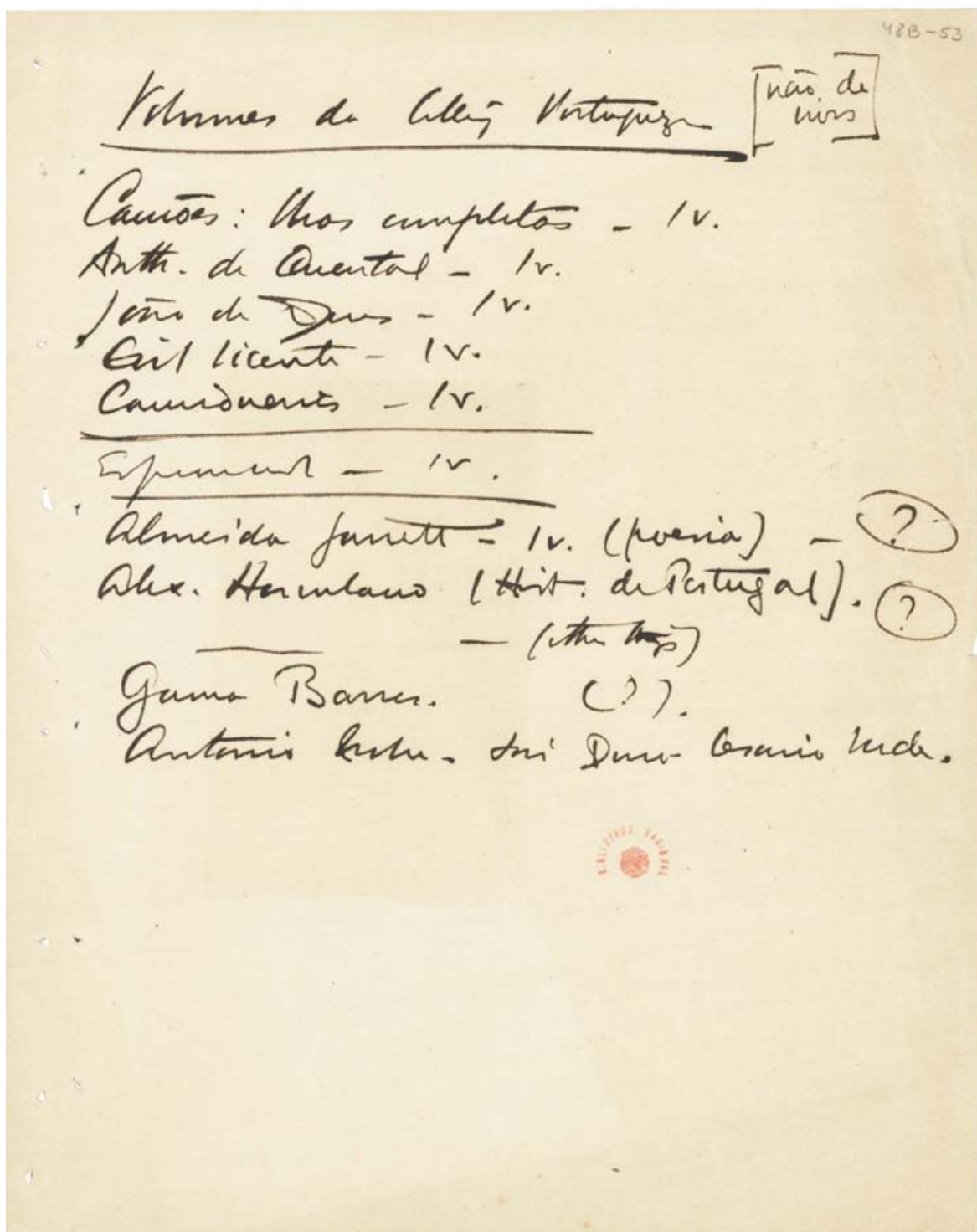


Fig. 173. BNP / E3, [48B-53']

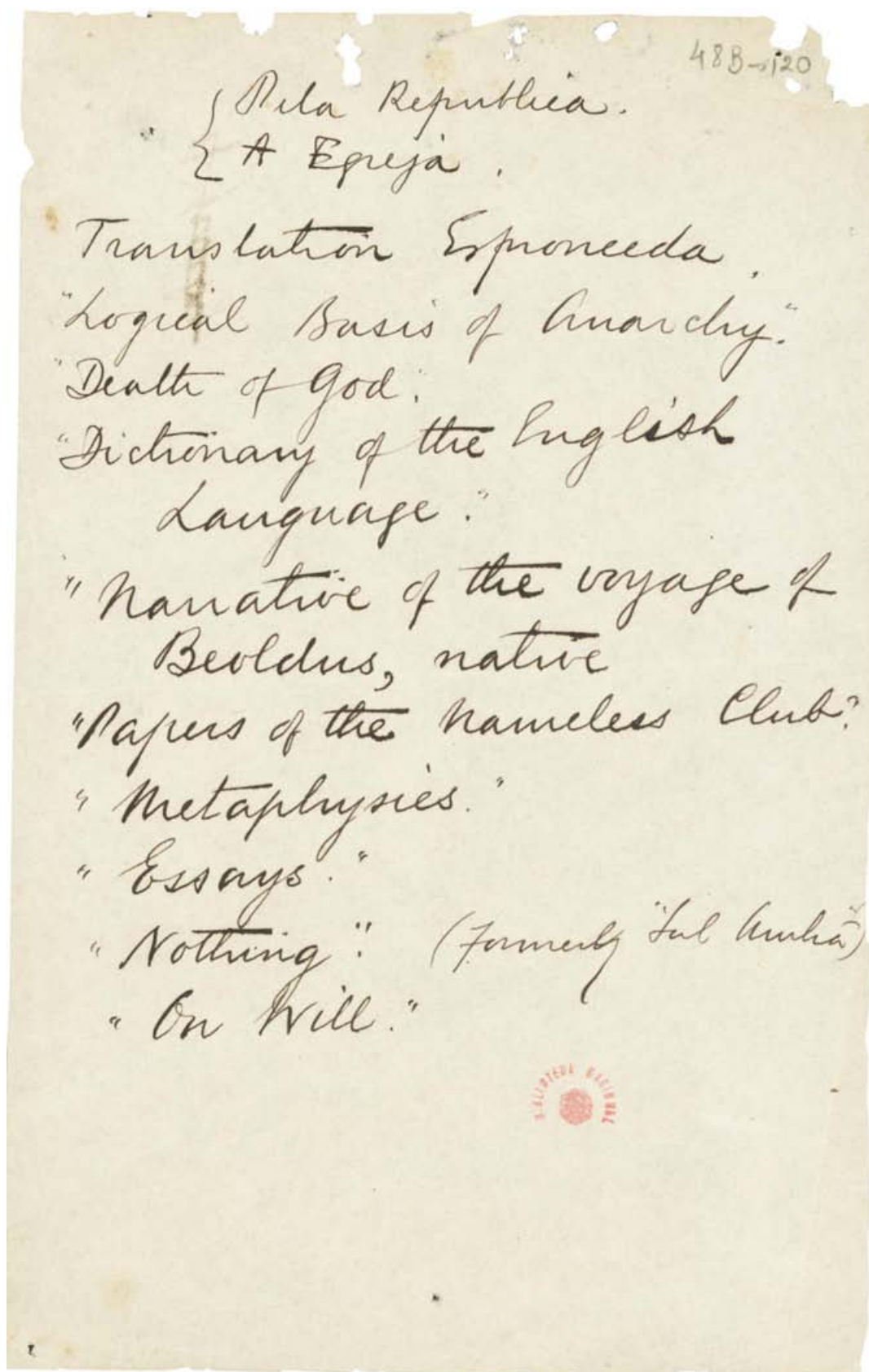


Fig. 174. BNP / E3, [48B-120']

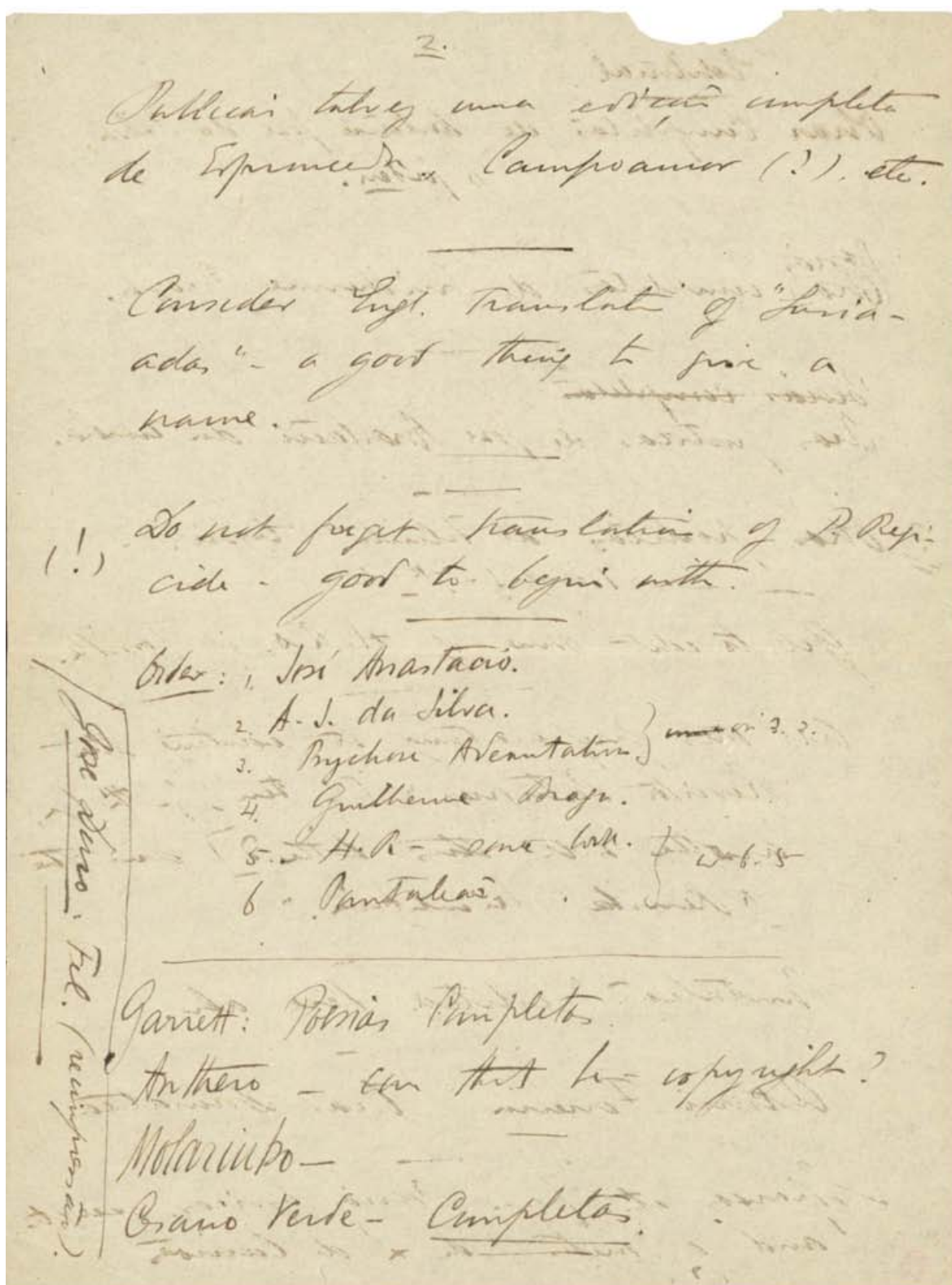


Fig. 175. BNP / E3, [48B-148v]

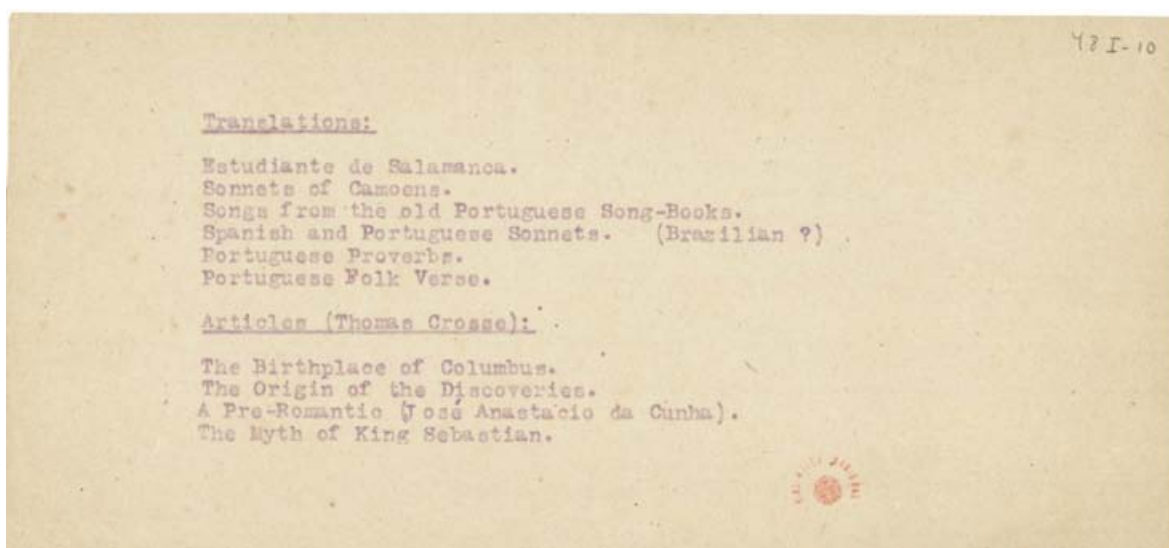


Fig. 176. BNP / E3, [48I-10']

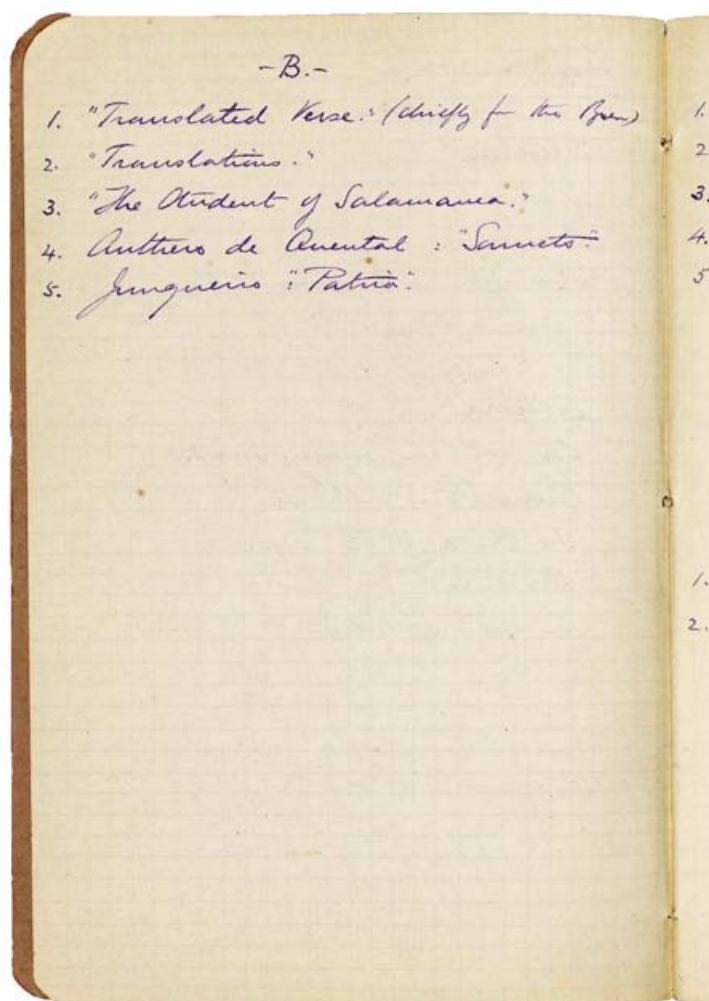


Fig. 177. BNP / E3, [144D-7"]

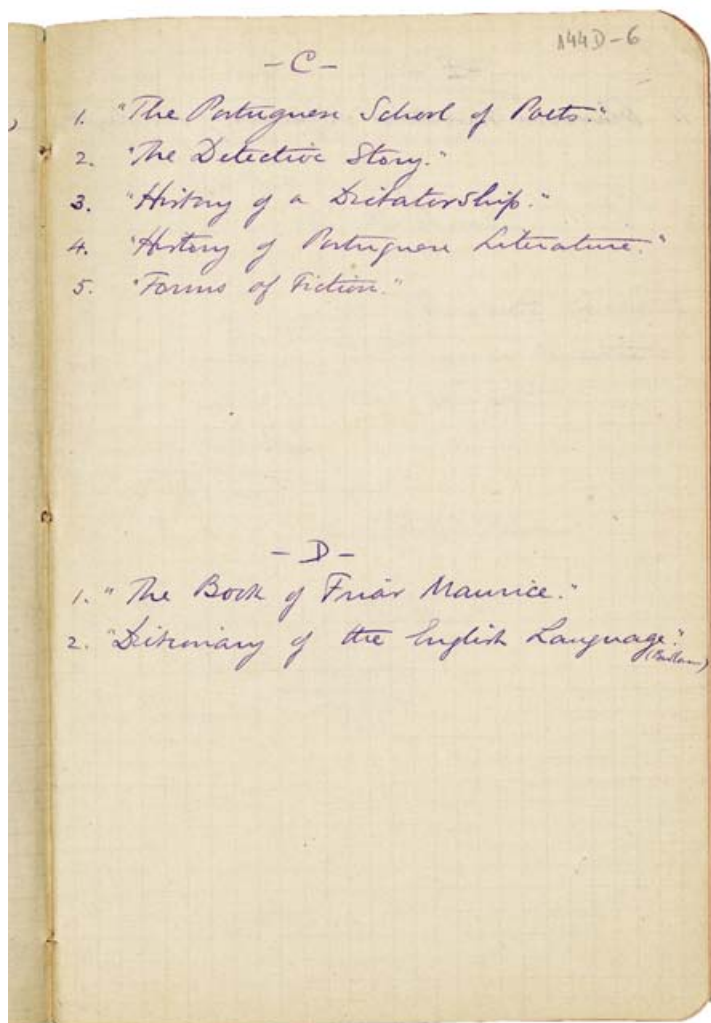


Fig. 178. BNP / E3, [144D-6']

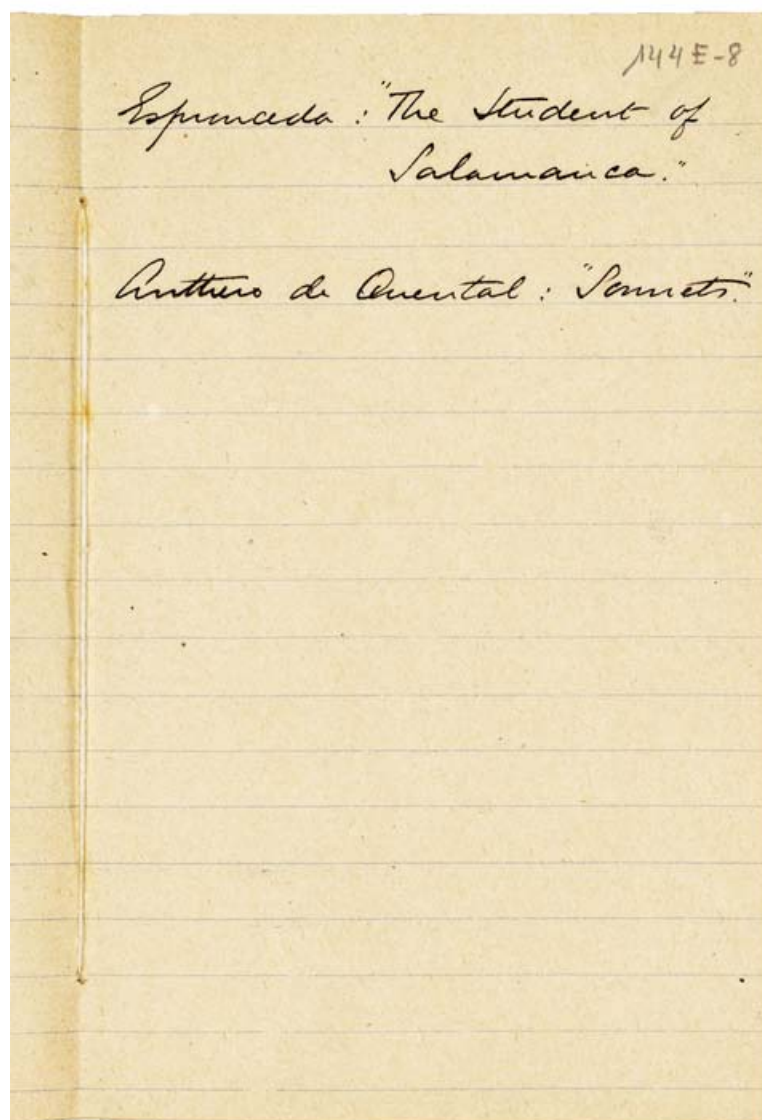


Fig. 179. BNP / E3, [144E-8']

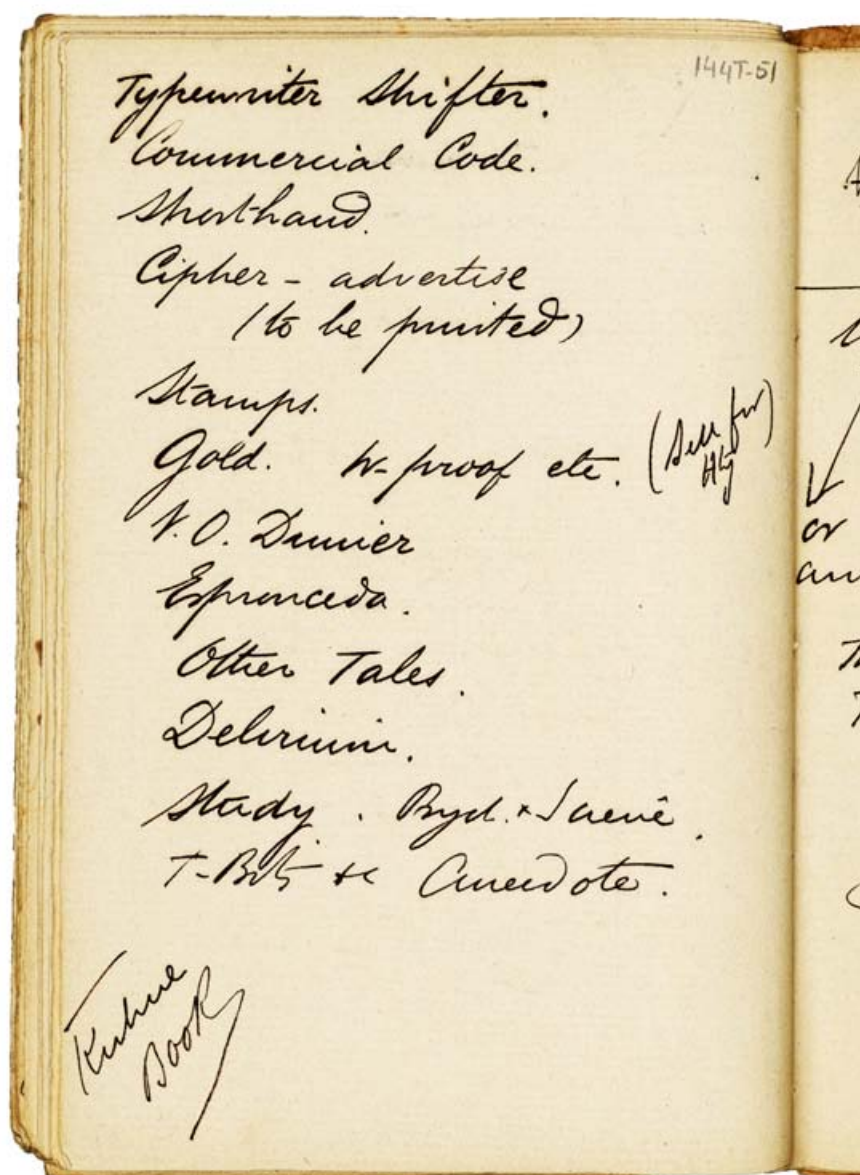


Fig. 180. BNP / E3, [144T-51]

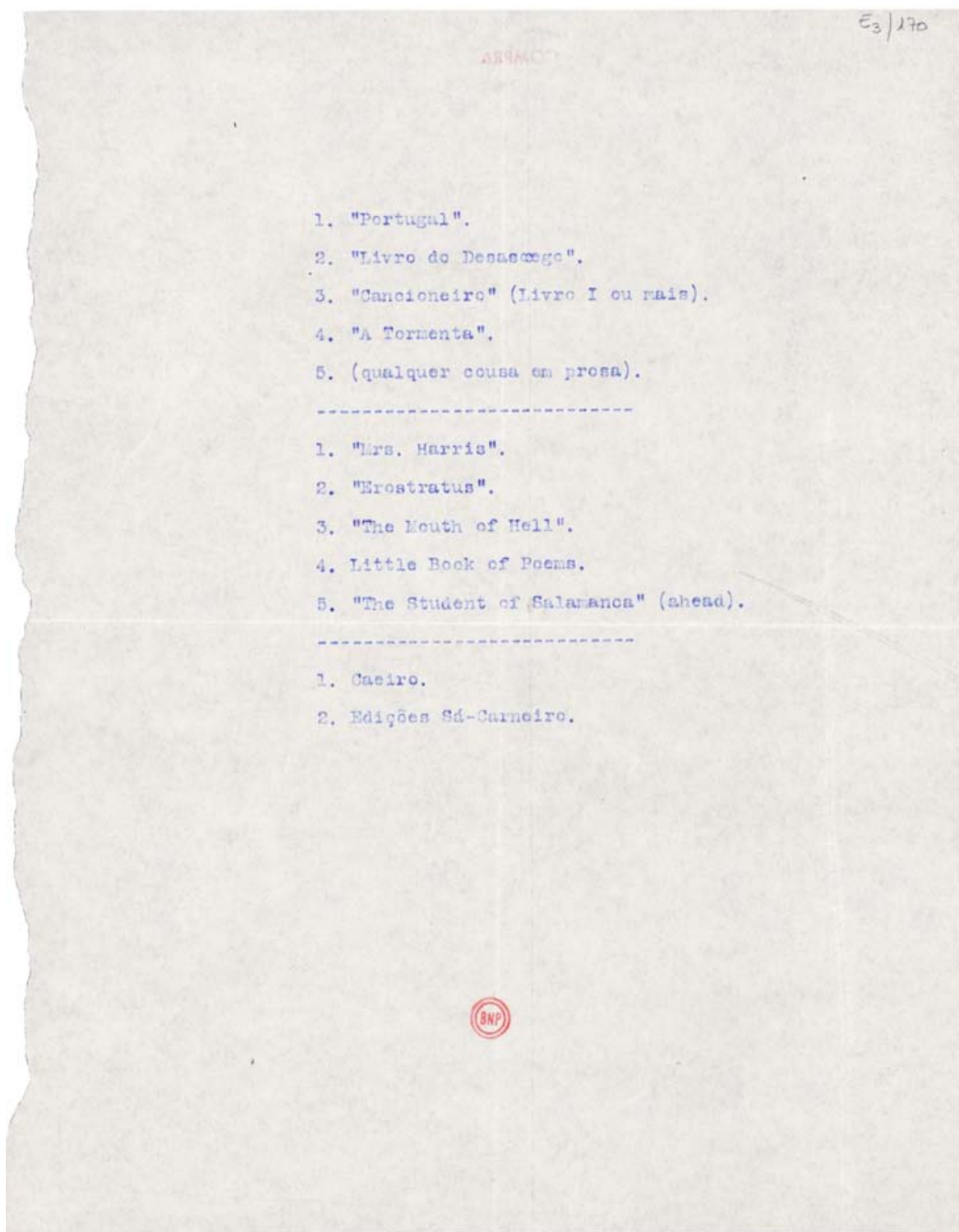


Fig. 181. BNP / E3, [167-170']

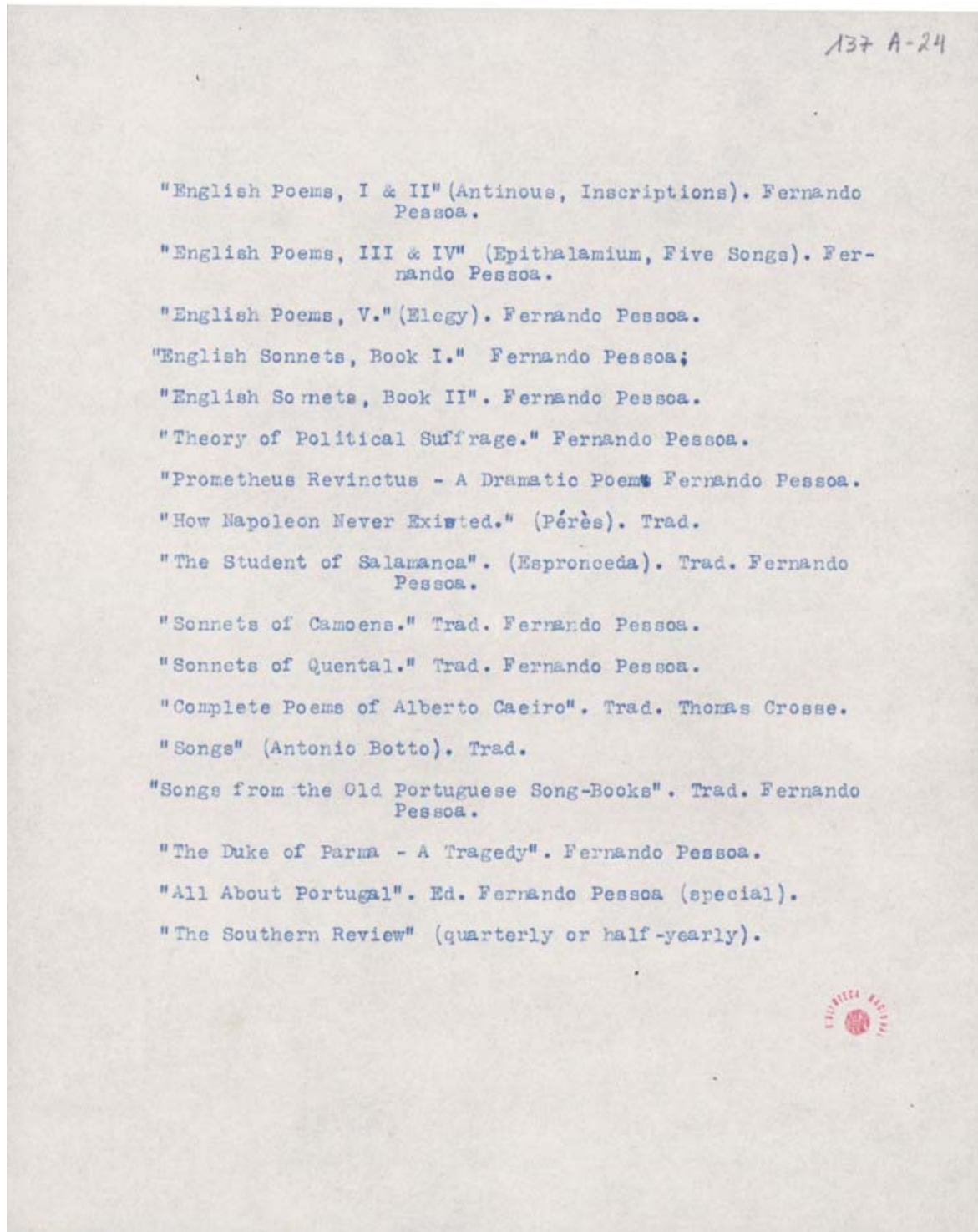


Fig. 182 BNP / E3, [137A-24']

Idea of the Directory.
 Idea of the Vocabulary, or Vocabularies.
 The Code, completed.
 Shorthand system, to be devised fully yet.
 C. Prod. Port. in some fit and appropriate system.
 Games, the ones invented.
 Condensing Code, apart from the one mentioned above.
 Will, etc. Course, or something of the sort.
 Espronceda (rather strange for the Prop. side).
 The Great Anthology.
 The Propaganda Review, a proposition in itself.

 (The pamphlet containing the dict. articles).
 (Cambridge Literary Agency).
 Such prominent agencies (and simple ones) as once thought of,
 either in England or near.
 English Poems.
 Journalistic free-lance work, of several sorts (one basis being
 work on Spanish & Portuguese elements).
 (The Directory as made here for abroad - here before leaving).
 --- The prop. basis other than first thought of: not the bureau,
 but an intell. prop. thus conducted on a private and
 individual basis. --- £30 a month and, perhaps, an init-
 ial £100, would do quite well.

Films (completing the one ~~has~~ begun).

Fig. 183. BNP / E3, [71-50"]

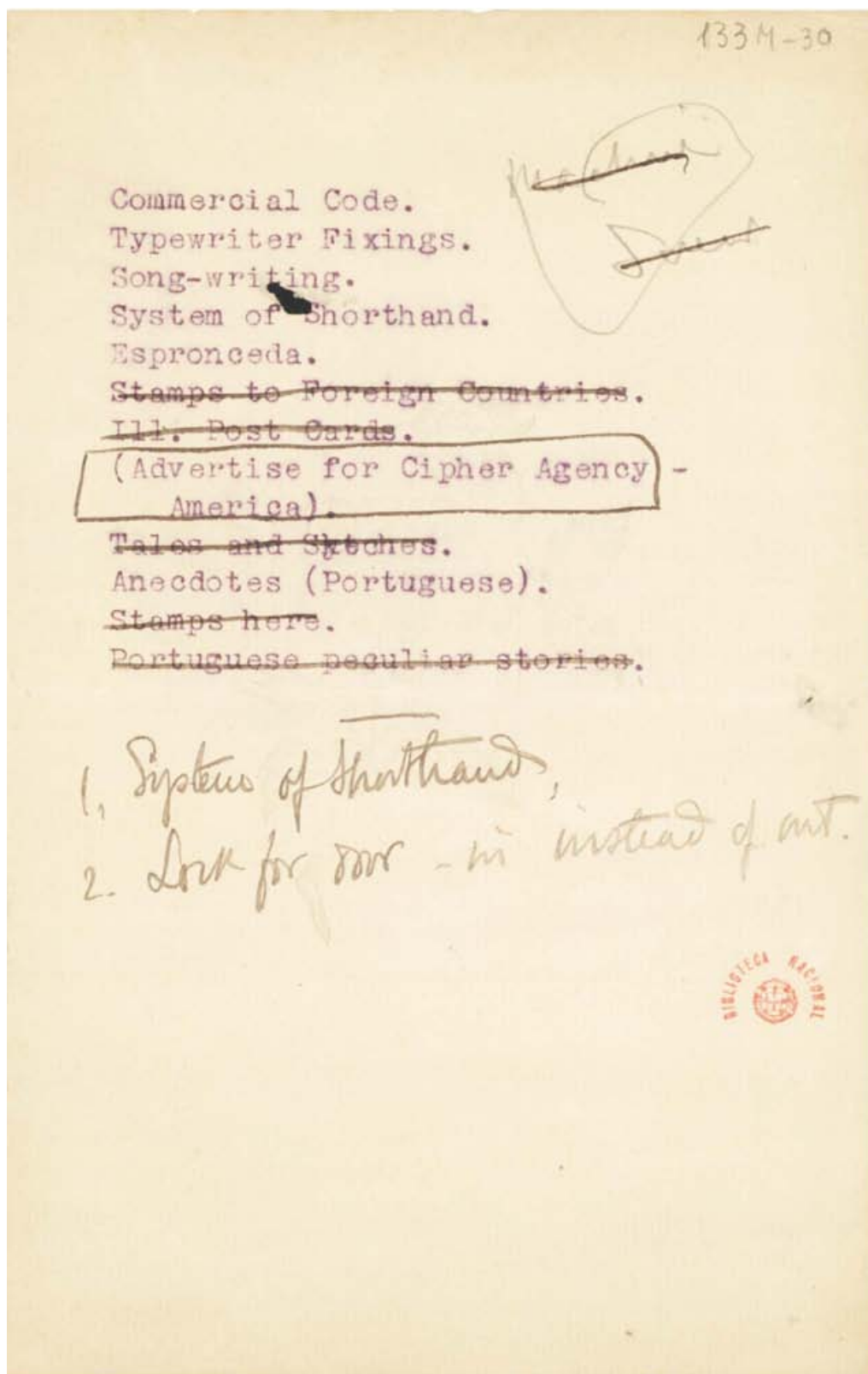


Fig. 184. BNP / E3, [133M-30]

E3/181

Cançãoeiro, liv. I a V.

Poemas completos de Alberto Caetano.
Livro do Desassosgo.

Teoria do Suffragio Político.

{ The meaning of the } J. S. B.
{ The Death Issue. }

Esponçada.

Three Pessimists.

! The Great Sonnets of the World.
(one from each author)

Edgar Poe.

Temper.

Let's all say

↓ Thos. Russell.

Filix Arves.

Blanco White.

C. Pessanha.

Angelo A. Lima.

St. Thomas.

F. R. & J. Boaventura.

Some are not celebrated outside the
language they were written in, but it
is enough that they were celebrated there.



Fig. 185. BNP / E3, [167-181]

146-58

Over the St. of Salamanca indistinctly, with
 good words. Yet by not with a effort to
 hand over - but in his as good, it
 elevates. A new note it + admin. prof. is
 abstract to himself. It is a chief 1 is a
 moral work. The nullum is always pure. It is
 as impossible for the nullum to be coarse as for
hearted to resemble mind.

Fig. 186. BNP / E3, [14⁶-58⁷]

55d-11

The generation that followed the
 glory in life of Byron was
 by the admiration of the
 "romantic" character. I refer not
 only to the "romantic" character in
 books, but also & principally to
 what ~~now~~ is called the "romantic"
 character in life & habit. The
 word "romantic" means ^{little} ~~too~~ more
 than hundred expressions for a
 hundred use.

Preliminary essay to translation
 of Espronceda.

on the subject of
 "the romantic"
 by Barbosa



Fig. 187. BNP / E3, [55L-11']

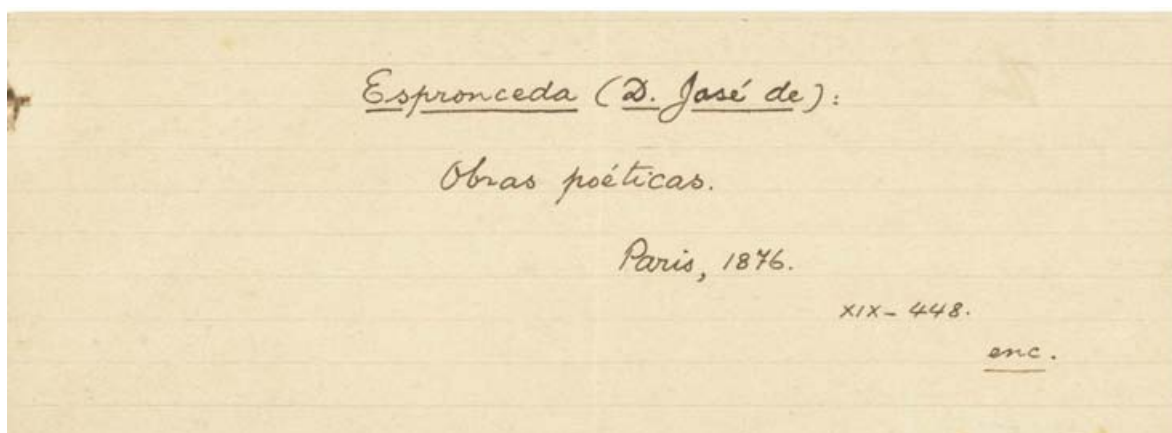


Fig. 188. BNP / E3, [133H-63^v]

Searching for the Corpus of Alexander

Nicolás Barbosa López*

PESSOA, Fernando (1997). *Poemas Ingleses: Poemas de Alexander Search*. Edited by João Dionísio. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda. Critical Edition of Fernando Pessoa, Major Series, Volume V, Tome II, 574 pp.

Like most critical editions of Pessoa's work, João Dionísio's pioneer edition of Alexander Search's poetry inevitably constitutes a twofold book: (I) it introduces the poems of he who became Pessoa's most prolific fictional author in English; (II) by telling the story behind the selection and organization criteria, the book is also a testimony of its own making. Unsurprisingly, Search did not escape the philological ambivalence pervasive to Pessoa's entire work, and thus it seems coherent that Dionísio would not forfeit keeping track of the poems' chain of custody by trying to determine the traceability of their authorship. The extent to which the editor necessarily or excessively relies on this philological backbone is among the main questions derived from the book's overall structure.

The corpus selection of this edition is carried out under the notion that, in terms of attributed authorship, Search lies between Charles Robert Anon and Fernando Pessoa himself. Dionísio establishes a sequence of mutability, identifying poems that passed from Anon to Search, and from the latter to Pessoa, yet his aspiration to determine a chronology does not translate into an all too clear elucidation of Search's origin. On the one hand, he disagrees with the dates previously suggested by Gaspar Simões and José Augusto Seabra—some time around 1898 (when Pessoa was 10 years old) and 1899, respectively. On the other hand, the editor both accepts Search's early appearance in poems dated from 1903, which were part of the *Early fragments*, and at the same time insists that Yvette Centeno's hypothetical date—26 or 27 May 1906—could be slightly sooner than Search's real advent. Overall, Dionísio seems unable to either refute or vindicate these dates, although it is worth noticing that, in accordance to more recent studies, he considers the 1903 version of Search an immature occurrence while agreeing that his full emergence must have happened some time during 1906 (see PESSOA, 2016, p. 230 and SEARCH, 2014, p. 221).

The editor is less ambiguous when dismissing potential end dates to Search's work, although he remains ambivalent about identifying one himself. He is critical of three previous hypotheses: 1911, year of a poem written in Portuguese, with a crossed-out signature of Search (p. 11); 1914, year based on Search's alleged

* PhD candidate; Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, Brown University.

collaboration in the magazine *Europa* (p. 16); and 1916, year of the poem “There is no peace save where I am not,” (p. 16) which according to Teresa Rita Lopes would prove that by then Search was still alive. Dionísio dismisses the first date based on the knowledge that, besides the evident implications of a crossed-out signature, it is odd that Pessoa would attribute an isolated poem in Portuguese to Search after a systematic work in English. He is also skeptical of the second year, after not finding any document, signed by Search, indicating he was directly involved with the collaboration in *Europa*. As for the 1916 attribution, he adheres to previous scholarly work that considered this a non-Search English poem.

Dionísio’s work made an unprecedented contribution to the analysis of the papers where Pessoa rewrote or typed subsequent drafts of Search’s poetry. In terms of dating, Dionísio is once more consistently aware of his limitations, but again he provides strong arguments to narrow down the array of hypotheses. By the time of its publication, this edition was the first that addressed the dating of the graph paper manuscripts with some of Search’s rewritten work. Although the editor is unable to provide an exact answer, he does establish May 1907 as the earliest potential date, an approximation that has been used in subsequent analyses of Search’s work. In terms of corpus selection, Dionísio provides a strong argument for the inclusion of some typewritten poems whose attribution to Search has been problematic due to a lack of signature on a given document. Dionísio insists on Pessoa’s tendency to not only group poems but also write the attribution of authorship once, on the cover of the folder he would group them in. In fact, the editor’s guess is that Pessoa was considering mailing the folder, although no further evidence of this seems to be available. Besides, Dionísio stresses how these poems do not appear in the oronym’s projects, an additional evidence of the immutability of Search’s authorship.

The extensive analysis of the editor’s own selection methodology indicates how, besides the obvious need to establish the content of the book amidst philological uncertainty, he aimed for a structure that would closely reflect Pessoa’s projects. As a result, the editor introduces poems from ten lists that were chosen according to a specific procedure. These are either (I) lists *with* poems by Search (among poems from other attributed authors), most of which are signed; (II) lists *of* poems exclusively by Search, which do not always necessarily have the attribution in the poem, but rather belong to a list of common authorship; (III) one extra list, “Delirium,” that was attributed to Search (prior to Dionísio’s edition) based on mentions in his editorial projects (and despite the lack of an explicit attribution in the title page). It is worth noticing that although the editor conditions the selection of lists to their quantitative relevance, he does not further explain which ones were discarded for this reason alone—that is, for having a reduced number of poems.

The organization of the material is perhaps the most debated aspect of this edition, also problematic because Dionísio seemed to be fully aware of the editorial risk involved. Instead of following a chronological sequence, the editor pays heed to Pessoa's instructions, that is, to the various testimonies in which the poet organized the volumes of Search's poetry. The editor himself affirms that Pessoa's plans are mostly contradictory and incomplete, yet he chooses this method anyways. In fact, it is not always clear which projects are to be preferred. Nonetheless, Dionísio proposes a chronology of the lists of projects rather than the poems themselves. He begins by the latest one, and goes backwards in what he considers an advantageous approach that allows readers to filter out Search's poetic production while quickly identifying the poem's level of authorship. In other words, the progression of the book comes to represent the eroding attribution of the poems, and readers are able to recognize which poems are 'truly' Search's, having stood the test of time and Pessoa's volatile authorships.

With his different approach, Dionísio intends to be as faithful as possible to Pessoa's plans and he applies the principles of genetic transcription annotation to the overall structure of the book—following the idea that readers must have immediate access to philological traceability. Nonetheless, he also affects readability by choosing a structure that is, inevitably, based on redundancy. Although Dionísio only transcribes poems in their latest occurrences, many of them appear more than once, across several lists and several years, forcing him to mention the occurrences separately and making it difficult for readers to centralize information of each poem in a single section. Moreover, this adherence to Pessoa's projects forces Dionísio to open the edition with incomplete poems that would have normally been placed in the end, either for the sake of readability or the appearance of the corpus itself.

This book introduces a higher number of texts attributed to Search, compared to Lind's estimation of 115-117 poetic writings and F.E.G Quintanilha's 125 poems and 40 fragments. Dionísio comes up with a total of 174 texts, a number that he considers insufficient based on his conviction that there are more poems, probably untitled in other sections of the archive. He also accepts—though not as the main cause of incompleteness—Lind's theory that Pessoa might have destroyed part of the material. In any case, Dionísio theorizes based on the debatable premise that Pessoa's lists must be entirely believed: that a title mentioned on a list but unfound in the archive does not necessarily prove the inexistence of the text.

Although we cannot cast exact doubt on Dionísio's number, mainly because it is he who is questioning it first, we can corroborate the case of one text that does not belong to Search's own poetry (see p. 316 of Dionísio's edition). The transcription and the original manuscript are reproduced below:

'Twas more than the hour of midnight,
 As is told by ancient stories,
 When all in sleep and in silence
 Enwrapped is earth and gloomy
 When the □

[← Alexander Search]

Alexander Search
 A. Search
 Alexander Search

[→ A. Search.]

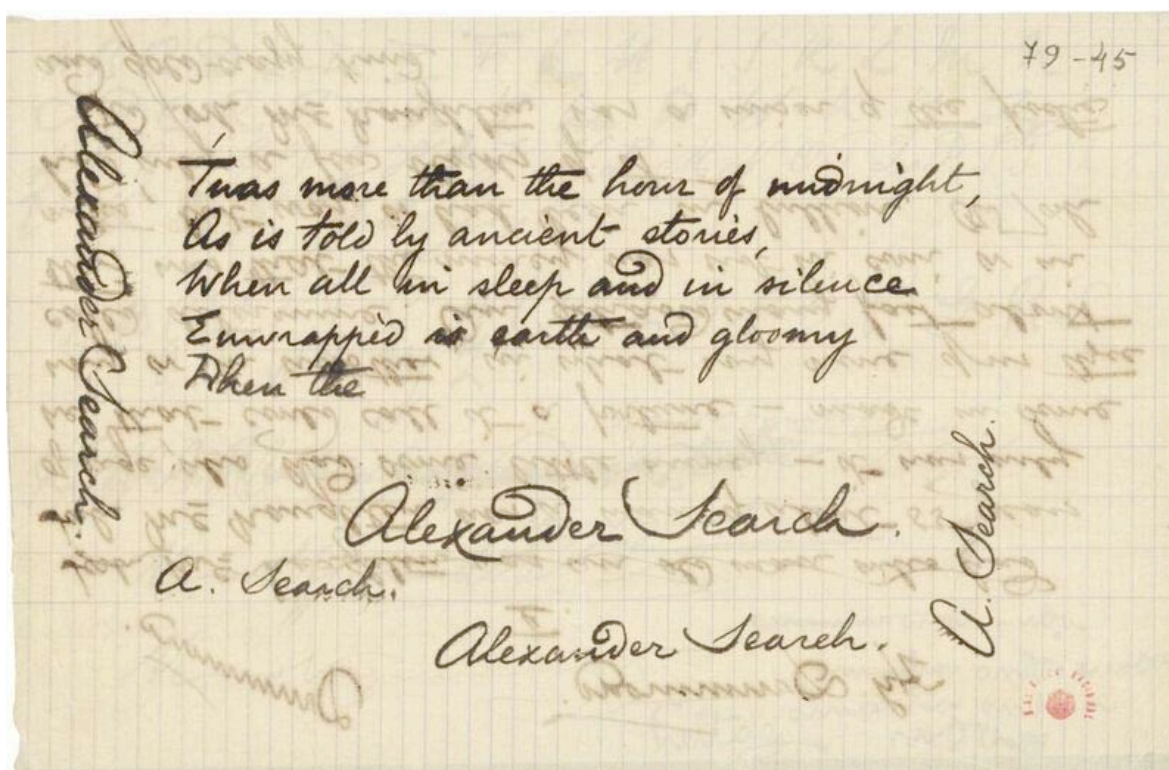


Fig. 1. Ms. (BNP / E3, 79-45).

This text corresponds not to one of Search's poems but to the English translation of lines 1-5, Part I, of *El estudiante de Salamanca* [*The Student of Salamanca*], a Spanish poem written by José de Espronceda. The English project was actually carried through (see "*The Student of Salamanca: an English translation*," in this same issue), and Pessoa initially attributed the translation to Alexander Search before Charles James Search inherited it in 1908. The lapse is more than understandable given that, unlike other manuscripts related to this project, Search's signature does not appear next to the word "Translation" (see article by Jorge Wiesel included in this issue).

As Dionísio himself points out, his work is pioneering for various reasons: its exclusive focus on Search's poetry, the ambition of collecting his entire poetic production, and the fact that it was the first autonomous volume to do so. The editor also credits the tradition of cumulative efforts around Search's legacy, and is especially keen on acknowledging the work of Georg Lind, whose transcriptions constituted one of his starting points. Such awareness of the collaborative progression of Alexander Search studies begs calling, almost 20 years after this critical edition, for the necessity of publishing Search's complete works. Such an edition would (I) review the organization of the poetry corpus as well as the illegible words in some of the poems; (II) include Alexander Search's complete prose, an attempt that was partially started by Natalia Jerez Quintero in 2014.

Bibliography

- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china. Fernando Pessoa "Collection."
- SEARCH, Alexander [PESSOA, Fernando] (2014). *Un libro muy original | A Very Original Book*. Edited by Natalia Jerez Quintero. Medellín: Tragaluz.

“The Mad Fiddler”

The Critical Edition

Kenneth David Jackson*

PESSOA, Fernando (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major series, volume V, tome III.

In 1999 the Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda published the critical edition of “The Mad Fiddler,” edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes, under the title *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. This work is an assemblage of poems in an allegorical drama in eight sections, which Fernando Pessoa wrote between 1911 and 1917. “The Mad Fiddler” had three previous publications, first in a bilingual edition translated to Portuguese and edited by José Blanc de Portugal, under the title *O Louco Rabequista* (Lisbon: Presença, 1988); an Italian edition translated by Amina di Munno, under the title *Il violinist pazzo* (Rome: Lucarini, 1989); and a bilingual edition edited and translated by Luísa Freire, *Poesia Inglesa* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1995).

Importantly, there is a previous publication history for poems belonging to “The Mad Fiddler,” even though the firm Constable and Company rejected the typescript compiled by Pessoa in 1917. Pessoa published two poems: “Meantime,” in *The Athenaeum* (30 January 1920), and “Spell” in the Portuguese journal *Contemporânea* (May 1923). In the second edition of *Obra Poética*, edited by Maria Aliete Galhoz and published by Aguilar in Rio de Janeiro in 1965, in the section “ALGUNS POEMAS DE “THE MAD FIDDLER” E OUTROS POEMAS DISPERSOS,” there appear the poems “The Abyss,” “The End,” “Meantime,” and “Spell,” the latter two being repeated from the journals. In an article by Georg Rudolf Lind, “Descobertas no espólio de Fernando Pessoa,” published in *Ocidente*, vol. LXX, n.º 334 (February 1966) (pp. 57-62), the early Pessoa scholar comments: “The Mad Fiddler” (*O Rabequista Louco*), um volume dumas 30-40 poesias, compostas entre 1911 e 1916, ordenado pelo próprio poeta e mandado para Inglaterra, sem que tivesse encontrado o interesse do editor. A resposta negativa do inglês estava ao lado da cópia dactilografada” (p. 58). He calls the work post-romantic in the style of Shelley, Wordsworth, and Browning. Lind reproduces the poem “Looking at the Tagus” (p. 59), which he compares to the poem in Portuguese, “Ela canta, pobre ceifeira.” Again in *Ocidente*, vol. LXXIV, n.º 362 (June 1968) Lind publishes “Oito poemas ingleses inéditos de Fernando Pessoa,” in which he explains that many of

* Yale University, Department of Spanish and Portuguese.

the poems of "The Mad Fiddler" were written after the major poems in Portuguese, and that Pessoa's intention was to change English romanticism into spiritualism. The poems are followed by Portuguese translations by Paulo Quintela. Lind published "The Poem," "Suspense," "The Broken Window," "Her fingers toyed absently with her rings" (which he titles "A SENSATIONIST POEM"), and "Soneto," for which the critic sees an origin in "Passos da Cruz", XIII. Also in 1968 in his book *Fontes Impressas da Obra de Fernando Pessoa*, José Galvão published the poem "The Sunflower" in INÉDITO DE FERNANDO PESSOA, followed by a note explaining that he had received the poem directly from the hands of Francisco Caetano Dias, who had found it in "o fundo do famoso baú" (GALVÃO, 1968: 113). The critical edition alters the printed record on the basis of handwritten annotations to typescript 31, one of a number of versions of "The Mad Fiddler" found in the Pessoa Archive.

The criticism that the editors of the critical edition aim at Amina di Munno in her preparation of the bilingual Italian edition (1989) are, first, that she did not take into consideration the modifications, substitutions, and additions that Pessoa made on typed versions of his poems; secondly, that she included poems that Pessoa tried to exclude; and finally that she included all 53 poems in order, ignoring Pessoa's decision indicated in the "cópia final" ["final copy"], with the word "Omit," to withhold six poems ("If I could carve my poems in wood," "Summer Moments," "Rivers," "Isis," "Horizon," and "Elevation"). Munno also failed to alter the titles of certain poems, as Pessoa had marked on a list of contents, "Goblin Dance" to "Elf Dance" and "I feel pale and I shiver" to "Not Myself."

The problem faced by the editors of the critical edition, in view of the many changes and emendations in multiple copies of the poems, is the certainty of which version is the "final copy." What is the status, for example, of the clean copy kept in Pessoa's famous trunk that itself was copied and used for another phase of changes and annotations? Could the poems as sent to Constable and Company be considered definitive? Did typescript 31 precede or follow the rejection by the English press, and if it proceeded why are there no clean copies containing the changes marked in ink on that typescript? How can one be absolutely confident, without a doubt, that Pessoa's "Omit" represents a definitive decision for "The Mad Fiddler"? In several cases, the "Omit" exists alongside a question mark or doubt. In "Summer Moments," for example, the annotation after the typed title "Autobiography in the Sunlight" is crossed out and reads "omit or correct much." "Elevation" carried the notation "Omit or alter altogether." The lines of the poem contain alterations, which would be unnecessary if Pessoa had definitely decided to eliminate the poem. In "The Broken Window," included in the critical edition, Pessoa has noted "insert, perhaps for corrections." In spite of this reservation, the poem appears in the critical edition exactly as it does in Lind's 1968 essay. Yet in other cases, the editors have decided to act on Pessoa's single indication, "omit"

even though the list of poems is unreliable, since the poem "Prayer" does not appear in the index to 31, which is the basis for the choices for the critical edition.

With the appearance of the Nogueira typescript (see Section Documents in this issue), an electrostatic copy of which became the basis of typescript 31, scholars have another lens with which to analyze the development of the critical edition, also in view of what was perhaps a special version prepared for Constable and Company. Another complicating factor is the existence of sheets taken or obtained from the archive in the 1960s, which may include poems from "Outros poemas publicados por José Blanc de Portugal" ("Ship sailing out to sea," "Mother of things impossible," "When shall we rest?" "Wake with the Sun, wake with the moon," and "The Master said you must not heed") or other titles published by Lind?

Some of the alterations to individual poems are significant. In "Not Myself" (also "I feel pale and I shiver"), line 6 has two possible readings, "Unlocks all my soul?" or "Unlooses all my heart?"; and line 16 reads "That I am vainly king" or "That I am fairy king." In several poems, the rhythm and esthetic effect is altered by the choice of variants, as in "Meantime" (also titled "Far Away"), in which the final lines read either "All me a delight, | All away from sight" or "All me a delight, | Far away from sight" or "For me a delight, | Far away from sight." Perhaps no single poem is so affected as "Lullaby," a poem that carries the following note: "The 'Lullaby' quoted is the 134th. Poem in Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*. It was taken by him from Martin Peerson's *Private Music*, a Song-Book of 1620. The 'Lullaby' is here given twice over, and the last stanza twice again." Peerson's quatrains with their two-line refrain are thus divided and form a rhythm for the sections of Pessoa's lullaby, with the final quatrain and refrain repeated three times for effect to bring the poem to a rhythmic conclusion. Pessoa noted in typescript 31 that the entire poem should be reproduced after his first lines, then only the refrain repeated subsequently throughout the poem. Perhaps should he have seen a typed version he would not have been so hasty, as the entire poem becomes dull and loses its musical effect, while the two-line refrain repeated throughout the poem is too simple and adds nothing either to the development or the meaning of the poem. Here, a sudden impulse resulted in an unmusical and dull poem esthetically, which the editors could have ignored.

Perhaps the major conundrum facing the editors of a critical edition is that definitive textual decisions must be made, even when the evidence is inconclusive, incomplete, or subject to doubt. The situation is even more acute in the case of a work that Pessoa never published and, as far as one can tell from the many possible arrangements of its poems, never concluded. Its place in the English poems further depends on an analysis of the many English poems that followed "The Mad Fiddler" during the period 1921-1934. And perhaps the material taken or borrowed from the famous trunk in the 1960s, about which Jorge de Sena

complained vociferously, will eventually alter our perception of Pessoa's writing of "The Mad Fiddler?"

What we have now are competing textual records, one in which poems from "The Mad Fiddler" have been published in three journals and two books, including the complete *Obras* by Aguilar, in translations to Italian and Portuguese, and in Freire's *Poesia Inglesa*, which follows the Nogueira typescript, and the Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda critical edition. One can appreciate the careful scholarship in the critical edition, even if the "critical" is not "final."

***Mad Fiddler* – comparative editions and typescript in Nogueira's private collection:**

1. Typescript from Nogueira's private collection.
2. PESSOA, Fernando (1999). *Poemas Ingleses. The Mad Fiddler*. Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda. Critical edition of Fernando Pessoa. Major series, volume V, tome III.
3. PESSOA, Fernando (1995). *Poesia Inglesa*. Edition by Luísa Freire. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.

Typescript	Edition (1995)	Critical Edition (1999)
CONTENTS		
I. THE MAD FIDDLER		
The Mad Fiddler		
The Island		
Lycanthropy		
Spell		
Goblin Dance		Elf Dance
Dream		
"I feel pale..."		Not Myself
II. THE SHINING POOL		
Elsewhere		Sunset
"Go: thou hast nothing..."		The Shining Pool
The Poem		
Looking at the Tagus		Moonside
"If I could carry my poems"		(Poem not included)
Suspense		
Fierce dreams of something else		

III. THE WRONG CHOICE

The Night-Light

Lullaby

(Poem not included)

Summer Moments, I, II, III

Emptiness

Monotony

Sister Cecily

Prayer

Prayer

(Poem not included)

The Ruined Cloister

IV. FOUR SORROWS

Rivers

Far Away

Episode

Nothing

Meantime

(Poem not included)

Meantime

V. FEVER-GARDEN

Fever-Garden I, II

The Broken Window

Isis

Ennue

L'Inconnue

Horizon I, II

Her Fingers Played Absently...

Her Fingers Toyed Absently...

(Poem not included)

(Poem not included)

Her Fingers Toyed

VI. SONGS AFTER SLUMBER.

The Lost Key

The Sunflower I, II

The Hours

La Chercheuse

Song

Anamnesis

Chalice

Song After Slumber

Awakening

The Butterfly

VII. THE DROPPED TORCH

Elevation

To One Singing

The Foreself

The Bridge

The King of Gaps

The Loophole

The Abyss

(Poem not included)

VIII. THE LABYRINTH

Fiat Lux
A Summer Ecstasy
Mood
Sonnet
Inversion
Summerland
The End

The Labyrinth

Inversion
Sonnet

Textual variants

Typescript

Edition (1995)

Critical Edition (1999)

I. THE MAD FIDDLER

“The Mad Fiddler”

3 First his wild music flowed
4 Into the village that day.
5 He suddenly was in the lane,
6 The people came out to hear,
7 He suddenly went, and in vain
8 Their hopes wished him to appear.
25 The maid and boy felt glad The maid and the boy felt glad

The middle of that music flowed
 Into the night that day.
 They felt him pass in the lane
 And went out in # to hear.
 But all that they heard was a pain
 And a sense of coming fear.
 The maid and boy felt glad

“Lycanthropy”

16 Was sometime musical. Was something musical.

Is somewhat musical

“Spell”

6	O veiled spirituality!	O veiled spirituality!
12	Could our twined lives	Could our twined lives
	feel sweet?	fell sweet?

O veiled spiritually!
 Could our twined lives
 feel sweet?

"I feel pale and I shiver"

2 That power of the moonlight
3 Tremulous under the river
6 Unlocks all my soul?
8 I fade from life's control!

“Not Myself”

What power of the moonlight
Shaking under the river
Unlooses all my heart?
Speak to me not! I smart!

II. THE SHINING POOL

"Go: thou hast nothing to forgive"

20 And dearer thoughts than Far Away

And dearer thoughts than being
gay

"The Poem"

9 Day and night in my mystery
10 I dream and read and spell it over
12 Its vague completeness seems

Day and night as I feel it be
I dream its passing making it over
That vague completeness seems

to hover

to hover

"Looking At the Tagus"
(last two quatrains absent)

"Fierce Dreams of Something Else"

- 2 Frenzy to go away
3 (O wave in me that swells!)

Splendour to go away
(Frenzy in me that swells!)

III. THE WRONG CHOICE

"The Night-Light"

- 47 Whose lost scent throngs
48 Through my sense-screens?
61 And life, life's hearse,
62 Leaving dreams free,
63 Shrink undefined
64 Into the unknown.
74 Brotherly night,

Whose lost colour throngs
Round my lost sensuousness?
Till cares disperse
Like leaves set free
Where the quick wind
Freshens its moan.
Motherly night,

"Lullaby"¹

- 1 My heart is full of lazy pain
2 And an old English lullaby
3 Comes out of that mist of my brain.
4 Upon my lap my sovereign sits
5 And sucks upon my breast;
6 Meantime his live maintains by life
7 And gives my sense her rest.
8 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
9 Sing lullaby, my only joy!

My heart is full of lazy pain
And an old English lullaby
Comes out of that mist of my brain.
(complete text of Peerson's
 Private Music placed here)

- 10 I would give all my singing trade
11 To be the distant English child
12 For whom this happy song
 was made.
13 When thou hast taken thy repast,
14 Repose, my babe, on me;
15 So may thy mother and thy nurse
16 Thy cradle also be.
17 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
18 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

I would give all my singing trade
To be the distant English child
For whom this happy song
 was made.
Sing lullaby, my little boy,
Sing lullaby, my only joy!

- 19 There must have been true

There must have been true

¹ "Note: The "Lullaby" quoted is the 134th poem in Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*. It was taken by him from Martin Peerson's *Private Music*, a Song-Book of 1620. The "Lullaby" is here given twice over, and the last stanza twice again." The six-line stanzas from Peerson are typed in red in the document extant in Nogueira's private collection.

happiness
 20 Near where this song was sung
 to small
 21 White bands clutching a mother's
 dress.
 22 I grieve that duty doth not work
 23 All that my wishing would,
 24 Because I would not be to thee
 25 But in the best I should.
 26 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
 27 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

 28 Oh, what a sorrow comes to me
 29 Knowing the bitterness I have
 30 While that child had this lullaby!
 31 Yet as I am, and as I may,
 32 I must and will be thine,
 33 Though all too little for thy self
 34 Vouchsafing to be mine.
 35 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
 36 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

 37 My heart aches to be able to weep.
 38 Oh, to think of this song being sung
 39 And the child smiling in its sleep!
 40 Upon my lap my sovereign sits
 41 And sucks upon my breast;
 42 Meantime his live maintains by life
 43 And gives my sense her rest.
 44 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
 45 Sing lullaby, my only joy!

 46 I was a child too, but would now
 47 Be the child, and no other, hearing
 48 This song low-breathed upon
 its brow.
 49 When thou hast taken thy repast,
 50 Repose, my babe, on me;
 51 So may thy mother and thy nurse
 52 Thy cradle also be.
 53 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
 54 Sing lullaby, my only joy!

 55 Oh, that I could return to that
 56 Happy time that was never mine
 57 And which I live but to regret!
 58 I grieve that duty doth not work
 59 All that my wishing would,
 60 Because I would not be to thee

happiness
 Near where this song was sung
 to small
 White bands clutching a mother's
 dress.
 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

 Oh, what a sorrow comes to me
 Knowing the bitterness I have
 While that child had this lullaby
 Sing lullaby, my little boy
 Sing lullaby, my only joy!

 My heart aches to be able to weep.
 Oh, to think of this song being sung
 And the child smiling in its sleep
 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

 I was a child too, but would now
 Be the child, and no other, hearing
 This song low-breathed upon
 its brow
 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

 Oh, that I could return to that
 Happy time that was never mine
 And which I live but to regret!
 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

61 But in the best I should.
62 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
63 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

64 Ay, sing on in my soul, old voice,
65 So motherfully laying to sleep
66 The babe that quietly doth rejoice.

67 Yet as I am, and as I may,
68 I must and will be thine,
69 Though all too little for thy self
70 Vouchsafing to be mine.

71 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
72 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

73 Sing on and let my heart not weep
74 Because something a child
 could have
75 This song to lull him into sleep!
76 Yet as I am, and as I may,
77 I must and will be thine,
78 Though all too little for thy self
79 Vouchsafing to be mine.
80 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
81 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

82 Somehow, somewhere I heard
this song.
83 I was part of the happiness
84 That lived its idle lines along.
85 Yet as I am, and as I may,
86 I must and will be thine,
87 Though all too little for thy self
88 Vouchsafing to be mine.
89 Sing lullaby, my little boy,
90 Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

91 Ay, somehow, somewhere I was
that
92 Child, and my heart lay happy
asleep.
93 Now – oh my sad and unknown
fate!

"Monotony"

13 What vague and cold gusts enter
14 My soul as by a door!
15 My soul is the living centre
16 Of lives that are no more.

Ay, sing on in my soul, old voice,
So motherfully laying to sleep
The babe that quietly doth rejoice.
Sing lullaby, my little boy
Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

Sing on and let my heart not weep
Because something a child
 could have
This song to lull him into sleep!
Sing lullaby, my little boy,
Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

Somehow, somewhere I heard
this song.
I was part of the happiness
That lived its idle lines along.
Sing lullaby, my little boy,
Sing lullaby, mine only joy!

Ay, somehow, somewhere I was
that
Child, and my heart lay happy
asleep.
Now – oh my sad and unknown
fate!

[Quatrains 13-16 and 17-20
Joined together in 8 lines]

17 Startle yet more each ember!
18 Make the fire nearer yet!
19 How easy it is to remember
20 When memory means regret!
39 The red is rose is dead. Such

“Sister Cecily”

11 With a lily along her conscious arm
12 And a virgin's aureole.

The red rose is dead. Such

“The Ruined Cloister”

With a lily along her lowly arm
And a smaller aureole.

IV. FOUR SORROWS

“Rivers”

(Poem not included)

“Far Away”

“Meantime”

1 Far away, far away,
2 Far away from here.
3 There is no running after joy
4 Or away from fear,
17 Shadows and light,
20 Far away from sight

“Meantime”

Far away, far away
Far away from here...
There is no worry after joy
Or away from fear
Shadows and light
All away from sight.

“Nothing”

5 She had left their home, their
God-bright day
14 And near to God as they

She had left their home, their
brighter day
And near to day as they

V. FEVER-GARDEN

I.

4 Rootless just out of Night and There
9 Yet philter-aureole or lay
11 The poppies of o'er memory may
12 Sping cobweb-circles lusting thrice

II.

23 And intermits our heart-beats' track
24 Senseward to demon infinities.

Rootless just out of Night and then
Far philter-aureole or lay
The poppies of o'er memory stray
Twice cobweb-circles lusting thrice

And out of sequestering lack
The last dove in void oak alights

"Isis"

3 Stark-lovely stand in a mute row

(Poem not included)

Start-lovely stand in a mute row

“Horizon” I, II

Poem not included)

(End of typescript)

The Incomplete English Poems of Fernando Pessoa

Cary Stough*

PESSOA, Fernando (2000). *Poesia Inglesa II*. Edited and translated into Portuguese by Luisa Freire. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim.

As it now stands, the largest collection of Pessoa's posthumous English poems written under his own name—96 of them, in fact—was published in Portugal, by editor and translator Luisa Freire, in a bilingual volume titled *Poesia Inglesa II*, in 2000.¹ Freire's pioneer undertaking presents a selection of Pessoa's poems in English, unattributed to any fictitious author—which is to say, by default, attributed to Pessoa *himself*. As any rudimentary knowledge of his criticism reveals, Pessoa was no stranger to the English language or its poetic traditions. Winning the Queen Victoria Prize when he was just 15 and then, in 1917, assembling a volume of primarily standard English verse, which he titled *The Mad Fiddler*, are two facts that remind us of Pessoa's comfort in English. As the years pass and scholars are allowed time to trace and retrace all sorts of heteronym bloodlines—and as new documents are constantly being discovered (those in the Hubert Jennings estate,² for example, some of which I assisted Patricio Ferrari in editing)—the scope of Pessoa's English output continues to expand and render more complex our understanding of the one-or-many poets we call Fernando Pessoa.

It is at this juncture that a close look at Freire's edition reveals its limitations, in spite of the pioneering aspects of the enterprise. Additionally, this closer look (in conjunction with recent English-Pessoa scholarship) affords us with the critical facility to notice the editorial shortcomings: labeling some published poems unpublished, not to mention the implication that the collection was far from being complete. As Freire herself articulates in the postface:

* MFA candidate; Literary Arts Department, Brown University.

¹ Richard Zenith recently published close to 150 English poems by Fernando Pessoa (though there are more poems than in Freire's edition, Zenith's does not include as many loose poems). The volume includes poems attributed to Alexander Search, as well as a selection from 35 *Sonnets*, "Antinous," "Inscriptions," *The Mad Fiddler*, and poems posthumously published. See Fernando PESSOA. *English Poetry*. Selected and introduced by Richard Zenith, Lisbon, Assírio & Alvim, 2016.

² In October 2015, the Hubert Jennings literary estate was donated to the John Hay Collection of Brown University. For a special issue recently devoted to this archive see Carlos Pittella, editor, *People of the Archive: the Contribution of Hubert Jennings to Pessoa Studies*, Providence, Gávea Brown, 2016. [A printed edition of *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8].

Neste terceiro volume de poesia inglesa foram reunidos, como foi dito previamente, poemas escritos dispersamente por Fernando Pessoa, que vão de 1901 até 1935, data da morte do poeta. Embora tenha havido (como se pode verificar pela datação respectiva) períodos mais férteis de escrita em língua inglesa – 1915, 1916, 1917 e 1920 – Pessoa nunca abandonou, até ao final da sua vida, a língua que aprendeu na infância e na adolescência na África do Sul e dentro da qual, de certa maneira, moldou o pensamento, através da sua formação britânica e das literaturas nela expressas, que o poeta atentamente estudou e assimilou.

No entanto, perdido o contacto directo com a língua falada a partir de 1905, data do seu regresso definitivo a Lisboa, o seu inglês tornou-se essencialmente literário e foi nessa versão muito pessoal que redigiu toda a sua obra neste idioma.

[This third volume of English poetry combines, as previously said, poems dispersedly written by Fernando Pessoa, from 1901 to 1935, when the poet died. Even though there have been (as one may see from the dates of poems) more fertile periods of creation in English language—1915, 1916, 1917 and 1920—Pessoa never abandoned, up to the end of his life, the language he learned in his childhood and adolescence in South Africa, and in which, in a way, he molded his thought, through his British education and its literatures, which the poet attentively studied and assimilated.

Nevertheless, once lost the direct contact with the spoken language as from 1905, when Pessoa definitively returned to Lisbon, his English became essentially literary, and it was in this very personal mode that he composed all his work in that language.]

(PESSOA, 2000: 259)

It is very possible this passage inadequately capture the translucent opacity of a poet Patricio Ferrari calls “the poet-between-languages—the outlandish Pessoa,”³ but it also omits the existence of English poems still lying outside of the corpus presented. As shown in the recent publications below, many English poems remained unpublished—varying between lyrical, stylistic, and cultural registers:

FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2016). “Twenty-one Haikus by Fernando Pessoa.” Fabrizio Boscaglia and Duarte Drumond Braga, guest editors, *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, nº. 9, Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, pp. 184-229. [16 unpublished English poems].

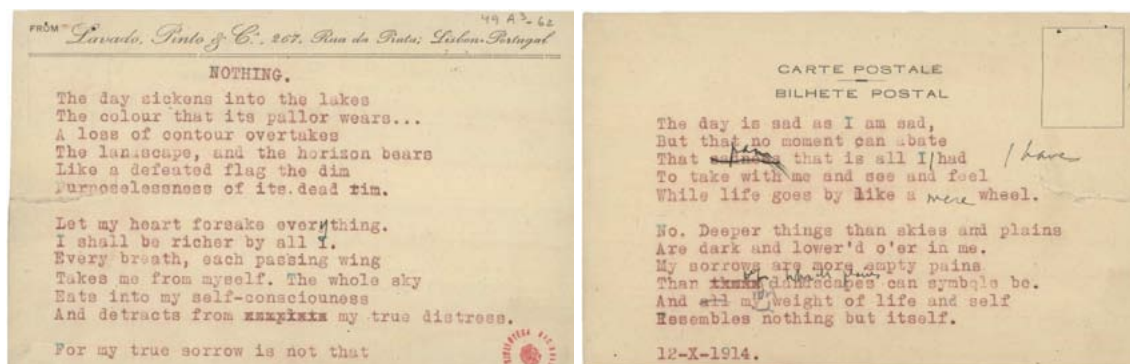
FERRARI, Patricio and Carlos PITTELLA (2015). “Four Unpublished English Sonnets (and the Editorial Status of Pessoa’s English Poetry.” Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo PIZARRO, guest editors. *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer. Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, nº. 28, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, Tagus Press, Spring, pp. 227-246. [4 unpublished English poems].

FERRARI, Patricio (2015). “Bridging Archives: Twenty-five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa.” Carlos Pittella, guest editor. *Pessoa Plural – A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, nº. 8, Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, Fall, pp. 365-431. [25 unpublished English poems].

³ Patricio FERRARI, “Bridging Archives: Twenty-five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa.” *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8, 2015, p. 373.

PESSOA, Fernando (2015). *No Matter What We Dream: Selected English Poems*. Edited and selected by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisbon: Tell-a-story. Second edition. [First edition 2014]. [8 unpublished English poems].

Freire's edition also includes some inaccuracies, which—now that Pessoa scholarship is beginning to embrace the English poems—require reparative attention. For example, “The Day is Sad as I am Sad,” previously published by Teresa Rita Lopes in *Pessoa Inédito*, Lisbon, Horizonte (1994: 194) had been, as Ferrari showed (2012: 270-271), only partially published. The typewritten poem occupied both sides of the sheet (BNP / E3, 49A³-62^r and 49A³-62^v; cf. Figs. 1-2). What is more, “The Day is Sad as I am Sad,” (titled “Nothing”), seems to have been an earlier draft of “Emptiness” (BNP / E3, 31-34; PESSOA, 1999: 52 and 155; cf. Fig. 3), which, with a few minor differences, became part of the third section of the *The Mad Fiddler*.⁴



Figs. 1 and 2. “Nothing” (BNP / E3, 49A³-62^r and 49A³-62^v).

⁴ Fernando PESSOA, *Poemas Ingleses, The Mad Fiddler*, Edited by Marcus Angioni and Fernando Gomes, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Major Series, volume V, tome III, 1999.

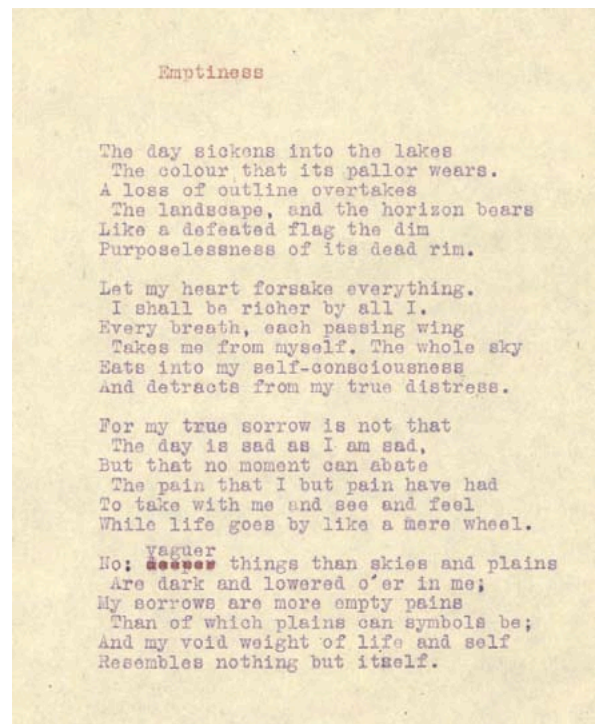


Fig. 3. "Emptiness" (BNP / E3, 31-34r).

Also needing rectification are two poems wrongly attributed as unpublished. "The Lame of Legs, for Coming Late or Ill," given as "inédito" [unpublished] (PESSOA, 2000: 251), had been previously published by Georg Lind in "9 unbekannte englische Gedichte F[ernando] P[essoa]s, Diskussion und Kommentar von Ulrich Suerbaum und vf." *Poetica*, n.º 2, vol. 2, Munich, April 1968, p. 232.

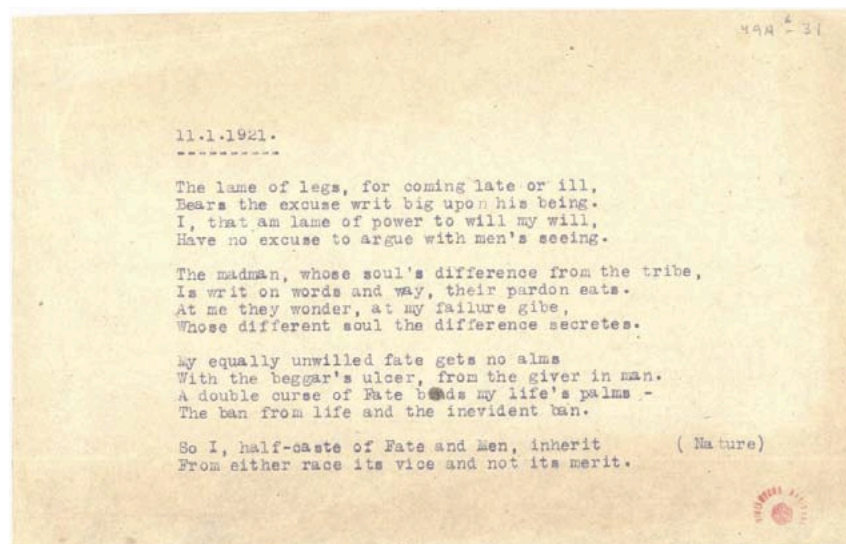


Fig. 4. "The Lame of Legs, for Coming Late or Ill" (BNP / E3, 49A⁶-31r).

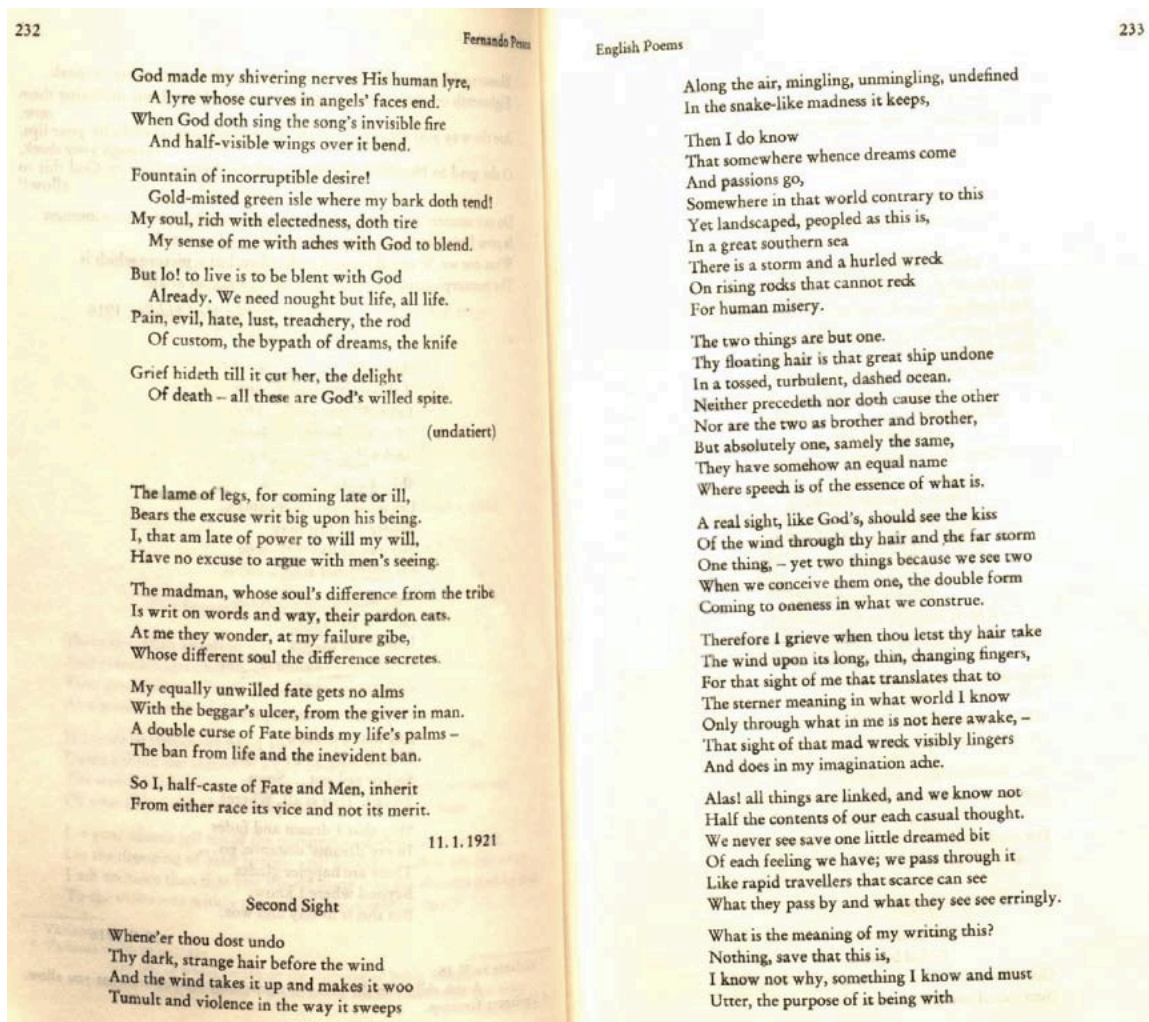
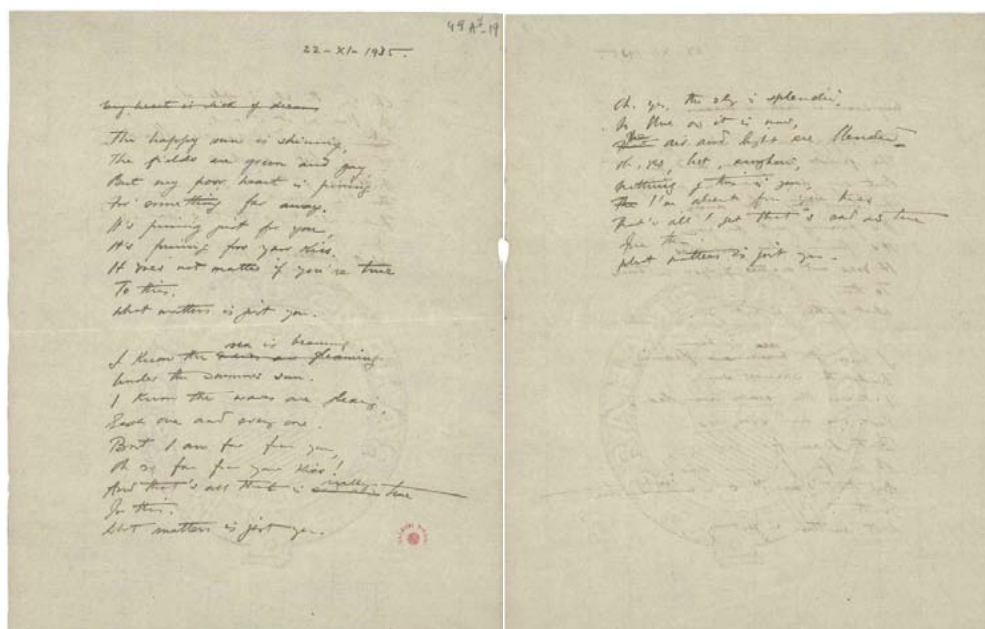


Fig. 5. Georg Rudolf Lind. "9 unbekannte englische Gedichte F[ernando] P[essoa]s." *Poetica*, n.º 2, vol. 2, Munich, April 1968, pp. 232-233. British Library.

The last of the dated poems in the edition, "The Happy Sun is Shining" (BNP / E3, 49A⁷-19), dated 22 November 22 1935, given as "inérito" [unpublished] (PESSOA, 2000: 253), had been initially published by Ángel Crespo in Fernando Pessoa, *Noventa poemas últimos (1930-1935)*, Hiperión, Madrid, 1993, p. 214.



Figs. 6 and 7. "The Happy Sun is Shining" (BNP / E3, 49A⁷-19^r and 49A⁷-19^v).

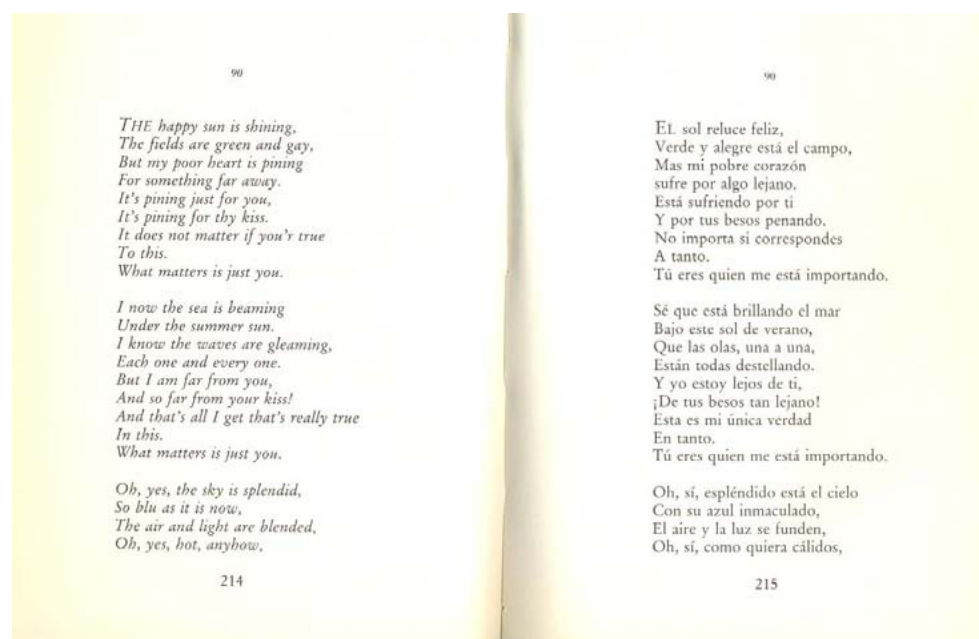


Fig. 8. Fernando Pessoa, *Noventa poemas últimos (1930-1935)*, translation and preface by Ángel Crespo, bilingual edition, Hiperión, Madrid, 1993, pp. 214-215.

For such a prolific author who left so many writings not only unpublished, but also undated, it is not surprising that a relevant aspect in Pessoaan scholarship is the date-range within which those poems were written. The heteronyms, of course, were also contingent in nature to time, as much a factor of where the poet lived as when he was living. Therefore, it poses quite a question why Freire did not organize the book in any way to highlight this contingency. One must, in reading this edition, continually flip to the index in order to synthesize their reading experience within the context of the poet's life. The poems appear to be gathered

with little differentiation—simply two sections: poems dated and undated poems. Though it reflects a certain economy on behalf of Freire's contribution, one desires a little more organizational guidance.

The truth of the matter is clear, however: not only did Pessoa write in English, he wrote more than originally imagined in his own name. This revelation surely was not lost on Freire, whose efforts on display were not, in the least, small, and very important to the now burgeoning study of the English poems. Somewhat more surprising, however, was that more than several of the poems recently transcribed attain a level of beauty and complexity akin to those written under such heteronyms as the inimitable Caeiro, Reis, and Campos. "What is hidden from me that is everything?" asks this author of authors, reaching for his unique metaphysics, as singularly mystical as it is pessimistic. The previous quote is found in an English poem dated 7 February 1915, recently revealed in *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*.⁵ But there is much merit to be unearthed in Pessoa's seemingly bottomless trunk: haikus and sonnets, for instance, which makes it the more unfortunate to have been left out of Freire's anthology. Jerónimo Pizarro, the most knowledgeable scholar today regarding Pessoa's archive, tells of over 1,300 documents including English writings, that may or may not all include poems, which need to be thoroughly scrutinized (cf. FERRARI and PITTELLA, 2015: 230). The critical edition of Fernando Pessoa's complete English poems is yet to come.

⁵ Patricio FERRARI, "Bridging Archives: Twenty-five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural—A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 8, 2015, p. 399.

Connections and Transformations: Fernando Pessoa Reads and Writes in English

David Mittelman*

FERRARI, Patricio and Jerónimo PIZARRO, guest eds. *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer. Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n.º 28, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, Tagus Press, Spring 2015. Print.

If it occasionally seems that scholarly publications on Fernando Pessoa must have already exhausted every significant aspect of the poet's work and life, the fact is that the field of Pessoa studies is subject to the same sorts of blind spots that cause interesting topics to be overlooked in every area of inquiry. Pessoa's voracious study of literature in English and his own extensive writings in the language constitute one such topic, frequently mentioned in passing, sometimes studied in compelling detail, but only receiving sustained and penetrating critical attention in the hands of a few scholars. In this volume, editors Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro offer us a richly varied collection of articles and other materials relating to Fernando Pessoa's participation in the English-language literary tradition, with the aim of moving the subject closer to the center of the discussion of Pessoa's legacy. Claiming the distinction of producing the first book-length publication focusing exclusively on the study of Pessoa as a reader and writer of English, the editors present five major themes to be explored over ten articles: "the Durban years; Pessoa's short and long poems; mediating Portugal; the nineteenth century and a theoretical framework for heteronymism; and Pessoa's archive" (4). In addition, the book includes little-known works by Pessoa, including the short story "A Very Original Dinner," excerpts from the essay "Erostratus," both originally composed in English, and incomplete Portuguese translations of poetry by Dryden, Keats, Tennyson, and Browning. The final section contains an interview with translator Margaret Jull Costa and three reviews of recent books relating to Pessoa.

Among its many strong articles, the collection contains several highlights worth mentioning specifically. Richard Zenith's article on Pessoa's *Os Rapazes de Barrowby* disputes Hubert Jennings's autobiographical interpretation of this early project and argues instead that though Pessoa's story was "not a translation or even a remake of the original," his experiments were closely based on the serialized boys' novel *The Boys of Barrowby*, written by Edgar Joyce Murray under the pseudonym Sidney Drew (19). It is possible that Zenith goes too far in rejecting Jennings's reading, since Pessoa could very well have appropriated the title and

* PhD Candidate; Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, Brown University.

narrative equipment of *The Boys of Barrowby* in order to tell an autobiographical tale. However, regardless of the view we adopt, Zenith has solved for us the small mystery of the formal origin of Pessoa's Barrowby.

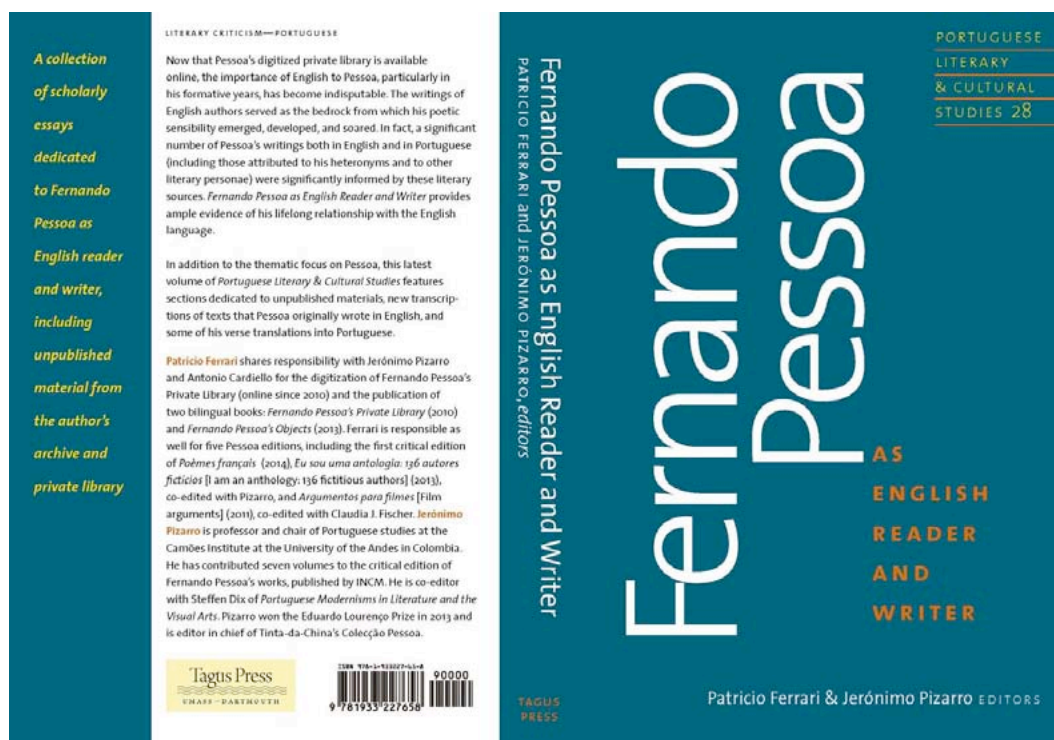


Fig 1. Cover and back cover of *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*.

George Monteiro's discussion of Pessoa's "O menino da sua mãe" contests another received autobiographical interpretation. Against the psychoanalytic gloss promoted so vigorously by João Gaspar Simões, Monteiro compares Pessoa's lyric with the work of the English poets Rupert Brooke and A. E. Housman, interpreting the poem as a denunciation of war informed as much by Pessoa's reading of English poetry as by the news of the wars of his time. The comparative reading reveals "so stark a contrast, in fact, that one is tempted to see 'O menino da sua mãe' as something of an answer to the public sentimentality exemplified in the young Brooke's last poetry" (53). Vividly drawing out this contrast between celebratory and elegiac poetic treatments of war, Monteiro observes that "[i]n the poetry written during the war, body parts – usually referred to, with a strong trace of Victorian delicacy, as 'limbs' – were lost and heroically dead bodies were interred under fields of red poppies and blooming roses, but it was not noted that myriad corpses, unclaimed for burial, lay rotting on the battlefields where they died. Housman and Pessoa knew better, even if Brooke did not, or would not" (60).

Stefan Helgesson's discussion of Charles Robert Anon and imperialism provides a refreshing postcolonial appreciation of Pessoa's early writings and

intellectual formation. Helgesson approaches the issue of empire in Anon's poetry via the question of the "double elusiveness" of Fernando Pessoa's presence in South Africa and the presence of South Africa in Fernando Pessoa. The analysis reveals Anon's "imperial ambivalence," his critical understanding of the geopolitical order in the first years of the twentieth century as a violent inter-imperial game. At the same time, however, Helgesson calls attention to the limits of the criticism of which Anon (or Pessoa) was capable, since in the end "[t]here is no evidence in Pessoa's early poems that he was aware of anything other than white concerns in southern Africa" (40). The article concludes with a timely admonition for Pessoa scholarship: the imperial context in which Pessoa was educated and began to write must be addressed "not in a narrowly moralistic sense, but as its problematic onto-political condition of possibility" (42).

Other articles in the collection offer compelling discussions of many aspects of Pessoa's work. Patricia Silva McNeill shares a thorough exploration of Pessoa's reception in English modernist magazines, noting, in particular, the potential influence of *Blast* on the *Orpheu*. José Barreto's analysis of Pessoa's massive "History of a Dictatorship" project sheds light on the republican-leaning early period in the development of Pessoa's political thought, a phase frequently overshadowed by the poet's later writings on the concept of aristocracy. And the duo of Ferrari and Pittella-Leite provide a succinct and persuasive argument for their contention that Pessoa continued writing poetry in English, at least intermittently, long after he was thought to have stopped in 1921.

The articles are accompanied by a series of commented transcriptions that show the state of textual criticism on the English Pessoa and which will be of particular interest to enthusiasts of the archive. On the whole, though readers outside the immediate circle of Pessoa specialists might have benefited from greater clarity and contextualization regarding some editorial decisions, many will find a wealth of cutting-edge analytical and textual scholarship with which to dialogue. The release of *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*, along with other recent publications and events organized individually or in tandem by Ferrari and Pizarro, including the collection *Eu Sou Uma Antologia* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2016) and the symposium "Inside the Mask: The English Poetry of Fernando Pessoa" (held 17-18 April 2015 at Brown University), marks another important development in the field of Pessoa studies, a turn in the direction of a more complete and transcultural appreciation of the great poet and his work.

Nietzsche's and Pessoa's Psychological Fictionalism

Antonio Cardiello* & Pietro Gori**

Keywords

Nietzsche; Pessoa; Vaihinger; Mead; Fictionalism; Subjectivity; Neo-Kantianism.

Abstract

In a note to G.R.S. Mead's *Quests Old and New*, where he found a section devoted to Hans Vaihinger's main ideas, Fernando Pessoa reflects on the consequences of the fictionalist approach to both our perception of the I and the value of consciousness. These questions correspond to some statements that we find in Nietzsche's writings, which in particular Vaihinger refers to in his *Die Philosophie des Als-ob*. Our aim is thus to compare Nietzsche's and Pessoa's view of the I and consciousness, and to deal with their psychology by making reference to Vaihinger's fictionalism.

Palavras-chave

Nietzsche; Pessoa; Vaihinger; Mead; Ficcionalismo; Subjectividade; Neokantismo.

Resumo

Num apontamento relacionado com a leitura de *Quests Old and New* de G.R.S. Mead, que revisita as teses principais de Hans Vaihinger, Fernando Pessoa reflecte sobre as consequências de uma abordagem ficcionalista quanto à percepção do eu e ao valor da consciência. As questões que Pessoa coloca encontram correspondência com os escritos de Nietzsche a quem Vaihinger se refere, em particular, no seu livro *Philosophie des Als-ob*. O nosso intuito é o de aprofundar a comparação entre a concepção do eu e da consciência em Nietzsche e Pessoa, reconstruindo as posições de ambos nos moldes do ficcionalismo de Vaihinger.

* IFILNOVA – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas – Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

** IFILNOVA – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas – Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Sou nada...

Sou uma ficção...

Que ando eu a querer de mim ou de tudo neste mundo?

(PESSOA, 2014: 311-312)

1. Introduction

Fictionalism is a contemporarily discussed philosophical position that can roughly be characterized as the view that claims made within a region of discourse “are not best seen as aiming at literal truth but are better regarded as a sort of ‘fiction’” (EKLUND, 2011). Recently, several scholars have defended fictionalism about mathematical discourse and scientific theories, ordinary object discourse, and finally, about truth and value judgements (moral fictionalism).¹ All of these positions are grounded on a crucial distinction between a *linguistic* and an *ontological* thesis. According to “the linguistic thesis [...] utterances of sentences of the discourse are best seen not as efforts to say what is literally true, but as useful fictions of some sort. The ontological thesis, by contrast, is the thesis that the entities characteristic of the discourse do not exist, or have the ontological status of fictional entities” (EKLUND, 2011). The very root of philosophical fictionalism is Hans Vaihinger’s *Die Philosophie des Als-ob* [*The Philosophy of “As if”*] (1911). In that book, Vaihinger gave fictionalism its most complete expression and therefore, Vaihinger’s work is a fundamental reference for understanding the contemporary debate on that concept.² As will be shown, Vaihinger particularly focuses on the practical function of human intellect and “supports the thesis that we must not see scientific theories as representing outer reality, but only as instruments to manage it” (CEYNOWA, 1993: 9). Thus, basically, Vaihinger is interested in epistemology and in the practical consequences of our being conscious of the fictional character of our world-description. In what follows we will address fictionalism according to Vaihinger’s view. Moreover, in this paper “psychological fictionalism” means a fictionalist conception of the subject, that is, the view that claims that psychological entities such as subject, I, *ego*, or soul are only useful fictions, and that our consciousness of their being fictional entities has important practical consequences.

This is the necessary premise of this paper, the aim of which is to compare Nietzsche’s and Pessoa’s conception of the subject. In particular, we shall argue that both Nietzsche and Pessoa defend a psychological fictionalism, and that that position is the ground of some of their most important reflections. Moreover, the comparison between Nietzsche’s and Pessoa’s fictionalist conception of the subject

¹ For an exhaustive bibliography on this topic, see EKLUND (2011). On moral fictionalism see also DÖRING and BAHADIR (2014). It is worth noting that over the last decade some scholars have discussed the possibility of ascribing Nietzsche a fictionalist interpretation of value judgements (see, e.g., Hussain 2007).

² On this point, see NEUBER (2014).

is possible *via* Vaihinger – and maybe only through him. In fact, as will be shown in what follows, Vaihinger is the indirect connection between Pessoa and Nietzsche on this particular topic.

First, Vaihinger developed his fictionalism by making reference to a neo-Kantian framework, the same framework that influenced Nietzsche. Second, Vaihinger made reference to Nietzsche himself and quoted several unpublished writings where Nietzsche talks about the I and the subject as mere *fictions*. Finally, Vaihinger's view was later summarized by George R. S. Mead in his *Quests Old and New* (1913), which was subsequently read by Pessoa. Thus, in Mead's book Pessoa found an outline of Vaihinger's fictionalism, which, in turn, was grounded on an interpretation of several Nietzsche's statements. In fact, as we can see from a note written in the flyleaf of Pessoa's personal copy of Mead's book, Pessoa developed Vaihinger's fundamental thesis into a non-substantialist view of subject and consciousness.

In what follows, the attention will be first directed to Nietzsche's conception of the I and subject, where we particularly focus on his stating the fictional character of all these notions (section 2). Accordingly, we then provide a brief outline of Vaihinger's *The Philosophy of "As-if,"* paying special regard to those chapters where he defines the concept of "fiction" and stresses that nineteenth century psychologists agree "that the concept of 'soul' is only a fiction" (section 3). Finally, we turn to Pessoa, and deal with the psychological fictionalism that emerges from the unpublished note on Vaihinger (section 4).

2. Nietzsche: the I as a "fiction"

The I becomes a particularly important object of investigation in Nietzsche's late writings because it is one of the distinctive elements of the Western worldview and its metaphysics of substance. Nietzsche's most significant reflections on the I – which he sees as the question on the substantial referent of psychic phenomena – occur in the first book of *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* [*Beyond Good and Evil*] devoted to the "prejudices of philosophers", and are later developed in *Götzen-Dämmerung* [*Twilight of the Idols*]. In these works, Nietzsche presents the final outcome of a theoretical discussion of the subject (particularly of the "I" *qua* subject) that he developed since the early 1880s and that we also find treated in his notebooks.³ From this theoretical discussion emerges Nietzsche's non-realist or fictionalist conception of the subject, which is the topic of this paper.⁴

³ On this topic see LUPO (2006).

⁴ Sebastian GARDNER (2009: 1) argues that "there is a striking lack of fit between the (non-realist or fictionalist) conception of the self that emerges from Nietzsche's theoretical discussion of the self, and the (realist, or at any rate non-fictionalist) conception of the self that is presupposed by his practical philosophy" (we prefer to talk about "subject" (or "I") instead of "self", since in Nietzsche

In the first book of *Beyond Good and Evil*, Nietzsche takes a stand against all philosophical approaches that are unable to give up the common sense view of the I and thus calls into question the legitimacy of using the proposition “I think” as an immediate certainty (BGE 16).⁵ Nietzsche argues that, in order to be able to discuss this issue, one would have to answer “a set of bold claims that are difficult to establish”, and concludes that

[...] in place of that “immediate certainty” which may, in this case, win the faith of the people, the philosopher gets handed a whole assortment of metaphysical questions, genuinely probing intellectual questions of conscience, such as: “Where do I get the concept of thinking from? Why do I believe in causes and effects? What gives me the right to speak about an I, and, for that matter, about an I as cause, and, finally, about an I as the cause of thoughts?”

(BGE 16)

The kinds of problems raised by Nietzsche are clear. He particularly focuses on the popular belief in an I as substance, that is to say, in the existence of a causally efficacious substrate of our psychical activity. This, according to Nietzsche, is a fundamental error of our self-representation, as he famously argues in *Twilight of the Idols*. First, in TI, “Reason” in Philosophy, 5, Nietzsche blames the “basic presupposition of the metaphysics of language – in the vernacular: the presuppositions of reason” for clearing the way to a “crudely fetishistic mindset. It sees doers and deeds all over: [...] it believes in the ‘I’, in the I as being, in the I as substance, and it projects this belief in the I-substance onto all things. [...] Being is imagined in everything – pushed under everything – as a cause.” Then, in TI, *The Four Great Errors*, 3 (“Error of false causation”), Nietzsche states that “the conception of a consciousness (‘mind’) as a cause, and then that of the I (the ‘subject’) as a

Subject (or *Ich*) and *Selbst* are quite different concepts. See e.g. Za, *On the Despisers of the Body*). In this paper we aim to outline Nietzsche’s psychological fictionalism and will thus not deal with the question posed by Gardner. Nevertheless, as Gori recently stated, Nietzsche’s rejection of the I on the theoretical plane does not necessarily contrast the psychology presupposed by his practical philosophy (in other words, it is arguable that “Nietzsche’s critique of the I [...] does not prohibit the human being from referring to its own subjectivity – provided, however, that the latter is conceived of in a different way, that is, stripped from its metaphysical surface.” (GORI, 2015a: 192). Moreover, as we shall show at the end of this section, Nietzsche’s fictionalist conception of the subject plays a fundamental role in his late practical philosophy.

⁵ Quotations from, and references to, Nietzsche’s writings make use of the following abbreviations: ‘GS’ for *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* - *The Gay Science*, ‘Za’ for *Also sprach Zarathustra* - *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, ‘BGE’ for *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* - *Beyond Good and Evil*, ‘GM’ for *Yur Genealogie der Moral* - *On the Genealogy of Morality*, ‘TI’ for *Götzen-Dämmerung* - *Twilight of the Idols*, ‘PF’ for *Posthumous Fragments*. Nietzsche’s works are cited by abbreviation, chapter title or number (when applicable), and section number. Posthumous fragments are cited by year, group and, fragment number, as they appear in the Colli and Montinari standard edition (NIETZSCHE, 1967-). The posthumous fragments marked with (*) are quoted in the final chapter of Vaihinger’s *The Philosophy of “As-if”: Nietzsche and his Doctrine of Conscious Illusion* (VAIHINGER, 1925: 341 ff.).

cause are just latecomers ['inner facts'] that appeared once" that of "*will as causal agent* [...] was established and given." But, continues Nietzsche, "the 'inner world' is full of illusions and phantasms: will is one of them. [...] Not to mention the I! That has become a fairy tale, a fiction [*Fiktion*], a play on words: it has stopped thinking, feeling, and willing altogether!"

In these published writings Nietzsche deals with the problem of subjectivity by arguing that the concept of "I" (or "subject") is only surreptitiously introduced into a purely necessary dynamic. The value of that concept is therefore merely logical, and in no way can we affirm its existence on the ontological plane. As we suggested above, this view is the final outcome of a reflection that Nietzsche developed during the 1880s, and in the notebooks we find his psychological fictionalism most clearly stated. In several notebooks Nietzsche particularly focuses on the purely fictional nature of the I, with emphasis on the general characteristics of the activity of thought, which he describes in purely physiological terms. The I is considered as the product of a secondary activity of thought which intervenes in ascribing a subject to a process that is constitutively free of it:

I don't concede that the "I" is what thinks. Instead, I take the I itself to be a construction of thinking [...]; in other words, to be only a regulative fiction with the help of which a kind of constancy and thus "knowability" is inserted into, invented into, a world of becoming. [...] It is only thinking that posits the I: but up to now philosophers have believed, like the "common people", that in "I think" there lay something or other of unmediated certainty and that this "I" was the given cause of thinking.

(PF, 1885, 35 [35]*)

The I, as a product of thought, is nothing more than a conceptual entity whose value is limited to practical usefulness with a view to a categorization of the world. According to this perspective, the I belongs to the sphere of those substantial elements to which one is used to attributing absolute existence and whose origin lies in the translation of the outside world into a language that can be understood and used by our intellect.⁶ In Nietzsche's view, however, the I has a feature that distinguishes it from other substantial entities that arise from the simplification of a chaotic multiplicity through isolation of fixed and uniform forms. In order to give unity to feelings, perceptions, and memories one looks for something that is able to act as a source of such dispositions – as their "cause." The unification of the multiplicity of sensations is made through identification of a spiritual entity, whose delimitation is not made otherwise than from its ability to act and for this reason it has no sense wanting to ascribe an existential value to it, as if it were possible to indicate and describe that from which an action springs in

⁶ On this topic see GORI (2009). On the adaptive value of substance concepts see also GS 110 and 111.

instances where all that is possible to ascertain are the effects of the action itself. In Nietzsche's interpretation, the subject is nothing but a creation of the activity of representation, an erroneous simplification generated by thinking that one can "designate as such the force which posits, invents, thinks, as distinct from all individual positing, inventing, thinking" (PF, 1885, 2 [152]).⁷ We are moving within the general perspective that is synthetically expressed in Nietzsche's conclusion in GM I 13, according to which "there is no 'being' behind the deed, its effect and what becomes of it; 'the doer' is invented as an afterthought, – the doing is everything."⁸ If we apply this remark to the case of psychic phenomena, we easily see that it answers the question about the relation between body and mind. Nietzsche reflects in particular on human thought, noticing that it is not distinguished from the physiological activity that determines it and that, as a result, there is no subject-object dualism to substantiate it. There is no author of thoughts. The latter arise from the organism's inner processes.⁹ In the same way, there is no subject distinct from the sensations generated by our perceptive faculty: they appear spontaneously to us and only afterwards do they enter consciousness and are, thus, organized and understood. It is only at this point that the I's "regulative fiction" steps in. The latter is nothing but a logical support for the categorization of sensations (that are thus related to a unitary substrate), its usefulness being as undeniable as is its ontological inconsistency.

Stripped of the ontological value traditionally ascribed to it by psychology and of its autonomy from the chain of sensations, the I reveals its logical-fictional

⁷ The will to find a subject-agent located beneath the unfolding of events is a theme Nietzsche has addressed at length, deploring, in particular, the human being's tendency to anthropomorphize natural dynamics. This is evident, for example, in the case of the interpretation of the link between cause and effect. The latter is the model of a purely necessary dynamic, which, however, is commonly described in terms of human agency, even an intentional one. The tendency, that is, is to project in things a familiar model of activity that ascribes subjective characteristics to the force that moves material reality (see PF, 1885: 2 [83] and 1888: 14 [95]).

⁸ This conclusion is incorporated in the above quoted passage from TI, "Reason" in *Philosophy*, 5 and in PF, 1887-1888: 11 [113]*, where Nietzsche states that "both doing and doer are fictions" (see note below).

⁹ Nietzsche's most explicit discussion of the physiological conception of thought can be found in PF, 1884, 26[92] and 1885, 38[1]. In these notes Nietzsche refers to a form of conscious thought, which he considers a simple *sign* of an activity that takes place at a "pre-psychological" level (see LUPO, 2006: 107 ff. On this topic see also ABEL, 2001; EMDEN, 2005; and GORI, 2015a). Nietzsche's claim of a "superficial" character of consciousness (GS 354) leads to the open debate about whether Nietzsche defends a strong epiphenomenalism or not. Such a view is developed in LEITER (2002) and in RICCARDI (forthcoming), while KATSAFANAS (2005) argues against the strong epiphenomenalist reading. LUPO (2009) also argues that Nietzsche rejects a metaphysical view of consciousness (as a *faculty*), but accepts an epiphenomenal view of it (even if not a strong one). We basically follow Lupo, since it seems to us that his view is the most coherent with Nietzsche's statements from the notebooks from 1884-1885. Nevertheless, it is not our intention to intervene in that debate which exceeds the aims of this paper.

character. A few years later, Nietzsche takes his argument to extremes and suggests the complete exclusion of the subject-act dualism as a fiction:

"Thinking", as posited by the theorists of knowledge, simply doesn't occur: it is a quite arbitrary fiction achieved by selecting one element from the process and subtracting all the others, an artificial trimming for the purpose of intelligibility... The "mind", something that thinks: maybe even "the mind absolute, pure, unmixed" – this conception is a derivative, second consequence of the false self-observation that believes in "thinking:" here first an act is imagined that doesn't occur, "thinking," and secondly a subject-substratum is imagined in which every act of this thinking, and nothing else, originates; i.e., both doing and doer are fictions.

(PF, 1887-1888, 11 [113]*)¹⁰

In this passage Nietzsche is, of course, referring to a form of conscious thought, the culmination of a chain of processes enacted at a physiological level, of which only the final outcome can be apprehended. Both agents in this relation are the product of the translation of physiological dynamics in a language we can understand. Thus, they are mutually dependent on a logical level, and, as is the case with the "true" and "apparent" world spoken of in *Twilight of the Idols*, the elimination of the one entails the elimination of the other. For Nietzsche, there is actually no "thinking" except as the ceaseless articulation of drives and instincts in the organism, just as there is no "mind," a subject identifiable as "*something that thinks*." Mind and thought can be defined only in relation to each other; once the former's ontological inconsistency is revealed, the latter loses meaning as well. Dualism is, therefore, overcome. In fact on this conception, it is completely eliminated.

As has recently been demonstrated, Nietzsche's reflections on whether and on what basis is it possible to speak of the I as the cause of thoughts, are grounded on a neo-Kantian framework.¹¹ In particular, Nietzsche's rejection of Descartes' "I think" can be contextualized by making reference to the contemporary debate on

¹⁰ In the notebooks from 1880 to 1888 we find other textual evidence of Nietzsche's fictionalist conception of the subject. For example, in PF, 1880, 6 [340]* Nietzsche argues that "it is probably due to our lack of development that we believe in things and assume something permanent in becoming, that we believe in an ego," whereas "the subject is only a fiction, and there is no *ego*, either" (PF, 1887, 9 [108]*). Nietzsche, in particular, denies the causal efficacy of the subject ("the 'subject' is not something that *effects*, but merely a fiction," PF, 1887, 9 [91]*), and rejects the popular view that there is a *substratum* of our psychical activity ("'subject' is the fiction implying that many *similar* conditions in us are the effect of a *substratum*... this is to be denied," PF, 1887, 10 [19]). Finally, Nietzsche also argues that "the 'soul' itself is an expression of all the phenomena of consciousness which, however, we *interpret as the cause of all these phenomena*," and, consequently, "'self-consciousness' is a fiction" (PF, 1885-1886, 1 [58]*).

¹¹ On this topic, see LOUKIDELIS (2013) and GORI (2015a).

“scientific psychology” that included Friedrich A. Lange.¹² The I of which Nietzsche speaks in BGE 16 does not differ from the soul discussed by Lange in his *History of Materialism*, nor is it different from what the Austrian physicist Ernst Mach called, in the same years, the “ideal mental-economic unity” that science claimed to be able to locate within the brain.¹³ In particular, the main problem Mach addresses is the relation between body and I (matter and spirit), an issue widely debated during the nineteenth century by those thinkers who privileged scientific themes in the work of Kant - particularly those relating to problems of psychology and anthropology.¹⁴ Both Mach and Lange faced the limitations of the explanations of the body/soul relation provided both by the materialism and the physiology of sense organs typical of psychology, and raised the possibility of establishing a “psychology without a soul.” In so doing, they became spokesmen for a goal of considerable philosophical significance; the fact that contemporary psychology no longer needed to refer to a substantial ground of psychic functions is what brought about its liberation from the old scholastic metaphysics.

As can easily be seen, scientific psychology’s demand to get free from the remnants of an age-old metaphysics that surreptitiously attempted to introduce something that it could not specify or measure, corresponds to Nietzsche’s stressing the pure fictional character of the I. Moreover, it is arguable that Nietzsche is referring (most likely *via* Lange) to scientific psychology’s widely debated outcomes when he claims that “*nowadays* we do not believe” in the illusory character of our “inner facts” (TI, *Errors*, 3), or when he argues that “*we have become* quite convinced that our concept of ‘I’ guarantees nothing in the way of a real unity” (PF, 1888, 14 [79]*. Our emphasis). But what characterizes Nietzsche’s view is the attention that he pays to the practical consequences of our having finally become aware of this fictionalism. This is particularly clear if we consider the aim of Nietzsche’s late philosophy – with special regard to TI, where Nietzsche explicitly states the fictional character of the I.

First, TI can be ascribed to Nietzsche’s general anti-Christian aim. In that book, Nietzsche particularly focuses on the negative consequences that Christian morality had on the human type and attacks its basic principles. The belief in an “I” as cause of our own actions is one of those principles. In fact, without the reference to it, no guilt or responsibility can be ascribed to anyone. Thus, stressing

¹² As stressed e.g. in STACK (1983), Lange’s *History of Materialism* strongly influenced Nietzsche. In Lange’s work Nietzsche found a detailed and updated exposition of the latest publications in psychology. This reference is quite important in this paper, since Lange also influenced Vaihinger (see below, section 3).

¹³ MACH (1914: 22). Mach already focused on this topic in his *Beiträge zur Analyse der Empfindungen*, published in 1886 and purchased by Nietzsche (see GORI, 2009 and 2015a).

¹⁴ On this topic see LEHMANN (1987).

the fictional character of the I deprives Christianity of its power.¹⁵ Nietzsche clearly shows this in the section on *The Four Great Errors*, which particularly concerns the concepts of “false causation” and “imaginary causes,” to which belongs “the entire realm of morality and religion” (TI, *The Four Great Errors* 6). As regards causation, Nietzsche stresses that “people have always believed that they knew what a cause was,” and “that our acts of will were causally efficacious.” Moreover, as for Nietzsche, no one “could deny that thoughts have causes” and “that the ‘I’ is what causes thoughts.” Otherwise, he concludes, “the action could hardly be considered free, and nobody could really be held responsible for it” (TI, *The Four Great Errors* 3). This stance is quite problematic, however, since, as Nietzsche argues, we get this belief “from the famous realm of the ‘inner facts,’ none of which have ever proven factual.” On the contrary, “the ‘inner world’ is full of illusions and phantasms” and the “‘I’ (the ‘subject’) [...] has [nowadays] become a fairy tale, a fiction, a play on words” (TI, *The Four Great Errors* 3).

The practical consequences of Nietzsche’s fictional conception of the subject are even clearer if we consider a second point, i.e. the specific aim of TI and its relation with Nietzsche’s attempt to provide a *revaluation* of the traditional values. In particular, Nietzsche expects his attack on the “eternal idols” generated by Western (Platonic and Christian) metaphysics to have a *transformative* effect on human beings.¹⁶ In fact, Nietzsche’s “diagnosis” of the realized human being suggests that the human being who believed in the value of substantial entities such as “I”, “will”, etc., out of the mere practical plane, finally becomes smaller, weaker – *décadent*. In Nietzsche’s view, in order to provide a counter-movement against Christian morality, we must contrast this belief, and that can be done by “sounding out” the idols, thus revealing their hollowness (TI, *Preface*). As we can see, according to this view there is no need to completely reject these idols. In fact, Nietzsche denies their value on the metaphysical plane, but also stresses their “biological utility for human being’s preservation” (PF, 1888, 14[153]). According to him, “the aberration of philosophy is that, instead of seeing in logic and the categories of reason means toward the adjustment of the world for utilitarian ends [...], one believed one possessed in them the criterion of truth and reality” (PF, 1888, 14[153]). This belief is what actually produced a weak human being, and this is thus what “future philosophers” must avoid. Therefore, for Nietzsche, the awareness of the pure fictional (i.e. logical) character of such concepts as that of “I”

¹⁵ The question of the I can be extended to include that of the soul. By doing this, we move from a classical problem for philosophy and psychology to more delicate issues concerning religion in general and Christianity in particular. See BGE 54, where Nietzsche develops his criticism towards Descartes’ “I think” and argues that modern philosophy is “*anti-Christian*”. On the question of human guilt and responsibility see also BGE 21.

¹⁶ On the aims of TI and its relation with Nietzsche’s projected *Revaluation of all values*, see GORI (2015b).

would have a strong transformative effect on the type of man. In other words, according to him, it makes a big difference for the human being to conceive the I *as* causally efficacious, or to conceive it *as if it were* causally efficacious. This is actually crucial for Nietzsche, since on this difference lies the possibility of generating a higher human type. Roughly put, while common people believe in the *existence* of an I as the cause of thoughts, “future philosophers” will consider it as a mere *tool* for practical purposes – thus, not completely getting rid of it.¹⁷

As we shall see in the following section, Nietzsche’s claim – grounded on the outcomes of scientific psychology – that “we have become quite convinced that our concept of ‘I’ guarantees nothing in the way of a real unity” (PF, 1888, 14 [79]*) and that, consequently, we can finally see it only as a *tool* in order to orient ourselves to the world (and not as a substance concept), correspond to Vaihinger’s fictionalist perspective.

3. Vaihinger: fictionalism, or the “critical standpoint”

In *The Philosophy of “As-if”* (first published in 1911 after almost 30 years of work), Hans Vaihinger presents an original philosophical perspective grounded on 19th century neo-Kantian epistemology. This book is particularly important for the recent debates about philosophical fictionalism, since it constitutes the very root of that position. In fact, in *The Philosophy of “As-if”* we find an in-depth and exhaustive investigation of the concept of “fiction”, the basis of which Vaihinger programmatically aimed to lay out, as the subtitle of his main work suggests: “A system of the theoretical, practical and religious fictions of mankind” (NEUBER, 2014: 9). Given the aim of this paper, we shall only briefly outline Vaihinger’s view in order to show the similarities with Nietzsche – similarities that Vaihinger himself noticed and stressed in the final section of his book (*Nietzsche and his Doctrine of Conscious Illusion*).

As summarized by Ceynowa (1993: 9), “*The Philosophy of ‘As-if’* supports the thesis that we must not see scientific theories as representing outer reality, but only as instruments to manage it.” This thesis is particularly “grounded on the idea that the human intellect has a fundamental practical function,” since it creates a manageable world-image that helps human self-preservation (1993: 9). Vaihinger (1925: 170) explicitly states that “knowledge is a secondary purpose, [...] the primary aim [of logical thinking] being the practical attainment of communication and action.” This is better argued in the opening page of the first part of *The Philosophy of “As-if,”* where Vaihinger presents the basic principles of his view:

¹⁷ This view has been recently defended in GORI (2015b), with particular reference to the concepts of “I” and “freedom”.

The object of the world of ideas as a whole is not the portrayal of reality – this would be an utterly impossible task – but rather to provide us with an *instrument for finding our way about more easily in this world*. Subjective processes of thought [...] represent the highest and ultimate result of organic development, and the world of ideas is the fine flower of the whole cosmic process; but for that very reason it is not a copy of it in the ordinary sense.

(VAIHINGER, 1925: 15)

It is easy to see that Vaihinger's fictionalism is first contrasted with a correspondence theory of truth – that is, the idea that our knowledge is a copy of outer reality. In his view, human knowledge is only the final product of a biological development and its value is merely *instrumental*. Moreover, Vaihinger holds that our mind is “assimilative and constructive,” and that “logical thought is an active appropriation of the outer world, a useful organic elaboration of the material sensation” (VAIHINGER, 1925: 1).¹⁸ Thus, according to him, the “psyche” (to be understood not as a substance, but rather as “the organic whole of all so-called ‘mental’ actions and reactions”, *ibid.*) is *an organic formative force*, which independently changes what has been appropriated (VAIHINGER, 1925: 2). Finally, Vaihinger considers scientific thought as a function of the psyche and calls “fictions” the products of its activity: “The fictive activity of the mind is an expression of the fundamental psychical forces; *fictions are mental structures*” (VAIHINGER, 1925: 12).

This view is strongly influenced by Lange's *History of Materialism*.¹⁹ In that book, Vaihinger found an exposition of the most important topics debated by German neo-Kantian thinkers and scientists during the second half of the 19th century. In particular, Lange made reference to the studies of the German physiologist Johannes Müller and focused on the epistemological value of sense organs (see CEYNOWA, 1993: 134 f.). As for Lange, “pure” knowledge is not possible; anything we know is first moulded by our sense organs, and therefore by our intellect and its logical structure. This is coherent with the development of Kant's epistemology that Lange aimed to provide and whose radicalization led to Vaihinger's philosophical position.²⁰ In Vaihinger's view, his own fictionalism – that is, the idea that “psychical constructs [...] are only fictions, i.e. conceptual and ideational aids,” and “not hypotheses relating to the nature of reality” – is in fact a “‘critical’ standpoint” (VAIHINGER, 1925: 177).

¹⁸ Michael HEIDELBERGER (2014: 53) directly compared Vaihinger's view of human thought as a “biological function” with Ernst Mach's epistemology.

¹⁹ As we read in Vaihinger (1925: xxxv), in Lange he found “a master, a guide, an ideal teacher.” Vaihinger particularly devotes to Lange's “*Standpoint of the Ideal*” one section of the third part (*Historical Confirmations*) of his *The Philosophy of “As-if.”* On the influence of Lange on Vaihinger see CEYNOWA (1993: chap. 3) and HEIDELBERGER (2014).

²⁰ See HEIDELBERGER (2014: 51) ff. and VAIHINGER (1925: xxxvi, n.1).

The reference to neo-Kantianism is particularly important in order to understand Vaihinger's philosophical perspective, since it leads to the fundamental and widely debated question of the "thing in itself", and consequently, to the problematic concept of "subject" or "soul." From what has been shown above, it follows that Vaihinger considers the scientific concepts as having a merely logical value. Vaihinger particularly stresses this point, and in a way comparable to Nietzsche's stating the *four great errors* of human reason, deplores the traditional "error" of "attributing to the means value which really belongs exclusively to what is achieved by the means" (VAIHINGER, 1925: 167). In other words, Vaihinger argues that, whereas "concept and proposition serve merely as a means for communication [...], the psyche believes that it has grasped something when it has merely applied its fictional categories to the sensation-complex" (VAIHINGER, 1925: 169). The final result of this fundamental error is thus the creation of the concept of substance, which – to use Nietzsche's words – is "pushed under" the world of experience:

We get the fiction of a substance, supposed to exist outside the realm of experienced objects, which then become mere *attributa* or *modi* of the substance. In the same way there arises the fiction of an absolute cause of which the world of experience is supposed to be the effect; [...] and finally we get the fiction of the "Thing in itself" which is supposed to be the essence of phenomena. All these are unjustified transference-fictions, since a relationship which only has a meaning within the sphere of experience is extended beyond this into the void.

(VAIHINGER, 1925: 165-166)

That of "thing in itself" is maybe the most representative case of a fiction whose value has been misunderstood, as if it were not merely logical. In dealing with that concept, Vaihinger particularly draws his view, and introduces the question of the subject:

Only within the world of ideas are there things, things that are causes; in the real world these ideas are but empty echoes. The fiction of the *Ding an sich* would be the most brilliant of all conceptual instruments. Just as we introduce into mathematics and mechanics ideas which facilitate our task, so Kant introduces a device in the form of the concept *Ding an sich*, as an *x* to which a *y*, the ego, as our organization, corresponds. By this means the whole world of reality can be dealt with. Subsequently the "ego" and the *Ding an sich* are dropped, and only sensations remain as real. From our point of view the sequence of sensations constitutes ultimate reality, and two poles are mentally added, subject and object.

(VAIHINGER, 1925: 75-76)

In complete agreement with Lange and other contemporary neo-Kantian thinkers (see e.g. MACH, 1914: chap. 1), Vaihinger argues that the "ultimate reality" is constituted by sensations. For him, the logical fictions are only means to make reality manageable, for example, by marking relatively stable complexes of sensations, or by introducing imaginary causes, thus giving direction and –

particularly – *meaning* to the flux of sensations. The two substance concepts of subject and object are therefore a product of what we could call the “error of the unjustified extension” deplored by Vaihinger. According to his “critical standpoint”, there is no “subject” as much as there is no “object”: they are both only creations of our thought, “*instruments for finding our way about more easily in this world*” to which anything out of the world of our experience does not correspond.

As can now be seen, Vaihinger’s view can be compared with that of Nietzsche: they both claim the pure logical value of the categories of reason; they both stress the role of these categories as tools for the preservation of the species; and finally, they both evaluate the introduction of imaginary causes of the empirical world of experiences as a fundamental error of popular thought. It is worth noting that Vaihinger acknowledged this similarity and mentioned Nietzsche among the “historical confirmations” of his own philosophical perspective. In the final section of his book, Vaihinger particularly stressed that Nietzsche recognized “that life and science are not possible without imaginary or false conceptions” and “that false ideas must be employed both in science and life by intellectually mature people and with the full realization of their falsity.” Finally, he argued that “it was Lange, in all likelihood, who in this case served as his guide” (VAIHINGER, 1925: 341).²¹ Unfortunately, we cannot adequately develop this topic in this paper. In the few pages left, before turning to Pessoa, we will just make one final step to show Vaihinger’s view of the concept of “soul.”

Vaihinger’s psychological fictionalism directly follows from his general view of scientific concepts and since the latter is grounded on the neo-Kantian debate, corresponds to the perspective of scientific psychology that we presented in the previous section. In particular, Vaihinger considers the concept of “soul” as one of the several “verbal fictions [...] employed in all the sciences.” According to his fictionalism, these are “nothing but summational expressions for a series of interconnected phenomena and interconnected processes, [...] although [they] were formerly, and are still to-day regarded as expressions for real and existing entities” (VAIHINGER, 1925: 211-212). Furthermore, Vaihinger states that:

[...] in the scientific world to-day everyone is agreed that the concept of “soul” is only a fiction. We still speak of a soul as if there were such a thing as a separated, integral and simple soul-entity, though we are quite conscious that it is only a fiction. The “soul” is

²¹ Just a few lines below this passage, Vaihinger states once more that “Nietzsche, like Lange, emphasizes the great significance of ‘appearances’ in all the various field of science and life,” and then claims that “this Kantian or, if you will, neo-Kantian origin of Nietzsche’s doctrine has hitherto been completely ignored. [...] As a matter of fact there is a great deal of Kant in Nietzsche [...], of the spirit of Kant, of the real Kant who understood the nature of appearance through and through, but who, in spite of having seen through it, also consciously saw and recognized its usefulness and necessity” (VAIHINGER, 1925: 341-2).

simply a summational fiction without any reality. [...] On our “critical” view, the “soul” is simply a convenient aid for indicating the totality of psychical phenomena. We speak *as if* a soul existed.

(VAIHINGER, 1925: 213)

We can also directly compare Vaihinger’s and Nietzsche’s views on this point. As we have shown, Nietzsche was influenced by the neo-Kantian framework too, and on that ground he developed his fictional conception of the I. Moreover, Nietzsche stressed the practical usefulness of that concept and only rejected the idea of a causally efficacious I, that is, of an I as substance. In so doing, Nietzsche implicitly agrees with Vaihinger’s “critical” view, according to which it is important to consider the “verbal fictions” as “convenient aids” or “fruitful errors” (VAIHINGER, 1925: 169), with no need to completely get rid of them. In other words, both Nietzsche and Vaihinger think that we can keep on making reference to these concepts in our self- and world-description, but only by speaking *as if* they were existing copies of reality.

Thus far, we have briefly given a general view of fictionalism as it emerges from Vaihinger’s main work. His philosophical view is also outlined in George S. R. Mead’s *Quests Old and New* (1913), a book that Pessoa read and that – as we can see from a note written in the flyleaf of Pessoa’s personal copy of Mead’s book – influenced his view of the subject. In the following section we shall argue that Pessoa also supported a psychological fictionalism and that his view can be compared with Nietzsche’s precisely because it is grounded on Vaihinger’s philosophical perspective.

4. Pessoa: truth as a fiction

The first section of Pessoa’s private library, labelled “Philosophy and Psychology,” consists of 163 books, less than half of which actually deal with purely philosophical topics. Among those books, we find works from Blaise Pascal, Herbert Spencer, and Alfred Espinas, all of which Nietzsche also read. Given the past studies on the correspondences between Nietzsche’s and Pessoa’s private libraries, this is not surprising.²² Nor are we surprised to find Pessoa’s name related with philosophical inquiries, since we know that he was interested in that field of study, and particularly, that he devoted himself to it during 1905-1906 and 1915-1916.²³ Moreover, between 1915 and 1916 Pessoa read George S. R. Mead’s *Quest Old and New*, first published in 1913. Mead was one of the main members of the Theosophical Society from 1884 to 1909. He worked as a translator, editor, and

²² On this, see e.g. GAGO (2009: 135-154).

²³ The first publication of Pessoa’s philosophical writings (PESSOA, 1968) showed his interest in philosophical inquiries. Starting from that book, several scholars carried on studies on that topic, and other more complete editions of Pessoa’s philosophical writings are forthcoming.

historian and was particularly interested in the gnostic and hermetic drifts of ancient religions. In fact, a large part of his *Quests Old and New* is devoted to exactly that topic and the several underscores and reading marks that we find in Pessoa's personal copy of that book show us that he found Mead's investigations stimulating. But Pessoa's interest was not limited to Mead's dealing with ancient religions. Pessoa also deeply read the eleventh chapter of *Quests Old and New*, which is devoted to *Vaihinger's Philosophy of "As if."*

Once more, the reading marks that we find in Pessoa's personal copy of Mead's book are revealing. They show us that Pessoa was particularly intrigued by Mead's arguments that (a) we can consider the world of the sense alone to be real, all else being only a fiction (MEAD, 1913: 248; see Fig. 1); (b) the soul can be seen as an "organic enforming or plastic force" (MEAD, 1913: 254; see Fig. 2); and (c) according to Vaihinger, "the division into inner and outer is simply an expedient of the psyche," and "subject and object [...] is at best an artificial and not a real division" (MEAD, 1913: 260; see Fig. 3).

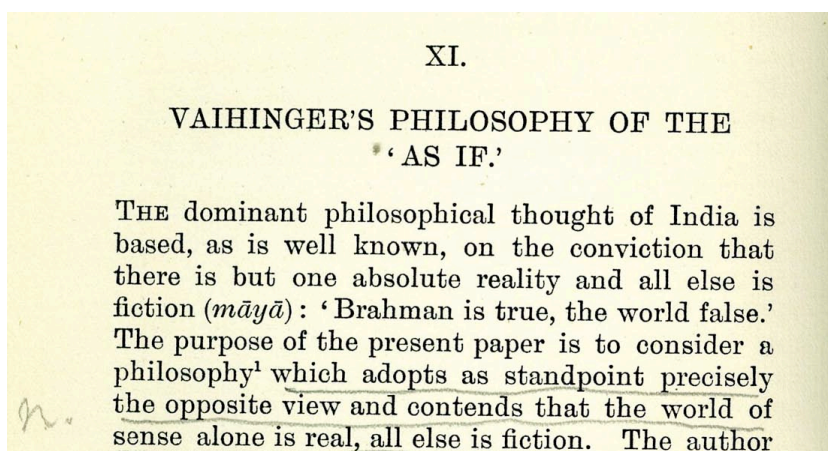


Fig. 1. Fernando Pessoa House, call number 1-105

George Robert Stow Mead, *Quests Old and New*, 1913, p. 248. Detail.

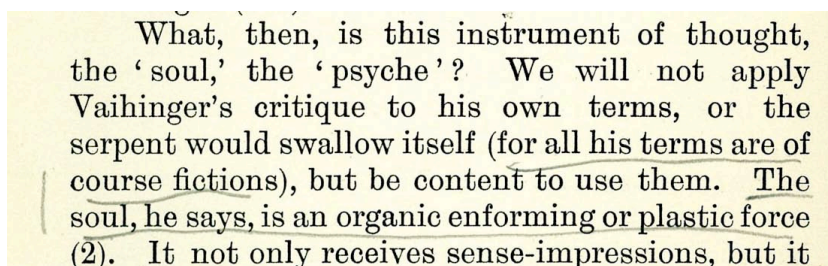


Fig. 2. Fernando Pessoa House, call number 1-105

George Robert Stow Mead, *Quests Old and New*, 1913, p. 254. Detail.

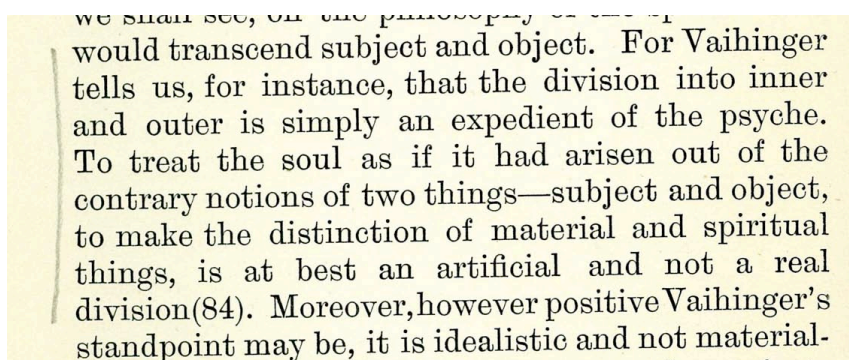


Fig. 3. Fernando Pessoa House, call number 1-105
George Robert Stow Mead, *Quests Old and New*, 1913, p. 260. Detail.

It is worth noting that Pessoa does more than underscore these passages of Mead's book. In the flyleaf at the end of his personal copy of *Quests Old and New* there are some marginalia that reveal Pessoa's particular interest in those topics (see fig. 4). This document consist of two pages of rough observations, which can hardly be interpreted either as mere notes to the chapter on *Vaihinger's Philosophy of "As if"*, or as the structure of a projected philosophical essay. Regardless, what is most interesting is the topic which Pessoa deals with in this flyleaf, that is, the rejection of the traditional contraposition between subject and object and of the view of consciousness as an objective phenomenon. Moreover, in stating the fictitious character and ontological inconsistency of notions such as "subject", "I" and "(self-) consciousness," Pessoa criticises the idea of a "pure subject" in a way that recalls Nietzsche's criticism towards the concept of "pure mind."²⁴ Given the importance of this document, we publish it here in its entirety accompanied by an English translation (see Fig. 7).²⁵

Vaihinger: Porque não dizer que o mundo externo é uma
ficção para lidarmos com o mundo abstracto?

Assim como um objecto material pode ser ao
mesmo tempo, e com igual realidade o que
é exteriormente e no conjunto chimico e
physico *imperceptivel*, assim tambem uma
cousa pode ter côr e beleza com igual
"materialidade", exterioridade.

O sentimento do Eu? a /anticonsciencia?/ –
Depende de um sentido especial? Como?

O erro essencial é *attribuir objectividade á consciencia*.
Todos outros erros são filhos d'este – são, melhor, só
este. O erro é este, o erro em si.

Vaihinger: Why not say that the external world is a
fiction in order for us to deal with the abstract world?

Just as a material object can be at
the same time and with the same reality that which
is exterior and, together, chemically
and physically imperceptible; so also can a
thing have colour and beauty with the same
"materiality" or exteriority.

The feeling of the I? /anti-consciousness?/ –
It depends on a special meaning? Such as?

The essential error is to attribute objectivity to consciousness.
All other errors are inheritors of this, and this alone.
The error is this: the error itself.

²⁴ In a posthumous fragment also quoted by Vaihinger. See above, § 1.

²⁵ The document has been transcribed by Antonio Cardiello, Patricio Ferrari, and Jerónimo Pizarro. English translation by Bartholomew Ryan.

O infinito é uma ficção como o metro ou o gramma.²⁶
A sua attitude é principalmente mathematica.

Hypothese: Visto que *Sujeito Puro* é inexistente, só pode existir Sujeito não-puro, sujeito-objecto. Isto é, o sujeito é puro manifestar-se sem haver *quê* que se manifeste. Não *ha* consciencia; isto é, não *ha* consciencia-em si. *Ha só conscientes*.

Só quando a consciencia obedece á lei da pluralidade que é a 1ª lei da Realidade, só então a C[onsciencia], deixando de existir como consciencia, passa a existir como Realidade, passa a existir, *tout court*. Nos sentidos é que se */vive/*, só nos sentidos. Não *ha* sentido da Consciencia, mas só do eu consciente, só do erro sensual, só do *eu* enfim.

O erro é uma realidade limitada, ou, melhor, relativa. (?) – O erro-sonho, o erro-erro (e.g. 2 + 2 = 5 em qualquer irrealidade de *pensamento*²⁷), o erro-ficção (e.g. infinito, gramma, metro)

Erro-sonho: confusão
erro-erro = imperfeição de
sentidos etc
erro-ficção = □

O erro é sempre
uma imperfeição;
O *sonho*, de sen-
tidos; o *erro*
de pensamento²⁸; a
ficção, de vontade. (?)

Infinity is a fiction like the metre or the gramma.
Its attitude is principally mathematics.

Hypothesis: Since the Pure Subject is non-existent, then the non-pure Subject can only exist, as subject-object. That is, the subject is pure, manifested without having that which is manifested. There is no such thing as consciousness; that is, there is no such thing as consciousness itself. There are only the conscious.

Only when consciousness obeys the law of plurality which is the 1st Law of Reality, then C[onscious]ness [5] ceases to exist as consciousness, it comes to exist as Reality, it comes into being, *tout court*. It is through the senses that one/ lives/, through the senses alone. There is no meaning of Consciousness, but only of the conscious I, only of the sensual error, only of the I itself.

The error is a limited reality, or, rather, it is relative. (?) - The dream-error, the error-error (e.g. 2 + 2 = 5 in any unreality of thought), the fiction-error (e.g. infinity, gramma, metre)

Dream-error: confusion
error-error = imperfection
of meanings, etc.
fiction-error = □

The error is always
An imperfection;
The *dream*, of
meaning; the *error*
of thought;
the *fiction*, of will. (?)

This document clearly shows that Pessoa's reading of *Quests Old and New* led him to strongly criticise a view of the subject as a substance, as an *individuum*, and this allows us to argue that he developed a fictionalist view of psychology. Indeed, in Pessoa's observations we find the fundamental elements of the point of view that we sketched in sections 1 and 2. As stated above, Pessoa claims that "the Pure-Subject is non-existent," and argues that "the non-pure subject can only exist, as subject-object." That is, Pessoa rejects the idea of a subject *in itself*, absolute, completely isolated. Rather, the only subject we can talk about is a subject that *we know*, and therefore something that rises from a relationship and a creative process – the process of knowing. In that sense, according to Pessoa, the subject is an object. Furthermore, Pessoa criticises as an "error" the idea of "attribut[ing] objectivity to consciousness". In his view, "there is no such thing as consciousness, [...] as consciousness in itself," but "there are only the conscious." Thus, in agreement with some neo-Kantian positions that we also find in Vaihinger and Nietzsche, Pessoa conceives of consciousness as *a process* instead of as a substantive concept.

²⁶ <kilogr> [↑ gramma].

²⁷ [↑ em qualquer irrealidade de *pensamento*]

²⁸ atenção [↑ pensamento]

We can find these psychological views developed in other philosophical fragments that Pessoa wrote between 1913 and 1916 and that testify his attempts to gain self-knowledge. Among these writings, we find a text that would have been an integration of the philosophical novel *O Eremita da Serra Negra*, signed by the fictitious writer Pero Botelho. Botelho worked between 1912 and 1913, and foreran the age of *sensacionismo* and the attempts to take the dissolution of the subject as an aesthetic and philosophic ground, something that Pessoa developed in 1914 with Campos and the first orthonym statements.

O sujeito ao ser pensado como sujeito é objecto...

O²⁹ não-ser para ser não-ser precisa *ser*, isto é, ter ser; isto é abstracto mas o argumento agora versa abstracções.³⁰ Metaphysicamente, a inversa é igualmente certa. O ser para ser não-ser precisa não-ser.

Isto vem tudo de que não-ser e ser são para nós *idéas*; nunca os podemos considerar absolutamente. Estão por isso sempre desmentindo-nos. Não são senão *pensados*. Há sempre mesmo abysmo entre elles e a nossa idéa³¹ d'elles. [...] O unico noumenon é o pensamento em si. [...] O p[ensamento] deixa de ser em-si por ter objecto. A philosophia que é o pensamento reflexo, é acto divino regresso do mundo a Deus, pela consciencia da illusão³² (ou é a *causa* d'este sujeito a illusão d'elle, *a fé* que d'elle nasce). [...] o Universo não existe. O que existe não sabemos. O U[niverso] com as suas obras, o □ nem sequer é uma illusão. O sujeito puro é impensavel. As maiores abstracções — ser ou não-ser — são ellas proprias contradictorias e *Objecto*.

(BNP/E3, 22-33 a 35; cf. PESSOA, 1968: 46-48)

In this excerpt, Pessoa already criticises the idea of a “pure subject,” and states that both “self” and “not-self” are *abstractions*. Moreover, Pessoa argues that self and not-self are mutually fundamental. In fact, as we read in the second line of the quoted note, “o não-ser para ser não-ser precisa *ser*.” This claim leads to a non-metaphysical view of the objectivity of the subject, to the idea that insofar as we think of a subject, *we make an object out of it*. What is particularly interesting for our present investigation is Pessoa’s focus on his own inner space. This attempt to gain a self-knowledge that accompanies the growth and development of his poetic and thinking activity – both from an aesthetic and a psychological point of view – is characterized by a view of the “I” as a non-substance concept.

We find a first draft reflection on a psychic entity external to consciousness in the early poem *Abdicação* (1910), but only in two excerpts from 1914 can we see the seeds of the following works. In these fragments Pessoa outlines a kind of individuality, or subject, which lays in the indefinite space between transcendence

²⁹ <Se> <o>/O\

³⁰ isto é <abstracto> [↑ abstracto mas o argumento agora versa abstracções.]

³¹ a [← nossa] idéa

³² /acto divino regresso do mundo a Deus, pela consciencia da illusão/

and immanence. This subject is therefore split between these two existential realms, and we cannot find it given the impermanency and indefiniteness of the place that hosts it. But that place is not unconscious. It is, rather, an extension of the consciousness, a kind of *hyper*-consciousness that bears the weight of that *other* which is this extended consciousness itself.

Ficarei o Inferno de ser Eu, a Limitação Absoluta, Expulsão-Ser do Universo longinquo!
Ficarei nem Deus, nem homem, nem mundo, mero vacuo-pessoa, infinito de Nada
consciente, pavor sem nome, exilado do proprio mysterio, da propria Vida. Habitarei
eternamente o deserto morto de mim, erro abstracto da criação que me deixou atraz.
Arderá em mim eternamente, inutilmente, a ansia esteril do regresso a ser.

Não poderei sentir porque não terei materia com que sinta, não poderei espirar alegria, ou
odio, ou horror, porque não tenho nem a faculdade com que o sinta³³, consciencia abstracta
no inferno do não conter nada, Não-Conteúdo Absoluto, Suffocação absoluta e eterna!

(BNP/E3, 20-47; cf. PESSOA, 1966: 60)

Não sei quem sou, que alma tenho.

Quando fallo com sinceridade não sei com que sinceridade fallo. Sou variamente³⁴ outro do
que um eu que não sei se existe, (se é esses outros).

Sinto crenças que não tenho. Enlevam-me ancias que repudio. A minha perpetua atenção
sobre mim perpetuamente me aponta traições de alma a um carater que talvez eu não
tenha, nem ella julga que eu tenho.

Sinto-me multiplo. Sou como um quarto com inumeros espelhos fantasticos que torcem
para reflexões falsas uma unica anterior realidade que não está em nenhuma e está em
todas.

Como o pantheista se sente onda e astro e e flôr, eu sinto-me varios seres. Sinto-me viver
vidas alheias, em mim, incompletamente, como se o meu ser participasse de todos os
homens, incompletamente de cada, individuado por uma suma de não-eus synthetizados
num eu postiço³⁵.

(BNP/E3, 20-67; cf. PESSOA, 2003: 151)

In these excerpts, with a negative rhetoric which is peculiar to him, Pessoa argues that, in order to find the “true” self,³⁶ one has to recognize and finally accept that his own subjectivity is far from being the origin of his psychic activity, or, least of all, the substantial reference of his self-knowledge. Similar to Nietzsche, in Pessoa we find the idea that the contraposition between “self” and “other” is *internal* to the subject, and we can thus talk – using an oxymoron – of a *plural*

³³ [↑ porque não tenho nem a faculdade com que o sinta]

³⁴ Sou <outro> variamente

³⁵ eu <postiço> postiço

³⁶ The “self” Pessoa talks about, here, is not the one of common sense psychology, the egoistic one that hypostatize himself or the individual that, from time to time, he inhabits. It is not a substance self, but a dynamic and impermanent one.

individuality. Due to this plurality, the subject cannot look at itself and find something fixed, nor even becoming that something fixed. On the contrary, in this game between the identical and the different, the independency of these two poles is preserved, and they give birth to an endless and ever-changing dynamic. Thus, the subject, the individual, looks at itself as a totality, as “mais diverso do que o universo espontaneo” (PESSOA, 2014: 176).

In order to make this view of the self possible, Pessoa develops a poetics grounded on the epistemic value of intuitive feeling and knowing, a poetics that never restricts itself to a single voice, but looks for a chorus, a multiplicity of voices which are harmoniously related and generate a *dynamic singularity*. Moreover, his poetics is grounded on an equilibrium between the many sides of the Self, and stresses that anytime someone faces his own Self, he finds himself as different from the image he has of it. Pessoa’s attempt to approach something which is different from the knowing subject and cannot be reduced to an inert substance, along with his arguing that anything which is not internally plural is only an illusion, had noticeable effects on his later work. Two fragments written between 1914 and 1916, attributable to Pero Botelho and Raphael Baldaya, are particularly interesting for this topic:

Mas momentos tenho em que carnalmente sou idealista.

Ante as cousas quedo-me¹ □; vejo-as sem comprehender que as estou vendo, e do que é estar vendo.

Á tona carnal da minha alma sobe³⁷ o mysterio das cousas. Vejo, ouço, tacteio³⁸ alheiadamente ao que em mim vê, ouve e toca.

Separei-me de mim de repente. Olho, de mim e de longe, as minhas sensações e ellas parecem, além de como que visiveis, pertencentes a outro, movendo-se em mim por obscenidade e por grandeza

(PESSOA, 2013a: 352)

Tudo é illusão.

A illusão do pensamento, a do sentimento, a da vontade. Tudo é criação, e toda a criação é illusão.

Crear é mentir.

(BNP/E3, 22-32r; cf. PESSOA 1968: 44)

The opening statement “tudo é illusão” [everything is illusion], from the philosophical fragment *O Desconhecido*, leads us back to Vaihinger and his fictionalist reading of Nietzsche. In *The Philosophy of “As if,”* Vaihinger states the purely fictive character of notions such as “point,” “surface,” “infinite,” “matter,” and “thing in itself”: these are all fictions to us, since we cannot attribute them a real existence, but rather, we use them as mere tools for our world-orientation and

³⁷ /sobe/

³⁸ /tacteio/

world-description, *as-if* they have an actual place in the world. According to Vaihinger, our practical life is grounded on a conventional belief, according to which we conceive a mere product of our intellect as if it were real. Thus, the relationship between the testimony of our senses – the “apparent” world, the *only* world that we can know – and the realm of fictions, acquires quite a new meaning. St stake here, is how to conceive the traditional concept of “truth.” According to Vaihinger, what we call “truth” is only a collection of necessary errors, without which we could not will, act, and judge – in a word: live. In agreement with Vaihinger, António Mora outlines the principles of his own aesthetics:

Vivemos de ficções porém não ficticiamente. Fora de nós apprehendemos uma realidade exterior e um destino imutavel, nem justo nem injusto, alheio assim ao³⁹ bem como ao mal, que nos rege a nós e a ella. Tudo mais fingimol-o ou sonhamol-o, é sonho consciente ou inconsciente. Fingimos e sonhamos para poder viver. Assim como não comemos nós a mor parte dos alimentos, assim tambem não vemos sem disfarce a mor parte do que chamamos factos. [...] Não é sonho a vida: é-o, porém, toda interpretação da vida. [...] Ficção da intelligencia: creamos ficções puras, “força”, “matéria”, □ – cousas que nada são, nada representam, a nada⁴⁰ correspondem: o materialismo e o idealismo, irmãos-gemeos, diferentes apenas por não serem um só⁴¹. Força, materia, actos, tudo é ficção, e da ficção mais ficticia que pode haver, a ficção do abstracto que se julga correcto. [...] Vivemos pelos sentidos, convivemos⁴² pela intelligencia. Assim, pois, desligada dos sentidos, sendo que existe apenas para servil-os, a intelligencia opera no vacuo, é no vacuo de conhecer que⁴³ convivemos e que nos entendemos uns aos outros. A vida social é uma ficção.

(BNP/E3, 12¹-94 e 95^r; cf. PESSOA, 2013b: 170-172)

Moreover, after having described three kinds of fiction – religious and metaphysical, moral, and aesthetic – Pessoa concludes: “Servem as primeiras⁴⁴ de guiar-nos nas nossas relações universais; as segundas nas nossas relações sociais; as ultimas⁴⁵ nas nossas relações com nós-proprios” (BNP/E3, 12¹-96^r; PESSOA, 2013b: 172).

Fictions are unreal, but they cannot identify the fictive character of the world in itself. Rather, they suggest that the world is moulded in a fictional drama. Thus, the reference to fictions as principle elements of that theatre that is our world, leads to the idea of poetry and writing as a philosophical method.

Another consequence of this way of reasoning relates to the useful value that pertains to maintaining beliefs and theories of various sorts. In that context,

³⁹ alheio [↑assim] ao

⁴⁰ [↑a] nada

⁴¹ em [↑por] não serem o mesmo [↑ serem um só]

⁴² sentidos, <convivemos> convivemos

⁴³ vacuo [↑ de conhecer] que

⁴⁴ [↑ Servem] As primeiras <servem>

⁴⁵ as <terce> ultimas

the notion of truth is only a tool, whose truthfulness follows from its usefulness. Pessoa, also conceives of the truth as a tool. For him, she is in fact a symbol, she refers to something else. But there is no fixed reference, actually, and the truth only leads us to a view of knowledge as an everlasting process. In a fragment that should have been included in the preface of *Ficções de Interlúdio*, Pessoa shows us the method he thinks we can follow once we give up the traditional concept of truth as a “universally valid and binding designation of things” (to use Nietzsche’s words from *On Truth and Lie in an Extra-moral Sense*):

Negada a verdade, não temos com que entreter-nos senão a mentira. Com ella nos entretenhamos, dando-a porém como tal, que não como verdade; se uma hypothese metaphysica nos occorre, façamos com ella, não a mentira de um systema (onde possa ser verdade) mas a verdade de um poema ou de uma novella - verdade em saber que é mentira, e assim não mentir.

(BNP/E3, 28-22; cf. LOPES, 1990: II, 114)

In this excerpt, Pessoa argues that truth and lies are both fictions. The subject of this judgement is the pretending artist, who sees the fictions as devices that make our relationship with the world possible and let us inhabit it and communicate with other people – given that, in art “honest” communication is not possible. Moreover, the context of this discourse is the generation of heteronyms. As is well-known, in Pessoa, heteronym is much more than a mere literary fiction and it cannot be reduced to a mere aesthetic resource. For him, heteronym puts the very notion of subject in question and looks at the dynamic, non-substantial conception of the self as a providing better access to our inner side, both from a psychological and an epistemic point of view. Moreover, heteronym leads to a new view of fiction itself: as for Pessoa, any product of our thought, and above all, the heteronyms, are real fictions (where “real” is assumed in the sense of the reality that Pessoa attributes to his heteronyms) that acquire a truth-value from their own existence as a field of thought.

In other words, Pessoa thinks that to pretend does not mean to leave the realm of truth, that is, the hypothetical individual identity of our personal existence. When we pretend, we enter a realm where our activity generates what we call “truth.” In that realm, honesty is the place where we are always absent and the name of the heteronym that, time-after-time is regarded as someone other than the actual writer, is a symbol for that place. From that point of view, “truth” is subordinate to the moral commitment according to which any thought must be seen as a fiction, that is, as regarding only a limited *field of truth*.

With all this in mind, Pessoa, pretending to be who he actually was, invites us to feel everything in every way in order to manage the multiple characters of the subject by incorporating what we perceive as other than us. Once we understand that it is not possible to give up the fictions, Pessoa not only stresses

the creative character of life, but also asks us to choose a life that cannot be chosen. In fact, as António Mora remarks, “força é que finjamos esse destino, para nos guiarmos na vida” (BNP/E3, 12¹-94^v; PESSOA, 2013b: 171).

5. Conclusions

Our investigation of Nietzsche's and Pessoa's views of the subject led to several outcomes. First of all, as argued above, we can argue that both authors defend a psychological fictionalism, that is, they both consider psychological entities such as subject, I, *ego*, or soul as mere creations of thought whose metaphysical objectivity must be rejected. Their views agree with some inquiries from the late nineteenth century, inquiries that developed Kant's psychological investigation in a purely scientific way. We can properly talk about a “fictionalist” view and attribute it to both Nietzsche and Pessoa, for the latter had an indirect knowledge of Vaihinger's “system of the theoretical, practical and religious fictions of mankind,” while Nietzsche – the “*Kantian Nietzsche*” – is a primary reference of Vaihinger himself. Furthermore, it is worth noting that this fictionalist psychology is only the starting point of both Nietzsche's and Pessoa's work. Both of them developed some original philosophical reflections and, for Pessoa, an original poetics, on the ground of their criticism towards the traditional substance-subject distinction. Thus, they both prove to have been capable of growing the seeds of an epistemological debate that has been often criticized as less philosophically relevant.

The second outcome pertains to Pessoa-studies and follows from what we have just stated. The document found in the back flyleaf and back inside cover of Mead's book is one more testimony of the deeply philosophical content of Pessoa's literary production. Moreover, those marginalia prove that Pessoa's philosophical observations are not just scattered thoughts, mere intuitions on philosophically relevant topics. On the contrary, these thoughts arise from Pessoa's interest in a rich and wide debate that was particularly fertile between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth-century.

Finally, the correspondence between Nietzsche's and Pessoa's views of the subject is of recent interest for several scholars. Our research shows that this correspondence can be explained by making reference to the cultural context of these two authors, to the debate they both made reference to. Thus, there is no need for thinking that Pessoa could have read (directly or indirectly) some of Nietzsche's statements on that particular topic. On the contrary – and this is our argument – Pessoa sometimes just reflects on basic assumptions or on some main outcomes of the scientific and philosophical investigations of his time, investigations that developed the debate that interested Nietzsche and that also strongly influenced his thought.

This last outcome leads to a final methodological conclusion. Insofar as we can shed light on Pessoa's literary and poetic production by making reference to some of the texts he read, and on the content of which he deeply reflected (but scarcely mentions, also in his manuscripts), an investigation of the sources of Pessoa's work is therefore of primary importance. Moreover, Pessoa-studies could be inspired from of European Nietzsche-studies and try to focus on what Mazzino Montinari (the "father" of the critical edition of Nietzsche's writings) called the "extra-text."⁴⁶ With this expression Montinari points to what lays beyond the text but is nevertheless deeply involved in the genesis of the text itself (e.g. a book or an ongoing debate). According to Montinari, most of the time this "extra-text" is "more relevant than what we read in the text itself," since the meaning of the text, its real content, its significance, lays in what the author left unexpressed. The present research is an example of this kind of investigation. From a name that appears in a marginal text, we can draw out the picture of a wide network, which lays unexpressed under the surface of Pessoa's published texts. That network connects Pessoa to many other authors, some of whom are related to him in surprising ways, and gives meaning to his statements and aesthetic choices. In doing this, we can appreciate the richness of Pessoa's literary production, the intensity of his view of the world, and the deepness of his reflections on the crisis of modernity even more.

⁴⁶ See on this CAMPIONI (1999: 202).

Annex – Documents

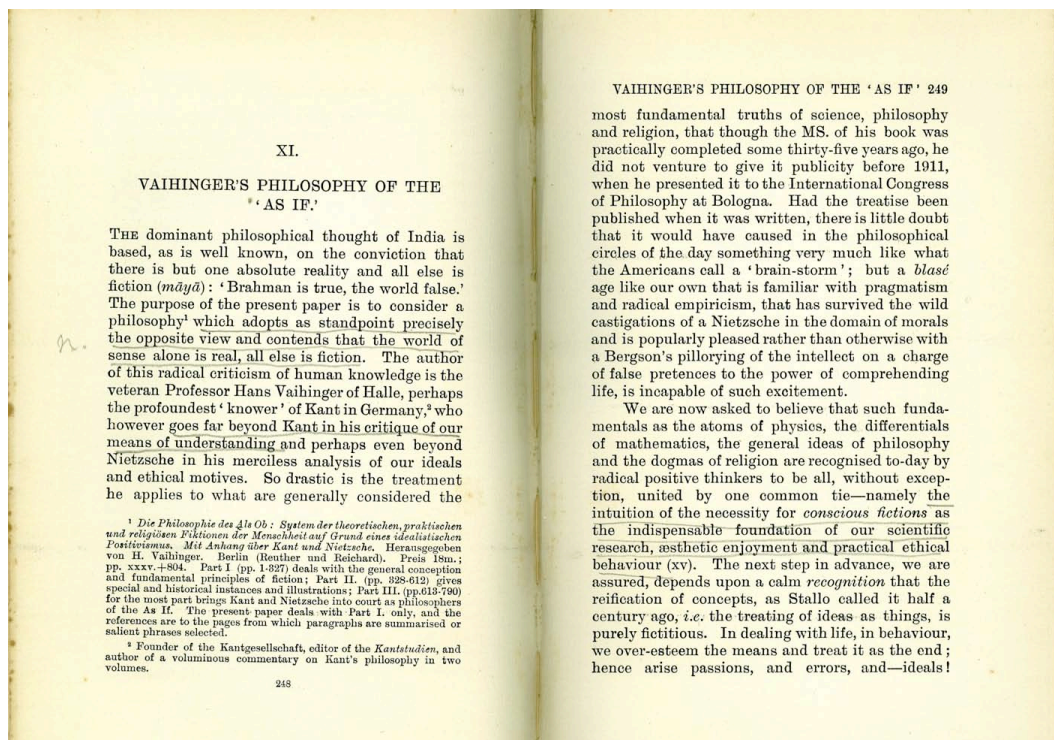


Fig. 4. Fernando Pessoa House, call number 1-105
George Robert Stow Mead, *Quests Old and New*, 1913, pp. 248-249.

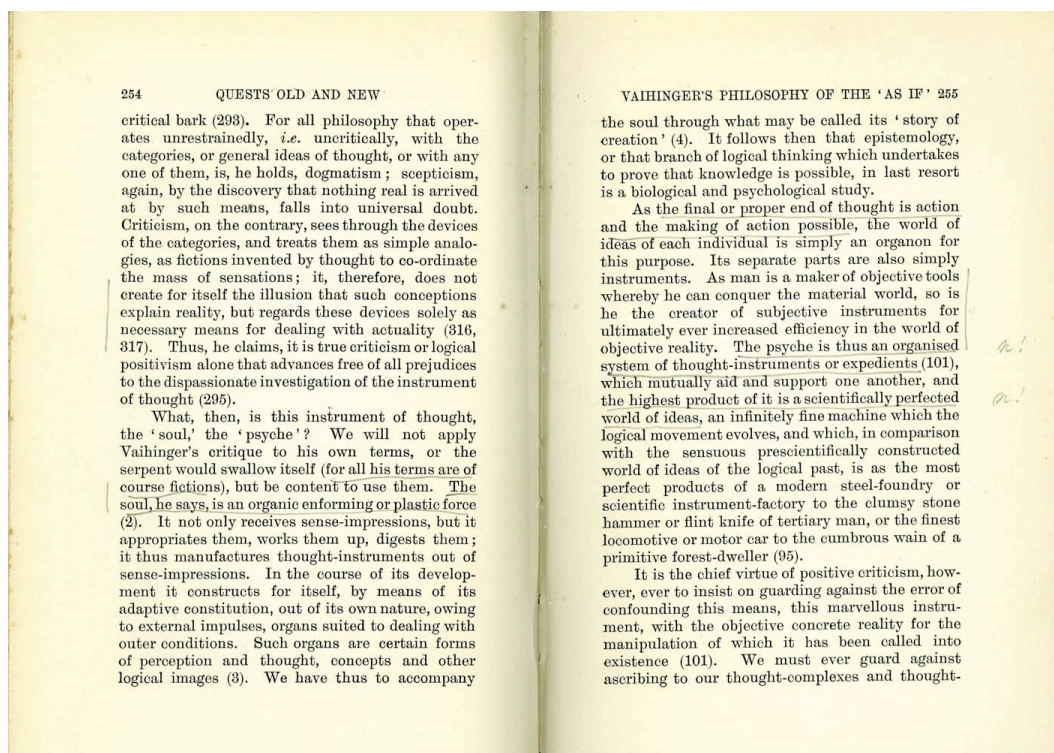


Fig. 5. Fernando Pessoa House, call number 1-105
George Robert Stow Mead, *Quests Old and New*, 1913, pp. 254-255.

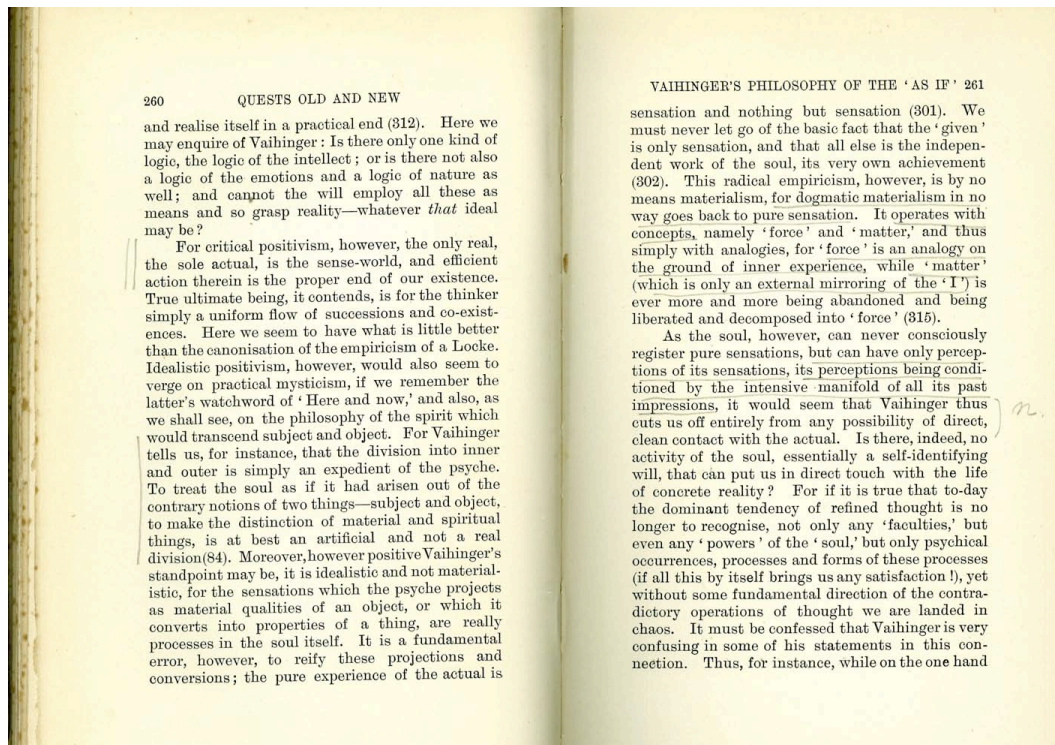


Fig. 6. Fernando Pessoa House, call number 1-105

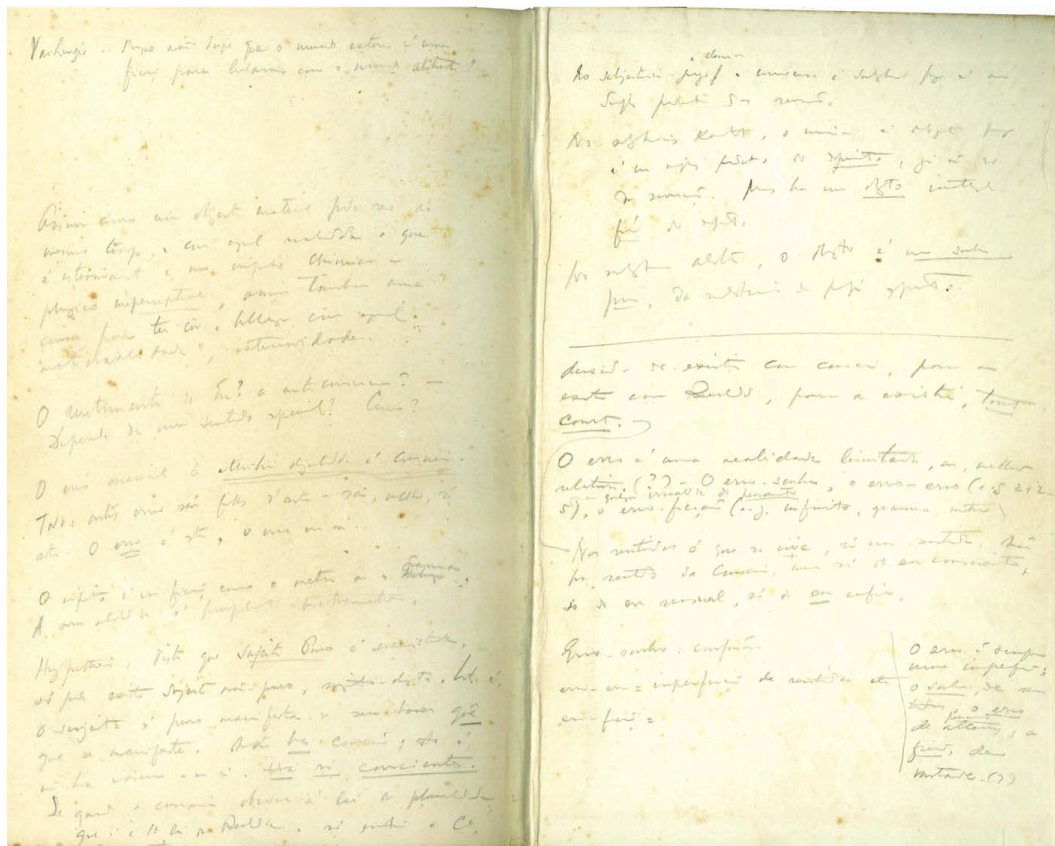
George Robert Stow Mead, *Quests Old and New*, 1913, pp. 260-261.

Fig. 7. Fernando Pessoa House, call number 1-105

George Robert Stow Mead, *Quests Old and New*, 1913, back flyleaf and back inside cover.

Bibliography

- ABEL, Günter (2001). "Bewußtsein – Sprache – Natur. Nietzsches Philosophie des Geistes." *Nietzsche-Studien* n.º 30, pp. 1-43.
- AHADIR, Eker and Sabine DÖRING (2014). "Eine Moral des Als Ob? Moralische Fiktionalismus heute und in Hans Vaihingers *Philosophie des Als Ob*." M. Neuber (ed.). *Fiktion und Fiktionalismus: Beiträge zu Hans Vaihingers, Philosophie des Als Ob*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, pp. 187-221.
- CAMPIONI, Giuliano (1999). "Nota." M. Montinari, *Che cosa ha detto Nietzsche?* Milano: Adelphi.
- CEYNOWA, Klaus (1993). *Zwischen Pragmatismus und Fiktionalismus. Hans Vaihingers, Philosophie des Als Ob*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.
- EKLUND, Matti (2011). "Fictionalism." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.). <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/fictionalism/>
- EMDEN, Christian J. (2005). *Nietzsche on Language, Consciousness and the Body*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- GARDNER, Sebastian (2009). "Nietzsche, the Self, and the Disunity of Philosophical Reason." K. Gemes and S. May (eds.). *Nietzsche on Freedom and Autonomy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-31.
- GAGO, Carla (2009). "Espelho de uma vida intelectual: a biblioteca de Friedrich Nietzsche. Paralelos com a biblioteca de Fernando Pessoa." Jerónimo Pizarro (ed.). *Fernando Pessoa: o guardador de papéis*. Lisbon: Texto Editores, pp. 135-154.
- GORI, Pietro (2015a). "Psychology without a Soul, Philosophy without an I. Nietzsche and 19th century Psychophysics (Fechner, Lange, Mach)." J. Constandio *et alia* (eds.). *Nietzsche and the Problem of Subjectivity*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 166-195.
- (2015b). "Nietzsche's Late Pragmatic Anthropology." *Journal of Philosophical Research*, n.º 40, pp. 377-404.
- GENTILI, Carlo (2013). "Kant, Nietzsche und die 'Philosophie des Als-Ob'." *Nietzscherforschung*, n.º 20, pp. 103-116.
- (2009). "The Usefulness of Substances. Knowledge, Metaphysics and Science in Nietzsche and Mach." *Nietzsche-Studien*, n.º 38, pp. 111-155.
- HEIDELBERGER, Michael (2014). "Hans Vaihinger und Friedrich Albert Lange. Mit einer Ausblick auf Ludwig Wittgenstein." M. Neuber (ed.). *Fiktion und Fiktionalismus: Beiträge zu Hans Vaihingers, Philosophie des Als Ob*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, pp. 43-63.
- HUSSAIN, Nadeem (2007). "Honest Illusion: Valuing for Nietzsche's Free Spirits." B. Leiter and N. Sinhababu (eds.). *Nietzsche and Morality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 157-191.
- KATSAFANAS, Paul (2005). "Nietzsche's Theory of Mind. Consciousness and Conceptualization," *European Journal of Philosophy*, n.º 13, pp. 1-31.
- LEHMANN, Gerhard (1987). "Kant im Spätidealismus und die Anfänge der neukantische Bewegung." *Materialen zur Neukantismus-Diskussion*. H. L. Ollig (eds.). Darmstadt, pp. 44-65.
- LEITER, Brian (2002). *Nietzsche on Morality*. London: Routledge.
- LOPES, Teresa Rita (1990). *Pessoa por Conhecer - Textos para um Novo Mapa*. Lisboa: Estampa. 2 vols.
- LOUKIDELIS, Nikolaos (2013). *Es denkt. Ein Kommentar zum Aphorismus 17 von Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.
- LUPO, Luca (2006). *Le colombe dello scettico*. Pisa: ETS.
- MEAD, George R.S. (1913). *Quests Old and New*. London: G. Bell & Sons.
- MACH, Ernst (1914). *The Analysis of Sensations*. Chicago/London: Open Court.
- NEUBER, Matthias (2014). "Einleitung: Die Welt im Modus des Als Ob – Hans Vaihinger und die philosophische Tradition." M. Neuber (ed.). *Fiktion und Fiktionalismus: Beiträge zu Hans Vaihingers, Philosophie des Als Ob*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.

- NIETZSCHE, Friedrich (2005). *The Anti-Christ, Ecce Homo, Twilight of the Idols*. English translation by J. Norman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ____ (2003). *Writings from the Late Notebooks*. English translation by K. Sturge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ____ (2002). *Beyond Good and Evil*. English translation by J. Norman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ____ (1967-). *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Ca. 40 Bde in 9 Abteilungen. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2014). *Obra Completa de Álvaro de Campos*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Antonio Cardiello; with the collaboration of Jorge Uribe and Filipa Freitas. Lisboa: Tinta-da-china.
- ____ (2013a). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro e Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-china.
- ____ (2013b). *O Regresso dos Deuses e outros escritos de António Mora*. Edited by Manuela Parreira da Silva. Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim.
- ____ (2003). *Escritos Autobiográficos, Automáticos, e de Reflexão Pessoal*. Edited by Richard Zenith, with the collaboration of Manuela Parreira da Silva. Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim.
- ____ (1968). *Textos Filosóficos*. Edited by António de Pina Coelho. Lisboa: Ática. 2 vols.
- ____ (1966). *Páginas Íntimas e de Auto-Interpretação*. Edited by Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisboa: Ática.
- RICCARDI, Mattia (forth.). "Nietzsche on the Superficiality of Consciousness." *Nietzsche on Consciousness and the Embodied Mind*. M. Dries (ed.). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- STACK, George (1983). *Lange and Nietzsche*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- VAIHINGER, Hans (1925). *The Philosophy of "As-if"*. English translation by C.G. Otten. New York: Harcourt, Brace&C.

Octavio Paz, leitor de Fernando Pessoa: crítica, tradução e poesia

Daiane Walker Araujo*

Keywords

Octavio Paz, Fernando Pessoa, Alberto Caeiro, Criticism, Translation, Poetry.

Abstract

This article proposes to revisit the critical and poetic interest of Octavio Paz in the work of Fernando Pessoa. The discovery of this poetry, which has contributed to the enlargement of the Mexican poet's vision of modern poetry, has earned him one of the most famous essays in Pessoa's critical fortune, "Fernando Pessoa, el desconocido de sí mismo" (1961), until today considered one of the most enlightening conceptions of Pessoa's aesthetic experience. Considering the critical passion expressed in this text, we try to discuss the reading proposals of Paz, especially concerning Alberto Caeiro, as well as an excerpt from his translations of the Portuguese poet. Finally, we will illustrate how the encounter with the work of Pessoa caused a transformation in the poetic themes of Octavio Paz.

Palavras-chave

Octavio Paz, Fernando Pessoa, Alberto Caeiro, Crítica, Tradução, Poesia.

Resumo

Este artigo propõe-se a revisitar o interesse crítico e poético de Octavio Paz sobre a obra de Fernando Pessoa. A descoberta dessa poesia, que terá contribuído para o alargamento da visão do poeta mexicano sobre a poesia moderna, valeu-lhe um dos mais célebres ensaios da fortuna crítica pessoana, "El desconocido de sí mismo" (1961), até hoje considerado uma das sínteses mais elucidativas da experiência estética de Pessoa. Considerando a paixão crítica aí manifestada, procuraremos discutir as proposições de leitura de Paz, sobretudo no que diz respeito a Alberto Caeiro, bem como um excerto de suas traduções do poeta português. Por fim, ilustraremos o quanto o encontro com a obra de Pessoa terá provocado uma transformação nos temas poéticos de Octavio Paz.

* Universidade de São Paulo, Departamento de Letras Clássicas e Vernáculas. Bolsista da Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (FAPESP).

*Entre mis encuentros imaginarios, el de
Fernando Pessoa fue uno de los más profundos.*
Octavio Paz

I.¹

Octavio Paz descobre Fernando Pessoa tardiamente e em contexto inusitado: no outono de 1958, em Paris, a escritora surrealista Nora Mitrani apresenta-lhe o poeta através de uma tradução sua para o francês, publicada na revista dirigida por André Breton, *Le surréalisme, même*. Trata-se de um longo excerto da “Carta sobre a gênese dos heterônimos”, um poema de Caeiro (“A espantosa realidade das coisas”) e outro de Fernando Pessoa (“Gomes Leal”). A publicação era sucinta, mas resumia essencialmente os tópicos cardeais do “caso Pessoa”, isto é, a suposta origem (psicológica e literária) de seus heterônimos e as polaridades poéticas do “mestre” e de seu criador. Fora o bastante para despertar uma paixão no poeta mexicano: “Leí sus poemas de manera distraída, después con sorpresa y al fin fascinado” (PAZ, 2003: 179). Esse entusiasmo resultou em dois ensaios (1961 e 1988) e em mais de cinquenta poemas traduzidos para o espanhol e antologizados², tornando-se Octavio Paz um dos principais divulgadores da obra pessoana em língua espanhola.³

Em se tratando de um *encuentro profundo*, e não de mera descoberta, a relação de Paz com Pessoa compõe sua *busca* – atitude central de sua atividade crítica e poética – por compreender a modernidade através das obras de poetas que a enfrentaram. Pessoa, como poucos, (des)encarnou o drama da consciência moderna, de modo que a sua obra, como crítica “da linguagem, da estética e da moral de seu tempo” (PAZ, 1979a: 7), revela-se para Paz como um exemplo capital, e surpreendentemente periférico, porque fora do eixo Alemanha-França-Inglaterra, do que nomeou “tradição da ruptura” (PAZ, 2013: 13), movimento crítico das literaturas a partir do Romantismo. Nesse sentido, interessará a Paz não o “caso psicológico”, mas o “caso literário” da personalidade poética de Fernando Pessoa. Em seus ensaios, vemos ideias que se tornaram axiomáticas na fortuna crítica pessoana, como a célebre máxima “Os poetas não têm biografia. Sua obra é sua

¹ Agradeço aos professores Horácio Costa e Caio Gagliardi pelas valiosas contribuições a este artigo.

² O primeiro ensaio, “El desconocido de sí mismo”, é o estudo introdutório a Fernando Pessoa, *Antología*, seleção e tradução de Octavio Paz (México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1961). Foi republicado em *Cuadrvio* (México, D.F.: Joaquín Mortiz, 1965), livro em que Paz reúne quatro ensaios sobre os poetas modernos Rubén Darío, Ramón López Velarde e Luis Cernuda, além de Pessoa. O segundo texto, “Intersecciones y bifurcaciones: A. O. Barnabooth, Álvaro de Campos, Alberto Caeiro”, data de 1988 e foi publicado na revista *Vuelta*, n.º 147, fevereiro de 1989.

³ Anteriores às de Paz, são conhecidas as traduções de Ángel Crespo (seleção de *Poemas de Alberto Caeiro*, Madrid: Rialp, 1957) e de Rodolfo Alonso, primeiro tradutor de Pessoa para o espanhol na América Latina (*Poemas*, Buenos Aires: Fabril Editora, 1961).

biografia” (PAZ, 2012b: 201)⁴, ou, então, fazendo coro com exegetas como Jorge de Sena, “Pessoa, que es su creador y su criatura, heterónimo de sí mismo” (PAZ, 2003: 179), ou mesmo afirmações discutíveis, hoje já superadas pela crítica, em que se destaca a ideia de que “Caeiro, Reis e Campos são os heróis de uma novela que Pessoa nunca escreveu” (PAZ, 2012b: 209), emprestada da metáfora do “romancista em poetas”, de Adolfo Casais Monteiro.



Fig. 1. *Signos em rotação*. Trad. de Sebastião Uchoa Leite. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 3.^a Ed, 2012.

Não será à toa que, da leitura de poemas de Octavio Paz, posteriores ao encontro, os ecos da poética pessoana surjam sem alusões diretas, mas assimilados pelas elucidações do próprio crítico. Este estudo se configura, pois, como uma tentativa de discussão de sua análise crítica sobre o poeta, notadamente a interpretação da obra de Alberto Caeiro, bem como de uma busca por determinadas convergências que apontariam para a presença de Fernando Pessoa na poesia do poeta mexicano.⁵

⁴ Essa célebre asserção de Paz parece encontrar eco em uma passagem redigida pelo próprio Pessoa, ao esboçar o perfil biográfico de Alberto Caeiro: “A vida de Caeiro não pode narrar-se pois que não há nela de que narrar. Seus poemas são o que houve nele de vida” (PESSOA, 1976: 115). Também Caeiro reproduz em verso a consciência da ausência de vida narrável e a menor importância da biografia para a compreensão do poeta: “Se, depois de eu morrer, quiserem escrever a minha biografia, | Não há nada mais simples. | Tem só duas datas – a da minha nascença e a da minha morte. | Entre uma e outra coisa todos os dias são meus” (PESSOA, 1972: 237).

⁵ Também Adolfo Castañón, em revisão crítica à reedição da *Antología* (1961) organizada e traduzida por Paz, destaca a importância da descoberta de Fernando Pessoa para o desenvolvimento da obra crítica e poética do autor mexicano: “Ese traslado sería una transmutación y en cierto modo una transfusión: el poeta mexicano nacido bajo el signo del Tigre buscaría en el yo plural de ubicua sombra del poeta nacido bajo el signo de la Rata claves para seguir su propio *Pessoa Plural*: 10 (0./Fall 2016)

II.

Como pensador da modernidade, um dos temas centrais da visão crítica e literária de Octavio Paz diz respeito à potencialidade da palavra poética, à sua resistência ou rebeldia, face aos questionamentos da razão crítica, que tudo analisa, desconstrói e recria. Num momento em que o sujeito se vê inexoravelmente cindido pela consciência de si mesmo, Paz continua acreditando na palavra como ponte entre sujeito e objeto, produtora da metáfora que reduz (mas não anula) a distância entre o sentir e o pensar, o ser e o falar, o homem e o mundo. Se o surgimento da linguagem está nas bases dessa separação, ela é, em contrapartida, definidora do próprio homem, da sua pluralidade enquanto “ser feito de palavras”, irreduzível a um sentido único, a uma unidade coesa: “El hombre es hombre gracias al lenguaje, gracias a la metáfora original que lo hizo ser otro y lo separó del mundo natural. El hombre es un ser que se ha creado a sí mismo al crear un lenguaje. Por la palabra, el hombre es una metáfora de sí mismo” (PAZ, 1994: 61). Nesse sentido, o fazer poético consiste, não em restituir ao homem a sua unidade, mas em produzir uma imagem instantânea de si mesmo, por meio dos recursos que a própria linguagem lhe dispõe.

Essa teoria, apresentada sistematicamente em *El arco y la lira*, nos auxilia a compreender as leituras de Paz sobre a obra de Alberto Caeiro, presentes em ambos os ensaios mencionados, na medida em que a experiência caeiriana representa, para o crítico, exatamente o contrário da busca pela “metáfora de si mesmo”, ou seja, a “outridade”, princípio que rege, em diferentes medidas, a poesia moderna:

Experiência feita do tecido de nossos atos diários, a *outridade* é antes de mais nada a percepção de que somos outros sem deixar de ser o que somos e que, sem deixar de estar onde estamos, nosso verdadeiro ser está em outra parte. Somos outra parte. Em outra parte quer dizer: aqui, agora mesmo enquanto faço isto ou aquilo. E também: estou só e estou contigo, em um não sei onde que é sempre aqui. Contigo e aqui: quem és tu, quem sou eu, onde estamos quando estamos aqui?

(PAZ, 2012a: 107)

Dentre todos os heterônimos (ortônimo inclusive), a poesia caeiriana é a mais rebatida por sua “paixão crítica”. Sem fazer juízos propriamente de valor a respeito da original dicção poética de Caeiro, Paz coloca-se em contraposição a ele, como um poeta que responde a outro poeta de uma perspectiva diametralmente oposta, tanto assim que escreve uma “Refutação de Alberto Caeiro” no ensaio de 1988, em resposta aos versos “Digo de mim ‘sou eu’. | E não digo mais nada. Que

camino y adentrarse en el bosque pánico de la alienación deslindada por el enigmático poeta vanguardista nacido en Lisboa y educado en Durban, África del Sur, en portugués y en inglés” (CASTAÑÓN, 2010: 96).

mais há a dizer?” (PESSOA, 1972: 234) Isso porque a proposição do “mestre”, o seu “caminho de saúde” (PERRONE-MOISÉS, 2001: 201), como define Leyla Perrone-Moisés, resulta, aos olhos do crítico, em uma irrealidade, uma vez que se afirma como reversibilidade a um estado original contrastante com a busca paziana pela alteridade: “O mais natural e simples dos heterônimos é o menos real. Isto se dá por excesso de realidade. O homem, sobretudo o homem moderno, não é de todo real. Não é um ente compacto como a natureza ou as coisas; a consciência de si é sua realidade insubstancial” (PAZ, 2012b: 211).

Sua interpretação de Caeiro parte, assim, de dois pressupostos: o regresso à unidade perdida, visado pelo poeta, consiste em uma *afirmação da identidade* e, portanto, em uma *negação do poeta moderno*, que, por saber-se cindido, não vê caminho para si, senão através da alteridade: “Caeiro é a única afirmação feita por Pessoa. Caeiro é o sol [...]; o sol não tem consciência de si porque nele pensar e ser são uma mesma coisa. Caeiro é tudo o que Pessoa não é e, além disso, tudo que nenhum poeta moderno pode ser: o homem reconciliado com a natureza” (PAZ, 2012b: 209). O problema parece residir não no fato de Caeiro buscar um retorno à natureza, experiência já realizada pelos românticos, mas em procurar o esvaziamento da própria linguagem, reduzida à materialidade dos sentidos, e renegar a consciência como obstáculo. Da perspectiva de Paz, Caeiro é o contrário das contradições e situa-se fora da história, uma vez que procura uma atemporalidade e uma unidade que não se apresentam pacificamente no horizonte do homem moderno. Mas para Paz não há crítica sem consciência, nem homem sem linguagem, nem poesia sem história: “Não somos regidos pelo princípio de identidade e suas enormes e monótonas tautologias, e sim pela alteridade e pela contradição, a crítica em suas vertiginosas manifestações” (PAZ, 2013: 37)

Mediante a tentativa caeiriana de apagamento das dualidades sujeito/objeto, homem/coisa, homem/palavra, Paz não se deixa lê-lo senão como um *mito*: o “mito do poeta inocente, isto é, antes da linguagem”:

O poeta inocente é um mito, mas é um mito que funda a poesia. [...] O poeta é a consciência das palavras, isto é, a nostalgia da realidade real das coisas. Certo, as palavras também foram coisas antes de ser nomes de coisas: no mito do poeta inocente, isto é, antes da linguagem. [...] Fala inocente: silêncio no qual nada se diz porque tudo está dito, tudo está se dizendo. A linguagem do poeta se alimenta desse silêncio que é fala inocente. Pessoa, poeta real e homem cético, precisava inventar um poeta inocente para justificar a sua própria poesia. Reis, Campos e Pessoa dizem palavras mortais e fechadas, palavras de perdição e dispersão: são o pressentimento ou a nostalgia da unidade. Ouvimo-las contra o fundo de silêncio dessa unidade.

(PAZ, 2012b: 211)

Não se pode negar a força reveladora dessa visão do “drama em gente” (PESSOA, 1928: 10), em que Caeiro é tido como o silêncio fundamental da própria criação, o princípio totalizante de que partem os seus discípulos, para confirmar

que nunca poderão ser como o “mestre”. No entanto, a interpretação de Paz não atenta para o fato de que Pessoa instaura os seus próprios mitos e que estes, como todas as proposições pessoanas, são também falhados, mitigados pelos paradoxos que os constituem. O argumento de que se trata apenas de uma apresentação da proposição caeiriana, sem uma análise mais profunda do que ele, de fato, realiza, não parece caber aqui: no ensaio de 1988, a refutação de Paz ao poeta retoma a ideia de mito, porém atentando para a sua intenção de unidade entre o “eu” e o “ser”, como um símile da totalidade divina: “Caeiro es un mito, el mito del *Yo soy*” (PAZ, 2003: 180). Em *Los hijos del limo*, esse mito também se define por não mais ser compatível com a experiência moderna: “Deus é o Um, só tolera a alteridade e a heterogeneidade como pecados de não-ser; a razão tende a se separar de si mesma: toda vez que se examina, ela se cinde; toda vez que se contempla, vê outra si mesma” (2013: 36).



Fig. 2. *Os filhos do barro. Do romantismo à vanguarda.*
Trad. de Ari Roitman e Paulina Wacht. São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2013.

A base da leitura de Paz assume, pois, que *Caeiro é o que diz ser*. Ainda que, em certo momento, o vocabulário do crítico assuma a distância entre a *proposição* e a *realização* que definem a poesia caeiriana – “A debilidade de Caeiro não reside em suas ideias (esta é, antes, a sua força); consiste na irrerealidade da experiência que *diz* encarnar” (PAZ, 2012b: 210, grifo nosso) –, Paz não focaliza nem a “debilidade”, nem o “dizer”, mas apenas a “irrealidade” de sua experiência, ou seja, o caráter utópico, destituído de carga dramática, da busca caeiriana. Nesse sentido, Paz

compõe o grupo de críticos que, segundo Eduardo Lourenço, operaram a “osmose fatal entre *o que ele diz* e *o que ele é*” (LOURENÇO, 1981: 35).

O que se destaca dessa leitura é que Caeiro seria, então, o avesso do poeta moderno, quase uma discrepância na literatura da modernidade. Entretanto, se atentarmos para os princípios que definem o poeta moderno em *Los hijos del limo*, percebemos que essa mesma teoria seria iluminadora para uma compreensão mais profunda do drama caeiriano.

Segundo Paz, a poesia moderna tem por base de criação dois procedimentos básicos: a *analogia* e a *ironia*, ambos atravessados pela razão crítica: “[A analogia é a] crença na correspondência entre todos os seres e mundos” (PAZ, 2013: 62); “Entretanto, surge um momento em que a correspondência se rompe; há uma dissonância que se chama, no poema: ironia, e na vida: mortalidade. A poesia moderna é a consciência dessa dissonância *dentro* da analogia” (63); “A analogia é o reino da palavra *como*, essa ponte verbal que, sem suprimi-las, reconcilia as diferenças e as oposições” (75); “A ironia revela a dualidade daquilo que parecia uno, a cisão do idêntico, o outro lado da razão: quebra do princípio de identidade” (54). Ora, para Paz, em Caeiro não há analogia possível, na medida em este procura a supressão das correspondências (“Procuro encostar as palavras à ideia | E não precisar dum corredor | Do pensamento para as palavras” (PESSOA, 1972: 225). Assim, segundo o crítico, “a palavra *como* não figura em seu vocabulário; cada coisa está submersa em sua própria realidade” (PAZ, 2012b: 211). De que essa noção é contestável, os poemas de Caeiro são largo exemplo. Pode-se dizer que a poesia de Caeiro é fundada na palavra *como*, uma vez que é ela que estabelece o pacto com o leitor, necessário para se compreender a singular reflexividade de sua busca pelo real objetivo. Para citar apenas um exemplo:

Eu nunca guardei rebanhos,
Mas é como se os guardasse.
Minha alma é como um pastor,
Conhece o vento e o sol
E anda pela mão das Estações
A seguir e a olhar.
Toda a paz da Natureza sem gente
Vem sentar-se a meu lado.
Mas eu fico triste como um pôr de sol
Para a nossa imaginação,
Quando esfria no fundo da planície
E se sente a noite entrada
Como uma borboleta pela janela.

(PESSOA, 1972: 203)

Havendo, pois, analogia, o que dizer da ironia? A ironia como “dissonância” e “quebra do princípio da identidade” é o que separa Caeiro da unidade primordial que *diz* ser. Como esclarece Eduardo Lourenço:

O “que ele diz” (e também o que Pessoa ou Campos dizem que ele diz) é de fato a expressão [...] de qualquer coisa anterior à própria distinção entre poesia e prosa. [...] Mas o que ele *é*, do que vive em cada poema é da *distância* (infinita) que separa consciência e mundo, olhar e coisa vista. Caeiro nasce para a anular, mas é no espaço que separa olhar e realidade, consciência e sensação que o seu verbo (a sua voz) irônica e gravemente se articula.

(LOURENÇO, 1981: 36)

Nesse sentido, Caeiro não é ingênuo; ele *quer* sê-lo, na medida em que tenta (ou faz pensar que tenta) dissolver o pensamento e a consciência. *Caeiro é uma analogia de si mesmo*, roída pela ironia que instaura, a cada passo, uma nova contradição dentro de sua proposição. Reconhecer a analogia e a ironia de sua obra seria um início da compreensão do drama fundamentalmente moderno que impulsiona o seu *querer ser igual a si mesmo*. Além de compreender essa poesia como um *efetivo* regresso à unidade perdida, Paz não atenta para o movimento crítico que ela oculta (outra face de sua ironia), e portanto não aplica a Caeiro a leitura que faz de outros poetas modernos que intentaram essa busca. Note-se o que diz em *Los hijos del limo*: “O regresso ao tempo do começo, ao tempo anterior à ruptura, implica uma ruptura. Não há como negar, por mais surpreendente que tal proposição nos pareça, que só a modernidade pode realizar a operação de volta ao princípio original, porque só a idade moderna pode negar a si mesma” (PAZ, 2013: 45). É exatamente pela necessidade dessa ruptura que, em nossa visão, e na de críticos como Leyla Perrone-Moisés, Caeiro busca se mover, crítica e ironicamente:

O “Paganismo Absoluto” de Caeiro finca suas raízes em recusas; é a busca de um caminho contra a corrente, numa direção diversa da que trouxe Fernando Pessoa, da que nos trouxe, ao que somos: ocidentais acidentados, fraturados entre o objetivismo e o subjetivismo, o intelectualismo e o sentimentalismo, a ciência e a metafísica.

(PERRONE-MOISÉS, 2001: 150)

Essa recusa, enquanto movimento crítico, só é verificável no plano discursivo da poesia de Caeiro, ou seja, naquilo que efetivamente realizou na sua escrita, e que difere do “ideal de felicidade” que propaga em sua obra. Não se trata, portanto, de uma estratégia de salvação, mas antes de um dos componentes fulcrais do irresoluto “drama em gente” pessoano, uma vez que encena a própria impossibilidade dessa recusa. Como esclarece Caio Gagliardi, “será melhor pensar que a poesia-Caeiro não se limita ao mito Caeiro” (GAGLIARDI, 2011: 21):

O exercício crítico de se ler Alberto Caeiro para além da linha de suas afirmações implica constatar que a linguagem dos poemas não é meramente referencial ou denotativa. O ponto crítico situado entre o ser e o querer ser constitui, como traço próprio, o lugar de atuação dessa escrita.

(GAGLIARDI, 2011: 22)

Finalmente, se observarmos as traduções de Caeiro feitas por Octavio Paz, é possível encontrar algumas alterações na versão em espanhol que reiteram a sua visão do poeta como ingênuo, mas não moderno.⁶ É certo que tais traduções se justificam por si mesmas enquanto exercício de criação, e não “como un trabajo de investigación o de información literaria”: o objetivo principal de Octavio Paz tradutor era “a partir de poemas en otras lenguas [...] hacer poemas en la mía”, segundo afirma em “Nota preliminar” (2004a: 318) ao volume de suas traduções completas, *Versiones y diversiones*. Não obstante, para os fins deste trabalho, as mudanças feitas na língua de chegada dizem algo sobre Paz leitor de Caeiro que comprova o que vimos dizendo. Atentemos para as diferenças grifadas no seguinte poema:

Dizes-me: tu és mais alguma cousa
Que uma pedra ou uma planta.
Dizes-me: sentes, pensas e sabes
Que pensas e sentes.
Então as pedras escrevem versos?
Então as plantas têm ideias sobre o mundo?

Sim: há diferença.
Mas não é a diferença que encontras;
Porque o ter consciência não me obriga a ter
[teorias sobre as cousas:
Só me obriga a ser consciente.
[...]

Sim, escrevo versos, e a pedra não escreve versos.
Sim, faço ideias sobre o mundo, e a planta
[nenhumas.
Mas é que as pedras não são poetas, são pedras;
E as plantas são plantas só, e não pensadores.
Tanto posso dizer que sou superior a elas por isto,
Como que sou inferior.
Mas não digo isso: digo da pedra, “é uma pedra”,
Digo da planta, “é uma planta”,
Digo de mim, “sou eu”.
E não digo mais nada. Que mais há a dizer?

(PESSOA, 1972: 234)

Dices: tú eres algo más
Que una piedra o una planta.
Dices: sientes, piensas y sabes
Que piensas y sientes.
Entonces, ¿las piedras escriben versos?,
¿Las plantas tienen ideas sobre el mundo?

Sí, hay una diferencia.
No la diferencia que tú crees:
Tener conciencia no me obliga a tener teorías
[sobre las cosas:
Me obliga a ser consciente.

Sí, yo escribo versos – y la piedra no los escribe.
Sí, tengo ideas sobre el mundo – y la planta no
[las tiene.
Las piedras no son poetas: son piedras.
Las plantas son plantas, no pensadores.
¿Voy a decir por eso que soy superior a ellas?
También podría decir lo contrario.
Pero no digo esto ni aquello. Digo
De la piedra: es una piedra: Digo
De la planta: es una planta: Y digo
De mí: soy. No digo más.
¿Hay algo más que decir?

(PAZ, 2004b: 482-483)

⁶ Se Octavio Paz iniciou suas leituras de Fernando Pessoa por meio de traduções francesas, quando começa a traduzi-lo já teria tido contato com os textos em português, conforme descreve na abertura do ensaio “El desconocido de sí mismo”: “Me procuré las traducciones y estudios de Armand Guilbert [sic]. Su lectura me reveló a un gran poeta, casi desconocido entre nosotros. [...] la pintora Vieira da Silva me prestó la *Obra poética*, en la edición de Río de Janeiro; conseguí el tomo de ensayos de Adolfo Casais Monteiro; más tarde, no sin dificultades, adquirí los volúmenes de la edición portuguesa. Casi sin darme cuenta empecé a traducir algunos poemas de Álvaro de Campos. Insensiblemente pasé a los otros heterónimos” (PAZ, 2003: 150).

59-28a
3

Comeris omni? (No eis)
 A tives de Ana am, e fin e
 am omni
 Nos me temais ammatat, &

p. 79-81

Dizes-me: tu és mais alguma cousa
 Que uma pedra, a um flauto,
 Um rio: Santo, peço, e sabido
 Que peço e sinto.
 Dizes-me: peço, ou não?
 E tu peço tem visto o
 mundo?

Sim: ha offe,
 Mas e offe, pe encontro
 Que o te curo a tua dize e a
 peço e a curo,
 E me dize e a curo.
 Ce sou mais pe uma pedra ou flauto?
 Não sei.
 E offe. Não sei o que mais me
 vem.

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL

Fig. 3a. BNP/E3, 58-28a. "Dizes-me: tu és mais alguma cousa".

[illegible]

Fig. 3b. BNP/E3, 58-28a^v. “Dizes-me: tu és mais alguma cousa”.

Há que se destacar dois aspectos importantes das alterações feitas por Paz (recorrentes em suas traduções de Caeiro). Em primeiro lugar, as partículas suprimidas, “então”, “mas”, “porque”, “só”, “tanto... como”, são marcas próprias do discurso reflexivo que caracteriza a tensão fundamental dessa poesia: é através do pensamento que Caeiro procura dissolver o pensamento. O uso persistente dos conectores, dispondo com clara organicidade o seu discurso retórico, acentua a distância a que o heterônimo se situa quanto à realização do que se propõe a ser, o que assinala uma pista relevante da ironia que suspende suas afirmações. Além disso, tais marcas são evidências do prosaísmo dessa poesia (assim como a repetição da conjunção “e” e da palavra “versos” em uma mesma linha, igualmente elidida pelo tradutor), de modo que, suprimidas as partículas, o poema se acomoda em um lirismo mais tradicional, menos prosaico.

Em segundo lugar, o apagamento do pronome “eu” do verso “Digo de mim, ‘sou eu’”, traduzido como “digo | De mí: soy”, sintetiza a leitura de Caeiro como o mito do “eu sou”. Se na expressão “sou eu”, o verbo é acompanhado do seu complemento, característica fundamental da materialidade do pensamento caeiriano e de sua busca pela alegoria de si mesmo, o isolamento da palavra “soy”, por sua vez, destaca o ser como plenitude, como unidade total. De modo análogo, na tradução, o deslocamento da palavra “Digo” para o final do verso, precedida de um ponto final, isola-a do complemento, que, no poema em português, lhe é subsequente no mesmo verso. Paz deliberadamente enfatiza, assim, a intransitividade da palavra, que aqui se apresenta como um dizer original, genesíaco, fundador. “Digo”, “sou” – e a realidade existe. A quebra do ritmo, decorrente da quebra do verso, revela a sua intencionalidade em acentuar o caráter mítico que encontra na poesia do “guardador de rebanhos”. (Pode-se dizer que o tom do poema na tradução está mais próximo, pela sua sobriedade, dos *haicais* criados por Leyla Perrone-Moisés, em “Caeiro Zen”, com o fim de demonstrar, basicamente, o que o poeta se aproxima de ser, não fosse a sua constante “racionalização das imagens” (PERRONE-MOISÉS, 2001: 185). O que a crítica brasileira propõe é uma ficção metodológica, um curioso procedimento de leitura da poesia desse heterônimo, baseado na extração de *haicais* dos poemas originais. Para isso, não lhe é suficiente colher e rearranjar alguns dos versos de Caeiro; é necessária a limpeza sintática do verso, que se dá pela supressão dos conectores, pronomes e conjunções, para que o novo verso atinja a sobriedade própria do *haikai*. Ora, não bastasse constataremos, guardadas as devidas proporções, procedimento similar adotado por Paz em suas traduções de Caeiro, será a própria Leyla Perrone-Moisés a constatar que também ao poeta mexicano interessaria a experiência do *haikai* enquanto “caminho de saúde” para a poesia: “Levados pela mesma aspiração premente, numerosos intelectuais contemporâneos sentiram-se atraídos pelo Zen e numerosos poetas sentiram-se atraídos pelo *haikai* (Ezra Pound e Octavio Paz, entre muitos outros)” (2001: 201).

As reflexões que aqui propusemos situam, desse modo, o diálogo tenso que o poeta-crítico Octavio Paz estabelece com o “mestre”. Não se pode dizer o mesmo de sua relação com Fernando Pessoa. Na terceira e última parte deste estudo, procuraremos demonstrar alguns indícios, não de uma tensão, mas de uma identificação que a leitura de Pessoa parece ter produzido na poesia de Paz.

III.

A tese de Octavio Paz sobre a literatura da modernidade, exposta em *Los hijos del limo*, termina por situar a sua própria poesia dentro de uma geração que surge no “ocaso” da arte moderna. As preocupações de sua contemporaneidade, segundo Paz, já não estavam voltadas para a negação como princípio crítico e criador, mas sim para uma *poética de convergência*, direcionada antes ao presente atemporal da poesia, do que à constante necessidade de mudança e renovação: “Não se tratava, como em 1920, de inventar, e sim de *explorar*. O território que atraía esses poetas não estava nem fora nem dentro. Era uma zona onde confluem o interior e o exterior: a zona da linguagem” (PAZ, 2013: 152, grifo nosso).

A experiência poética de Fernando Pessoa parece ter sido um desses caminhos explorados por Paz. Se Caeiro é refutado, porque é visto como mito e não como representação da consciência moderna, o problema da cisão do sujeito, que atravessa as obras de Álvaro de Campos, Ricardo Reis e Fernando Pessoa, será um tema pessoano convergente com as intuições e concepções de sujeito de Octavio Paz. O tom de sua poesia, entretanto, não terá a mesma tragicidade do “drama em gente” (PESSOA, 1928: 10): “Esses poetas [da sua geração] haviam aprendido a refletir e a caçoar de si mesmos: sabiam que o poeta é o instrumento da linguagem” (PAZ, 2013: 152). Que Pessoa também não “caçoava” de si mesmo, não é o caso de afirmarmos. Porém a dramaticidade com que expõe ironicamente a perda da identidade, sobretudo na poesia de Campos, não atinge igual dimensão nas reflexões sobre o sujeito da linguagem, que surgem em uma série de poemas do poeta mexicano.

Salientamos ainda, que, em literatura, é o encontro com Baudelaire que inicia, para Paz, a fratura da plenitude do sujeito: “Encontrarse con Baudelaire significa encontrarse con uno mismo; quiero decir, encontrarse caído en el pozo de la conciencia. Es la experiencia de la caída pero, asimismo, es la experiencia del ensimismamiento. Una experiencia satánica: es un gravitar hacia el fondo de uno mismo, ese fondo que es un *sinfín*...” (Paz, 2003: 178). Essa queda do sujeito no poço da consciência, experiência que está no cerne do arranjo heteronímico, já está presente, pois, desde o início de sua produção poética, ou seja, muito antes de sua descoberta de Pessoa, em 1958. Observem-se dois exemplos, retirados de *Libertad bajo palabra* (1935-1957), em que o sujeito vê-se cindido pelo procedimento da escrita, mas, por meio desse mesmo desdobramento, acaba por retornar ao seu eu:

ARCOS

A Silvina Ocampo

¿Quién canta en las orillas del papel?
 Inclinado, de pechos sobre el río
 de imágenes, me veo, lento y solo,
 de mí mismo alejarme: letras puras,
 constelación de signos, incisiones
 en la carne del tiempo, ¡oh escritura,
 raya en el agua!

Voy entre verdores
 enlazados, voy entre transparencias,
 entre islas avanzo por el río,
 por el río feliz que se desliza
 y no transcurre, liso pensamiento.
 Me alejo de mí mismo, me detengo
 sin detenerme en una orilla y sigo,
 río abajo, entre arcos de enlazadas
 imágenes, el río pensativo.
 Sigo, me espero allá, voy a mi encuentro,
 río feliz que enlaza y desenlaza
 un momento de sol entre dos álamos,
 en la pulida piedra se demora,
 y se desprende de sí mismo y sigue,
 río abajo, al encuentro de sí mismo.

(PAZ, 1979b: 42)

ESCRITURA

Cuando sobre el papel la pluma escribe,
 a cualquier hora solitaria,
 ¿quién la guía?
 ¿A quién escribe el que escribe por mí,
 Orilla hecha de labios y de sueño,
 Quieta colina, golfo,
 Hombro para olvidar al mundo para siempre?

Alguien escribe en mí, mueve mi mano,
 escoge una palabra, se detiene,
 duda entre el mar azul y el monte verde.
 Con un ardor helado
 contempla lo que escribo.
 Todo lo quema, fuego justiciero.
 Pero este juez también es víctima
 y al condenarme, se condena:
 no escribe a nadie, a nadie llama,
 a sí mismo se escribe, en sí se olvida,
 y se rescata, y vuelve a ser yo mismo.

(PAZ, 1979b: 76)

Em ambos os poemas, a escrita se configura como separação e encontro do “eu” consigo mesmo. “¿Quién canta en las orillas del papel?”: o poeta, consciente da perda da musa, inclina-se sobre a margem do papel, como se andasse à beira de um rio de pensamento, e se deixa afastar de si mesmo através da escrita. O rio de imagens produz a distância, mas também a religação. A água, a transparência, surge como representação do sujeito que nela se reflete e vê, nesse espelhamento, nessa metáfora de seu eu, um reenlace consigo mesmo. No poema “Escritura”, há um desdobramento do sujeito poético, que se sente guiado por um outro no momento da escrita: “Alguien escribe en mí, mueve mi mano”. A semelhança com um excerto do poema “Passos da Cruz”, de Pessoa, salta aos olhos: “Não sou eu quem descrevo. Eu sou a tela | E oculta mão colora alguém em mim” (PESSOA, 1972: 127). Todavia, novamente aqui a separação entre o que concebe a poesia e o que a escreve resulta na fusão entre as instâncias do sujeito e do objeto: “a sí mismo se escribe, en sí se olvida, | y se rescata, y vuelve a ser yo mismo”.

A questão central desses poemas diz respeito não a uma tentativa de recuperar os contornos da identidade do sujeito, mas antes em descobrir “o outro no mesmo”, ou seja, “a alteridade imanente ao real e ao sujeito”, uma vez que a poesia moderna recusa o Ser transcendente, pois “é *nosso* mundo e o próprio *Eu* que se revelam outros” (COLLOT, 2006: 30). É na experiência cotidiana e no território da linguagem que o eu se reconhece como ser plural.

Se a constituição do sujeito através da alteridade será sempre um tópico norteador do fazer poético de Octavio Paz, essa tendência não o impedirá de explorar o seu contrário: o momento em que o eu se apresenta como *sentimento de não existir*. Experiência pessoana por excelência, que instaura o vazio de uma noção de instância autoral ligada à consciência de um sujeito empírico, a radicalidade desse procedimento insinua-se em alguns poemas de Paz, posteriores ao seu conhecimento de Pessoa:

AQUÍ

Mis pasos en esta calle
Resuenan
 en otra calle
donde
 oigo mis pasos
pasar en esta calle
donde

Sólo es real la niebla

(PAZ, 1979b: 318)

IDENTIDAD

En el patio un pájaro pía,
como el centavo en su alcancía.

Un poco de aire su plumaje
se desvanece en un viraje.

Tal vez no hay pájaro ni soy
ése del patio en donde estoy.

(PAZ, 1979b: 330)

DÓNDE SIN QUIÉN

No hay
ni un alma entre los árboles
Y yo
no sé adónde me he ido.

(PAZ, 1979b: 440)

No poema “Aquí”, há um desencontro entre o sujeito que anda na rua e o sujeito que se ouve andar na rua: os passos não ressoam *aqui*, mas sempre em *outro lugar*, onde o eu já não está. O drama da reflexividade, do sujeito cindido entre as sensações e o pensamento, revela-se na estrutura abismal do poema, deixando-nos a impressão de um ir e vir que, não fosse o corte final, poderia seguir-se indefinidamente⁷. A palavra “donde”, nesse sentido, se aponta para a circularidade dos versos, introduz também a sua conclusão: “Sólo es real la niebla”. Não se trata, portanto, de um poema que busca fixar um aqui e um agora, como defende a *poética da presença* de Paz, mas antes de explicitar a experiência da dissolução do eu, que se autoanalisa constantemente, ou seja, de explorar a constatação pessoana de que “O que em mim sente ‘stá pensando” (PESSOA, 1972: 144).

A estrutura do poema “Identidad” assemelha-se à definição de *haikai* proposta por Paz em seu prefácio a *O livro dos Hai-Kais* (1987): “De um ponto de vista formal o hai-kai divide-se em duas partes. Uma, da condição geral e da situação temporal e espacial do poema [...]; a outra, relampejante, deve conter um elemento ativo. Uma descritiva e quase enunciativa; a outra inesperada. A percepção poética surge do choque entre ambas” (*apud* PERRONE-MOISÉS, 2001: 180, n. 51). Assim, as duas primeiras estrofes apresentam uma situação descritiva, aparentemente distanciada do sujeito que a introduz, e a estrofe final encerra o poema com um elemento inesperado, em que o próprio eu se insinua. Entretanto, ao contrário do que se espera de um *haikai*, o poema não estabelece a “perfeita comunhão do sujeito com o objeto, da percepção com o real, da linguagem com a coisa: *satori*” (PERRONE-MOISÉS, 2001: 176) A realidade do objeto serve, antes, para contrastar com a irrealidade do próprio sujeito; ou melhor, o objeto torna-se irreal – “Un poco de aire su plumaje | se desvanece en un viraje” – para que o sujeito se

⁷ É o que acontece em outro poema de Paz do mesmo livro, “Reversible”, que não faz a conclusão final, terminando simplesmente com um jocoso “etcétera”.

identifique com ele. Dessa perspectiva, o título do poema, “Identidad”, é tão irônico quanto o do poema anterior.

Enfim, em “Dónde sin quién”, que também glosa e subverte a estrutura do *haikai*, repete-se a mesma evidência dos poemas precedentes: a única realidade do eu é estar ausente o tempo todo. Aquele que vê a névoa, o pássaro, as árvores, ou seja, o sujeito da escrita, posto ser a partir da observação (imaginária ou não) que essas imagens ganham forma poética, esse mesmo sujeito revela-se ausente.

Mantenhamos essa reflexão em suspenso, para ler um último poema de Paz:

LA PALABRA ESCRITA

Ya escrita la primera
palabra (nunca la pensada
sino la otra –ésta
que no la dice, que la contradice,
que sin decirla está diciéndola)
Ya escrita la primera
palabra (uno, dos, tres–
arriba el sol, tu cara
en el centro del pozo,
fija como un sol atónito)
Ya escrita la primera
palabra (cuatro, cinco–
no acaba de caer la piedrecilla,
mira tu cara mientras cae, cuenta
la cuenta vertical de la caída)
Ya escrita la primera
palabra (hay otra, abajo,
no la que está cayendo,
la que sostiene al rostro, al sol, al tiempo
sobre el abismo: la palabra
antes de la caída y de la cuenta)
Ya escrita la primera
palabra (dos, tres, cuatro–
verás tu rostro roto,
verás un sol que se dispersa,
verás la piedra entre las aguas rotas,
verás el mismo rostro, el mismo sol,
fijo sobre las mismas aguas)
Ya escrita la primera
palabra (sigue,
no hay más palabras que las de la cuenta)

(PAZ, 1979b: 325-326)

O poema se divide em duas estruturas paralelas, que se repetem por seis vezes: a primeira, o refrão “Ya escrita la primera | palabra”, deixa latente uma situação de escrita poética, convidando o leitor a uma reflexão de caráter

metalinguístico; a segunda dispõe-se em uma meditação parentética, que surge como metáfora dos desdobramentos do sujeito durante o processo de escrita. Essa metáfora consiste na imagem de uma figura, um “tu”, que se debruça sobre um poço e atira uma pedrinha (“atirar a primeira pedra” como símile de “escrever a primeira palavra”). O sujeito se olha no fundo do poço, a transparência da água reflete sua imagem: é meio-dia, o sol atinge o seu auge, “tu cara | en el centro del pozo, | fija como un sol atónito”. Enquanto se observa, busca a consciência do instante, a duração da palavra antes que a ponte entre o eu e o outro se dissolva, contando os segundos da queda, “uno, dos, tres...”, até o momento em que a pedra toca a água, e a imagem se desvanece, evidenciando a transitoriedade do sujeito enquanto representação, reflexo de si mesmo.

Essa metáfora parece encenar o sentido da expressão espanhola “caer en la cuenta” (“cair em si” ou “dar-se conta”, em português). A palavra “cuenta” guarda um duplo significado no poema: em “cuenta | la cuenta vertical de la caída”, o termo marca o *tempo* da pedra/palavra que cai e a iminência da dissolução da imagem; já no verso final, “no hay más palabras que las de la cuenta”, o valor de “cuenta” se duplica, reiterando a ideia de duração, mas também revelando o seu sentido enquanto *consciência*, a única que resta quando a presença instantânea da imagem se perde. “Caer en la cuenta”: cair no poço da consciência, no abismo de si mesmo, e não se encontrar senão na fugacidade do momento em que a palavra poética é lançada. No contexto da poesia mexicana, esse poema ecoa os célebres versos de Ramón López Velarde (poeta a quem Paz dedicou longo e importante ensaio) em “El viejo pozo” (Zozobra, 1919):

El viejo pozo de mi vieja casa
sobre cuyo brocal mi infancia tantas veces
se clavaba de codos, buscando el vaticinio
de la tortuga, o bien el iris de los peces,
es un compendio de ilusión
y de históricas pequeñeces.

(VELARDE, 1977: 127)

Entretanto, se aqui o poço serve como alegoria do próprio poeta, enquanto testemunha das ilusões e das pequenezas do contexto provinciano em que se situa, representando, portanto, uma *permanência* face à circunstancialidade do movimento da história e das transformações do espaço, no poema de Paz a ilusão é o próprio sujeito, que não encontra no poço senão a perda de sua unidade e a imagem breve que só a poesia consegue reter. Experiência muito semelhante encontra-se em um poema de Álvaro de Campos:

Os antigos invocavam as Musas.
Nós invocamo-nos a nós mesmos.
Não sei se as Musas apareciam —

Seria sem dúvida conforme o invocado e a invocação. —
 Mas sei que nós não aparecemos.
 Quantas vezes me tenho debruçado
 Sobre o poço que me suponho
 E balido “Ah!” para ouvir um eco,
 E não tenho ouvido mais que o visto —
 O vago alvor escuro com que a água resplandece
 Lá na inutilidade do fundo...
 Nenhum eco para mim...
 Só vagamente uma cara,
 Que deve ser a minha, por não poder ser de outro.
 É uma coisa quase invisível,
 Exceto como luminosamente vejo
 Lá no fundo...
 No silêncio e na luz falsa do fundo...

Que Musa!...

(PESSOA, 1972: 396)

O poema parte da perda da transcendência (as Musas) para buscar na imanência do sujeito a inspiração poética – tema que aparece no poema “Arcos”, referido no início desta discussão. Mas aqui não há revelação (“silêncio”), nem iluminação (“alvor escuro”, “luz falsa”), tampouco visão (“só vagamente uma cara”, “uma coisa quase invisível”). Na busca do outro, em Fernando Pessoa, nada se revela plenamente: “nós não aparecemos”. Como porta-voz da ausência de si mesmo, o poeta tematiza o seu próprio vazio, a sua inexistência irremediável. Mas como afirma Paz sobre Campos e Barnabooth (“heterônimo” de Valéry Larbaud), esses poetas “no son Narciso: están fascinados por sus defectos, no por sus perfecciones” (PAZ, 2003: 174).

É curioso como nos poemas de Paz e de Campos, o fundo do poço destaca-se enquanto base da (não) representação do sujeito. No excerto “Ya escrita la primera | palabra (hay otra, abajo, | no la que está cayendo, | la que sostiene al rostro, al sol, al tiempo | sobre el abismo: la palabra | antes de la caída y de la cuenta)”, a superfície do poço como fonte, origem de que brota a água, manifesta-se como o fundamento da própria poesia. Ora, é esta a interpretação que Octavio Paz propõe sobre o lugar da poesia de Caeiro na obra de Fernando Pessoa: o silêncio fundador, o mito da palavra original em que se apoiam os outros heterônimos. O poema, nesse sentido, pode ser lido como uma metáfora do jogo heteronímico, da perspectiva crítica preconizada por Paz. Não é exatamente a mesma imagem que se apresenta nos versos de Campos: “Lá no fundo... | No silêncio e na luz falsa do fundo... || Que Musa!...”. Mais próximos à ideia de um poço sem fundo, de que não se vê o fim, o “silêncio”, a “luz falsa” e a “Musa” são signos de um sujeito oculto, insondável enquanto essência de um eu.

A essa altura, consideramos oportuno retomar a conhecida noção de “desconhecido de si mesmo”, designada por Paz como sendo a substância medular da obra pessoana, a partir da convergência que parece revelar com a sua própria poesia. Entretanto, no ensaio em que trata desse tópico, as diferenças entre ambas as experiências poéticas se insinuam sutilmente. Para o poeta mexicano,

Escrevemos para ser o que somos ou para ser aquilo que não somos. Em um ou em outro caso, nos buscamos a nós mesmos. E se temos a sorte de encontrar-nos – sinal de criação – descobriremos que somos um desconhecido. Sempre o outro, sempre ele, inseparável, alheio, com teu rosto e o meu, tu sempre comigo e sempre só.

(PAZ, 2012b: 208)

A obra poética de Paz configura-se, desse modo, como procura do outro enquanto afirmação do eu: é uma possibilidade de ser. Mas trata-se de uma conquista instantânea, que acontece no presente do poema e, em seguida, se dissolve. É, portanto, *uma busca crítica*, que questiona os seus próprios limites e que, por conseguinte, sente o impulso de retratar o seu avesso: a própria irrealidade do eu, enquanto ser ausente no momento da escrita. Todavia, ao passo que para Paz o desconhecido se revela no encontro com a alteridade, ainda que fugazmente, Pessoa situa-se “aquém do eu, além do outro” (PERRONE-MOISÉS, 2001), numa zona intermediária em que o sujeito não existe senão enquanto ausência de si mesmo. O ensaio de Paz revela a percepção dessa dimensão do drama pessoano, concluindo que a sua poesia não ultrapassa, porque pretende revelar o próprio vazio, “a *iminência* do desconhecido”.

O poeta já sabe que não tem identidade. [...] E não aparece o outro, o duplo, o verdadeiro Pessoa. Nunca aparecerá: não há outro. Aparece, insinua-se, o outro, o que não tem nome, o que não se diz e que nossas pobres palavras invocam [...]: Pessoa ou a iminência do desconhecido.

(PAZ, 2012b: 220)

É nesse sentido que o crítico procura uma compreensão espiritual dessa poesia, e não apenas o seu valor estético: a profissão de fé pessoana, configurada como “explosão do eu” nos fragmentos heteronímicos, é tomada como a vivência íntima de “uma paixão”; o poeta, enquanto homem vazio, expõe a irrealidade do ser, face à irrealidade do próprio mundo. Dessa perspectiva, os heterônimos, para Paz, “de certo modo são o que Pessoa teria podido ou desejado ser; de outro, mais profundo, o que *não* quis ser: uma personalidade” (PAZ, 2012b: 219).

Essa lição de que o poeta é um sujeito vazio, “a voz de ninguém”, que se assume enquanto impessoalidade no momento da criação, Paz a incorpora à sua concepção de “outridade”. Seguindo esse ponto de vista, leia-se o seu conceito de *autoria*, apresentado em *Los hijos del limo*:

A crítica do sujeito tampouco equivale à destruição do poeta ou do artista, mas da noção burguesa de autor. Para os românticos, a voz do poeta era a de *todos*; para nós é rigorosamente a voz de *ninguém*. Todos e ninguém são equivalentes e estão a igual distância do autor e de seu eu. O poeta não é “um pequeno deus”, como queria Huidobro. O poeta desaparece atrás de sua voz, uma voz que é sua porque é a voz da linguagem, a voz de ninguém e de todos. Seja qual for o nome que demos a essa voz – inspiração, inconsciente, casualidade, acidente, revelação –, é sempre a voz da *outridade*.

(PAZ, 2013: 163)

A poética de Octavio Paz apresenta, pois, um ponto de convergência fundamental com a experiência pessoana, no que diz respeito às oscilações do eu enquanto ausência ou presença instável face ao contato com a alteridade. Depois do percurso aqui traçado, não será difícil perceber tal identificação, que o próprio Paz deixa transparecer em uma nota introdutória à sua poesia completa:

Así, los dos tomos que reúnen mis tentativas poéticas pueden verse como un diario. Sólo que es un diario impersonal: los momentos vividos por el individuo real se han convertido en poemas escritos por una persona sin precisas señas de identidad. Cada poeta inventa a un poeta que es el autor de sus poemas. Mejor dicho: sus poemas inventan al poeta que los escribe.

(PAZ, 2004c: 17)

Pode-se dizer, assim, que a poesia de Paz, ao glosar à sua maneira o drama da consciência moderna, que produzira na obra pessoana a irreconciliável cisão de sua esfera autoral, realiza-se, imaginariamente, como um encontro de Fernando Pessoa com a poesia que o sucedeu.

Bibliografia

- CASTAÑÓN, Adolfo (2010). "Pessoa en Paz", in *Revista de la Universidad de México*, n.º 78, pp. 95-97.
- COLLOT, Michel (2006). "O Outro no Mesmo", in *Alea*, vol. 8, n.º 1, janeiro-junho, pp. 29-38.
- GAGLIARDI, Caio (2011). "Apresentação", in PESSOA, Fernando. *Poemas completos de Alberto Caeiro*. Hedra: São Paulo, pp. 9-22.
- Le Surréalisme, même* (1957). André Breton (dir.). Paris: Librairie Jean-Jacques Pauvert, vol. 2.
- LOURENÇO, Eduardo (1981). "A curiosa singularidade de 'Mestre Caeiro'", in *Fernando Pessoa revisitado*. Lisboa: Moraes Editores, 2.ª ed., pp. 33-45.
- O Livro dos Hai-Kais*. Hai-kais de Issa, Buson e Bashô. Tradução de Olga Savary; prefácio de Octavio Paz; desenhos de Manabu Mabe. São Paulo: Massao Ohno Editor/Aliança Cultural Brasil-Japão, 1987.
- PAZ, Octavio (2013). *Os filhos do barro*. Do romantismo à vanguarda. Trad. de Ari Roitman e Paulina Wacht. São Paulo: Cosac Naify.
- ____ (2012a). "Os signos em rotação", in *Signos em rotação*. Trad. de Sebastião Uchoa Leite. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 3.ª ed., pp. 95-123.
- ____ (2012b). "O desconhecido de si mesmo: Fernando Pessoa", in *Signos em rotação*. Trad. de Sebastião Uchoa Leite. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 3.ª ed., pp. 201-220.
- ____ (2004a). "Nota preliminar", in *Obra Poética II (1969-1998)*. Obras completas, vol. 12. México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, pp. 317-318.
- ____ (2004b). "Poemas de Fernando Pessoa", in *Obra Poética II (1969-1998)*. Obras completas, vol. 12. México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, pp. 473-518.
- ____ (2004c). "Preliminar", in *Obra Poética II (1969-1998)*. Obras completas, vol. 12. México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, pp. 15-18.
- ____ (2003). "El desconocido de sí mismo"; "Intersecciones y bifurcaciones: A. O. Barnabooth, Álvaro de Campos, Alberto Caeiro", in *Excursiones/Incursiones*. Obras completas, vol. 2. México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 3.ª reimp., pp. 150-169; 170-181.
- ____ (1994). "El lenguaje", in *La casa de la presencia. Poesía e historia*. Obras completas, vol. 1. México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, pp. 57-72.
- ____ (1979a). "Prólogo", in *Cuadrivio*. México, D.F.: Joaquín Mortiz, 5ª ed., p. 7.
- ____ (1979b). *Poemas (1935-1975)*. Barcelona: Seix Barral.
- PERRONE-MOISÉS, Leyla (2001). "Caeiro Zen", in *Aquém do eu, além do outro*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, pp. 147-206.
- PESSOA, Fernando (1976). *Obras em Prosa*. Organização, introdução e notas por Cleonice Berardinelli. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. José Aguilar.
- ____ (1972). *Obra Poética*. Organização, introdução e notas por Maria Aliete Galhoz. Rio de Janeiro: Aguilar.
- ____ (1928). "Tábua Bibliográfica", in *Presença*, n.º 17, Coimbra, Dezembro, p. 10.
- VELARDE, Ramón López (1977). *Poesías completas y El minuterio*. México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa.

Os destinatários dos panfletos pessoanos de 1923

José Barreto*

Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Raul Leal, immoral books, moralizing campaign, pamphlets

Abstract

In 1923, Fernando Pessoa published two pamphlets against the moralizing campaign of the so-called Action League of Lisbon Students, a group of Catholic students who pressed and obtained from the authorities the seizure and destruction of allegedly “immoral” books on sale in bookstores. Pessoa sent copies of his protest pamphlets by mail to 205 recipients, chosen among the cream of Portuguese doctors, psychiatrists, scientists, teachers, writers, artists, lawyers, engineers and journalists. We thus have an image, though somewhat circumstantial, of what Pessoa considered to be an intellectual and opinion-forming élite in his contemporary Portugal. The complete list of the recipients is presented here with a short biography of each one.

Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Raul Leal, livros imorais, campanha moralizadora, panfletos

Resumo

Em 1923, Fernando Pessoa publicou dois panfletos contra a campanha moralizadora da chamada Liga de Acção dos Estudantes de Lisboa, um grupo de estudantes católicos que exigiram e conseguiram das autoridades a apreensão e destruição dos livros alegadamente “imorais” à venda nas livrarias. Pessoa enviou exemplares desses panfletos de protesto pelo correio para 205 destinatários, escolhidos entre a nata dos médicos, psiquiatras, cientistas, professores, escritores, artistas, advogados, engenheiros e jornalistas portugueses. Dispomos assim de uma imagem, ainda que algo circunstancial, do que Pessoa considerava ser uma elite intelectual e formadora de opinião no Portugal seu contemporâneo. Apresenta-se aqui a lista completa dos destinatários com uma pequena biografia de cada um.

* Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa (ICS-UL).

Em artigo anterior (BARRETO, 2012a: 240-270), apresentámos e reproduzimos os panfletos publicados em 1923 por Fernando Pessoa e Raul Leal, na sua polémica pública com a Liga de Acção dos Estudantes de Lisboa, durante a campanha movida por esta associação estudantil católica contra os “livros imorais”. Entre as obras mandadas apreender pelo Governo Civil de Lisboa, incluíam-se *Sodoma Divinizada* de Raul Leal e *Canções* de António Botto, ambos editados pela Olisipo de Fernando Pessoa. Remetemos o leitor para o historial que nesse artigo se faz da dita campanha, dos seus protagonistas e das medidas repressivas que as autoridades tomaram em consonância com as reivindicações estudantis.

Depois de renunciarem à ideia de um protesto colectivo de escritores contra a apreensão dos livros, Fernando Pessoa e Raul Leal publicaram em nome individual, entre Março e Maio de 1923, três panfletos ou folhas volantes visando principalmente a campanha dita moralizadora dos estudantes. Trata-se de dois escritos de Fernando Pessoa, *Aviso por Causa da Moral* (este assinado por Álvaro de Campos) e *Sobre um Manifesto de Estudantes*, e um de Raul Leal, *Uma Lição de Moral aos Estudantes de Lisboa e o Descaramento da Igreja Católica*. Um segundo panfleto de Raul Leal, intitulado *Para os Sórdidos Estudantes de Lisboa*, não terá sido distribuído, apesar de ter sido impresso. Refira-se que também António Botto e Mário Saa publicaram protestos contra o confisco de livros, o primeiro em folha volante de 1923 intitulada *O Meu Manifesto a Toda a Gente*, o segundo, no ano seguinte, com o texto “António Botto, o espiritualista da matéria”, em posfácio ao livro de Botto *Curiosidades estéticas* (Lisboa: s.n., 1924).

Uma parte dos exemplares dos panfletos de Pessoa e Leal poderá ter sido distribuída em mão pelos seus autores. Outra parte, no caso de Pessoa, foi enviada pelo correio em Maio de 1923, do que dão testemunho as listas de nomes de destinatários, com os respectivos endereços postais e as presumíveis datas de envio, que encontrámos e identificámos no espólio pessoano. Uma terceira parte, enfim, é constituída pelos numerosos exemplares de sobras dos dois panfletos de Pessoa, que por ele foram conservados, utilizando-os, durante anos, para escrever no verso das folhas. Não se sabe se Pessoa se limitou a enviar pelo correio o seu segundo panfleto, *Sobre um Manifesto de Estudantes*, escrito em princípios de Maio, ou se lhe juntou também o primeiro, *Aviso por Causa da Moral*, de Março, de que haviam sobrado muitos exemplares. Os panfletos de Pessoa poderão, em alguns casos, ter sido enviados pelo correio juntamente com o de Raul Leal (publicado em Março), como o sugere uma nota manuscrita por Pessoa numa das listas.¹

Os 205 destinatários individuais que constam das listas elaboradas por Fernando Pessoa constituem um interessante conjunto, em que aos nomes dos mais destacados médicos e psiquiatras do país se juntam os de numerosos

¹ BNP/E3, 48D-61^v (nota manuscrita riscada que começa “Com o de Raul Leal”, seguindo-se seis nomes de destinatários).

escritores, artistas, professores, cientistas, jornalistas, deputados, políticos, engenheiros, advogados, historiadores, oficiais do Exército e da Armada, altos funcionários, etc. Pessoa dirigia-se, pois, a uma elite intelectual, com compreensível relevo, por força do tema em debate, para a classe médica e científica, uma vez que se tratava, em boa parte, de contestar diagnósticos psiquiátricos imbricados com juízos morais sobre a homossexualidade dos autores das obras apreendidas.

É significativa a exclusão de nomes femininos dessas listas, o que se poderá compreender, em parte, pelo facto de as mulheres em 1923 ainda permanecerem basicamente arredadas das profissões e ocupações mencionadas – exceptuando as actividades literárias ou artísticas, nas quais, todavia, Pessoa talvez considerasse não haver nomes femininos merecedores de figurar entre a *elite influente* a que pretendia dirigir-se. Na óptica algo misógina de Pessoa, as mulheres também não teriam suficiente capacidade intelectual ou estatuto social para lhes reconhecer a qualidade de ajuizadoras no pleito em causa. Transparece também das listas de destinatários algum menosprezo pela classe de governantes da 1.^a República, nitidamente sub-representada, mas poderá constatar-se que os nomes seleccionados por Pessoa cobrem um largo espectro político-ideológico, ainda que com alguma sobre-representação de monárquicos.

A selecção de nomes operada por Pessoa reflecte, até certo ponto, o seu apreço pessoal por essas personalidades, embora saibamos que alguns nomes constantes das listas lhe mereciam escassa admiração ou mesmo clara antipatia, como Alfredo Pimenta, Afonso Lopes Vieira, António Correia de Oliveira, Júlio Dantas, Alfredo da Cunha ou António Ferro, entre outros. Nesses casos, o critério de Pessoa funda-se aparentemente na mera constatação do prestígio público e influência sociocultural das individualidades em questão.

Se o conjunto dos 205 nomes seleccionados tem inegavelmente, pelos motivos atrás referidos, algum carácter circunstancial, podemos também encará-lo como uma amostragem da elite cultural portuguesa contemporânea de Fernando Pessoa, segundo a predominante óptica deste, obviamente. Outras extensas listas de nomes elaboradas pelo escritor, primeiro em 1915, quando do lançamento da revista *Orpheu*², depois em 1919-1920, quando da constituição da *Olisipo*³, podem completar, sempre segundo a óptica de Pessoa, o conjunto aqui em apreço.

*

² Vejam-se as listas com mais de 200 nomes transcritas em PESSOA (2006: 503-506). Segundo Jerónimo Pizarro, tratar-se-ia dos nomes de possíveis assinantes ou divulgadores do *Orpheu* (2006: 501).

³ Veja-se aqui, no Anexo, a lista de cerca de uma centena de nomes de eventuais subscritores do capital da *Olisipo* que se acham em BNP/E3, 144G-42 a 43.

Dão-se adiante os nomes de 205 destinatários individuais, tal como figuram nas listas manuscritas ou dactilografadas por Fernando Pessoa (BNP/E3, 48D-60 a 65 e também, segundo se presume, BNP/E3, 75-71^v e 71a^v). Acrescenta-se uma sucinta biografia de cada um deles, consagrando naturalmente maior atenção aos anos correspondentes ao período de vida de Fernando Pessoa e, mencionando, quando pertinente, as relações deste com os biografados. Mantém-se a ortografia original dos nomes, mas omitem-se os respectivos endereços postais. No caso de se dar também o nome completo do destinatário, a sua ortografia é actualizada. Seguiu-se a ordem de numeração do espólio e a ordem dos nomes nas listas. Eliminaram-se os nomes repetidos em diferentes listas, retendo-se, nesses casos, o nome mais completo. Não foram considerados os destinatários não individuais (como “reitores de todos os liceus da província”, “jornais da província”, “administradores de concelho”, “professores mais notáveis dos liceus”, “associações de estudantes de Coimbra, Porto e Lisboa”) nem os cargos individuais sem o nome dos seus titulares (bispos de certas dioceses, directores de certos jornais). Omitiram-se os títulos académicos e militares a anteceder os nomes, assim como os títulos de nobreza, excepto quando estes últimos figuram em vez do nome (Conde de Mafra, Visconde de Vila Moura). Como se pode constatar pelas datas registadas nas listas originais, que se podem consultar aqui, os envios postais dos panfletos terão sido efectuados entre 10 e 18 de Maio de 1923.

48D-60

Eduardo de Sousa.	Serviço Público	Finanças.
Marye Juncos. - cont.	Tribunal	Hospital
Luiz Dermet - cont. or	Imp. Mac.	Ths. Pifit.
Alf. Lapa. Vieira.	Grupos	"Radical"
Amélia e Costa.	de	"Imprensa Nova"
José Coltho Carbea	de	Carlos Mathias Dias
Luiz Lins.	de	Alf. Pifit.
(Sociedade de Viagens.)	de	Alex. Fomero.
(Cunha Dias.)	de	Alcântara Lins.
Antônio Luis de Oliveira.	de	Maria Loo.
Frederico Juncos.	de	Santa de Vasconcelos.
Hermes Carantes.	de	Administrat.
Jorge Lins.	de	Conselho.
Alexandre Rey Lins.	de	Imagem
Jupiares de Sousa de Oliveira	de	Prêmio
Carlos Lins.	de	Prêmio
A.T. Rebelo.	de	Prêmio
F.L. Vieira e Almeida	de	Prêmio
Internato de Fomero	de	Prêmio
Augusto	de	Prêmio
Mosulha Lins.	de	Prêmio
(Ruy Ulrich).	de	Prêmio

Fig. 1a. BNP/E3, 48D-60.

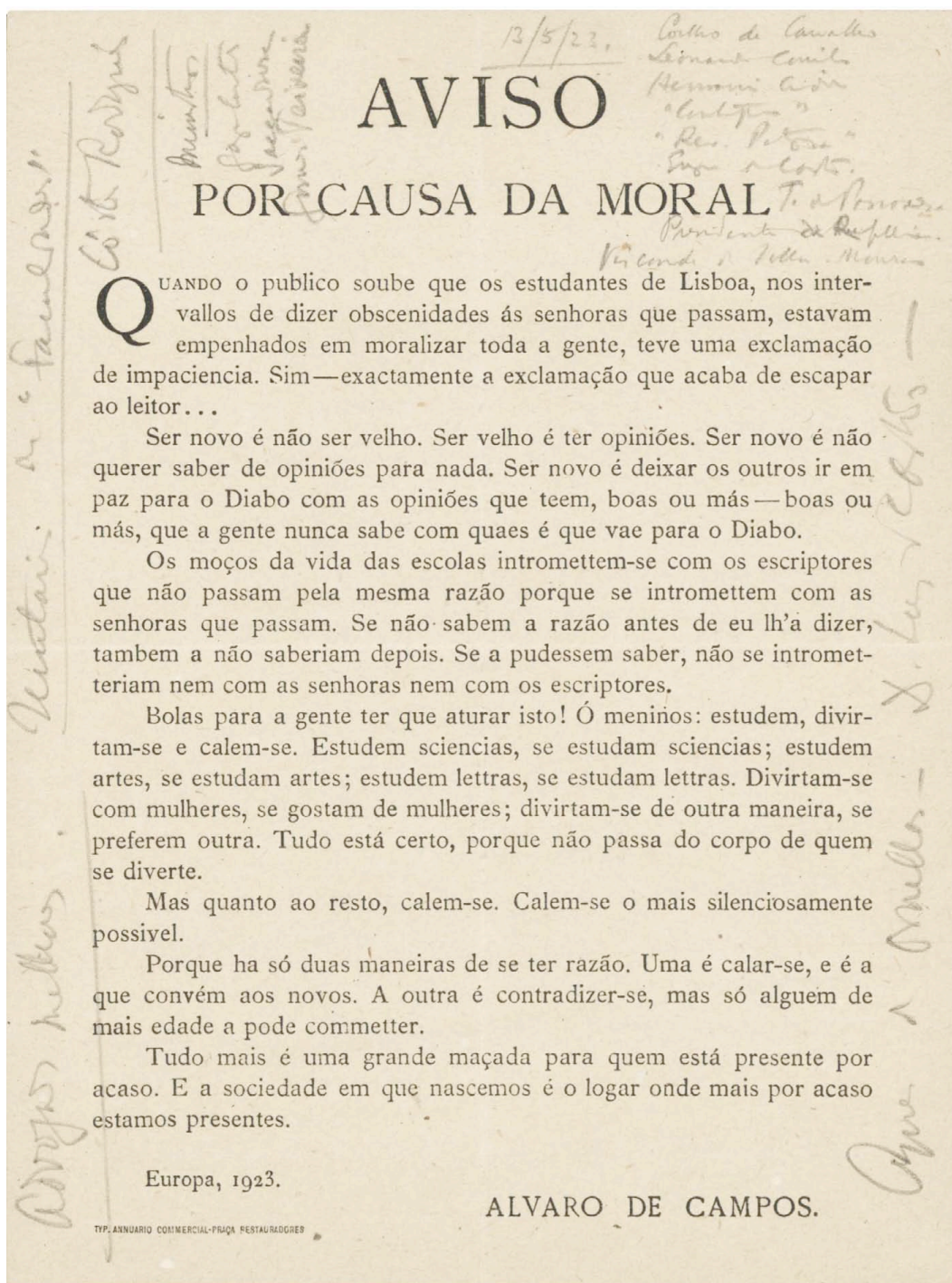


Fig. 1b. BNP/E3, 48D-60^v.

Eduardo de Sousa. Eduardo Alfredo de Sousa (1865-1927). Médico, jornalista e político republicano. Em 1890 fundou no Porto o semanário académico *O Rebate*, foi membro da Liga Patriótica do Norte (liderada por Antero de Quental) e, juntamente com João Chagas, Sampaio Bruno e outros, foi redactor do diário portuense *A República Portuguesa* (1890-1891). Na sequência do 31 de Janeiro de 1891, foi condenado a dois anos de prisão e depois indultado. Entre 1908 e 1911 foi director político do *Diário da Tarde*. Foi eleito deputado em 1915 e 1919. Em 1916-1919, foi redactor principal e director interino do jornal *República*, ligado ao Partido Evolucionista. Em 1919 chamou ao sidonismo “um crime contra a honra nacional”. Pertenceu ao Partido Liberal Republicano (1919-1923) e foi vice-presidente da Cruzada Nun’Álvares até 1923, abandonando então essa agremiação por discordar da sua crescente politização e conotação com os monárquicos. Em 1923-1924 foi governador civil do Porto. Autor de *O Pão* (tese apresentada à escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto em 1897), *O Dezembrismo e a sua Política na Guerra* (1919) e *Após Monsanto: Através da Decomposição dos Partidos* (1921).

Mayer Garção. Francisco de Sande Salema Mayer Garção (1872-1930). Jornalista republicano, escritor e tradutor. Trabalhou em *O Mundo*, *A Capital*, *A Manhã*. Publicou a antologia poética *Os Cem Sonetos* (1920) e editou e prefaciou o livro póstumo de Guerra Junqueiro, *Horas de Combate* (1924).

Luiz Derouet (1880-1927). Jornalista, revisor tipográfico e, entre 1910 e 1927, director da Imprensa Nacional. Colaborou na imprensa republicana (*Actualidades*, *A Vanguarda*, *O Mundo* e *A Manhã*, dos quais foi cofundador, e *Barricada*, *A Pátria*, *Diário da Tarde* e *Diário de Lisboa*). Eleito deputado pelo Partido Republicano em 1913 e 1915. Recusou a publicação, em 12 de Agosto de 1927, de um *Diário do Governo* elaborado pelos revoltosos do “golpe dos Fifis” que nomeava Filomeno da Câmara para todas as pastas do governo. Em 31 de Outubro desse mesmo ano foi abatido a tiro à porta da Imprensa Nacional por um tipógrafo desempregado, morrendo no dia seguinte.

Afonso Lopes Vieira (1878-1946). Poeta. Bacharel em direito e funcionário da Câmara dos Deputados (1906 -1916), dedicou-se depois exclusivamente à escrita. Como poeta, foi um dos expoentes do neogarrettismo, com ligações à Renascença Portuguesa. Colaborou em *A Águia*, *Nação Portuguesa*, *Contemporânea* e publicou dezenas de livros de poesia. Apesar de uma faceta “anarquizante” revelada em obras de juventude, foi monárquico, próximo dos integralistas e membro da Cruzada Nun’Álvares. Em 1921 o seu poema “Ao Soldado Desconhecido (Morto em França)”, publicado em folheto, foi apreendido pela polícia. Em 1923, com António Sérgio e outros, publicou a revista *Homens Livres*, sob o lema “Livres da Finança & dos Partidos”, de que saíram só dois números. Nos anos 30, Afonso

Lopes Vieira demarcou-se do salazarismo, com argumentos idênticos aos do Integralismo Lusitano. Fernando Pessoa publicou em 1913 uma crítica arrasadora do seu livro de versos para crianças *Bartolomeu Marinheiro* (PESSOA, 1913). Num escrito do mesmo ano, Pessoa considerava Júlio Dantas e Afonso Lopes Vieira, literariamente, como os “representantes naturais” da época (PESSOA, 2013a: 165).

Cunha e Costa. José Soares da Cunha e Costa (1867-1928). Advogado, jornalista, conferencista e político. Após ter cursado direito em Coimbra, foi para o Brasil, regressando a Portugal em 1904. Republicano, foi membro da vereação municipal de Lisboa em 1908. Publicara, ainda jovem, *A Luta Civil Brasileira e o Sebastianismo Português* (1894). Participou muito activamente na redacção da Constituição de 1911, manifestando já a sua independência (elaborou um projecto de Constituição próprio). Desvinculou-se gradualmente, a partir de então, do republicanismo. Aproximou-se dos monárquicos e dos católicos, declarando em 1917 que a restauração da monarquia era a única alternativa à “tirania democrática”. Foi colaborador dos jornais republicanos *O Século* e *O Mundo* e, posteriormente, dos jornais monárquicos *O Dia* e *A Nação*. Rompeu com a Causa Monárquica em 1918 para se tornar um apoiante de Sidónio Pais, em quem via a “criatura providencial” para iniciar um processo de regeneração nacional sob o signo da ordem. Foi, então, um dos promotores da reconciliação entre o Estado e a Igreja. Sobre esse período publicou o livro *A Igreja Católica e Sidónio Pais* (1921), atacando a política religiosa da “República Velha”. Pertenceu à direcção da Liga Nacional (1915) e da Cruzada Nun’Álvares (de 1921 até à morte). Sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Foi defensor de Alves Reis no processo do Banco de Angola e Metrópole.

José Coelho Pacheco. José Coelho de Jesus Pacheco (1894-1951). “Engenheiro” segundo Fernando Pessoa (75-71^v-71a^v), embora não tivesse completado o curso, e comerciante de automóveis, poeta e tradutor nas horas vagas. Em Fevereiro de 1914, com 19 anos, publicou, com Fernando Carvalho Mourão, o n.º 1 e único de *Renascença – Revista de Crítica, Literatura, Arte*, que inseria colaboração de, além dos citados, Júlio Dantas, Fernando Pessoa, Mário de Sá-Carneiro e Alfredo Guisado. Com 21 anos contribuiu com a poesia “Para Além d’Outro Oceano” para o n.º 3 do *Orpheu*, sob o nome de C. Pacheco – durante muito tempo tomado por um heterónimo de Pessoa (LOPES: 2011). Traduziu *Le village aérien*, de Jules Verne (*A Aldeia Aérea*, Bertrand, 1937). Era sobrinho de Geraldo Coelho de Jesus, outro amigo de Pessoa. Figura, sob o nome José Coelho Pacheco, com três outros membros da família Coelho de Jesus, numa lista de potenciais investidores da Olisipo (144G-42^v, ver Anexo).

Luiz Leitão. Luís Albino da Silva Leitão (1866-1940). Filantropo, escritor, jornalista. Trabalhou nos Correios e Telégrafos. Em 1923 estava colocado na Companhia

Industrial de Portugal e Colónias. Colaborou em numerosos jornais. Foi o introdutor da Festa da Árvore em Portugal e o responsável pela Semana da Bondade, que se realizou durante alguns anos. Fez parte da direcção da Sociedade Protectora dos Animais. Foi pacifista, vegetariano e militante contra o alcoolismo, o tabagismo e as touradas. Defendeu a educação feminina e os direitos da criança e dos animais. Pedro Teixeira da Mota definiu-o como um “tolstoiano da tradição espiritual portuguesa”. Foi director da *Revista do Bem* e publicou *Cem Grandes Virtudes em Cem Pequenos Capítulos* (1915), *A Sombra das Boas Árvores* (1915) e ainda *Escola do Carácter* (1916), de que em 1921 ofereceu um exemplar a Fernando Pessoa com dedicatória.

Duarte de Viveiros. Duarte José de Viveiros (1897-1937). Advogado e poeta açoriano. Em Lisboa deu-se com modernistas, como Luís de Montalvor, Alfredo Guisado e Albino de Meneses. Deixou poesia esparsa, reunida postumamente no volume *Obra Poética* (1960).

Cunha Dias. Alberto da Cunha Dias (1886-1947), assinando sempre Da Cunha Dias, foi advogado, escritor, jornalista, editor e polemista político. Foi um dos “intransigentes” da greve estudantil de 1907. Amigo de Fernando Pessoa, que em 1916 lhe dedicou o poema “Gládio”, quando Cunha Dias se encontrava pela primeira vez internado num manicómio (BARRETO, 2012c). Publicou vários livros sobre a instituição psiquiátrica em Portugal, de que se considerou vítima, e contra a maçonaria, que atacou ferozmente na imprensa e em livros. Defendeu réus do processo da chamada “Noite Sangrenta” de 19 de Outubro de 1921, tentando virar a acusação contra o Grande Oriente Lusitano. De republicano e democrata evoluiu para posições de extrema-direita. Sugeriu a Fernando Pessoa que alterasse o título do livro de poesia *Portugal*, que o poeta depois publicou como *Mensagem*.

Antonio Correia de Oliveira (1878-1960). Poeta e proprietário. Monárquico, próximo do Integralismo Lusitano, e apoiante do Estado Novo. Colaborou com o movimento Renascença Portuguesa e na revista *A Águia*. Fernando Pessoa disse numa nota para Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues, em 1914, ter sofrido influência da sua poesia no período 1908-1909. Sobre o seu livro *Raiz*, Pessoa disse conter “inúmeros pecados contra a arte”, mas também “lampejos de génio”, afirmando ainda ser Correia de Oliveira um poeta em que a intuição se mostrava “desligada da inteligência e do espírito crítico” (PESSOA, 2013a: 197). Nos anos 30, Correia de Oliveira era já visto como o poeta oficial do regime salazarista. Na sessão plenária de encerramento do I Congresso da União Nacional, em 28 de Maio de 1934, Correia de Oliveira, presidente da 3.^a secção do congresso, recitou o seu poema *Patria Nostra*, que viria a ser publicado em 1935 pelo Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional e cujo original manuscrito o autor ofereceu a Salazar. Na biblioteca

particular de Fernando Pessoa existem duas obras de Correia de Oliveira: *Auto do Fim do Dia* (1900) e *Elogio dos Sentidos* (1908). Pessoa ter-se-á inspirado numa quadra de António Correia de Oliveira, publicada em 1902, para escrever os dois primeiros versos do poema “Mar Português”, tendo por isso sido acusado de plágio num texto anónimo publicado no semanário *Fradique* de 14 de Março de 1935. Pessoa não respondeu publicamente à acusação (BARRETO, 2013).

Guerra Junqueiro. Abílio Manuel Guerra Junqueiro (1850-1923). Poeta, funcionário público e proprietário. Num texto inédito de 1909-1910, Fernando Pessoa tinha Junqueiro por “o maior poeta vivo da actualidade” (14C-30^r a 35^r). A sua obra *Pátria* era julgada por Pessoa em 1914 como “a maior obra portuguesa dos últimos trinta anos”, superior mesmo aos *Lusíadas* de Camões (resposta de Fernando Pessoa a um inquérito do jornal *República*). A partir de 1915, porém, Pessoa deixou de lhe fazer referências elogiosas, passando a tecer comentários depreciativos, como: “Guerra Junqueiro? Tenho uma grande indiferença pela obra dele. Já o vi... Nunca pude admirar um poeta que me foi possível ver” (PESSOA, 2010: 680), ou este certificado de óbito da obra e do homem, escrito por Pessoa após o falecimento do poeta em 1923: “Junqueiro morreu logo que morreu” (PESSOA, 2013a: 286).

Hemeterio Arantes (1864-1932). Jornalista, ensaísta e poeta. Colaborou especialmente na imprensa monárquica. Autor de *Ramalho Ortigão* (1915), *D. Teresa de Rio Maior* (1916), *O Parlamentarismo e o Moderno Teatro* (1917) e *Frei Agostinho da Cruz* (1909), o último dos quais Fernando Pessoa tinha na sua biblioteca e que é uma denúncia de alegados erros que Teófilo Braga teria cometido no seu livro *História dos Quinhentistas* (1871).

Jorge Colaço. Jorge Rey Colaço (1868-1942) foi pintor, ceramista, ilustrador e caricaturista. Principal obreiro do renascimento da arte da azulejaria em Portugal. Estudou arte em Lisboa, Madrid e Paris. Trabalhou desde os anos finais do século XIX até 1923 na Fábrica de Louça de Sacavém, tendo colaborado depois, até à sua morte, na Fábrica de Cerâmica Lusitânia (Lisboa) e na Fábrica Lusitânia (Coimbra). Autor, entre outros, dos painéis de azulejo do Palace-Hotel do Buçaco (1907), da Estação de S. Bento no Porto (1915), da Casa do Alentejo (1918) e do Pavilhão dos Desportos em Lisboa (1922). Colaborou com desenho humorístico no semanário *Branco e Negro* (1896-1899) e no semanário humorístico monárquico *O Thalassa* (1913-1915).

Alexandre Rey Colaço (1854-1928). Pianista, compositor e professor do Conservatório. Estudou piano em Madrid, Paris e Berlim. Foi mestre de música do príncipe D. Manuel. Publicou, além de obras musicais, os livros *De Música* (1923) e

Breviário do Músico (1928). Colaborou na revista *Atlântida* (1915-1920). Irmão do artista Jorge Colaço.

Carlos Corado. Carlos Celestino Corado (?-?). Bacharel em letras. Em 1911 era funcionário do parlamento, na categoria de 2.º conservador da biblioteca, passando mais tarde a 1.º oficial da secretaria do Congresso da República. Manteve-se nessa categoria na Assembleia Nacional (1935), onde trabalhou até, pelo menos, 1941. Amigo de Pessoa e seu condiscípulo no Curso Superior de Letras, é várias vezes citado nos diários de 1906 e de 1913. Frequentador da tertúlia da Brasileira. Pessoa dedicou-lhe o poema “Em Busca da Beleza”, de Fevereiro de 1909 (16-13^r).

A. T. Rebello. Armando Teixeira Rebelo (1883-1972). Foi colega de Pessoa no Curso Superior de Letras em 1905-1907. Também passou parte da juventude na África do Sul, tendo sido educado em Pretória. Em 1923 trabalhava no Banco do Minho, na Rua do Ouro, em Lisboa. Fernando Pessoa era padrinho da sua filha, Signa Teixeira Rebello. Em Setembro de 1933, Pessoa intercedeu por carta junto de António Ferro, recém-designado director do Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, no sentido de obter uma colocação para Armando Teixeira Rebelo, que Pessoa descreve como seu “velho amigo e compadre” e proficiente “conhecedor e redactor de inglês e de francês e entendedor de alemão” (PESSOA, 1996: 136-137).

F. L. Vieira de Almeida. Francisco Lopes Vieira de Almeida (1888-1962). Filósofo, escritor e professor. Concluiu o Curso Superior de Letras de Lisboa, onde terá sido colega de Fernando Pessoa. Lecionou na Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa desde 1915, primeiro na área de história e, a partir de 1921, na de filosofia, ascendendo a catedrático em 1930. Foi director da secção de filosofia (1936-1940). É tido como o introdutor da moderna lógica matemática em Portugal. Monárquico próximo do Integralismo Lusitano, ligar-se-ia mais tarde ao grupo da *Seara Nova* e, por fim, aos meios oposicionistas, chegando a ser preso juntamente com António Sérgio, Jaime Cortesão e Azevedo Gomes (1958). Foi um dos fundadores da revista *Homens Livres* (1923), com Reinaldo dos Santos, Afonso Lopes Vieira e António Sérgio. Publicou trabalhos de lógica, história e filosofia, mas também obras de poesia, romance e teatro, bem como diversas traduções.

Fortunato da Fonseca. Luís Fortunato da Fonseca (1859-1934), usava o pseudónimo Fausto de Azevedo. Médico, escritor e político republicano. Foi amigo de Fialho de Almeida. Exerceu medicina na Moita e foi médico dos Caminhos de Ferro do Sul e Sueste. Membro do Partido Republicano, foi presidente da Câmara da Moita (eleito em 1908), deputado à Assembleia Constituinte e senador (1911, reeleito em 1915). Assíduo frequentador da tertúlia da Brasileira. Pessoa menciona-o três vezes no diário de 1913, afirmando que era sempre interessante conversar com ele.

Augusto Gil. Augusto César Ferreira Gil (1873-1929). Poeta e funcionário público. Licenciado em direito por Coimbra, exerceu advocacia por breve período em Lisboa. Republicano, em 1918 foi sidonista. Trabalhou no Ministério da Instrução (1918) e foi director-geral das Belas Artes a partir de 1919. Foi um dos poetas mais populares do seu tempo, sendo considerado um neo-romântico de imaginação simbolista e veia satírica. No espólio de Fernando Pessoa encontra-se o texto, plausivelmente escrito por este, de uma representação de “escritores, artistas e amadores de arte” dirigido ao ministro da Instrução Pública (114²-89^r), pedindo a demissão, por “incompetência” e “incúria”, do director-geral das Belas Artes (a representação é talvez de Agosto de 1926, após em Maio-Junho a revista *Contemporânea* ter também exigido a sua demissão). Em carta a José Pacheco de 17 de Agosto de 1926, Pessoa envia-lhe “quatro novos exemplares da representação”, dizendo não assiná-la “pois não assino nada em conjunção, cooperação e colaboração com outrem” (PESSOA, 1999: 118). Os seus principais livros de poesia são *Musa Cérula* (1894), *Versos* (1898), *Luar de Janeiro* (1909), *O Canto da Cigarra – Sátira às Mulheres* (1910), *Sombra de Fumo* (1915), *Alba Plena* (1916), *O Craveiro da Janela* (1920), *Avena Rústica* (1927) e *Rosas desta Manhã* (1930). Na biblioteca particular de Pessoa há exemplares de *Alba Plena* (2.^a ed., 1920) e de *O Craveiro da Janela*.

Magalhães Collaço. João Maria Telo de Magalhães Colaço (1893-1931). Jurista, assistente da Faculdade de Direito de Coimbra (de que é provisoriamente afastado pelo governo, em 1919, juntamente com Domingos Fezas Vital, António Carneiro Pacheco, António de Oliveira Salazar e Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira) e, a partir de 1921, professor da Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa. Constitucionalista e especialista de direito administrativo, sócio da Academia de Ciências desde Janeiro de 1923. Monárquico e maçom. Publicou *Da Vida Pública Portuguesa*, t. I (1925) e t. II (1926).

Ruy Ulrich. Rui Enes Ulrich (1883-1966). Jurista, professor, administrador de empresas, banqueiro e diplomata. Foi professor catedrático da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Coimbra até à república, pedindo então a sua exoneração. Mais tarde foi catedrático da Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa e seu director desde 1937. Director do Banco de Portugal (1914-1927). Administrador de diversas empresas de caminhos de ferro, comerciais e financeiras e presidente do conselho de administração da Companhia de Moçambique (1920-1933). Monárquico, ligado à fundação do Integralismo Lusitano, foi eleito deputado por Lisboa pelas listas monárquicas em 1921. Apoiou o golpe militar de 28 de Maio de 1926, a Ditadura Militar e a criação do Estado Novo. Procurador à Câmara Corporativa a partir de 1935. Autor de obras de temas coloniais (política, economia e administração).

Garcia Pulido. Domingos Garcia Pulido (1892-1973). Advogado, escritor, poeta, professor, mais tarde administrador de empresas e político do Estado Novo. Amigo de juventude de Fernando Pessoa, que se lhe refere no seu diário de 1913, dando conta do projecto de lançamento, pelos dois, de um “panfleto semanal”, intitulado *Jogo Franco*, com “um comum ponto de vista – republicano, anti-afonsista, anti-socialista” (20-30^r). Concluiu direito em Coimbra em 1916, mudando-se então para Beja, onde exerceu advocacia e foi professor liceal. Republicano conservador, aproximar-se-ia depois do Integralismo Lusitano. Foi eleito deputado em 1918, no período sidonista, pelo Partido Nacional Republicano, no círculo de Beja. Apoiou a Ditadura Militar, colaborou nos trabalhos preparatórios da Constituição de 1933 e, em 1934, foi eleito deputado à Assembleia Nacional. Em 1931, foi o primeiro director do jornal da União Nacional, o *Diário da Manhã*, cargo que abandonou em Setembro desse ano. Foi também administrador da Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, proprietária do jornal *O Século*. Publicou *Rompendo Fogo... A Renascença e o Inquérito* (1912) e os livros de poesia *Nos Braços da Cruz* (1914) e *Fogo Sagrado* (1923), todos oferecidos a Fernando Pessoa com dedicatórias.

Magalhães Lima. Sebastião de Magalhães Lima (1851-1928). Advogado, jornalista, escritor e político. Membro do directório do Partido Republicano sob a monarquia. Foi deputado e ministro da Instrução durante a república. Suspeito de mandante ou cúmplice do assassinato de Sidónio Pais, acusação que nunca foi provada. Fundou o jornal *O Século* (1881) e foi grão-mestre do Grande Oriente Lusitano (1907-1928). Era irmão de Jaime Magalhães Lima (1859-1936), poeta, ensaísta e crítico literário.

Illydio Perfeito (1883-1935). Poeta e jornalista. Publicou *Estrelas Mortas* (1908). Dirigiu *O Imparcial* (Moura), em 1919, e *Revista: Literatura, Arte, Modas, Publicidade*, em 1925-1927. Amigo de Pessoa, a quem convidou, em 1913, para fazer a crítica literária num jornal que projectava (PESSOA, 2003: 108 e 120).

Carlos Malheiro Dias (1875-1941). Jornalista, escritor, romancista, historiador e político. Aos 20 anos, emigrado no Brasil, publicou o romance naturalista e melodramático *A Mulata* (1896), que causou escândalo e reacções políticas pelas suas descrições do vício e do submundo carioca, fazendo-o decidir pelo regresso a Portugal. Concluiu então o Curso Superior de Letras e envolveu-se na política no quadro do Partido Regenerador, fazendo carreira como deputado (1897-1910). Foi director literário da *Ilustração Portuguesa* entre 1906 e 1912. Muito crítico da república, exilou-se no Brasil em 1913, tendendo depois para posições nacionalistas reaccionárias, próximas das ideias da Action Française e do Integralismo Lusitano. No Brasil, fundou a revista *Cruzeiro*. Publicou, além de vários romances, dramas e

ensaios históricos e políticos, uma *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* (3 vols., 1921-1924). Mantendo uma assídua relação com Portugal, foi membro activo da Cruzada Nun' Álvares a partir de 1925.

Alfredo Guisado. Alfredo Pedro Guisado (1891-1975), também usou o pseudónimo Pedro Meneses. Poeta modernista e jornalista português de ascendência galega. Formou-se em direito, mas não exerceu advocacia. A sua família era proprietária do restaurante Irmão Unidos, no Rossio, frequentado por Fernando Pessoa e outros intelectuais. Foi colaborador do *Orpheu* e de outras revistas do modernismo. Republicano. Em 1915 distanciou-se de Pessoa por razões políticas, na sequência da carta de Álvaro de Campos ao jornal *A Capital* regozijando-se pelo grave acidente de Afonso Costa. Eleito deputado em 1925, foi também governador civil substituto de Lisboa e vice-presidente da Comissão Executiva da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. Foi subdirector do diário *República* e publicou vários livros de poesia, dos quais cinco, com dedicatórias, oferecidos a Fernando Pessoa: *Rimas da Noite e da Tristeza* (1913), *Distância* (1914), *As Treze Baladas das Mãos Frias* (1916), *Mais Alto* (1917) e *Ânfora* (1918).

Alexandre Ferreira (1877-1950). Profissional de seguros e político. Impulsionador do mutualismo, da educação popular e da assistência social. Em 1922 organizou o Congresso Nacional da Educação Popular. Republicano, seguidor de António José de Almeida. Foi eleito deputado em 1925 pelo Partido Evolucionista. Foi vereador da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. Fundou a Universidade Livre e os Inválidos do Comércio e presidiu a numerosas instituições de carácter cultural, desportivo e assistencial. Dirigiu a Companhia Aliança Seguradora. Iniciado na maçonaria em 1905.

Alcântara Carreira. Manuel Carlos de Alcântara Carreira (1876-1928). Jornalista e poeta que viveu entre Portugal e o Brasil. Livre-pensador e anticlerical. Publicou os livros de versos *Livro da Alma* (1898), *Doida Juventude*, *Deixando a Pátria*, *Pecadora*, *Milagre d' Amor* e *D' Aquem e d' Alem-Mar*.

Mario Saa. Mário Pais da Cunha e Sá (1893-1971). Proprietário, escritor e arqueólogo. Estudou engenharia, matemática e, com 37 anos, matriculou-se em medicina, sem contudo concluir qualquer curso. Colaborou nas revistas *Contemporânea*, *Athena*, *Presença* e *Sudoeste*. Privou com os poetas modernistas, nomeadamente Fernando Pessoa, a quem se referiu no seu livro *A Invasão dos Judeus* (1925). Sobre o caso da apreensão pelas autoridades, em 1923, de livros considerados imorais, publicou "António Botto – O espiritualista da matéria – Em desagravo do insulto que o Poeta sofreu quando da apreensão brutal do seu livro *Canções*", em posfácio ao livro *Curiosidades Estéticas* de António Botto (1924). Desse

texto de Mário Saa existe no espólio de Fernando Pessoa uma cópia dactilografada com um subtítulo diferente do que foi publicado (113P¹-67).

Leite de Vasconcellos. José Leite de Vasconcelos Cardoso Pereira de Melo (1858-1941). Médico, filólogo, arqueólogo, etnógrafo e professor. Kursou ciências naturais (1881) e medicina (1886) e doutorou-se em filologia românica na Universidade de Paris (1901). Conservador da Biblioteca Nacional desde 1887. Lecionou numismática e filologia portuguesa na Biblioteca Nacional e língua e literatura francesas, arqueologia e epigrafia na Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa (a partir de 1911). Fundador da *Revista Lusitana* (1887) e de *O Arqueólogo Português* (1895), órgão do Museu Etnológico, também por ele fundado. Publicou vasta obra, com destaque para *Religiões da Lusitânia* (1897-1913), *Antroponímia Portuguesa* (1928), *Opúsculos* (a partir de 1928) e *Etnografia Portuguesa* (a partir de 1933).

Coelho de Carvalho. Joaquim José Coelho de Carvalho (1852-1934). Jurista, diplomata, escritor, dramaturgo e tradutor de obras literárias (a *Eneida*, o *Cântico dos Cânticos*, etc.). Republicano. Foi reitor da Universidade de Coimbra (1919) e presidente da Academia de Ciências. Em 1922 era cônsul em Huelva. Colaborou na revista *Contemporânea*. Autor de *Viagens de Coelho de Carvalho. Madrid, Barcelona, Nice, Mônaco. Cartas e notas destinadas a Cesário Verde em 1884* (Lisboa, 1888) e *Máscaras Abaixo...* (Lisboa, 1931), este último livro existente na biblioteca de Fernando Pessoa. Chegou a convidar Pessoa para traduzir o *Fausto* (referência no diário de 1913).

Leonardo Coimbra. Leonardo José Coimbra (1883-1936). Filósofo, professor liceal e universitário e político. Anarquista e republicano na juventude, foi cofundador com Jaime Cortesão da revista *Nova Silva*, de orientação anarquista. Concluído o Curso Superior de Letras de Lisboa em 1911, foi professor liceal até 1919. Foi um dos mentores do movimento Renascença Portuguesa. Dirigiu a Faculdade de Letras do Porto, onde também lecionou (1919-1931). Foi deputado pelo Partido Democrático (1919-1925) e duas vezes nomeado ministro da Instrução (1919 e 1922), a segunda das quais acumulando com a pasta do Trabalho. Defendeu a liberdade do ensino religioso nas escolas particulares, o que lhe criou conflitos no governo, levando à sua demissão em Janeiro de 1923. Candidatou-se a deputado pelo Porto na lista da Esquerda Democrática em 1925, mas foi derrotado. Abandonou a política activa depois do golpe militar de 28 de Maio de 1926, mas evoluiu para posições conservadoras. Foi maçom (irradiado em 1930). Converteu-se ao catolicismo em fins de 1935, morrendo uma semana depois. Publicou *O Criacionismo* (1912), de que ofereceu um exemplar dedicado a Fernando Pessoa, *Pensamento Criacionista* (1915) e várias outras obras filosóficas.

Hernani Cidade. Hernâni António Cidade (1887-1975). Professor, ensaísta, crítico literário e historiador. Depois de estudar no Seminário de Évora, declinou o convite para prosseguir estudos superiores na Universidade Gregoriana de Roma. Frequentou o Curso Superior de Letras de Lisboa, iniciando a sua actividade como professor liceal. Foi professor de filologia românica (em que se doutorou), história da literatura portuguesa e outras disciplinas na Faculdade de Letras do Porto (1919-1930) e na de Lisboa (1931-1957). Colaborador das revistas *A Águia* e *Seara Nova*. Codirigiu, com Joaquim de Carvalho e Mário de Azevedo Gomes, o *Diário Liberal* (1934-35). Ameaçado, em 1935, de expulsão da Universidade de Lisboa por razões políticas, valeu-lhe a intercessão de Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos junto de Salazar, passando a dedicar-se exclusivamente à vida universitária. A sua extensa obra inicia-se na década de 1920 com a publicação de duas conferências sobre temas camonianos e o livro *Ensaio sobre a Crise Mental do Século XVIII* (1929).

Eugenio de Castro. Eugénio de Castro e Almeida (1869-1944). Poeta, autor dramático e professor. Concluiu o Curso Superior de Letras de Lisboa (1889), visitando depois Paris, onde sofreu influência dos poetas simbolistas. Foi adido da legação em Viena e professor do ensino secundário em Coimbra. Em 1916 foi-lhe atribuído o título de doutor pela Universidade de Coimbra. Foi conservador do Museu Nacional Machado de Castro (1913), professor da Faculdade de Letras (1914-1939) e da Escola Normal Superior (desde 1915) e director da Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra (1920-1924). Na juventude foi cofundador da revista *Os Insubmissos* (1889). Considerado o pioneiro da poesia simbolista em Portugal, cuja emergência é assinalada pela publicação do seu livro *Oaristos* (1890). Fundou com Manuel da Silva Gaio a efémera revista *A Arte*, que dirigiu (1895-1896). A libertação da linguagem poética fez dele um precursor do modernismo português e uma referência do *Orpheu*. Posteriormente a sua obra tendeu para o neoclassicismo, tornando-se, literariamente, um assumido “reaccionário”. Monárquico, apoiou o Estado Novo.

Teixeira de Pascoaes. Joaquim Pereira Teixeira de Vasconcelos (1877-1952). Poeta, escritor, ensaísta e pensador. Licenciado em direito (1901), exerceu a advocacia e a magistratura, que abandonou em 1913 para se dedicar à administração das suas propriedades e à actividade intelectual. Mentor da corrente estético-filosófica do saudosismo, de cunho lusitanista e messiânico. No quadro de uma renovação inspirada pela revolução republicana, mas reflectindo também uma certa desilusão com a república, foi cofundador da sociedade literária e movimento intelectual Renascença Portuguesa e director do seu órgão, a revista *A Águia*. O movimento do *Orpheu* nasceria da ruptura de Fernando Pessoa e Mário de Sá-Carneiro com o saudosismo imperante na Renascença Portuguesa, tal como da ruptura com esta por parte de António Sérgio, Jaime Cortesão e Raul Proença nasceria depois a *Seara*

Nova. Para além das diferenças e discordâncias mútuas, manteve a relação de amizade com Pessoa, documentada pela oferta que lhe fez, ao longo dos anos, de uma dezena dos seus livros, com dedicatórias manifestando amizade e admiração. Publicou *Arte de Ser Português* (1915) e numerosos livros de poesia, prosa, ensaios, biografias, conferências e escritos memorialísticos. Fernando Pessoa considerava-o “um grande poeta com grandes defeitos”, que nisso se pareceria com Robert Browning (PESSOA, 2013a: 205-206).

Visconde de Villa-Moura. Bento de Oliveira Cardoso e Castro Guedes de Carvalho Lobo (1877-1935). Poeta e romancista decadentista, crítico e ensaísta. Proprietário, cursou direito e foi deputado durante a monarquia pelo Partido Regenerador. Foi colaborador assíduo de *A Águia*. Publicou *A Vida Mental Portuguesa: Psicologia e Arte* (1908) e o romance *Nova Safo* (1912), que causou escândalo pelas referências à homossexualidade feminina e masculina. Desta obra bem como de *Camilo Inédito* (1913), ofereceu a Fernando Pessoa exemplares com dedicatórias manifestando amizade e admiração.

Ayres de Ornellas. Aires de Ornelas e Vasconcelos (1866-1930). Militar, escritor e político monárquico. Foi governador de Moçambique e ministro da Marinha do governo de João Franco. Após a instauração da república, foi lugar-tenente do rei exilado. Envolveu-se em várias tentativas restauracionistas, pelo que chegou a ser preso. Foi eleito deputado por duas vezes durante a 1.^a República (1918 e 1922). Publicou *As Doutrinas Políticas de Charles Maurras* (1914) e vários livros sobre as campanhas militares em África.

D. Luiz de Castro. Luís Filipe de Castro (1868-1928), 2.^o conde de Nova Goa. Engenheiro agrónomo, professor catedrático do Instituto Superior de Agronomia, escritor e jornalista. Político monárquico, foi ministro das Obras Públicas (1908-1909), deputado às Cortes e vereador da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. Expulso do Instituto Superior de Agronomia em 1913 por envolvimento em actividades conspirativas, seria reintegrado em 1917. Muito activo no movimento associativo agrícola. Colaborou em numerosas revistas de agricultura e na imprensa diária.

Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues. Armando César Côrtes-Rodrigues (1891-1971). Poeta de um “modernismo moderado”, contista, dramaturgo e etnógrafo açoriano. Licenciado em Filologia Românica em Lisboa (1910-1915), foi mais tarde professor liceal nos Açores. Colaborou em *A Águia*, no *Orpheu* (assinando também com o pseudónimo Violante de Cysneiros) e em várias outras revistas. Amigo próximo de Fernando Pessoa, com quem manteve assídua correspondência, mais irregular após o seu regresso aos Açores (1917). Evoluiu então para uma poética de pendor católico, que Pessoa lamentou. Publicou obras de poesia, teatro e etnografia,

organizando ainda o *Cancioneiro Geral dos Açores* e o *Adagiário Popular Açoriano*, publicados postumamente.

Gago Coutinho. Carlos Viegas Gago Coutinho (1869-1959). Oficial da Armada, geógrafo, matemático, historiador e pioneiro da aviação. Em 1922 realizou com Sacadura Cabral a primeira travessia aérea do Atlântico Sul, entre Lisboa e o Rio de Janeiro.

Saccadura. Artur de Sacadura Freire Cabral Júnior (1881-1924), conhecido por Sacadura Cabral. Oficial da Armada e pioneiro da aviação. Realizou, com Gago Coutinho, a primeira travessia aérea do Atlântico Sul. Desapareceria em 1924 num desastre de aviação no Mar do Norte.

Francisco Gomes Teixeira (1851-1933). Matemático. Foi deputado pelo Partido Regenerador durante a monarquia. Professor da Universidade de Coimbra e da Academia Politécnica do Porto. Na república, foi o primeiro reitor da Universidade do Porto, nomeado em 1911.

48D-61

Apresente d. Carpa - R. Batocinis, 21, 12

1. Anso Costa - Povo Lameiro, 45. ap. ✓

3. ~~Amorim Costa - R. Costa, 10, 12~~

2. J. Almeida Costa - Hotel Frankfurt, R. P. 12 ✓

4. Ramon Costa - ~~V. V.~~

5. J. de S. - ~~M. S.~~

~~Alto de S. -~~

6. Amílcar Gomes - S. S. 50, 12 3, ✓

7. Sr. J. de S. - P. R. 109, 12 ✓

Henrique Mendes Costa - ✓

8. Barbara Lourenço, R. de S. 12
Mang, M. C.

9. Henrique Costa - Avenida ✓

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL

J. de S. Costa
Alfredo Costa ✓
"N. de S. Costa"
J. de S. Costa ✓
J. de S. Costa ✓
Elvira de S. Costa (C. de S.) ✓
Ana de S. Costa ✓
J. de S. Costa ✓
Archi de S. Costa ✓

10/5/1923.

A. T. de S. Costa ✓
J. de S. Costa ✓
Carlos Amaral ✓

Fig. 2a. BNP/E3, 48D-61r.

~~Con. D. Miguel~~
~~Antônio de Jesus~~

[Guilherme
 Aguiar
 V. Leite]

Con. D. Raul de
 Botelho de Figueiredo
 Carlos Amaro
 Manoel de Almeida
 Amílcar de
 Gomes de
 Almeida

Augusto de
 Mayallha Almeida
 Raposo de Mayallha
 E. Paul Proença
 Leonardo de Almeida

Fig. 2b. BNP/E3, 48D-61'.

Agostinho de Campos. Agostinho Celso Azevedo de Campos (1870-1944). Bacharel em direito, professor, pedagogo, jornalista e escritor. Deixou cedo a advocacia e ensinou língua e cultura portuguesas em Hamburgo (1893-1894). Monárquico. Foi director-geral da Instrução Pública de 1906 a 1910. Colaborou em jornais e publicou várias obras sobre temas pedagógicos, literários, linguísticos e políticos. Em 1921 publicou *Paladinos da Linguagem* e, em 1923, as obras *Latinos e Germanos* e *Camões Lírico*. Crítico do modernismo, elogiaria em 1935 a *Mensagem* de Fernando Pessoa.

Sousa Costa. Alberto Mário de Sousa Costa (1879-1961). Escritor, jornalista. Bacharel em direito, foi secretário da Tutoria Central da Infância de Lisboa (por ele criada no Ministério da Justiça em 1911) e, depois, do Tribunal do Comércio. Publicou vasta obra literária como contista, romancista, cronista e dramaturgo e deixou colaboração em revistas como *Serões*, *Ilustração Portuguesa* e *Atlântida*.

Duarte Roriz (?-?). Advogado (?), ligado à Casa Bancária Borges & Irmão.

Gonçalves Cotta. José Gonçalves Cotta (?-?). Advogado em Lisboa nas décadas de 1910-1920. Em Moçambique viveu nas décadas seguintes um advogado e jurista com o mesmo nome, que chefiou a Missão Etognósica de Moçambique e ali publicou o livro *Mitologia e Direito Consuetudinário dos Indígenas de Moçambique* (1944), o *Projecto Definitivo do Estatuto do Direito Privado dos Indígenas da Colónia de Moçambique* (1946) e o *Projecto Definitivo do Código Penal dos Indígenas da Colónia de Moçambique* (1946).

Ramada Curto. Amílcar da Silva Ramada Curto (1886-1961). Advogado, político, jornalista, dramaturgo e tradutor. Um dos líderes da greve estudantil de 1907. Como advogado, interveio em alguns processos-crime célebres. Foi republicano e membro da Carbonária sob a monarquia. Durante a 1.^a República, foi deputado pelo Partido Republicano e, depois, pelo Partido Socialista Português, partido que liderou a partir de 1920. Foi ministro das Finanças e do Trabalho (1919 e 1920). Foi maçom desde 1903 e presidente do Conselho da Ordem (Grande Oriente Lusitano) nos anos 30. Colaborou em vários jornais, como o *Diário de Lisboa* e o *Jornal de Notícias*. Autor de vasta obra dramática de cunho realista-naturalista, visando a crítica dos costumes, inspirada na sua actividade forense.

Francisco Fernandes Lopes (1884-1969). Médico, professor liceal, músico e homem de cultura. Concluiu medicina em 1911 e doutorou-se em 1916 com uma tese sobre *Drogas e Farmacopeia*. Optou por viver no Algarve, recusando convites para a docência universitária. Compôs obras para piano e canto, bem como duas óperas. Estudioso multifacetado, publicou vasta obra sobre música, história, filosofia,

literatura, arte, religião e política, sobretudo em jornais, revistas e enciclopédias. Republicano, agnóstico e liberal, dizia-se por vezes anarquista. Publicou “Contra a Epidemia do Integralismo Lusitano” (24 artigos no *Correio do Sul*, Faro, 1921-1922). Foi colaborador da *Seara Nova*. Fernando Pessoa que, como Almada Negreiros, era seu amigo e admirador, convidou-o em 1919 para colaborar com uma crítica da filosofia de Bergson numa projectada revista de cultura portuguesa destinada a leitores de língua francesa e inglesa (PESSOA, 1998: 272-280 e 284). Acompanhou em 1935 o funeral de Pessoa.

Annibal Soares. Aníbal de Andrade Soares (1882-1925). Bacharel em direito, jornalista e político. Monárquico. Chefe de redacção do *Diário Ilustrado*, onde iniciou a sua carreira jornalística. Defensor da ditadura de João Franco, exilou-se após a instauração da república e, ao regressar a Portugal, dirigiu em 1915 o jornal miguelista *O Nacional* e depois, com Aires de Ornelas, o *Diário Nacional*. Foi posteriormente director do *Correio da Manhã* (1921-1925). O jornal republicano *O Mundo* chamava-lhe em 1915 o “Dr. Minhoca” (alcunha alegadamente recebida em Coimbra), insinuando ironicamente ser ele o poeta Álvaro de Campos que escrevia para o *Orpheu*, “a revista poética do integralismo político” (por sua vez, *O Nacional* seria “o órgão político do integralismo poético”). Foi deputado monárquico sob o sidonismo. Publicou um romance: *Ambrósio das Mercês – Memórias* (1903).

José Lobo d’Ávila Lima. José Caetano Lobo de Ávila da Silva Lima (1885-1956). Jurista, professor, político e diplomata. Lecionou na Faculdade de Direito de Coimbra (1910-1913 e 1918) e de Lisboa (1919-). Foi demitido da Universidade de Coimbra e preso por implicação na tentativa de golpe monárquico de Outubro de 1913. Foi eleito deputado monárquico em 1918. Foi dirigente da Cruzada Nun’Álvares. Foi administrador do Banco de Portugal. A partir de 1933, representou Portugal em vários países europeus, nomeadamente Itália (1935), onde elogiou o fascismo. Publicou várias obras sobre direito, questões sociais, financeiras e política internacional, nomeadamente: *Movimento Operário em Portugal* (1905), *Socorros Mútuos e Seguros Sociais* (1909), *Portugal e a Guerra das Nações* (1915), *Direito Internacional Público* (1924). Iniciado na maçonaria em 1911. Fernando Pessoa traduziu-lhe um artigo sobre economia e finanças internacionais para o *Financial Times* (137F-4^r a 10^r).

Henrique Trindade Coelho (1885-1934). Advogado em Lisboa, jornalista, político e diplomata. Filho do escritor Trindade Coelho. Republicano democrático na juventude, foi um dos “intransigentes” do movimento estudantil de 1907. Depois da instauração da república foi governador civil de Castelo Branco (1911-1912). Maçon iniciado em 1910, abandonou a maçonaria em 1920. Evoluiu para posições de extrema-direita, tendo sido um dos fundadores da Cruzada Nun’Álvares. Foi

director do jornal *O Século* (1924-1926). Apoiou o 28 de Maio e foi ministro de Portugal em Roma (1927), onde acabou por se tornar um “fascista convicto e ardente” (XAVIER, 1962: 288). Em 1929, durante a Ditadura Militar, assumiria a pasta dos Negócios Estrangeiros no governo do general Ivens Ferraz, mas pouco depois entrou em conflito com o chefe do governo e foi nomeado ministro de Portugal no Vaticano.

Barbosa Soeiro. Manuel Bernardo Barbosa Soeiro (1894-1974). Médico, antropólogo e investigador. Professor da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa.

Homem Christo. Francisco Manuel Homem Cristo (1860-1943). Militar, político republicano, jornalista, professor da Faculdade de Letras do Porto. Polemista político celebrizado pela sua violência verbal. Fundou e dirigiu o semanário *O Povo de Aveiro* (1882-1941). Pai do jornalista Francisco Manuel Homem Cristo (1892-1928), conhecido por Homem Cristo Filho, que dirigiu a revista *A Ideia Nacional* (1915-1916) e o jornal lisboeta *A Informação* (1926), em que Fernando Pessoa colaborou com o artigo “Régie, monopólio, liberdade” (31 de Julho e 1 de Agosto).

Fernando de Sousa. José Fernando de Sousa (1855-1942), usava o pseudónimo *Nemo*. Engenheiro, militar, administrador ferroviário, jornalista, propagandista católico, escritor e político. Seguiu a carreira militar, mas abandonou o Exército em 1900 por se recusar a um duelo de honra. Depois de passar pela Direcção-Geral dos Serviços Geodésicos (1880-1890), foi administrador dos Caminhos de Ferro do Estado (até 1911) e director da Companhia de Caminhos de Ferro do Vale do Vouga. Deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Nacionalista (1906) e senador da república (1925) pelo Centro Católico, de que foi dirigente até 1919. Monárquico legitimista e adversário intransigente da maçonaria, opunha-se à colaboração dos católicos com as instituições da 1.^a República. Foi vice-lugar-tenente do rei exilado. Dirigiu os jornais católicos e monárquicos *Correio Nacional* (1897-1906), *Portugal* (1907-1910) – ambos órgãos do Partido Nacionalista – e ainda *A Ordem* (1916-1919), *A Época* (1919-1927) e *A Voz* (1927-1942). Foi colaborador e director durante 30 anos da *Gazeta dos Caminhos de Ferro*. Entre muitas outras obras, publicou *Guerra Junqueiro e Zola: Notas Críticas dum Jornalista Católico* (1922) e *Religião e Monarquia* (1923). Em Fevereiro de 1935, apoiou o projeto de lei que extinguiu a maçonaria e criticou no jornal *A Voz*, de que era director, o artigo “Associações Secretas”, que Fernando Pessoa publicara no *Diário de Lisboa* contra o dito projecto de lei.

J. A. Moreira de Almeida. José Augusto Moreira de Almeida (1869-1925). Jornalista e político. Concluiu o Curso Superior de Comércio. Foi director do jornal monárquico *O Dia*. Deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Progressista e, sob o sidonismo, pelos monárquicos. Publicou *Elementos do Direito Internacional Público*

(1892) e *A Separação do Estado e das Igrejas - Lei de 20 de Abril de 1911* (1911). Participou em várias revoltas monárquicas contra a república.

Carlos Amaro. Carlos Amaro de Miranda e Silva (1879-1946). Poeta, dramaturgo, jornalista, crítico de arte e político. Bacharel em direito (1906). Foi conservador do Registo Civil em Lisboa. Republicano e membro da Carbonária sob a monarquia, foi deputado à Assembleia Nacional Constituinte (1911) e, depois, militante do Partido Unionista. Colaborou nos jornais *A República* (1908-1909), *A Pátria*, *A Luta* e *A Capital*. Amigo de Fernando Pessoa, a quem deu a conhecer a obra de Camilo Pessanha, então ainda inédita. Publicou, entre outras obras, *São João Subiu ao Trono: Grande Auto ou Mistério em Seis Quadros* (1927), que ofereceu a Pessoa.

João Barral Camacho (?-?). Médico. Trabalhou com Francisco Pulido Valente.

Alfredo Pimenta. Alfredo Augusto Lopes Pimenta (1882-1950). Historiador e investigador medievalista, escritor, polemista e político. Bacharel em direito, foi professor liceal (1911-1913) e funcionário (1913), conservador (1931) e director (1949) da Torre do Tombo, bem como director do Arquivo Municipal de Guimarães (1931). Anarquista na juventude, tornou-se republicano moderado, próximo do Partido Evolucionista, colaborando no jornal *República*. Após a revolução republicana de 14 de Maio de 1915, tornar-se-ia monárquico próximo do Integralismo Lusitano. Foi eleito deputado monárquico sob o sidonismo. Rompendo com o Integralismo, foi cofundador, em 1923, da Acção Realista Portuguesa, ano em que publicou *As Bases da Monarquia Futura*. Foi simpatizante dos regimes autoritários, especialmente do fascismo italiano, e apoiante de Salazar, apesar das diferenças relativamente à questão monárquica. Fernando Pessoa sempre nutriu por ele uma profunda antipatia e troçava da sua erudição livresca. Em Fevereiro de 1935, Pimenta atacou no jornal *A Voz* o artigo “Associações Secretas” de Fernando Pessoa, insinuando que esta seria apenas um “génio na atmosfera viciada dos botequins”. Pessoa respondeu-lhe num texto violento, que deixou inédito, “Barril de Lixo” (129-80^r e 81^r).

Julio Dantas (1876-1962). Escritor, dramaturgo, jornalista e político. Licenciado em medicina pela Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa (1900), começou por ser médico militar. Abandonando o Exército, foi inspector das bibliotecas eruditas e arquivos (1912-1946), professor e director da secção dramática do Conservatório (1912-1930) e director do Conservatório (1930-1935). Foi deputado às Cortes na monarquia pelo Partido Progressista (1905-1906), senador sob o sidonismo e dirigente do Partido Republicano Nacionalista (1923), pelo qual também foi senador. Foi ministro da Instrução (1921-1922) e dos Negócios Estrangeiros (1923) e várias vezes presidente da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Fernando Pessoa desprezava-o como escritor,

dizendo em 1913, numa carta a Sá-Carneiro, que em França “os Júlios Dantas estão por detrás dos balcões das lojas de retroseiros”. Os poetas do *Orpheu* foram ridicularizados por Dantas em “Poetas paranóicos” (*Ilustração Portuguesa*, 19 de Abril de 1915). Após a estreia da sua peça “Soror Mariana”, em 21 de Outubro de 1915, Dantas foi alvo do *Manifesto Anti-Dantas* de Almada Negreiros, publicado em 1916. No drama *Os Crucificados* (1902), Dantas abordou pela primeira vez no teatro português a temática da homossexualidade. A sua obra literária gozou de grande popularidade em Portugal e era estimada também em Espanha e no Brasil. Em 1923, confrontou-se numa livraria com os estudantes católicos que percorriam a Baixa de Lisboa em busca de livros “imorais”.

João de Barros (1881-1960). Escritor, poeta, pedagogo, alto funcionário e político da 1.^a República. Bacharel em direito, dedicou-se às letras, à pedagogia e à promoção da política republicana de instrução pública. Começando como professor liceal (Coimbra, Lisboa e Porto), foi sob a república director do ensino primário e secundário e, a partir de 1915, secretário-geral do Ministério de Instrução Pública. Iniciado na maçonaria em 1910. Foi deputado pelo Partido Republicano (passando em 1924 para a Esquerda Democrática) e ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros (1924-1925). Membro da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa (1913). Em 1915, fundou, juntamente com João do Rio, a revista luso-brasileira *Atlântida*. Publicou vasta obra literária e ensaios sobre a reforma da instrução pública e a escola republicana. Fernando Pessoa publicou em 1913 em *Teatro - Jornal d'Arte* (ano I, n.º 2, 29 de Novembro) o texto “Algumas considerações sobre a obra do Sr. João de Barros”, com opiniões depreciativas sobre o visado. Durante a Grande Guerra, Pessoa redigiu um longo texto, que não chegou a completar, de crítica a um artigo de João de Barros, publicado em *O Mundo* de 10 de Julho de 1915, que apelava aos intelectuais portugueses para se solidarizarem espiritualmente com os aliados, especialmente com a França. O simultaneamente anglófilo e germanófilo Fernando Pessoa, partidário da neutralidade, discordava do apelo de Barros e expunha as razões de uma necessária “solidariedade espiritual” com a Alemanha (BARRETO, 2014). Assinale-se que João de Barros e Fernando Pessoa tinham uma posição semelhante quanto à necessidade de laicização do ensino.

Elysio de Moura. Elísio de Azevedo e Moura (1877-1977). Médico, psiquiatra e professor da Faculdade de Medicina de Coimbra. Iniciou em Portugal o ensino de neurologia. Foi médico, em Coimbra, de Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira (futuro patriarca de Lisboa) e de Salazar.

Augusto de Castro. Augusto de Castro Sampaio Corte-Real (1883-1971). Advogado, jornalista, dramaturgo, escritor, político e diplomata. Dirigiu, no Porto, o diário *A Província* e foi, em Lisboa, redactor principal do *Jornal do Comércio* e

cronista de *O Século*. Deputado durante a monarquia pelo Partido Progressista. Esteve ligado ao teatro, como professor do Conservatório e como autor de comédias ligeiras (*Amor à Antiga*, *Chá das Cinco*, *As Nossas Amantes*) e dramas psicológicos (*Caminho perdido*, *Vertigem*, *A Culpa*). Foi director do *Diário de Notícias* entre 1919 e 1924, ano a partir do qual exerceu vários cargos diplomáticos na Europa, voltando mais tarde à direcção do jornal. Foi comissário-geral da Exposição do Mundo Português de 1940. Com os seus amigos Júlio Dantas, Alfredo da Cunha, Henrique Lopes de Mendonça e Carlos Malheiro Dias, foi, como escritor, uma típica figura da classe de literatos designados “lepidópteros” pelos homens do *Orpheu*.

José Rangel de Lima (?-?). Redactor do *Diário de Notícias* nas primeiras décadas do século XX e redactor principal a partir de 1924, sucedendo a Brito Aranha.

Avelino de Almeida. Avelino de Almeida Pereira (1873-1932). Jornalista, tradutor e crítico de teatro. Frequentou o seminário de Santarém e iniciou-se no jornalismo como colaborador de *A Aurora* (Sintra, 1891). Foi depois administrador e colaborador do diário católico *Correio Nacional*. Entrando em conflito com os dirigentes católicos, tornou-se um violento anticlerical e fundou o semanário *A Lanterna – Opúsculo Semanal de Inquérito à Vida Religiosa e Eclesiástica Portuguesa* (1909-1910). Foi chefe de redacção do jornal republicano camachista *A Luta* e colaborador do diário democrático *Educação Nacional* (1911), passando depois para *O Século*. Em 1914 tornou-se um dos sócios da Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, coproprietária, com Silva Graça, do jornal *O Século*. Fundou e dirigiu (1928-1932) a revista *O Cinéfilo*, suplemento semanal do *Século*. Traduziu numerosas peças de teatro, foi presidente da Associação da Crítica e envolveu-se numa polémica com António Ferro a propósito do “Teatro Novo” (1925). Celebrizou-se muito especialmente pelos seus relatos do alegado “milagre do sol” presenciado em Fátima a 13 de Outubro de 1917, publicados com grande destaque no *Século* (15 de Outubro) e na *Ilustração Portuguesa* (29 de Outubro). Os meios católicos quiseram ver nesses relatos uma prova do carácter sobrenatural do sucedido. O seu testemunho presencial seria “insuspeito”, porque vindo de um jornalista descrente e de um jornal com fama de maçónico e anticlerical.

Raposo de Magalhães. João Emídio Raposo de Magalhães (1884-1961). Licenciado em filosofia (1906) e medicina (1908), professor de patologia cirúrgica da Faculdade de Medicina de Coimbra (até 1917) e de Lisboa. Em 1923 foi nomeado, com Francisco Gentil, Marck Athias e outros, para a direcção do Instituto Português para o Estudo do Cancro, no Hospital de Santa Marta. Republicano e democrata.

Raul Proença. Raul Sangreman Proença (1884-1941). Escritor, jornalista, bibliotecário, ensaísta e pensador político. Cursou Ciências Económicas e Financeiras. Foi funcionário da Biblioteca Nacional a partir de 1911, colaborando com Jaime Cortesão quando este foi director (a partir de 1919) e animando o chamado “Grupo da Biblioteca”, que além deles incluía Aquilino Ribeiro, António Sérgio, Afonso Lopes Vieira, Gualdino Gomes, Reinaldo dos Santos, Raul Lino e José de Figueiredo, entre outros. Integrou a Renascença Portuguesa e o grupo fundador da *Seara Nova* (1921), em que deixou abundante colaboração, sobretudo de polémica política. João Chagas chamou-lhe “a pena da república”. Republicano e socialista democrático, crítico da União Soviética e lutador antifascista, combateu o sidonismo e a Ditadura Militar. Tendo sido demitido do lugar de chefe dos serviços técnicos da Biblioteca Nacional e passado à clandestinidade em 1926, exilou-se em Paris em 1927. Regressou a Portugal em 1932, sendo internado no Hospital do Conde de Ferreira, no Porto, onde morreu. Colaborou também em *Alma Nacional*, *A Águia* e *A Vida Portuguesa*. Iniciou a publicação do *Guia de Portugal*, de que foi organizador e principal autor do primeiro volume (1924). Os seus escritos políticos foram reunidos em vários volumes pela editora Seara Nova.

Gualdino. Gualdino Gomes (1857-1948). Homem de letras, era amigo de Fialho de Almeida, Oliveira Martins (com quem trabalhou no *Repórter*), Marcelino Mesquita, Fortunato da Fonseca, Teixeira Gomes, Raul Proença, Aquilino Ribeiro e outros. Foi bibliotecário da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, onde integrou o chamado “Grupo da Biblioteca”. Próximo do grupo de fundadores da *Seara Nova* e frequentador das tertúlias literárias dos cafés do Chiado e da Baixa, chamavam-lhe “pontífice de café”. Tal como Fernando Pessoa, frequentou a tertúlia do Café Montanha nos anos 20-30. Não se considerava um escritor e deixou uma obra bastante exígua. Publicou o periódico maledicente *Balas de Papel* (1891-1892), muito crítico de Eça de Queirós, de que só saíram quatro números. Israel Anahory publicou sobre ele o opúsculo *Gualdino Gomes* (Seara Nova, 1951).

Aquilino. Aquilino Gomes Ribeiro (1885-1963), conhecido por Aquilino Ribeiro. Romancista e contista. Foi revolucionário republicano e democrata. Membro do “Grupo da Biblioteca” e do subsequente grupo fundador da *Seara Nova*. Como romancista, era apreciado e respeitado em vários quadrantes políticos. Numa entrevista de 1923 tomou posição contra a censura de livros e peças de teatro consideradas imorais pelas autoridades (“A moral no teatro. O que diz o escritor Aquilino Ribeiro”, *Diário de Lisboa*, 20 de Julho de 1923, p. 4). Nessa altura foi signatário, tal como Fernando Pessoa, de um protesto de 50 intelectuais pela proibição da representação da peça *Mar Alto*, de António Ferro.

J. Cortezão. Jaime Zuzarte Cortesão (1884-1960), conhecido como Jaime Cortesão. Médico, poeta, contista, ensaísta, historiador e político. Estudou direito e medicina em Coimbra e, depois, medicina no Porto, concluindo o curso em Lisboa em 1910. Tomou parte activa na direcção da greve estudantil de 1907, aderindo ao Partido Republicano em 1908. Cofundador da Renascença Portuguesa e da revista *A Águia* (1910). Foi preso em 1910 e libertado após o 5 de Outubro. Praticou medicina até 1912 e, depois, foi professor liceal no Porto. Participou na revolta republicana de 14 de Maio de 1915 e foi deputado do Partido Democrático pelo Porto entre 1915 e 1917. Participou na Grande Guerra, alistando-se voluntariamente em Agosto de 1917 como capitão-médico do Corpo Expedicionário, sendo ferido e condecorado com a Grã-Cruz de Guerra. Foi preso durante o sidonismo. Exerceu o cargo de director da Biblioteca Nacional de 1919 até 1927, animando o “Grupo da Biblioteca”, de que saíria depois o núcleo fundador da revista *Seara Nova*. Foi eleito vereador da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa em 1924. Em 1927 foi demitido da Biblioteca Nacional por ter participado na tentativa de derrube da Ditadura Militar (revolta de 3 de Fevereiro, no Porto). Viveu exilado em França (1927-1931), em Espanha (1931-1939) e, novamente, em França, até 1940. Regressado a Portugal, foi preso e banido do país, exilando-se no Brasil, de onde regressou a Portugal somente em 1957. Em 1958 foi eleito presidente da Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores e esteve novamente preso. Publicou vasta obra, incluindo poesia, conto, teatro, ensaio em diversas áreas temáticas, memórias e, sobretudo, historiografia, com relevo para os temas dos descobrimentos portugueses e da formação do Brasil. Da biblioteca particular de Fernando Pessoa constam duas obras suas de poesia, *A Morte da Águia* (1910) e *Esta História é para os Anjos* (1912, com dedicatória do autor), e uma colectânea de contos, *D’Aquém e d’Além Morte* (1913).

Fig. 3a. BNP/E3, 48D-62^r.

~~Exatidão~~

Fern. e Maria - R. B. K. 115, 2.
 Henrique Panerri - R. F. 82, 1.
 M. P. - R. C. B. 230, 2.
 Roberto. Alves - R. A. P. 247, 1.
 Carlos. - R. C. 60-10 230, 2.
 All. - R. P. 247, 1.
~~Exatidão~~
 R. A. P. 115, 2.
 R. P. 17, 1.
~~Exatidão~~
 R. B. 192, 2.
 Carlos. - R. F. 28, 1.
 D. M. - R. P. 9, 3.
 Y. - R. A. 20, 2.
 C. - R. P. 23, 4.
 D. - R. A. 11-2.

Fig. 3b. BNP/E3, 48D-62.

Azevedo Neves. João Alberto Pereira de Azevedo Neves (1877-1955). Médico, professor, ensaísta e político. Leccionou medicina legal na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa. Foi professor catedrático da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa (1911), de que foi director (1921-1925). Foi director (1911-1947) da Morgue de Lisboa, depois Instituto de Medicina Legal de Lisboa, de que foi fundador, e reitor da Universidade Técnica de Lisboa (1930). Monárquico, foi vereador da Câmara de Lisboa, deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Progressista e membro da Causa Monárquica. Ingressou na maçonaria após o 5 de Outubro. Foi secretário de Estado do Comércio nos governos de Sidónio Pais e Tamagnini Barbosa (1918-1919).

Marck Athias. Marck Anahory Athias (1875-1946). Médico e investigador em ciências biomédicas. De ascendência judaica, estudou em Paris. Miguel Bombarda nomeou-o director do Laboratório de Histologia do Hospital de Rilhafoles. Professor da Escola Médico-Cirúrgica e da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Fundador e primeiro director do Instituto de Fisiologia da Faculdade de Medicina (1919). Em 1923 integrou a direcção do Instituto Português para o Estudo do Cancro, no Hospital de Santa Marta. Sócio da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa. Publicou vasta obra científica. Renovador da medicina e da investigação em Portugal.

Adelino Padesca. Adelino da Costa Padesca (1887-1967). Médico de medicina interna e professor da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa.

Annibal Bettencourt. Aníbal de Bettencourt (1868-1930). Médico e investigador. Professor de bacteriologia e parasitologia da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Director, do Instituto Bacteriológico Câmara Pestana. Sócio da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa. Foi um dos pioneiros do estudo das doenças infecciosas em Portugal. Utilizou a fotografia médica e foi o primeiro presidente da Sociedade Portuguesa de Fotografia.

Augusto Monjardino. Augusto de Almeida Monjardino (1871-1941). Médico-cirurgião dos hospitais civis de Lisboa. Professor da Escola Médico-Cirúrgica e da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Presidente da Sociedade de Ciências Médicas. Fundador e primeiro director da Maternidade Alfredo da Costa. Republicano. Deputado à Assembleia Constituinte de 1911, de que foi eleito vice-presidente, e senador da república. Reitor da Universidade de Lisboa (1928).

Augusto de Vasconcellos. Augusto César de Almeida Vasconcelos Correia (1867-1951). Médico, professor catedrático da Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa, político e diplomata português. Republicano. Foi ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros (1911-13) e, acumulando essa pasta, presidente do ministério (1911-1912). Foi

seguidamente embaixador em Madrid (1914-1917) e Londres (1918-1919). Chefiou a delegação portuguesa à Conferência de Paz de Paris (1919), passando depois a trabalhar na Sociedade das Nações.

Celestino da Costa. Augusto Pires Celestino da Costa (1884-1956). Médico, professor, investigador e pedagogo. Lecionou histologia e embriologia na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica e na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa, de que foi director em 1935-1942. Foi presidente da Associação dos Médicos Portugueses (1920) e, nos anos 40, da Sociedade de Ciências Médicas de Lisboa. Teve altos cargos durante o Estado Novo (Junta de Educação Nacional, Instituto para a Alta Cultura), mas em 1947 foi demitido da Universidade de Lisboa por motivos políticos, sendo reintegrado no mesmo ano.

Gama Pinto. Caetano António Cláudio Júlio Raimundo de Gama Pinto (1853-1945). Médico e professor. Lecionou oftalmologia e cirurgia ocular na Universidade de Heidelberg, no Instituto de Oftalmologia de Lisboa (por ele fundado em 1889 e que, mais tarde, viria a receber o seu nome) e, a partir de 1911, na Faculdade Medicina de Lisboa. Sócio da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa.

Bello Moraes. Carlos Belo de Moraes (1868-1933). Médico e professor. Lecionou clínica médica, fisiologia, patologia médica e histologia na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica e na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa, de que foi o primeiro director (1911). Foi director do Hospital de S. José e do Hospital de Santa Marta, enfermeiro-mor dos hospitais civis de Lisboa e director da revista *Medicina Contemporânea*, em que sucedeu a Miguel Bombarda. Foi presidente da Sociedade de Ciências Médicas de Lisboa. Em 1915, foi um dos professores da Universidade de Lisboa que foram alvo dos epigramas do heterónimo pessoano António Gomes: “Oh Bello de immoraes!” (PESSOA, 2013b: 473).

Custodio Cabeça. Custódio Maria de Almeida Cabeça (1866-1936). Médico cirurgião e professor. Lecionou anatomia patológica, patologia cirúrgica e clínica cirúrgica na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica e na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Cirurgião dos hospitais civis de Lisboa. Foi presidente da Sociedade de Ciências Médicas de Lisboa.

Pulido Valente. Francisco Pulido Valente (1884-1963). Médico e professor. Foi médico dos hospitais civis de Lisboa e lecionou psiquiatria (sob a direcção de Júlio de Matos), clínica médica, patologia médica e medicina interna na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Foi um opositor do Estado Novo e em 1948 seria, por esse motivo, afastado da Universidade de Lisboa.

Francisco Gentil. Francisco Soares Branco Gentil (1878-1964). Médico e professor. Director da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa (1915-1918) e do Hospital de S. José. Principal impulsionador do Instituto Português para o Estudo do Cancro, a cuja primeira comissão directiva pertenceu (1923), e que mais tarde se chamará Instituto Português de Oncologia Francisco Gentil.

Henrique de Vilhena. Henrique Jardim de Vilhena (1879-1958). Médico, professor e escritor. Lecionou anatomia na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa e anatomia artística na Escola de Belas Artes de Lisboa. Fundou os arquivos de anatomia e antropologia do Instituto de Anatomia da Faculdade de Medicina. Reitor da Universidade de Coimbra (1925-1926). Foi vereador da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, senador e presidente do senado municipal. Publicou estudos de anatomia, antropologia, história da ciência e biografias, além de romances e novelas. Iniciado na maçonaria.

Salazar de Souza. Jaime Ernesto Salazar de Eça e Sousa (1871-1940). Médico, cirurgião pediatra e professor. Foi catedrático da Escola Médico-Cirúrgica e da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa, em que lecionou pediatria, ortopedia e anatomia. Fundou a Escola de Pediatria de Lisboa, no Hospital de D. Estefânia, de que foi director.

J. Gentil. José Maria Branco Gentil (1870-1941). Médico e professor catedrático da Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa. Irmão de Francisco Gentil. Em 1923 era director do Banco do Hospital de S. José.

Sobral Cid. José de Matos Sobral Cid (1877-1941). Médico, professor, psiquiatra e político. Lecionou patologia interna e medicina legal na Faculdade de Medicina de Coimbra e, a partir de 1911, psiquiatria forense na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Director da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa (1919). Subdirector (a partir de 1911) e director do Manicómio de Rilhafoles (1922), sucedendo a Júlio de Matos. Foi deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Regenerador (1901-1903) e governador civil de Coimbra (1903-1904). Aderiu à república e foi ministro da Instrução em governos de Bernardino Machado (1914). Em 1907 expôs as ideias de uma reforma da universidade, que tiveram parcial realização em 1911, e em 1914 elaborou propostas de lei de reforma dos ensinos primário e universitário, distanciando-se depois da política. Em 1925 voltou a avançar ideias de reforma da universidade. Fernando Pessoa (António Gomes) dedicou-lhe um epigrama em 1915 (PESSOA, 2013b: 472).

Moreira Junior. Manuel António Moreira Júnior (1866-1953). Médico cirurgião, obstetra, professor e político. Lecionou na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa, em

que foi catedrático de obstetrícia. Afastado da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa após o 5 de Outubro de 1910, viria a ser seu director em 1931-1932. Foi cirurgião dos hospitais civis de Lisboa. Foi deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Progressista (1897-1910), destacando-se também pelo seu anti-republicanismo. Foi ministro da Marinha e Ultramar (1904-1906) e ministro das Obras Públicas (1909-1910). Nos anos 1940 foi presidente da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa e da Sociedade de Geografia.

Silvio Rebello Alves (1879-1938). Médico, professor e investigador. Professor da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa e do Instituto de Hidrologia e investigador do Instituto Bacteriológico Câmara Pestana. Sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Fundador e presidente da Sociedade Portuguesa de Biologia e do Instituto de Farmacologia da FML.

Albino Valente (1871-1930). Médico dermatologista especialista em sífilis. Estudou em Viena e representou Portugal em vários congressos internacionais.

Bettencourt Raposo. Pedro António Bettencourt Raposo (1853-1937). Médico cirurgião e professor. Lecionou na escola Médico-Cirúrgica e na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa, onde ao longo de 50 anos de actividade docente regeu as cadeiras de clínica médica, medicina legal, clínica cirúrgica, patologia interna, patologia geral, história e filosofia da medicina e deontologia. Foi secretário e bibliotecário da Faculdade de Medicina (1904-1929). Médico e cirurgião dos hospitais civis de Lisboa.

Ricardo Jorge. Ricardo de Almeida Jorge (1858-1939). Médico epidemiologista, higienista e investigador. Lecionou nas Escolas Médico-Cirúrgicas do Porto e de Lisboa e na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Foi inspector-geral de saúde pública e fundou o Instituto Central de Higiene, que passaria a ter o seu nome a partir de 1929. Foi presidente da Sociedade de Ciências Médicas de Lisboa. Organizou a luta contra a pandemia de gripe de 1918. Teve larga influência nas políticas de saúde em Portugal. Teria sido o responsável nos anos 20 pela proibição da Coca-Cola em Portugal, depois de tomar conhecimento do *slogan* publicitário da bebida criado por Fernando Pessoa: “Primeiro estranha-se, depois entranha-se” (ALMEIDA, 1985: 49-52). Publicou também diversas obras sobre arte, literatura, história e política. Em *Passadas de Erradio* (1924), Ricardo Jorge relata com palavras elogiosas uma viagem à Itália fascista.

Luiz Cebola. José Luís Rodrigues Cebola (1876-1967). Médico neurologista e psiquiatra. Formou-se em medicina pela Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa, doutorando-se com uma tese de tema psiquiátrico (1906). Exerceu a sua especialidade

inicialmente no Hospital de Rilhafoles e em 1911 foi escolhido por Afonso Costa para director clínico do Manicómio do Telhal (Sintra), onde permaneceu até à reforma, em 1948. Foi um dos psiquiatras que examinaram o amigo de Fernando Pessoa, Alberto da Cunha Dias, quando este em 1916 foi internado compulsivamente por “paranóia de ciúme” e “loucura lúcida”. A este respeito Cebola relatou, em *Memórias de Este e do Outro Mundo* (1957), que Fernando Pessoa, que conhecia de uma tertúlia literária, o procurara, indagando da razão do internamento do seu amigo. Cebola revela também nesse livro que Pessoa fora tratado, antes de 1916, de uma “toxémia alcoólica” no Hospital de Rilhafoles (BARRETO: 2012c). Cultivou também as letras, publicando poesia e contos, além de diversas obras de psiquiatria, entre as quais *Psiquiatria Clínica e Forense* (1940), ensaios políticos, entre os quais *Os Novos Messias: Análise Psicopatológica de Hitler e Mussolini* (1945), *Democracia integral* (1951) e *Estado Novo e República* (1955), obras memorialísticas, relatos de viagens e outras.

Manuel de Vasconcellos (?-?). Médico neurologista. Assistente de Egas Moniz no serviço de neurologia do Hospital de Santa Marta.

Conde de Mafra. Tomás de Melo Breyner (1866-1933), 4.º conde de Mafra. Médico dermatologista, venereologista e professor. Lecionou venereologia na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Médico dos hospitais civis de Lisboa. Director da consulta externa de doenças venéreas no Hospital do Desterro. Monárquico constitucionalista. Aderiu à Liga Nacional (1915) e pertenceu à direcção da Cruzada Nun’Álvares desde 1918.

Bettencourt Ferreira. Júlio Guilherme Bettencourt Ferreira (1866-1948). Médico, zoólogo, antropólogo e professor. Lecionou na Escola Politécnica, depois Faculdade de Ciências de Lisboa e na Faculdade de Ciências do Porto. Foi naturalista do Museu Bocage (Museu de História Natural). Sócio da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa. Ligado à Renascença Portuguesa, colaborou na revista *A Águia*. Publicou vasta obra científica nos domínios da zoologia e antropologia cultural.

Antonio Flores. António José Pereira Flores (1883-1957). Médico neurologista, psiquiatra e professor. Coursou medicina na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa e prosseguiu a sua formação em Paris e Berlim. Lecionou neurologia e psiquiatria na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Em 1911 recusou o lugar de director do Manicómio Miguel Bombarda e integrou o serviço de neurologia do Hospital de Santa Marta, como assistente de Egas Moniz. Foi director do Hospital Júlio de Matos e, nos anos 40, da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa, cargo este de que se demitiu por motivos políticos. Foi o primeiro presidente da Sociedade Portuguesa de Neurologia e Psiquiatria.

Egas Moniz. António Caetano de Abreu Freire Egas Moniz (1874-1955). Médico neurologista, psiquiatra, professor e político. Lecionou neurologia na Faculdade de Medicina de Coimbra e na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Foi director do Hospital de Santa Marta, onde fundou o serviço de neurologia, e da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Presidente da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa (1932). Deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Progressista (1900-1910) e ao Congresso da República, em várias legislaturas, pelo Partido Evolucionista e pelo Partido Nacional Republicano (1911-1918). Combateu o Partido Democrático e foi figura destacada do sidonismo, tendo fundado o Partido Centrista (1917-1918) e liderado o Partido Nacional Republicano (1918-1919). Foi ministro de Portugal em Madrid (1918) e ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros (1918-1919). Foi maçom entre 1910 e 1918. Publicou vasta obra científica, incluindo o livro *A Vida Sexual* (1901, com numerosas reedições) e também estudos literários e memorialísticos. Manteve-se à margem do Estado Novo. Foi-lhe atribuído o Prémio Nobel da Medicina (1949). Numa entrevista anónima ao jornal *A Luta* de 11 de Abril de 1915, apresentado apenas como um afamado médico neurologista, disse que os poetas do recém-publicado *Orpheu* eram “meninos sem talento que querem chamar sobre si as atenções do público vomitando asneiras. [...] Repare nos nomes: Carneiro, Guisado. Um mau *carneiro* pessimamente *guisado*. Intolerável.” Num manuscrito de 1915 deixado inédito, Fernando Pessoa comentou indignadamente esta entrevista, referindo-se a Egas Moniz como “o Conselheiro Acácio da neurologia nacional” e acusando-o de misoneísmo e ignorância literária (PIZARRO, 2015). O heterónimo pessoano António Gomes dedicou-lhe, também em 1915, um epigrama, em que lhe chama “Acácio von Krafft-Ebing” (PESSOA, 2013b: 471).

Ferreira de Mira. Matias Boleto Ferreira de Mira (1875-1953). Médico, investigador, professor, jornalista e político. Fundador e director do Instituto de Investigação Científica Bento da Rocha Cabral, presidente da Sociedade Portuguesa de Biologia e professor de fisiologia e química fisiológica da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Republicano unionista e mais tarde liberal. Foi vereador da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa e deputado pelo Partido Republicano Liberal (1921). Foi redactor principal do jornal *A Luta* (1918-1922) e colaborador da *Seara Nova* (anos 1940) e do *Diário de Notícias*. Interveio em 1923 na polémica sobre as obras imorais com o artigo “Uma grave doença”, publicado no *Diário de Notícias* (8 de março de 1923), cujo recorte se encontra no espólio de Fernando Pessoa (135D-1^r). Defendia aí que os jornais fizessem silêncio sobre certas obras literárias de autores “doentes” (homossexuais), para evitar que, com a publicidade, essas doenças deixassem de ser percebidas como tais e se tornassem “moda”. Citando um estudo belga, sustentava que apenas 10% dos homossexuais eram “malfeitores irreductíveis”, 25% seriam susceptíveis de melhoras através de tratamento médico e internamento em asilos e 65% poderiam

ser totalmente curados. Embora não defendendo abertamente a apreensão dos livros em causa, considerava que eles favoreciam o “contágio” que desviava do “caminho natural” pessoas não constitucionalmente doentes. Publicou obras científicas, uma *História da Medicina Portuguesa* (1947) e, em coautoria com Aquilino Ribeiro, uma biografia de Brito Camacho (1942).

Henrique Parreira. Henrique Fragoso Domingues Parreira (1885-1945). Médico e professor. Lecionou anatomia patológica, histologia patológica e patologia geral na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica e na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Membro da primeira comissão directiva do Instituto Português para o Estudo do Cancro (1923).

Nicolau Bettencourt. Nicolau Anastácio de Bettencourt (1872-1941). Médico bacteriologista, investigador e professor. Lecionou bacteriologia, parasitologia e clínica médica na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Director do Instituto Bacteriológico Câmara Pestana. Irmão e discípulo de Aníbal de Bettencourt. Foi presidente da Sociedade de Ciências Médicas de Lisboa.

Pedro Chaves. Pedro Roberto da Silva Chaves (1887-1951). Médico, histologista e professor da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa.

Costa Saccadura. Sebastião Cabral da Costa Sacadura (1872-1966). Médico obstetra, ginecologista e professor. Lecionou obstetrícia e ginecologia na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica e na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Foi director da Maternidade Magalhães Coutinho e presidente da Sociedade de Ciências Médicas de Lisboa.

Alberto Gomes. Alberto de Azevedo Gomes (1883-?). Médico-cirurgião, urologista e professor. Lecionou na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica e na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Médico dos hospitais civis de Lisboa.

Pinto de Miranda. Francisco Pinto de Miranda (1872-1955). Médico pediatra e ortopedista. Lecionou educação física, pediatria e ortopedia na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Foi director dos serviços de ortopedia e prótese do Instituto de Mutilados de Guerra de Santa Isabel (1917-1921).

Leite Lage. José Júlio Leite Lage (1874-1961). Médico pediatra. Responsável de pediatria médica no Hospital de D. Estefânia.

Alexandre Cancell de Abreu. Alexandre de Matos Cancell de Abreu (1887-1955). Médico neurologista e professor. Assistente de Egas Moniz no serviço de neurologia do Hospital de Santa Marta. Lecionou neurologia e medicina interna na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa.

Carlos de Mello. Carlos Pinto da Cruz e Melo (1888-1933). Médico otorrinolaringologista e professor. Coursou medicina na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa e prosseguiu a sua formação em Berlim e Viena. Lecionou otorrinolaringologia na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa e foi director do Hospital de Santa Marta (1928-1931).

David Moraes Sarmiento. David Pinto de Moraes Sarmiento (1884-1933). Médico. Combateu em França e foi condecorado com a Cruz de Guerra.

Zepherino Falcão. Zeferino Cândido Falcão de Pacheco (1856-1924). Médico dermatologista, leprologista, professor e político. Licenciado em Coimbra, frequentou estágios em Paris e Viena. Regressado a Portugal, instalou no Hospital de São José, em 1892, a primeira consulta de doenças da pele. Instalou a consulta de dermatologia do Hospital de Santa Marta. Lecionou dermatologia na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Foi presidente da Sociedade de Ciências Médicas de Lisboa (1918-1919). Sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Sidonista, membro substituto do directório do Partido Nacional Republicano, foi durante alguns meses presidente da comissão administrativa do concelho de Lisboa (1918), senador e presidente do Senado (1918-1919). Publicou *A Lepra em Portugal* (1900), obra segundo a qual existiam em 1898 em Portugal 1500 leprosos.

Cassiano Neves. António Cassiano Pereira de Sousa Neves (1878-1946). Médico, tisiólogo, higienista, professor e político. Possuía uma das maiores clínicas de Lisboa. Especialista de tuberculose e saúde pública. Lecionou no curso de medicina sanitária da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa. Dirigiu vários sanatórios e dispensários e foi provedor da Assistência Pública de Lisboa e presidente da comissão executiva da Assistência Nacional aos Tuberculosos. Presidente da Sociedade de Ciências Médicas de Lisboa. Eleito deputado à Cortes pelo Partido Progressista (1905), que abandonou quando da dissidência liderada por José de Alpoim. Aderiu à república e foi brevemente governador civil de Lisboa num governo de Bernardino Machado (1914) e, depois, no do general Pimenta de Castro (1915). Publicou várias obras sobre a tuberculose e medicina sanitária.

Jayme Neves. Jaime Xavier Pinheiro de Andrade Neves (1866-1955). Médico com consultório na Baixa de Lisboa. Primo da mãe de Fernando Pessoa, ao qual assistiu na hora da morte, no Hospital de S. Luís. Ofereceu em 1913 a Fernando Pessoa a agenda em que ele escreveu o diário desse ano. Pai de José Jaime Cardoso Andrade Neves (1909-1993), advogado e amigo de Pessoa.

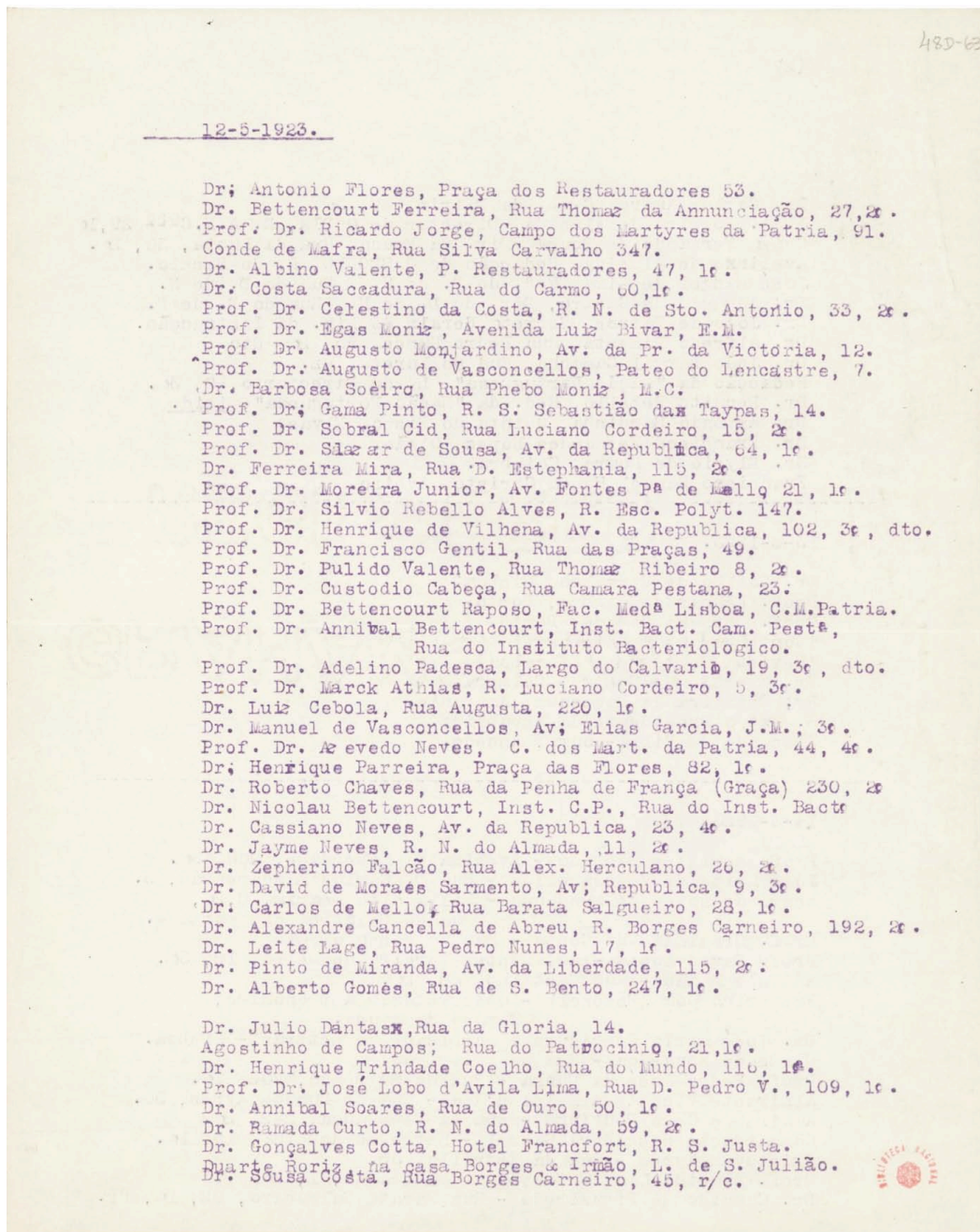


Fig. 4a. BNP/E3, 48D-63.

(2)

Dr. Carlos Amaro, C. M. da Patria, 49, 3^o.
 J. A. Moreira de Almeida, Director de O DIA, R. A.M.C^o 29, 1^o.
 Conde Fernando de Sousa, Dir. da Epoca, Rua da Lucta, 30, 2^o.
 Avelino de Almeida, Redacção de O SECULO, R. do Seculo.
 José Rangel de Lima, Red. do D. de N., Rua do D. de N.
 Dr. Augusto de Castro, Dir. do D. de N., Rua do D. de N.
 Dr. João de Barros, Secrete ~~Geral~~ do Min. da Instrucção.
 Dr. Alfredo Pimenta, Rua Pedro Nunes, 33, 2^o, qto.
 Dr. João Barral Camacho, Rua do Loreto, 42.
 Redacção da "Nação Portuguesa", L. do Directorio, 8, 3^o.
 Dr. Pequito Rebello, Red. da "Nação Portuguesa", ibid.
 Dr. Antonio Sardinha, Quinta do Bispo, Elvas.
 Dr. Francisco Fernandes Lopes, Olhão.
 Dr. Elysio de Moura, Coimbra.
 Francisco Manuel Homem Christo, Aveiro.

13-5-1923.

Dr. Coelho de Carvalho, Lisboa.
 Prof. Leonardo Coimbra, Porto.
 Prof. Hernani Cidade, Porto.
 "Contemporanea", Lisboa.
 "Revista Portuguesa", Lisboa.
 Dr. Eugénio de Castro, Coimbra.
 Dr. Teixeira de Pascoaes, Amarante.
 S. Ex^a o Presidente da Republica.
 Visconde de Villa-Moura, Ancede.

14-5-1923.

Prof. Achilles Machado - Avenida da Liberdade, 200, 3^o.
 José Leite de Vasconcellos - Rua D. Carlos Mascarenhas, 5.
 Henrique Lopes de Mendonça - Villa Alto Learim, C, 2^o,
 Rua do Salitre, 82, porta 4.
 Prof. Cincinato da Costa - Rua do Possolo, 41.
 Prof. David Lopes - Av; Fontes Pereira de Mello, 18, 3^o.
 Antonio Baltho - Rua Castilho, 38, 2^o.
 Frederico Oom (Coronel) - Observatório Astronomico,
 Tapada da Ajuda.
 Dr. José Maria Rodrigues - Faculdade de Lettras - Lisboa.
 Conde de Nova-Gôa - Rua do Prior, 40.
 Prof. Pedro José da Cunha - Rua de S. Bento, 700, 1^o.
 Almirante Vicente Almeida d'Eça - Rua de Buenos Ayres, 30.
 Almirante Gago Coutinho - Rua da Esperança, 242, 2^o.
 Commandante Saccadura Cabral - Largo do Andaluz, 18, 1^o.
 Chistoyan Ayres - Rua da Estrellá, 35.
 Prof. Almeida Lima - Travessa do Alcaide, 1, 2^o.
 Dr. Candido de Figueiredo - Rua Barata Salgueiro, -92, 1^o, fr.

Fig. 4b. BNP/E3, 48D-63^o.

(3)

48D-64

Dr. José Soares da Cunha e Costa - Rua do Ouro, 124, 2^a, esq.
 Dr. José Eugénio Dias Ferreira - Av. Ant^a Aug. d'Aguiar, 60, 1^a.
 Hemeterio Arantes - Rua da Quintinha, 99, r/c.
 Francisco Lopes Vieira de Almeida - Rua João Crisostomo, 46, 4^a.
 Alexandre Rey Collaço - Rua Ribeiro Sanches, 48.
 Jorge Collaço - Estrada da Luz, 8.
 Luiz Leitão - Na C^a Ind. de Portugal e Colonias.
 Dr. Affonso Lopes-Vieira - Costa do Castello, 45.
 José Coelho Pacheco - Praça Duque de Saldanha, 29.
 Francisco Mayer Garção - Rua Maria da Fonte, 42, 1^a.
 Dr. Mario Monteiro - Rua dos Retrozeiros, 78, 2^a, dto.
 Dr. Paulo Cancellia de Abreu - Rua Nova do Almada, 64, 2^a, dto.
 Dr. José Gomes Motta - Rua dos Sapateiros, 44, 1^a.
 Dr. José de Azeredo Perdigão - Rua de S. Nicolau, 23, 2^a.
 Conselheiro Abel de Andrade - Rua Nova do Almada, 100, 1^a.
 Dr. João Pinto dos Santos - Rua Nova do Almada, 81, 1^a, dto.
 Antonio Ferro - Rua do Registo Civil, 26.

16-5-1923.

Bispo do Algarve.
 Arcebispo Primaz de Braga.
 Cardeal Patriarcha de Lisboa.
 Arcebispo-Bispo da Guarda.
 Bispo de Bragança.
 Bispo de Portalegre.
 Arcebispo de Évora.
 Bispo do Porto.
 Bispo de Vizeu.
 Bispo de Leiria.
 Bispo-Conde de Coimbra.

18-5-1923.

Director do "Jornal de Noticias", Porto.
 Director do "Commercio do Porto", Porto.
 Director do "Primeiro de Janeiro", Porto.
 Dr. Fidelino de Figueiredo - Av. Duque d'Avila, A.C., 3^a.
 Conselheiro João Arroyo - Rua Braamcamp, AFB, 2^a, esq.
 Engenheiro Antonio Arroyo - Rua das Amoreiras, 160, 2^a.
 Director da "O Setubalense", Setubal.
 Domingos de Gusmão Araujo - Barqueiros, Linha do Douro.
 Antonio Corrêa d'Oliveira - Espozende.
 Dr. Virgilio Machado - Rua do Instituto Virgilio Machado, 12.
 Anthero de Figueiredo, Espinho.
 Dr. Manuel da Silva Gato - Coimbra.
 Dr. Sabino Coelho - Rossio, 45, 2^a.
 Dr. Antonio de Magalhães Lemos - Director do Hosp. Cde. Ferreira-P^a.
 Dr. José de Magalhães - Avenida da Boavista, 631, Porto.
 Dr. José Fernandes de Magalhães - Rua Costa Cabral, 1218, Porto.
 Dr. Maximiano de Lemos - Av. da Republica, 381, Porto.

Fig. 5a. BNP/E3, 48D-64^r.

Fig. 5b. BNP/E3, 48D-64^r.

Pequito Rebello. José Adriano Pequito Rebelo (1892-1983). Grande proprietário, publicista e político. Bacharel em direito por Coimbra. Monárquico, cofundador do Integralismo Lusitano, cofundador e financiador do jornal *A Monarquia* (1917-1922) e da revista *Nação Portuguesa* (1914-1938). Combateu na Flandres como oficial de Artilharia durante a Grande Guerra. Participou na revolta de Monsanto (1919), ficando gravemente ferido. Teve papel destacado na desvinculação dos monárquicos integralistas do Estado Novo e opôs-se ao salazarismo. Publicou *Novos Métodos de Cultura: O Método Integral* (1917), *Cartilha do Lavrador: Integralismo Lusitano* (1921), *Pela Dedução à Monarquia* (1914, 1.^a ed. em livro 1921).

Antonio Sardinha. António Maria de Sousa Sardinha (1887-1925). Poeta, ensaísta, jornalista e político. Bacharel em direito pela Universidade de Coimbra. Começou por ser republicano, mas, após o 5 de Outubro de 1910, distanciou-se da república, convertendo-se em 1912 à monarquia e ao catolicismo. Foi a figura cimeira do Integralismo Lusitano, fundado em 1914-1916, que preconizava uma monarquia tradicional, orgânica e antiparlamentar. Foi cofundador da revista *Nação Portuguesa* (1914) e do jornal *A Monarquia* (1917-1922), que dirigiu. Apoiou o sidonismo, acreditando que ele conduziria à restauração da monarquia, e em 1918 foi eleito deputado pelos monárquicos. Participou na revolta de 1919 contra a república, exilando-se depois em Espanha por dois anos. Publicou *O Valor da Raça. Introdução a uma Campanha Nacional* (1915), *A Epopeia da Planície. Poemas da Terra e do Sangue* (1915), *Ao Princípio Era o Verbo. Ensaaios & Estudos* (1924) e *A Aliança Peninsular. Antecedentes e Possibilidades* (1924).

Achilles Machado. Aquiles Alfredo da Silveira Machado (1862-1942). Engenheiro militar, químico, professor e investigador. Como militar atingiu a patente de general. Lecionou na Escola Politécnica e na Faculdade de Ciências de Lisboa. Foi presidente da Sociedade Portuguesa de Química e de Física e secretário-geral e presidente da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Publicou vasta obra científica.

Henrique Lopes de Mendonça (1856-1931). Militar da Armada, professor, historiador naval, escritor, poeta e dramaturgo. Sócio da Academia das Ciências, de que foi presidente (1915). Foi o autor da letra da marcha “A Portuguesa” (1890), adoptada como hino nacional pela república. Literariamente, foi um dos mais eminentes “lepidópteros”, segundo a terminologia dos homens do *Orpheu*.

Cincinato da Costa. Bernardino Camilo Cincinato da Costa (1866-1930). Agrónomo e professor. Lecionou tecnologia agrícola no Instituto de Agronomia e Veterinária, depois Instituto Superior de Agronomia. Foi director da Companhia das Lezírias. Sócio da Academia das Ciências (1891) e director da Real Associação Central da Agricultura Portuguesa. Eleito deputado às Cortes em 1895, renunciou meses

depois. Foi comissário à Exposição Universal de Paris de 1900. Publicou *O Portugal Vinícola: Estudos sobre a Ampelografia e o Valor Enológico das Principais Castas de Videiras de Portugal* (1900), *Breve Notícia sobre o Ensino da Agricultura em Portugal* (1892), *Le Portugal au point de vue agricole* (codirecção com D. Luís de Castro, 1900), *As Lezírias do Tejo e Sado e o Problema Agrário Nacional* (1912) e *A Organização do Ministério da Agricultura e o Problema Agrário Nacional* (1918).

David Lopes. David de Melo Lopes (1867-1942). Filólogo, arabista, historiador e professor. Estudou em Lisboa e Paris. Lecionou língua e literatura francesas e língua e literatura árabes no Curso Superior de Letras e na Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa (1902-1937). Publicou diversas obras sobre a cultura árabe em Portugal e a expansão portuguesa em Marrocos.

Antonio Baião. António Eduardo Simões Baião (1878-1961). Arquivista e historiador. Bacharel em direito, foi professor do ensino secundário e, a partir de 1902, funcionário e director (1908) do Arquivo da Torre do Tombo. Publicou *O Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* (1905, com Pedro de Azevedo), *O Matemático Pedro Nunes e a sua Família* (1915) e vários estudos pioneiros sobre a Inquisição portuguesa, como *A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil* (1906), *Episódios Dramáticos da Inquisição Portuguesa* (1919-1938) e *A Inquisição de Goa* (1929-1930).

Frederico Oom. Frederico Tomás Oom (1864-1930). Militar, astrónomo, publicista. Oficial de engenharia, entrou em 1891 para o Observatório da Ajuda, de que viria ser nomeado director (1920). Publicou numerosos trabalhos científicos em Portugal e no estrangeiro. Filho de Frederico Augusto Oom (1830-1890), astrónomo e primeiro director do Observatório da Ajuda.

José Maria Rodrigues (1857-1942). Filólogo, camonista, pedagogo e professor. Licenciado e doutorado em teologia e ordenado presbítero, lecionou hebraico em Coimbra (1888-1893) e foi capelão da universidade. Colaborou na reforma do ensino secundário (1894) e foi depois reitor do Liceu de Lisboa, até 1902. Em 1901 ingressou como professor no Curso Superior de Letras, depois Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa, onde lecionou filologia clássica, estudos camonianos, literatura portuguesa e línguas e literaturas alemã e inglesa. Foi preceptor dos príncipes D. Luís Filipe e D. Manuel. Publicou *Fontes dos Lusíadas* (1908), edições críticas de *Os Lusíadas* (1921 e 1928), uma edição prefaciada e anotada das *Líricas* de Camões (1932, com Afonso Lopes Vieira) e vários outros estudos camonianos.

Pedro José da Cunha (1867-1945). Engenheiro militar, matemático, astrónomo e professor. Lecionou análise, geometria e matemática na Escola Politécnica, depois Faculdade de Ciências de Lisboa, de que foi director. Dirigiu o Observatório

Astrónomo da Faculdade de Ciências. Foi reitor da Universidade de Lisboa (1916) e primeiro presidente da Sociedade Portuguesa de Matemática. Publicou *Bosquejo Histórico das Matemáticas em Portugal* (1929) e numerosos estudos de geometria, cálculo infinitesimal, astronomia, pedagogia e história. Autor de vários trabalhos sobre a história da Escola Politécnica.

Vicente Almeida d'Eça. Vicente Maria de Moura Coutinho Almeida d'Eça (1852-1929). Oficial da Armada, professor, historiador, geógrafo, oceanógrafo e político. Como militar atingiu a patente de vice-almirante. Lecionou direito internacional marítimo e história marítima na Escola Naval de 1885 até à morte. Foi presidente da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa e sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Foi eleito deputado às Cortes em 1892, 1894 e 1908 nas listas do Partido Regenerador. Publicou vasta obra sobre história marítima e dos descobrimentos, marinha de guerra, direito internacional, geografia, pesca marítima e temas coloniais.

Christovam Ayres. Cristóvão Aires de Magalhães Sepúlveda (1853-1930), natural de Goa. Militar, professor, jornalista, historiador, contista, poeta, tradutor e político. Além dos cursos de infantaria e cavalaria da Escola do Exército, concluiu literatura, filosofia e história no Curso Superior de Letras de Lisboa. Foi promotor de justiça militar e passou à reserva em 1913 com a patente de general de cavalaria. Lecionou na Escola do Exército. Foi director do Jornal do Comércio (1885-1892). Foi sócio (1900) e secretário-geral (1919) da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Foi cinco vezes eleito deputado às Cortes entre 1890 e 1904 nas listas do Partido Regenerador. Foi governador civil de Bragança (1893) e de Leiria (1908). Publicou *História da Cavalaria Portuguesa* (1889-1894), *História Orgânica e Política do Exército Português e respectivas Provas* (4 vols. 1896-1908 e 17 vols. 1902-1932), *Teoria da História da Civilização Militar* (1897, 4.^a ed. 1916), *Fernão Mendes Pinto: Subsídios para a sua Biografia e para o Estudo da sua Obra* (1904), *Fernão Mendes Pinto e o Japão: Pontos Controversos* (1906), *Dicionário Bibliográfico da Guerra Peninsular* (1924-1930), *Para a História da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (1927) e vários livros de poesia. Traduziu cinco romances de Jules Verne e dois de Arthur Conan Doyle. Pai de Cristóvão Aires de Magalhães (1880-1944), tenente-coronel de infantaria, que continuou a sua obra historiográfica.

Almeida Lima. João Maria de Almeida Lima (1859-1930). Militar, físico e professor. Lecionou física na Escola Politécnica e na Faculdade Ciências de Lisboa. Como militar passou à reserva com a patente de general em 1926. Foi reitor da Universidade de Lisboa (1914), director da Faculdade Ciências de Lisboa e do respectivo Observatório Meteorológico (1921-1925) e presidente da Academia das

Ciências de Lisboa. Politicamente independente, foi ministro do Fomento em 1914, ano em que falhou a sua candidatura a senador.

Candido de Figueiredo. António Cândido de Figueiredo (1846-1925). Filólogo, lexicólogo, jornalista e escritor. Concluiu os cursos de teologia e direito. Ordenado presbítero em 1867, abandonou a vida eclesiástica para exercer advocacia, sendo mais tarde nomeado funcionário do Ministério da Justiça, onde se aposentou-se como subdirector-geral. Cofundador da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (1876) e sócio e presidente da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Foi autor do *Novo Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* (1.^a ed. 1899, com múltiplas reedições). Combateu os estrangeirismos e os vícios de linguagem e, em 1911, integrou a Comissão de Reforma Ortográfica. Publicou estudos linguísticos, manuais escolares, poesia, prosa e crítica e diversas traduções, nomeadamente de Maurice Maeterlinck e Paolo Mantegazza. Foi autor da obra de crítica social *Lisboa no Ano Três Mil. Revelações Arqueológicas Obtidas pela Hipnose* (1892) e, sob o pseudónimo de Guilhermino, da obra licenciosa *Entre Lençóis* (s.d.).

José Eugénio Dias Ferreira (1882-1953). Jurista e professor. Filho do político da monarquia José Dias Ferreira. Esteve na origem da greve estudantil de 1907, após ter sido reprovado por motivos políticos na prova de doutoramento. Começou por exercer advocacia. Especialista de finanças e direito internacional privado, lecionou no Instituto Superior de Comércio de Lisboa, depois Instituto Superior de Ciências Económicas e Financeiras. Foi consultor da Administração-Geral dos Correios e Telégrafos e vogal do Conselho Superior dos Caminhos de Ferro. Pertenceu ao Instituto de Coimbra. Republicano desde 1906, foi durante a república próximo de republicanos radicais, nacionalistas e conservadores. Em 1921 tentou convencer o general Gomes da Costa a encabeçar uma conspiração contra o governo. Esteve envolvido na revolta republicana de 19 de Julho de 1925, liderada por Mendes Cabeçadas e Jaime Baptista, cuja proclamação redigiu, e no golpe militar de 28 de Maio de 1926, tendo redigido a proclamação da Junta Revolucionária de Lisboa, liderada por Mendes Cabeçadas Esteve, depois, envolvido na revolta de Julho de 1928 contra a Ditadura Militar. Publicou *Política Nacional: Trabalhos de Propaganda Política* (1926), que inclui as citadas proclamações, e um *Tratado de Finanças Públicas* (1949).

Mário Monteiro. Mário Augusto de Miranda Monteiro (1870-1955). Advogado, grande proprietário e político. Deputado às Cortes por Portimão (1901) e por Portalegre de 1904 a 1910, nas listas do Partido Regenerador. Foi o último presidente da Câmara Municipal de Nisa sob a monarquia. Eleito senador pelo Alentejo em 1918, nas listas monárquicas. Em 1912 foi advogado de conspiradores monárquicos presos pelas autoridades republicanas. Pertenceu à Cruz Nacional

Nun'Álvares (1927), organismo assistencial da Cruzada Nacional Nun'Álvares. Primeiro presidente do conselho distrital de Lisboa da Ordem dos Advogados (1929-1932). Membro do Instituto de Coimbra.

Paulo Cancellia de Abreu (1885-1974). Advogado, magistrado, jurista e político. Sob a monarquia, foi secretário do ministro da Justiça (1909) e subdelegado do procurador régio. Na república foi dirigente das Juventudes Monárquicas Conservadoras e da Causa Monárquica. Foi deputado pelas listas monárquicas à Câmara dos Deputados (1922-1925), onde em 1924 declarou que o país estava “entregue a uma quadrilha de ladrões”, e à Assembleia Nacional (a partir de 1945). Foi vogal do conselho superior da Ordem dos Advogados.

José Gomes Motta (1889-1973). Advogado activo em Lisboa entre os anos 1920 e 1960. Interveio no processo do Banco Angola e Metrópole como defensor dos irmãos Pinto da Cunha. Sobre o caso publicou *Justo por Pecador. Minuta de agravo de injusta pronuncia* (1927). A revista *Contemporânea* chegou a anunciar (n.º 5, 1922) a sua colaboração, com um escrito sobre problemas jurídicos, que não se verificou. Republicano e democrata.

José de Azeredo Perdigão (1896-1993). Advogado, jurista, professor e administrador de empresas. Republicano e democrata. Participou na fundação da *Seara Nova*. Nos anos 40 viria a ser o advogado de Calouste Gulbenkian.

Abel de Andrade. Abel Pereira de Andrade (1866-1958). Jurista, professor e advogado. Coursou teologia (1891) e direito (1896). Lecionou direito penal e processo penal na Faculdade de Direito de Coimbra e na de Lisboa, da qual foi director (1931-1936). Director-geral da Instrução Pública (1902-1906). Director do Instituto de Criminologia de Lisboa e presidente da Federação Nacional das Instituições de Protecção à Infância (1908-1919). Juiz do Supremo Tribunal Administrativo. Deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Regenerador (1899-1910), opondo-se ao governo de João Franco. Elevado a par do reino em Setembro de 1910, já não tomou posse. Depois do 5 de Outubro, afastou-se da política por largo período. Aderiu à União Nacional e foi procurador à Câmara Corporativa (1935-1942), em que foi o relator do parecer sobre a lei de 1935 que ilegalizou a maçonaria.

João Pinto dos Santos. João Pinto Rodrigues dos Santos (1856-1946). Advogado, jurista e político. Coursou teologia e direito. Seguiu a carreira docente, mas, tendo defendido os estudantes grevistas em 1907, não foi nomeado para uma cátedra. Foi governador civil de Santarém (1892-1893), alto funcionário do Ministério da Marinha e Ultramar (1903-1910) e, durante a república, consultor jurídico do

Ministério das Colónias até se reformar (1918), exercendo depois a advocacia. Deputado às Cortes (1887-1910), primeiro nas listas do Partido Regenerador e, a partir de 1902, do Partido Progressista, acompanhou depois a dissidência de José Maria de Alpoim. Nomeado par do Reino em Setembro de 1910. De tendência liberal, combateu “de braço dado com os republicanos” a reacção, o clericalismo, a corrupção e o autoritarismo dos governos monárquicos, mas, mantendo-se monárquico, não aderiu à república.

Antonio Ferro. António Joaquim Tavares Ferro (1895-1956). Jornalista, escritor e político. Frequentou o curso de direito em Lisboa, sem o concluir. Foi incorporado no serviço militar em 1918, durante a Grande Guerra, mas serviu em Angola como secretário do governador Filomeno da Câmara. Colaborou em diversos diários, revistas e periódicos culturais a partir de 1918. Em 1923 ingressou na redacção do *Diário de Notícias*, iniciando uma carreira de repórter internacional. Tendo sido na juventude simpatizante do Partido Republicano Português, evoluiu para sidonista, republicano conservador e nacionalista simpatizante de regimes autoritários. Esteve ligado, em 1925-1927, às actividades golpistas fascizantes do comandante Filomeno da Câmara. Após ter realizado uma série de entrevistas com Salazar, publicadas no *Diário de Notícias* em Dezembro de 1932 e reunidas em livro publicado em Fevereiro seguinte, foi nomeado pelo ditador, em Outubro de 1933, director do Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional. Até à sua entrada na política do Estado Novo, tinha publicado, além de versos esparsos, livros de conferências, reportagens, entrevistas, contos, aforismos e o “romance fragmentário” *Leviana* (1921), que, tal como *Teoria da Indiferença* (1920), revelava flagrante influência da obra do espanhol Ramón Gómez de la Cerna (SÁEZ DELGADO, 2007). O seu livro de contos *A Amadora dos Fenómenos* (1925) mereceu a Fernando Pessoa comentários corrosivos num texto deixado inédito que questionava a sanidade mental de Ferro, tratando-o de “imbecil” (BARRETO, 2010; PIZARRO, 2012: 244-248). Na juventude, relacionou-se com o grupo do *Orpheu*, mas não colaborou na revista, apesar de o seu nome ter sido escolhido para figurar como editor pelo facto de ser menor, logo “irresponsável”. Em 1915, desligou-se publicamente do *Orpheu*, censurando na imprensa uma atitude desrespeitosa de Fernando Pessoa para com o líder do Partido Democrático, Afonso Costa. Pessoa manteria com ele até ao fim da vida uma relação de cortesia, mas distante, elogiando-lhe, numa carta de 1933, o talento “publicitário” na promoção de Salazar. Ferro ofereceu quatro dos seus livros com dedicatórias amistosas a Fernando Pessoa, que reciprocou com o folheto *O Interregno* (1928) e o livro *Mensagem*, que o SPN de Ferro premiou em 1934.

Domingos de Gusmão Araujo (1889-1959). Coursou letras e direito. Esteve exilado na Bélgica após o 5 de Outubro, depois de ter pegado em armas contra a república. Com outros estudantes exilados influenciados por Charles Maurras (Rolão Preto e

Luís de Almeida Braga), fundou e dirigiu a revista monárquica *Alma Portuguesa* (1913), onde pela primeira vez apareceu a expressão “Integralismo Lusitano”. Participou na fundação do movimento do Integralismo Lusitano e foi secretário do órgão desta, a revista *Nação Portuguesa* (1922-1923). Foi um dos animadores da revista *Ordem Nova* (1926-1927), autoproclamada “reaccionária”, que num dos seus números, pela pena de Marcelo Caetano, se regozijou pela cremação dos “livros imorais” apreendidos pelas autoridades em 1923.

Antonio de Magalhães Lemos. António de Sousa Magalhães e Lemos (1855-1931). Médico, psiquiatra, investigador e professor. Trabalhou com Charcot e Magnan em Paris. Lecionou neurologia na Faculdade de Medicina do Porto. Foi director do Hospital do Conde de Ferreira, no Porto.

José de Magalhães. José Alfredo Mendes de Magalhães (1870-1957), conhecido por Alfredo de Magalhães (não confundir com José Fernandes de Magalhães, nome seguinte nesta lista). Médico, professor, jornalista e político. A dissertação inaugural apresentada à Escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto versou sobre *Os Milagres de Lourdes como Terapêutica Psicológica* (1896), em que defendia a autenticidade das curas milagrosas e afirmava que, em certos casos, aconselharia Lourdes aos seus doentes. Especializou-se em Paris em dermatologia e sífilografia (1898). Lecionou na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica, depois Faculdade de Medicina do Porto, de que foi director (1923-1928), e no Instituto Superior do Comércio portuense. Foi governador civil de Viana do Castelo (1910-1911) e governador-geral de Moçambique (1911-1913). Maçon, aderiu ao Partido Republicano Português em 1890, sendo eleito deputado às Cortes em Agosto de 1910. Foi eleito deputado à Assembleia Constituinte em 1911. Expulso do PRP em 1913, viria a aderir ao Partido Centrista Republicano (de Egas Moniz) em 1917 e, em 1918, ao Partido Nacional Republicano (de Sidónio Pais), a cujo directório pertenceu. Foi deputado pelo partido sidonista (1918-1919) e candidato a deputado pelo Partido Nacional Republicano Presidencialista (1921), partido a cuja direcção pertenceu (1924). Ministro e secretário de Estado da Instrução Pública nos governos de Sidónio Pais e Tamagnini Barbosa (1917-1919). Em 1919 interrompeu as lides políticas, regressando à Faculdade de Medicina do Porto. Sob a Ditadura Militar foi nomeado reitor da Universidade do Porto (1926) e ministro da Instrução Pública (1926-1928). Aderiu à União Nacional, presidiu à Câmara Municipal do Porto (1933-1937) e integrou a Câmara Corporativa na I Legislatura (1935-1938). Fundou a revista *Porto Médico* e dirigiu o diário republicano portuense *Pátria* (1910). Fernando Pessoa tinha por ele uma particular aversão, segundo confessou em correspondência particular de 1928 (BARRETO, 2012b: 198).

José Fernandes de Magalhães (1861-1927), conhecido por José de Magalhães. Médico neurologista, psiquiatra e professor. Nascido no Brasil, formou-se em Coimbra em 1886. Lecionou psiquiatria forense e neurologia na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto. Foi subdirector do Hospital do Conde de Ferreira, com Magalhães Lemos como director. Publicou a tese *O Pessimismo no Ponto de Vista da Psicologia Mórvida* (Lisboa, 1890), apresentada à Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa, e diversos estudos de psiquiatria e neurologia.

Maximiano de Lemos. Maximiano Augusto de Oliveira Lemos (1860-1923). Médico, professor e historiador. Lecionou patologia geral e história da medicina na Escola Médico-Cirúrgica, depois Faculdade de Medicina do Porto, de que foi director (1918-1923). Foi presidente da Sociedade de Medicina e Cirurgia do Porto e sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Foi redactor dos *Arquivos de História da Medicina Portuguesa*, da *Gazeta dos Hospitais do Porto* e da *Gazeta Médica do Porto*. Publicou vasta obra de história da medicina, destacando-se *História da Medicina em Portugal - Doutrinas e Instituições* (1899), *Amato Lusitano - A sua Vida e a sua Obra* (1907), *Zacuto Lusitano - A sua Vida e a sua Obra* (1909), *Ribeiro Sanches - A sua Vida e a sua Obra* (1911), *Camilo e os Médicos* (1915-1921) e *História da Medicina Peninsular* (1916).

Damião António Peres (1889-1976), conhecido por Damião Peres. Historiador e professor. Concluiu o Curso Superior de Letras de Lisboa, onde poderá ter sido condiscípulo de Fernando Pessoa. Foi professor liceal e lecionou ciências históricas na Faculdade de Letras do Porto (1919-1928) e depois na Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra. Durante a Ditadura Militar, foi director da Faculdade de Letras do Porto (1926-1928). Foi sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa e cofundador da Academia Portuguesa de História. Co-autor de *Noções de História de Portugal* (1923). Fundou e dirigiu a *Revista de Estudos Históricos* (1924). Dirigiu a monumental *História de Portugal* (1928-1954), dita de Barcelos, e publicou *D. João I* (1917), *Como Nasceu Portugal* (1938) e diversas outras obras.

José Dentinho Junior. José António Dentinho Júnior (?-?). Professor liceal e poeta algarvio. Republicano e maçom. Foi reitor da Universidade Popular, uma instituição particular de inspiração maçónica para a divulgação de conhecimentos científicos entre as classes que não podiam frequentar o ensino universitário oficial, que funcionou em Faro em 1923-1924. Publicou *Coisas de Religião para o Povo Ler* (1914) e traduziu *A Arte da Palavra em 12 Lições*, de Berthe Dangennes (1916).

48D-65

Francisco Gomes Pereira - Porto
 Luciano Pereira de Sousa - Coimbra
 L. F. Brancos, Pereira -
 A. J. Pereira da Silva - Lisboa
 Eduardo Pinheiro -
 Alfredo Almeida -
 A. X. Pereira Coutinho -
 Guilherme Osório -
 Virgílio Machado - ~~Que se destitua Miguel Machado~~
 Com. João de Sousa - ~~Terça de Agosto~~
 Ricardo de Andrade -
 Bernardino Machado -
 Pedro Augusto de Aguiar -
 Fco. M. E. Torres Pereira -
 Alfredo de Sousa -
 Archimedes de Andrade -
 António de Aguiar - Espinho
 António Lourenço de Almeida - Espinho
 Triz Santa Carreira -
 Justino Lourenço Ramos -
 D. Salvo Coelho -
 Manoel da Silva -
 José Carlos da Silva -

Fig. 6a. BNP/E3, 48D-65r.

São Manuel, Arago. Rua Diamante 174. 20. ago.
 Fidalgo de Figueiredo
 Arago. Rua do Amarelo 160-92.
 "Barra de Janeiro" }
 "Linha de Arago" }
 "Linha de Arago" }
 "O. P. de Arago" }

Fig. 6b. BNP/E3, 48D-65.

Luciano Pereira da Silva. Luciano António Pereira da Silva (1864-1926). Matemático, engenheiro militar e historiador de ciência náutica. Professor da Faculdade de Matemática da Universidade de Coimbra. Deputado às Cortes (1901-1903) e governador civil de Lisboa (1909-1910). Publicou numerosas obras de astronomia, ciência náutica e história dos descobrimentos, entre as quais *A Astronomia dos Lusíadas* (1913-1915) e *Os Dois Doutores Pedro Nunes* (1914).

L. F. Marrecas Ferreira. Luís Feliciano Marrecas Ferreira (1851-1928). Engenheiro militar e lente da Escola do Exército, matemático. Professor do Instituto Industrial de Lisboa. Professor e primeiro director (1913) do Instituto Comercial de Lisboa. Engenheiro chefe da 3.^a circunscrição dos Serviços Técnicos da Indústria. Foi o responsável pela expedição científica à Serra da Estrela de 1881.

A. J. Ferreira da Silva. António Joaquim Ferreira da Silva (1853-1923). Químico. Professor da Academia Politécnica do Porto e, a partir de 1911, da Faculdade de Ciências do Porto, de que foi o primeiro director. Monárquico e católico. Sócio da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa. Fundador da *Revista de Química Pura e Aplicada* (1905). Autor de numerosos trabalhos de investigação e do livro *Ciência e Crenças* (Braga, 1914).

Eduardo Burnay (1853-1924). Médico, professor, político, escritor e jornalista. Licenciado em medicina e bacharel em filosofia. Foi delegado de saúde de Lisboa e professor da Escola Politécnica. Lecionou química e zoologia. Era irmão do banqueiro Henrique Burnay. Foi director político do *Jornal do Comércio* e do *Jornal do Comércio e das Colónias*, propriedade do seu irmão. Deputado às Cortes (1894-1910). Membro e presidente do conselho de administração da Companhia dos Tabacos e vogal do conselho fiscal do Banco de Portugal. Monárquico, apoiou Sidónio Pais. Publicou vários opúsculos de interesse científico. Foi o autor do opúsculo anónimo *Sete Anos Depois... A República Nova. Carta ao Senhor Sidónio Pais, Íncrito e Invicto Restaurador da Ordem* (1918).

Alfredo Bensaude (1856-1941). Engenheiro, mineralogista, geólogo, professor e pedagogo. Foi professor do Instituto Comercial e Industrial de Lisboa. Após o 5 de Outubro, instalou o Instituto Superior Técnico, de que foi professor e primeiro director (1911-1921). Sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Publicou estudos de cristalografia, mineralogia e geologia, bem como um *Projecto de Reforma do Ensino Tecnológico* (1892) e as *Notas Histórico-Pedagógicas sobre o Instituto Superior Técnico* (1922). Em 1922 regressou aos Açores, sua terra natal, para gerir os negócios da família.

A. X. Pereira Coutinho. António Xavier Pereira Coutinho (1851-1939). Agrónomo e professor do Instituto Geral de Agricultura e da Escola Politécnica (a partir de 1911, Faculdade de Ciências de Lisboa). Autor de numerosos trabalhos de botânica e silvicultura.

Balthazar Osorio. Baltasar Machado da Cunha Osório (1855-1926). Médico cirurgião, zoólogo, historiador e professor. Biólogo evolucionista. Cirurgião dos hospitais do Rego e S. José. Professor da Escola Politécnica e da Faculdade de Ciências de Lisboa e sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Dirigiu a secção zoológica do Museu Bocage. Publicou, entre outros estudos históricos, *O Terramoto de Lisboa de 1531* (1919).

Virgílio Machado (1859-1927). Médico e cientista. Foi médico dos hospitais civis de Lisboa e lecionou química no Instituto Industrial e Comercial de Lisboa. Em 1903 fundou em Lisboa o Instituto Médico Virgílio Machado, para aplicação da física e da química às operações do diagnóstico. Foi presidente da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa (1918).

Julio de Vilhena. Júlio Marques de Vilhena (1845-1928). Jurista, magistrado, escritor, jornalista e político. Foi deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Regenerador, que chefiou, ministro da Marinha e Ultramar e ministro da Justiça e dos Negócios Eclesiásticos em governos de Fontes Pereira de Melo, conselheiro de Estado e par do reino, governador do Banco de Portugal, presidente da Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, director de vários jornais e juiz e presidente do Supremo Tribunal Administrativo. A partir de 1910 abandonou a política e dedicou-se aos estudos históricos, tendo publicado, além de obras jurídicas, *Antes da República: Notas Autobiográficas* (1916) e *D. Pedro V e o seu Reinado* (1921). Fernando Pessoa conheceu-o pessoalmente e referiu-se-lhe no diário de 1913.

Visconde de Carnaxide. António Baptista de Sousa (1847-1935), 1.º visconde de Carnaxide. Advogado, jurista, funcionário judicial, administrador de empresas, jornalista, político e poeta. Foi deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Progressista (1884-1893) e eleito par do reino (1894). O título de visconde foi-lhe concedido por D. Carlos em 1898. Publicou diversas obras jurídicas e cinco livros de poesia. Foi director da revista *O Direito* e sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Avô do 2.º visconde de Carnaxide, o historiador António Baptista de Sousa Pedroso (1902-1961).

Bernardino Machado. Bernardino Luís Machado Guimarães (1851-1944). Professor e político. Estudou filosofia (ciências) e lecionou, entre outras cadeiras, antropologia, na Universidade de Coimbra. Foi deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Regenerador,

eleito par do reino pela sua universidade (1890-1896) e ministro das Obras Públicas no 1.º governo de Hintze Ribeiro (1893). Aderiu ao republicanismo em 1903. Foi ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros do Governo Provisório (1910-1911), embaixador no Rio de Janeiro, presidente do Ministério (1914) e presidente da República (1915-1917). Exilado durante o sidonismo, foi depois eleito senador. Chefiou um governo de curta duração em 1921, perdeu a eleição presidencial de 1923, mas ganhou a de 1925, vindo a ser derrubado pelo golpe militar de 28 de Maio de 1926. Foi maçom (iniciado em 1874) e grão-mestre da maçonaria (1895-1899).

Pedro Augusto de Azevedo. Pedro Augusto de S. Bartolomeu de Azevedo (1869-1928), conhecido como Pedro de Azevedo. Bibliotecário arquivista, paleógrafo e investigador. Foi conservador (desde 1902) do Arquivo da Torre do Tombo e funcionário (desde 1918) e director interino da Biblioteca Nacional (1927-1928). Sócio da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa (1910).

Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (1854-1924). Engenheiro militar, filólogo e historiador orientalista, perito em hebraico, árabe, etiópico e sânscrito. Sócio da Academia das Ciências (1922), do Instituto de Coimbra e da Sociedade de Geografia. Publicou e deixou inéditos numerosos estudos orientalistas.

Alfredo da Cunha. Alfredo Carneiro da Cunha (1863-1942). Advogado, jornalista e poeta. Foi director e proprietário do *Diário de Notícias* até 1919, ano em que um escândalo familiar o fez abandonar a direcção e vender o jornal. Amigo de Júlio Dantas, Augusto de Castro e outros expoentes da literatura que os homens do *Orpheu* designavam de “lepidópteros”. Publicou poesia e estudos de história da imprensa e do jornalismo em Portugal, bem como ensaios sobre Gil Vicente, Camões e Camilo Castelo Branco. Entre as suas obras poéticas, destacam-se: *Endeixas e Madrigais* (1891), *Versos* (dois vols., 1900 e 1912), *Ditames e Ditérios* (3 vols., 1929-1931) e *Cem Sonetos de Amor* (1930). Fernando Pessoa desprezava a sua poesia, assim como a do seu pai, José Germano da Cunha, e a do seu filho, José Coelho da Cunha – três gerações de autores reunidos, aliás, no volume familiar *Versos para Gente Moça*, de 1913. Quando da publicação, neste mesmo ano, do livro *Canções da Terra*, de José Coelho da Cunha, Fernando Pessoa escreveu o texto “Distinto poeta”, arrasador não só do seu autor, mas de toda a família (133B-32, ainda inédito).

Anselmo de Andrade. Anselmo José Franco Assis de Andrade (1844-1928). Economista, grande proprietário agrícola, escritor, jornalista, professor e político. Bacharel em direito. Administrou as suas propriedades alentejanas e foi presidente da Câmara Municipal de Beja. Fundou a Companhia da Ilha do Príncipe. Aderiu ao Partido Progressista, cujo órgão dirigiu (*Correio da Noite*). Foi deputado à Cortes

(1887-1895) e ministro dos Negócios da Fazenda no governo Regenerador de Hintze Ribeiro, em 1900, e novamente em 1910, no último governo da monarquia, presidido por Teixeira de Sousa. Foi director do Instituto de Agronomia e preceptor do príncipe D. Manuel. Após 1910 abandonou a política activa e, mais tarde, foi vice-presidente da Cruzada Nun'Álvares. Publicou os estudos *Portugal Económico* (1902), *A Evolução da Moeda* (1923) e *Economia e Finanças Nacionais Contemporâneas* (1926), que influíram sobre a nova geração de economistas, nomeadamente Salazar, cujo “valor científico” elogiou.

Anthero de Figueiredo (1866-1953). Escritor. Frequentou medicina em Coimbra, onde conheceu António Nobre, Agostinho de Campos e Eugénio de Castro. Em 1891, depois de ter viajado pela Europa e Estados Unidos, inscreveu-se no Curso Superior de Letras de Lisboa, em que obteve a licenciatura. Republicano conservador e católico, foi dirigente do Partido Evolucionista, que abandonou em 1917. Nos anos 20 aderiu à Cruzada Nun'Álvares, de cuja direcção provincial do Douro (1921) e nacional (1925) foi vogal. Atraído pelas ideias políticas do conspirador fascizante Filomeno da Câmara, foi um dos conspiradores civis do golpe militar de 28 de Maio de 1926. Autor de uma obra literária de fundo ruralista, nacionalista e místico, popular em Portugal e no Brasil. Publicou relatos de viagens, como *Jornadas de Portugal* (1919) e *Espanha* (1923), novelas, biografias históricas e obras de carácter religioso, como o livro *Fátima. Graças, Segredos, Mistérios* (1936).

Bento Carqueja. Bento de Sousa Carqueja (1860-1935). Jornalista, professor, escritor e empresário. Director e co-proprietário do jornal *Comércio do Porto*. Completou o curso superior de agricultura na Academia Politécnica do Porto. Lecionou agricultura, ciências físicas, economia política e contabilidade, sucessivamente na Escola Normal do Porto, Academia Politécnica, Faculdade de Ciências e Faculdade Técnica do Porto. Promoveu a instrução agrícola. Fez parte da Liga Patriótica do Norte (1890), presidida por Antero de Quental. Monárquico e amigo do bispo do Porto D. António Barroso, manteve-se sempre afastado da vida política, tendo recusado integrar governos republicanos. Pertenceu à Liga Nacional (1915). Sócio da Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa. Publicou *A Liberdade de Imprensa* (1893), *O Futuro de Portugal* (1900), *O Povo Português* (1916), *Política Portuguesa* (1925), entre outras obras.

Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos (1888-1974). Filólogo, professor e político. Especialista de literatura alemã, lecionou na Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa. Católico conservador e germanófilo, foi simpatizante do fascismo e do nazismo. Foi ministro da Instrução Pública em governos da Ditadura Militar (1928-1929 e 1930-1933) e do Estado Novo (Abril a Junho de 1933). Como procurador à Câmara

Corporativa, foi um dos autores do parecer sobre a lei antimaçónica de 1935. Em 1933, no jornal *A Revolução*, Augusto Ferreira Gomes tentou, sem êxito, pressionar o então ministro de Instrução para que o poema “Mar Português” de Fernando Pessoa fosse adoptado nas selectas do ensino.

Sabino Coelho. Sabino Maria Teixeira Coelho (1853-1938). Médico cirurgião, ginecologista, zoólogo e higienista. Professor da Escola Politécnica, onde leccionou zoologia, e da Escola-Médico-Cirúrgica, depois Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa, onde leccionou cirurgia e patologia externa. Trabalhou com Ricardo Jorge no Instituto Central de Higiene, onde teve a seu cargo a higiene industrial. Foi director de enfermaria no Hospital de S. José, onde dirigiu Beatriz Ângelo, a primeira mulher a efectuar uma cirurgia em Portugal. Vereador da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (1904-1908). Sócio da Academia Real das Ciências. Teve o título de conselheiro e foi deputado pelo Partido Regenerador (1904-1910), mas a sua carreira política terminou com o advento da república.

Manuel da Silva Gayo (1860-1934). Poeta, dramaturgo, romancista, jornalista, crítico e ensaísta. Filho do escritor Silva Gaio (António de Oliveira da Silva Gaio). Bacharel em direito, foi funcionário administrativo, secretário do Liceu de Coimbra (1895) e secretário da Universidade de Coimbra (1900-1928). Colaborou no jornal *Novidades*, dirigido por Emídio Navarro. Foi convidado por Eça de Queirós para secretariar a *Revista de Portugal* (1889) e dirigiu com Eugénio de Castro a revista *Arte* (1895). Neo-romântico lusitanista, influenciado por António Nobre, defendia a criação de uma poesia nacionalista e regionalista, revelando afinidades com António Correia de Oliveira, Augusto Gil e Afonso Lopes Vieira. Publicou poesia, romances, dramas e ensaios biográficos e literários. O seu estudo *Da Poesia na Educação dos Gregos* (1917) foi elogiado por António Sardinha, o que reflecte a admiração que a sua obra granjeou nos círculos monárquicos integralistas.

José Caeiro da Matta (1877-1963). Jurista, professor, político e diplomata. Professor da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Coimbra (1906-1919) e da Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa. Foi deputado às Cortes pelo Partido Regenerador (1908-1910), envolvendo-se em duelos com Afonso de Espregueira e Moreira Júnior, episódios que desprestigiaram a agonizante monarquia. Após o 5 de Outubro, abandonou a política e dedicou-se exclusivamente à docência. Iniciado na maçonaria em 1910, abandoná-la-ia mais tarde, aproximando-se dos meios católicos, nacionalistas e conservadores. Foi ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros no início do Estado Novo (1933-1935), ingressando depois na carreira diplomática, para voltar ao governo só após a segunda guerra mundial. Sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa.

João Marcellino Arroyo (1861-1930). Jurista, professor, político, músico e escritor. Professor catedrático da Faculdade de Direito de Coimbra. Deputado pelo Partido Regenerador desde 1884 e par do reino desde 1902. Foi cofundador, no Porto, do *Jornal de Notícias* (1888). Foi ministro da Marinha e Ultramar e da Instrução Pública e Belas Artes (1890) e ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros (1900-1901). Opôs-se ao governo de João Franco e atacou o rei D. Carlos em violentos discursos na Câmara dos Pares. Nomeado embaixador em Paris na véspera do 5 de Outubro de 1910, já não ocupou o cargo. Após a revolução, foi demitido de professor, embora alguns o considerassem um dos culpados pela queda da monarquia. Publicou estudos jurídicos e vários volumes de discursos parlamentares. Também se dedicou às letras (poesia e teatro) e à música, escrevendo composições para piano e canto e as óperas *Amor de Perdição* e *Leonor Teles*. Fundou e dirigiu, ainda estudante, o Orfeão Académico de Coimbra (1880). Sócio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Era irmão de António Arroio e José Diogo Arroio.

Fidelino de Figueiredo. Fidelino de Sousa Figueiredo (1889-1967). Professor, historiador, ensaísta, crítico literário e político. Licenciado em ciências histórico-geográficas pelo Curso Superior de Letras de Lisboa (1910). Foi professor liceal, funcionário do Ministério da Instrução Pública e director, por duas vezes, da Biblioteca Nacional (1918-1919 e 1927). Fundou e dirigiu a *Revista de História* (1912-1917). Especializou-se em história literária. Sidonista, foi eleito deputado em 1918. Foi uma das principais figuras do abortado “Golpe dos Fifis” (Agosto de 1927), tentativa liderada pelo comandante Filomeno da Câmara, que pretendia orientar a Ditadura Militar num sentido fascizante. Exilou-se então no estrangeiro, exercendo funções docentes em várias universidades de Espanha, Estados Unidos e Brasil. Publicou obras de história e crítica literária e ensaios históricos e políticos, nomeadamente *A Crítica Literária como Ciência* (1912), *História da Literatura Clássica* (1917-24), *Estudos de Literatura* (1917-1951), *O Pensamento Político do Exército* (1926), *Notas para um Idearium Português: Política e Literatura* (1929), *Motivos de Novo Estilo* (1930, de que a biblioteca particular de Fernando Pessoa possui um exemplar), *As Duas Espanhas* (1932) e *Menoridade da Inteligência* (1933).

Antonio Arroyo. António José Arroio (1856-1934). Engenheiro, funcionário da Direcção de Obras Públicas, professor, inspector do ensino elementar industrial e comercial (1890-1926) e político. Integrou como delegado técnico industrial a comissão portuguesa da Exposição Universal de Paris (1900). Foi crítico de arte e de música, promovendo a obra de Wagner em Portugal. Colaborou em *A Águia* e foi um assíduo frequentador das tertúlias da Biblioteca, em Lisboa. Destacou-se como promotor do ensino artístico, tendo postumamente sido dado o seu nome à Escola Industrial António Arroio de Artes Aplicadas, em Lisboa. Cofundador da Liga de Educação Nacional. Deputado eleito pelo Partido Regenerador em 1890.

Era irmão de João Marcelino Arroio e José Diogo Arroio, também eles deputados às Cortes e ligados ao meio artístico. Após o 5 de Outubro, não teve acção política, mas foi autor de um projecto para a bandeira da República Portuguesa, que foi rejeitado. Publicou, entre várias outras obras, *Notas sobre Portugal*, vol. II (1908), *A Viagem de Antero de Quental à América do Norte* (1916) e *Singularidades da Minha Terra (na Arte e na Mística)* (1917), os dois últimos editados pela Renascença Portuguesa.

C. E. Moitinho d'Almeida - Rua da Prata, 71, 1ª, Lisboa.
 Augusto Franco - Rua de S. Julião, 52, 1ª, Lisboa.
 Albano da Silva - Rua de S. Julião, 52, 1ª, Lisboa.
 João Rebello da Silva - Rua da Prata, 71, 1ª, Lisboa.
 Augusto Ferreira Gomes - Largo do Corpo Santo, 13, 2ª, ato., Lisboa.
 Geraldo Coelho de Jesus -
 Antonio Bento Coelho de Jesus - Praça Duque de Saldanha, 28, Lisboa.
 Engenheiro Raul da Costa - (F. Pessoa)
 Tenente Mario Freitas - Largo do Figueiredo, 1, r/c, ato., Belem, Lxª
 Alvaro de Sousa -
 Francisco Manuel Cabral Metello - Rua da Fabrica das Sedas, 23, Lisboa
 Dr. Jayme Neves - Rua Nova do Almada, 11, 2ª, Lisboa.
~~Commandante~~ Antonio Pinheiro Silvano - Avenida Casal Ribeiro,
 35, 1ª, Lisboa.
 Jorge Nogueira Silvano - Rua José Estevam, 131, 1ª, Lisboa.
 Armando Teixeira Rebello - Banco do Minho, Rua Aurea, Lisboa.
 Carlos Celestino Corado - Rua do Carrião, 5, 2ª, Lisboa.
 Victoriano Peyo Braga - Rua de S. Bento, 354, 3ª, Lisboa.
 Adriano del Valle - Castelar, 16, Huelva, España.
 Rogelio Buendía (Dr.) - Castelar, 6, Huelva, España.
 Jeronymo Braga de Carvalho - Rua Palmyra, 3, 2ª, Lisboa.
 Dr. João Cambozas - Villa Nova da Estephania, 20, 1ª, ato., Lisboa.
 Dr. J. M. Duarte Ferreira -
 Prof. Dr. José Lobo d'Avila Lima - Rua de D. Pedro V., 109, 1ª, Lxª.
 Dr. Fernando Lobo d'Avila Lima - Rua de D. Pedro V., 109, 1ª, Lisboa.
 Manuel Lobo d'Avila Lima - Rua da Victoria, 53, 2ª, Lisboa.
 José Baptista d'Araujo - Rua dos Bacalhoados, 73, 1ª, Lisboa.
 Dr. Fernando Waddington - Rua Barata Salgueiro, 37, 2ª, ato., Lisboa.
 João Nascimento - Rua Vieira da Silva, 60, 3ª, ato., Lisboa.
 Julião Senna - Rua Pinheiro Chagas, 20, 1ª, esq., Lisboa.
 Ricardo Santos -
 D. Judith Teixeira - Av. Antª Angª de Aguiar, 38, 4ª, Lisboa.
 Dr. Antonio de Sêves - Rua Nova do Almada, 59, 2ª, Lisboa.
 Dr. Amílcar Ramada Curto - Rua Nova do Almada, 59, 2ª, Lisboa.
 Dr. José Gonçalves Cotta -
 Dr. Alberto da Cunha Dias -
 --- Dr. Francisco Fernandes Lopes Jr. - Olhão.
 --- Dr. José Dentinho Jr. - Faro.
 --- Dr. Americo Cortez Pinto - Leiria.
 Luiz da Silva Ramos - Largo do Corpo Santo, 13, 2ª, ato., Lisboa.
 Dr. Cesar Porto - Avenida Almirante Reis, 60, 2ª, ato., Lisboa.
 (7) --- Alberto Van Noortre de Telles - achado - Ladeira do Seminário, 8,
 Coimbra.
 José Celestino Soares - Avenida Duque d'Avila, 112, 4ª, Lisboa.
 Eng. José Coelho Pacheco - Praça Duque de Saldanha, 28, Lisboa.
 Julio Moura - Rua de S. Julião, 52, 1ª, Lisboa.
 --- Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues - Professor do Lyceu - Angra do Heroísmo,
 Ilha Terceira, Açores.
 --- Celestino Rocha - Professor do Lyceu - Angra do Heroísmo, Ilha Ter-
 ceira, Açores.
 --- Israel Anahory - Consul do Portugal - Cetto (France).
 --- Dr. Luiz Vieira de Castro - Funchal, Madeira.
 Dr. Mario d'Artagão - Avenida da Republica, 77, Lisboa.
 Eng. João Arez - Rua da Imprensa Nacional, 77, r/c, esq., Lisboa.
 Fernando Bravo - Largo do Corpo Santo, 13, 2ª, ato., Lisboa.
 Alvaro Netto - Rua Antonio Pedro, G.C., 2ª, Lisboa.
 Commandante Alvaro Martha - Av. Elias Garcia, 13, r/c, ato., Lisboa.

Fig. 7. BNP/E3, 75-71v e 71av.

C. E. Moitinho d'Almeida. Carlos Eugénio Moitinho de Almeida (?-?). Comerciante, proprietário da firma de comissões e consignações Moitinho d'Almeida Limitada, sita na Rua da Prata, 71, 1º, para a qual Fernando Pessoa trabalhou longos anos como correspondente de língua inglesa e francesa. Terá inspirado a figura do “patrão Vasques” do *Livro do Desassossego*. Foi, nos anos 20, o primeiro agente da Coca-Cola em Lisboa, para a qual Fernando Pessoa criou o slogan “Primeiro estranha-se, depois entranha-se”, que terá contribuído para a proibição da bebida pelas autoridades sanitárias portuguesas. Pai de Luís Pedro Moitinho de Almeida, advogado e poeta, amigo de Fernando Pessoa. Publicou *O Tabaco, Vício Brando e Útil* (Rotary Club de Lisboa, 1931), de que ofereceu um exemplar, com dedicatória, ao “seu presado amigo Fernando Pessoa.” De acordo com uma anotação manuscrita feita nesse exemplar por um familiar, terá sido Pessoa o autor do texto, a pedido de C. E. Moitinho de Almeida, segundo o poeta terá revelado à sua irmã Henriqueta Madalena.

Augusto Franco. Augusto Cisneiros Franco (?-?). Amigo de Fernando Pessoa e sócio, com Albano da Silva e Júlio Moura, da Companhia União do Príncipe, sita na Rua de S. Julião, 52, 1º, o mesmo endereço da firma F. N. Pessoa (Ferreira, 2005: 189). É citado por Pessoa nos diários de 1913 e 1915. Listado por Pessoa como possível subscritor do capital da Olisipo (144G-42^r).

Albano da Silva (?-?). Sócio, com Augusto Franco e Júlio Moura, da Companhia União do Príncipe, sita na Rua de S. Julião, 52, 1º, o mesmo endereço da firma F. N. Pessoa.

João Rebello da Silva (?-?). Comerciante no mesmo endereço da Baixa que C. E. Moitinho d'Almeida. Amigo de Augusto Ferreira Gomes e de Fernando Pessoa (BNP/E3, 271).

Augusto Ferreira Gomes (1892-1953). Jornalista, escritor, poeta e astrólogo. Pertenceu ao grupo do *Orpheu*, revista para cujo n.º 3 contribuiu com um poema. Amigo próximo de Fernando Pessoa, de quem terá sido sócio, em 1917-1918, na firma de comissões e consignações F. A. Pessoa, da qual também terá sido sócio Geraldo Coelho de Jesus. O seu nome aparece associado ao grupo político Núcleo de Acção Nacional, em cujo nome foi editado um seu livro de poesia (*Procissional - Poemas*, 1921). Foi colaborador do jornal sidonista *Acção* (1919-1920), órgão do referido Núcleo de Acção Nacional, de que Pessoa foi o principal articulista. Foi redactor principal do jornal *Portugal*, órgão de uma efémera Acção Nacionalista (quatro números, 1923), bem como redactor do diário *A Informação* (1926) de F. Homem Cristo Filho, do diário *Revolução* (1931-1933), órgão do Movimento Nacional-Sindicalista (onde em 1933 promoveu a publicação dos doze poemas de

“Mar Português”, de Fernando Pessoa) e do *Diário da Manhã* (iniciado em 1931), órgão da União Nacional. Dirigiu a revista *Fama* (1932-1933), que teve colaboração de Pessoa. Colaborou em numerosos outros jornais e revistas. Republicano, sidonista e nacionalista, foi um apoiante do Estado Novo. Publicou o livro de poesia *Quinto Império* (1934), com prefácio de Pessoa. Dedicou o seu livro *No Claro-Escuro das Profecias* (1941) à memória do “astrólogo Fernando Pessoa”.

Geraldo Coelho de Jesus (1887-?). Engenheiro. Em 1916 era director técnico da Fábrica Metalúrgica do Lumiar, cargo que deixou em princípios de 1918. Em 1919 era administrador das Minas de Porto de Mós. Teve também uma firma de comércio automóvel em nome individual (15B⁴-51^v). Amigo de Fernando Pessoa desde pelo menos 1913, terá sido sócio (com Augusto Ferreira Gomes) da firma F. A. Pessoa em 1917-18 (Lencastre, 2005: 18). Tio de José Coelho de Jesus Pacheco (José Coelho Pacheco), também amigo de Pessoa e colaborador, com um poema, do *Orpheu* n.º 3. Foi o director do jornal sidonista *Acção* (1919-20) de que Pessoa foi o principal colaborador. Publicou *Bases para um Plano Industrial* (1919) no jornal *Acção* e em opúsculo do Núcleo de Acção Nacional, este oferecido a Fernando Pessoa com dedicatória do autor. Republicano e sidonista.

Antonio Bento Coelho de Jesus (?-?). Parente (irmão?) de Geraldo Coelho de Jesus. Figura, sob o nome de António Coelho de Jesus, na lista de possíveis subscritores da *Olisipo* (144G-42^r). É citado num documento do espólio de Fernando Pessoa (28-15) como sendo credor, em 1918, da firma F. A. Pessoa.

Raul da Costa. Raul Soares da Costa (1890-?). Engenheiro naval, marido de Maria Nogueira de Freitas, prima de Fernando Pessoa (filha da tia Anica). Fernando Pessoa anotou os seus dados para fins astrológicos (S6-52^v).

Mario Freitas. Mário Nogueira de Freitas (1891-1932). Primo de Fernando Pessoa (filho da Tia Anica), que com ele participou nos empreendimentos falhados das firmas Íbis e *Olisipo*. Director ou sócio das firmas M.N. de Freitas, Agência Mineira Anglo-Portuguesa (92D-78^v), Agência Internacional de Minas e Félix, Valladas & Freitas, para as quais Pessoa trabalhou de forma intermitente. Foi também tenente miliciano do Serviço de Administração Militar.

Alvaro de Sousa (?-?). Sem morada nem outra referência.

Francisco Manuel Cabral Metello. Francisco Manuel Cabral Metelo de Vasconcelos (1893-1982). Fidalgo e escritor dileteante. Filho do conselheiro Francisco Cabral Metelo, que foi deputado às Cortes e ministro da monarquia. Amigo de Fernando Pessoa e António Botto. Colaborou na revista *Contemporânea* (n.º 6,

Dezembro de 1922). Publicou a novela *Sáchá. Comentários à Vida Moderna* (1923), sobre a qual Pessoa publicou “Carta ao autor de *Sáchá*” (*Contemporânea*, nº 8, Fevereiro de 1923), falando da “personalidade decorativamente rica (...), fútil, feminil, escandalosamente europeia” do autor. Também em 1923, Cabral Metelo publicou o livro de textos satíricos intitulado *Entrevistas*, contendo em apêndice um texto da autoria de Fernando Pessoa e outro de Aquilino Ribeiro. Um dos textos dialogados desta obra, intitulado “A Praga” (pp. 65-69), contém alusões aos livros que nesse mesmo ano tinham causado escândalo e sido apreendidos pelas autoridades, nomeadamente *Sodoma Divinizada* de Raul Leal e *Decadência* de Judith Teixeira. No espólio de Fernando Pessoa há duas cópias de cartas a Francisco Cabral Metelo datadas de Agosto e Outubro de 1923 (114²-86 e 87). A biblioteca particular de Pessoa conserva as obras *Sáchá* e *Entrevistas* com dedicatórias do autor

Antonio Pinheiro Silvano (1871-1936). Oficial da Armada. Filho de uma tia-avó materna de Fernando Pessoa. No seu horóscopo (S6-55^r), Pessoa utilizou a data de nascimento de 28 de Junho de 1871 e o local de nascimento Angra de Heroísmo.

Jorge Nogueira Silvano (?-?). Parente de Fernando Pessoa pelo lado materno.

Victoriano Feyo Braga. Vitoriano de Sousa Feio Peixoto Braga (1888-1940), conhecido por Vitoriano Braga. Funcionário da Companhia dos Caminhos de Ferro Portugueses, dramaturgo e fotógrafo amador. Era primo afastado de Fernando Pessoa, a quem foi apresentado em 1913 por Boavida Portugal (diário de Pessoa de 1913, dia 27 de Fevereiro). Autor de várias peças levadas à cena lisboeta, como *Octávio* (escrita em 1913 e representada em 1916), *O Milagre* e *A Casaca Encarnada* (1922), três dramas que Pessoa planeava editar na Olisipo (137A-22^r). A peça *Octávio*, de que o espólio pessoano conserva uma cópia manuscrita assinada pelo autor, foi objecto de uma tentativa de tradução para inglês por Pessoa, que deixou traduzidas algumas falas da primeira cena do primeiro acto (74-75) e notas para a tradução de outras partes. O drama, arrojado no seu tratamento de questões como o casamento de conveniência e a homossexualidade, causara celeuma e acusações de escabrosidade. O interesse de Pessoa por essa obra, “notável entre a multidão nula das peças modernas, sejam de que nação forem” (PESSOA, 1967: 87), foi notório, chegando a esboçar um artigo de crítica altamente elogioso. Como fotógrafo amador, foi autor de alguns dos melhores retratos de Fernando Pessoa, bem como de Santa-Rita Pintor, Luís de Montalvor e Almada Negreiros. Existe também um retrato de Vitoriano Braga na companhia de Fernando Pessoa. Da comédia *Inimigos* (representada em 1926 e editada em 1927) ofereceu um exemplar dedicado a Fernando Pessoa, assinando “do seu primo muito amigo e admirador, Victoriano”.

Adriano del Valle (1895-1957). Poeta espanhol. Publicou poesia e prosa na revista *Contemporânea*: “Haikais” (n.º 4, 1922) e “Isaac del Vando-Villar en siete colores” (n.º 10, 1924). Conheceu Pessoa em Lisboa em 1923, durante a sua viagem de núpcias em Portugal, e correspondeu-se largamente com ele em 1923-1924. Publicou em 1923 no jornal sevilhano *La Unión* um largo excerto de uma carta de Pessoa com comentário ao livro de poemas *La Rueda de Color*, de Rogelio Buendía (SÁEZ DELGADO e PIZARRO, 2014).

Rogelio Buendía (1891-1969). Médico e poeta espanhol, integrado, como Adriano del Valle, no espírito do movimento “ultraísta”. Publicou o poema “Canción de España a Portugal” revista *Contemporânea* (n.º3, 1922). Correspondeu-se em 1923 com Fernando Pessoa, de quem traduziu, nesse mesmo ano, cinco “Inscriptions”, do livro *English Poems* (1921), para o jornal de Huelva, *La Provincia*, sendo o primeiro e único tradutor de poesia de Pessoa em vida deste. Pessoa tinha na sua biblioteca pelo menos dois livros seus, oferecidos com dedicatórias, a novela *La Dorada Mediocridad* e o livro de poesia *La Rueda de Color*, ambos de 1923.

João Botto de Carvalho (1900-1960). Advogado. Foi director da revista *Imagem – Tribuna Livre de Cinema* (1928). Esteve ligado aos inícios da actividade radiofónica em Portugal e em 1930 era sócio-gerente da Sociedade Geral de Filmes. Amigo de Florbela Espanca, de quem foi colega na Faculdade de Direito em 1918. Era republicano, foi colaborador do jornal *O Mundo* e, mais tarde, deputado à Assembleia Nacional do Estado Novo (1938-1942). Autor de *Sol Poente* (1919), *Paraíso Perdido – Conferência Acerca do Divórcio* (1936), e *José Maria d’Eça de Queiroz e Aquela Senhora Nua que Dizem Ser a Verdade* (1946?). Amigo de Fernando Pessoa, acompanhou o seu funeral.

João Camoesas. João José da Conceição Camoesas (1887-1951). Médico, funcionário público, professor, jornalista e político. Começou como caixeiro e cursou medicina tardiamente (1919-1925). Foi chefe da repartição de higiene da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, vogal do conselho de administração da Caixa Geral de Depósitos, médico escolar e professor do Instituto de Orientação Profissional. Republicano, participou na revolta de 14 de Maio de 1915 e foi deputado por Elvas e por Portalegre, nas listas do Partido Democrático, de 1915 a 1926. Dirigiu a revista *Eh Real!* (n.º único, 13 de Maio de 1915), para a qual Fernando Pessoa contribuiu com o artigo “O Preconceito da Ordem” e dois *sueños* anónimos. Foi ministro da Instrução em 1923 e em 1925. Celebrizou-se em 1925, por ter discursado no parlamento durante nove horas consecutivas, para garantir a chegada de deputados pró-governamentais. Como ministro, apresentou em 1923 uma proposta de lei sobre a reorganização da educação nacional, elaborada por António

Faria de Vasconcelos e António Sérgio, primeira tentativa de sistematização de uma lei de bases da educação portuguesa, que não chegou a ser aprovada, devido à queda do governo. Publicou *O Trabalho Humano* (1927) e outros estudos pioneiros em Portugal sobre o taylorismo e a organização científica do trabalho. Deportado para Angola em 1932, conseguiu exilar-se nos EUA, onde exerceu medicina. Foi iniciado na maçonaria em 1911, em Elvas. Amigo de Pessoa, foi listado por ele como possível subscritor do capital da Olisipo (144G-42^v). Pessoa fez o seu horóscopo em 1915, prevendo que ele morreria aos 63 anos (144X-70^v).

J. M. Duarte Ferreira. Joaquim Manuel Duarte Ferreira (?-?), advogado (?). Foi o administrador da revista *Eh Real!* (n.º único, 13 de Maio de 1915). Foi governador civil de Portalegre em 1925 (Celestino Soares, também amigo de Pessoa, foi governador civil do mesmo distrito no ano seguinte, sendo João Camoesas então deputado por Portalegre). Listado por Fernando Pessoa como possível subscritor do capital da Olisipo (144G-42^v).

Fernando Lobo d'Ávila Lima. Fernando Lobo de Ávila Silva Lima (?-?) foi médico, professor liceal e pedagogo. Irmão de José Caetano Lobo de Ávila da Silva Lima, com quem esteve preso após a rebelião monárquica de Outubro de 1913, e de Manuel Lobo de Ávila Lima. Foi o introdutor em Portugal dos trabalhos manuais nos liceus e director dos cursos de trabalhos manuais do Liceu Pedro Nunes. Autor de *Pel'A Escola* (1932), de que Fernando Pessoa possuía um exemplar dedicado pelo autor, seu “amigo velho”. Também Pessoa lhe chama “velho amigo” no artigo “O que um americano fez em Portugal” (revista *Fama*, n.º 4, 10 de março de 1933), relatando a fundação de uma colónia infantil em S. João do Estoril por um milionário americano, iniciativa em que Fernando de Ávila Lima esteve directamente envolvido.

Manuel Lobo d'Ávila Lima (?-?). Comerciante. Sócio da firma Frederico Ferreira & Avila Lda. (Pessoa utilizou o verso de uma circular comercial desta firma, 137B-35b, datada de 1919), de que era sucursal a firma de importação e exportação M. Avila Lima, sita na Rua da Vitória, n.º 53, 2.º (Pessoa usou dois tipos de papel timbrado desta firma em 55-68 e seguintes e em 46-19 a 20, datáveis da segunda metade dos anos 20). Sobre a colaboração de Pessoa para estas firmas em 1917-1920 e 1926-1928, ver SOUSA (2010: 46-47). Irmão de José Caetano Lobo de Ávila da Silva Lima e de Fernando Lobo de Ávila da Silva Lima, ambos presentes nestas listas.

José Baptista d'Araujo (?-?). Morada: Rua dos Bacalhoeiros, 72, 1.º, Lisboa.

Fernando Waddington (?-?). Médico. Sócio fundador da Sociedade Portuguesa de Radiologia Médica (1931). Publicou *Esfalfamento cerebral (nas escolas)* (1907).

João Nascimento (?-?). Morada: Rua Vieira da Silva, 80, 3.º, dto., Lisboa.

Julião Senna (1891-1952). Engenheiro. Publicou vários livros sobre motores e electricidade.

Ricardo Santos (?-?). Foi colaborador da revista *Teatro* em 1913, sendo mencionado por Fernando Pessoa no diário desse ano.

Judith Teixeira. Judite dos Reis Ramos Teixeira (1880-1959). Poetisa. Foi directora e editora da revista *Europa* (três números, 1925). Publicou *Decadência. Poemas* (1923), *Castelo de Sombras. Poemas* (1923), *Nua. Poemas de Bizâncio* (1926), *De Mim. Conferência* (1926) e *Satânia. Novelas* (1927). Em Fevereiro de 1923, pouco após a publicação do seu livro *Decadência* bem como de *Sodoma Divinizada*, de Raul Leal, o governador civil de Lisboa, pressionado pela Liga de Acção dos Estudantes de Lisboa e pela imprensa católica, mandou apreender essas obras além da 2ª edição de *Canções* de António Botto, publicada em 1922 pela Olisipo, e de outros livros de autores nacionais e estrangeiros, entre os quais *La Garçonne*, de Victor Marguerite (1922). Em 1926, na revista *Ordem Nova*, Marcelo Caetano evocaria o caso, chamando “desavergonhada” a Judith Teixeira e congratulando-se por esses livros terem sido apreendidos e “cremados”.

Antonio de Sèves. António Seves de Oliveira (1895-1970). Advogado, diplomata, escritor e crítico. Listado por Fernando Pessoa como possível subscritor do capital da Olisipo (144G-42^r). Referindo-se ao seu livro de contos regionais *Leomil* (1921), Pessoa descreveu o autor como um “escritor novo, de grande valor, que neste seu primeiro livro faz um regionalismo curioso” (carta a Adriano del Valle de 1 de Junho de 1924). Colaborou na revista *Contemporânea*. Monárquico, integralista e dirigente da Causa Monárquica, acedeu à carreira diplomática em 1927 (depois de em 1923 não ter sido admitido) e foi nos anos 50 nomeado lugar-tenente do pretendente ao trono.

Americo Cortez Pinto (1896-1979). Médico e poeta. Foi médico escolar em Leiria e inspector de saúde escolar. Monárquico, católico, dirigente distrital da União Nacional em Leiria, vindo mais tarde a ser deputado (1949-1957). Foi também membro da Comissão de Literatura e Espectáculos Infantis e da Comissão de Classificação de Espectáculos. Publicou na juventude vários livros de poesia, entre os quais *Lágrimas e Sorrisos* (1912), depois repudiado, *Senhora da Renúncia* (1918) e *Poema da Tentação* (1922). No âmbito da saúde escolar, publicou *Os Perigos da Castidade* (1939), ensaio em prol da total abstinência sexual dos jovens, alertando contra a “loucura masturbatória” da adolescência.

Luiz da Silva Ramos. Luís Filipe de Saldanha da Gama da Silva Ramos (1891-1947), conhecido como Luís de Montalvor. Poeta, ensaísta e editor. Republicano, foi secretário do embaixador Bernardino Machado no Brasil (1913-15). Cultor de uma poesia predominantemente decadentista-simbolista, foi um dos fundadores *Orpheu*, de que deu a ideia e o nome e para cujo n.º 1, nominalmente dirigido por si e pelo seu amigo Ronald de Carvalho, escreveu o editorial “Introdução”. Fundou em 1916 a revista *Centauro*. Colaborou nas sucessivas revistas *Exílio*, *Contemporânea*, *Athena*, *Seara Nova*, *Presença*, *Sudoeste* e *Cadernos de Poesia*. Divulgou a poesia inédita de Camilo Pessanha. Dirigiu a obra monumental *História do Regime Republicano em Portugal* (1930-1932). Viria a fundar a editorial Ática (1942), onde encetou a publicação das obras de Mário de Sá-Carneiro e Fernando Pessoa. Proferiu o elogio fúnebre de Fernando Pessoa junto do seu jazigo.

Cesar Porto (1873-1944). Jornalista, professor, pedagogo, ensaísta, romancista, dramaturgo, poeta e tradutor. Licenciou-se em antropologia em Paris. Com Adolfo Lima, Emílio Costa e outros foi animador do movimento “Escola Nova” em Portugal. A partir de 1914 dirigiu a Escola Oficina n.º 1, fundada em 1905, que procurava pôr em prática uma pedagogia inovadora, num quadro de educação racional, mista, experimental e participativa. Foi cofundador, com Adolfo Lima e outros, do Grémio de Educação Racional (1909), inspirado nos princípios pedagógicos de Ferrer. Foi também professor da Escola-Teatro e administrador do Teatro Juvénia. Republicano, maçom e próximo do movimento libertário, colaborou em numerosos periódicos desse quadrante, entre eles *A Vida* (Porto, 1905-1910), as revistas *Lúmen* (1911-1913) e *Educação* (1913), o diário *A Batalha* e a revista *Educação Social* (1924-25). Publicou poesia, romances, peças de teatro e ensaios de temas científicos, astrológicos e políticos. Visitou a Rússia a convite da Federação Pan-Russa dos Trabalhadores de Ensino, publicando depois o artigo “A Pedagogia soviética” (*Educação Social*, 1927) e o livro *A Rússia Hoje e Amanhã: Uma Excursão ao País dos Soviotes* (1929). Foi preso em 1927 por pertencer à Associação dos Professores de Portugal, conotada com o anarquismo e o comunismo. Fernando Pessoa possuía na sua biblioteca cinco obras do autor, todas com dedicatórias posteriores a 1915: *O Impossível Regresso – Episódio* (1903), a peça *Tragédia Antiga* (representada em 1903), o romance *O Refúgio* (1912), o romance *O Inverno* (1917) e o ensaio *Transformisme et hérédité* (Lisboa, 1935).

Alberto Van Hoertre de Telles-Machado. Alberto de Utra Teles Machado (1897-?). Assinava por vezes Alberto de Hutra. A forma *de Utra* é o aportuguesamento mais comum de *van Hurtere*, apelido de flamengos povoadores do Faial. Artista plástico e poeta. Numa carta de 7 de Outubro 1924, Pessoa pediu-lhe colaboração literária para a revista *Athena*. Publicou, de facto, no n.º 4 dessa revista o texto “Prólogo e

Oração sobre a Montanha” (pp. 193-196). Expôs na 4.^a exposição organizada pela revista *Contemporânea* (1923). Cofundador com Afonso Duarte, Gaspar Simões, Branquinho da Fonseca, Vitorino Nemésio e outros da revista pré-presencista *Tríptico – Arte. Poesia. Crítica* (Coimbra, 1924-1925), para a qual contribuiu com ilustrações. Contribuiu com “Karma” para a *Contemporânea* n.º 7 (1923), assinando Alberto Wanhoertre de Telles-Machado, e com “Rimance” para a *Presença* n.º 7 (1927) assinando Alberto de Hutra. Mário Saa refere-se-lhe em *A Invasão dos Judeus* como “desenhador”, com o nome completo que Pessoa usa nesta lista. Existe uma foto de Fernando Pessoa com Utra Machado na Rua Augusta, ambos de gabardine, chapéu e papillon.

José Celestino Soares (1883-?). Estudou na Escola Politécnica de Lisboa. Esteve ligado aos começos da rádio, com carácter experimental, e da produção cinematográfica em Portugal. Listado por Fernando Pessoa por volta de 1921 (144G-42^v) como possível subscritor do capital da Olisipo (juntamente com Celestino Soares, 15 anos mais novo). Fernando Pessoa refere-se-lhe em 1919, numa carta a Geraldo Coelho de Jesus, chamando-lhe José Celestino (114²-44). Pessoa fez o seu horóscopo (S3-20^o). Foi, em 1938, actor no filme *A Canção da Terra* e, nos anos 40, em *Feitiço do Império*, *Porto de Abrigo* e *Camões*. Foi assistente de produção dos filmes *O Pátio das Cantigas*, *Amor de Perdição* e assistente de realização em *Camões*. Em 1941 era secretário das Produções António Lopes Ribeiro.

Julio Moura (?-?). Foi sócio, com Augusto Franco e Albano da Silva, da firma Companhia União do Príncipe, sita na Rua de S. Julião, 52, 1º, o mesmo endereço da firma F. N. Pessoa.

Celestino Rocha (?-?). Em 1923 era professor liceal em Angra do Heroísmo.

Israel Anahory. Israel Abraão Cagi Anahory (1884-1969). Dentista e diplomata. Teve consultório na Rua Garrett, em Lisboa, e em 1921 entrou para a carreira diplomática. Em 1923 era cônsul em Sète, no Sul de França e, a partir de 1925, em Rouen, no Norte de França. Em Rouen concedeu, em 1935, passaportes a refugiados judeus, pelo que foi demitido pelo Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Actuou então nos meios oposicionistas da emigração portuguesa em França, colaborando no jornal *Unir* (órgão da Frente Patriótica Portuguesa). Em 1940, ao regressar a Portugal, foi preso pela polícia política e, em 1941, deportado para S. Tomé. Daí passou à África francesa, onde se incorporou nas forças do general De Gaulle. Em 1950 regressou a Portugal e foi-lhe fixada residência em Olhão. Republicano. Amigo de Fernando Pessoa, Francisco Fernandes Lopes, Ramada Curto, Francisco Pulido Valente e Almada Negreiros. Publicou *Gualdino Gomes* (ed. Seara Nova, 1951).

Luiz Vieira de Castro. Luís Lopes Vieira de Castro (1898-1954). Advogado, jornalista, político e escritor madeirense. Estudou em Coimbra e licenciou-se em direito em Lisboa (1922). Monárquico, aderiu ao integralismo em Coimbra, onde fundou jornais académicos como *Pátria Nova* (1916) e *Nova Fénix Renascida* (1921). Em 1919 colaborou no jornal *Acção*, de que Fernando Pessoa foi o principal redactor. Depois de concluir o curso, regressou à Madeira, onde se dedicou à advocacia, à política e ao jornalismo. Organizou a Causa Monárquica na Madeira. Fundou o *Jornal da Madeira* (Novembro de 1923), de orientação monárquica, antiparlamentar e autonomista. Eleito deputado à Câmara dos Deputados em 1925, viu a sua eleição invalidada. Aderiu em 1934 à União Nacional. Foi deputado nas III e IV legislaturas (1942-1945 e 1946-1949). Publicou *A Europa e a República Portuguesa* (1922) e *D. Carlos I* (1936).

Mario d'Artagão. António da Costa Correia Leite (1866-1937), conhecido pelo pseudónimo Mário de Artagão. Poeta, jornalista, teatrólogo e autor dramático brasileiro, falecido em Lisboa. Estudou filosofia na Alemanha. Detentor de considerável fortuna, nunca exerceu uma profissão. Grande viajador, percorreu a Europa, o Norte de África e a América do Sul. Autor da peça *Janina* (1907). Como poeta deixou: *As Infernais* (1.^a ed. 1889, 3.^a ed. Lisboa: 1914), *Psaltério* (1894), *Música Sacra* (1901), *No Rasto das Águias* (1925), *Rimas Pagãs* (1933), *Feras à Solta* (1936). Foi considerado como “uma figura de rebelde inquieto, monarquista em política, darwinista em ciência”. Membro do Instituto de Coimbra.

João Arez. João Baptista de Almeida Arez (1874-1954). Engenheiro, oficial do Exército, alto funcionário colonial e político. Natural de Pondá, Goa. Atingiu a patente de coronel em 1922 e de general em 1932. Na Grande Guerra, fez parte de uma expedição a Angola e do Corpo Expedicionário Português, em França. Trabalhou na construção e direcção dos caminhos-de-ferro em Angola e Moçambique. Foi director da arma de engenharia e fez parte da Administração dos Caminhos de Ferro do Estado, do Conselho Superior de Obras Públicas e Minas e do Conselho Superior das Colónias. Foi eleito deputado em 1918 pelo partido sidonista. Aderiu ao Estado Novo e foi procurador à Câmara Corporativa na I e II legislaturas. Publicou trabalhos de matemática, entre outros.

Fernando Bravo (?-?). Morada: Largo do Corpo Santo, 13, 2.^o dto.

Alvaro Netto (?-?). Ccomerciante e industrial amigo de Alberto da Cunha Dias, Geraldo Coelho de Jesus e, plausivelmente, Fernando Pessoa.

Alvaro Martha. Álvaro Marta (?-?). Oficial da Armada. Atingiu a patente de almirante. Em 1947 foi superintendente dos Serviços da Armada.

Anexo. BNP/E3, 144G-42 a 43.

Lista manuscrita de possíveis subscritores do capital da empresa Olisipo, em caderno datável de 1919-1921. Os nomes foram posteriormente riscados um a um, excepto o de João Corrêa d'Oliveira.

[42^r]*Olisipo – Sub[scrip]tores*

- √ 1. (Original capital) 2.000\$00
- √ 2. Antonio Coelho de Jesus.
- √ 3. Geraldo Coelho de Jesus.
- √ 4. A. Soares Franco.
- √ 5. Antonio Séves de Oliveira.
- √ 6. Victoriano Braga.
 - 7. José de Almada-Negreiros.
 - 8. Affonso Rodrigues Pereira.
 - 9. José Pacheco.
 - 10. Mario Freitas.
 - 11. Goes Pinto (?).
 - 12. Numa de Figueiredo.
 - 13. Augusto Ferreira Gomes.
 - 14. Silva Tavares.
- √ 15. Alfredo Guisado.
 - 16. Augusto Franco.
 - 17. Fidelino Costa.
 - 18. Jayme Neves.
 - 19. Antonio Silvano.
 - 20. João Corrêa d'Oliveira. (?)
 - 21. Fernando Lobo d'Avila Lima.
 - 22. Manuel Lobo d'Avila Lima.
- √ 23 Frederico Ferreira.
 - 24. Mauricio de Freitas Lomelino.
 - 25 Simão de Laboreiro.
 - 26. Eugenio Vieira.

[42^v]

- √ 27. Marianno Sant'Anna.
 - 28. José Tavares.
 - 29. João Camoezas.
 - 30. Francisco Fernandes Lopes, Jnr.
 - 31. Luiz Bernardino da Silva.

- √ 32. Luiz de Montalvor.
- 33. Henrique Ferreira.
- 34. Virgilio Guerra Pedrosa.
- 35. Manuel Coelho de Jesus.
- 36. J. M. Duarte Ferreira.
- 37. Carlos Alberto Ferreira.
- 38. Visconde de Villa Moura.
- 39. Teixeira de Pascoaes.
- 40. Julio Fragoso.
- √ 41. Henrique Rosa. (exam.)
- 42. W. G. Bentley (?).
- √ 43. Celestino Soares.
- 44. José Celestino Soares.
- 45. Lisbella Pessoa Machado.
- 46. Justino Chaves.
- 47. João Pessoa Chaves.
- 48. Jacques Pessoa.
- 49. Augusto Mira da Silva.
- 50. José Luiz Supico.
- 51. Leonel e Julio Quina Ribeiro.
- 52. Joaquim Pantoja (get).
- √ 53. Affonso Sá Pereira de Mello (get).

[43^r]

- 54. Luiz Frazão (get).
- 55. José Isidoro Pereira.
- 56. [Carlos] Pires de Lima da Fonseca.
- 57. Cesar Porto.
- 58. □ Braga (do C. S. L.).
- 59. (elementos sidonistas).
- 60. (elementos monarchicos).
- 61. (elementos da provincia).
- 62. □
- 63. □
- 64. □
- 65. □
- 66. □
- 67. □
- 68. □
- 69. □
- 70. □

71. □

– (para ac[cções] de 25\$00).
maximo 30\$00)⁴

acções de 50\$00. - ?

*Primitivos.

A. Soares Franco.

A. B. Coelho de Jesus.

A. P. Guisado.

Luiz de Montalvor.

Marianno Sant' Anna.

Geraldo Coelho de Jesus (when paid from here).

José Faisca.

Frederico Ferreira.

Augusto Ferreira Gomes. (when paid from here).

? Augusto Franco.

Victoriano Braga.

Celestino Soares. (when he gets † from †)

José Tavares.

Antonio Séves de Oliveira. (his books).

? José Isidoro Pereira.

Augusto Mira da Silva.

? M[auricio] de Freitas Lomelino.

L[eonel] e J[ulio] Quina Ribeiro.

[43^v]

José Coelho Pacheco.

Julio Frago (ag.)

Henrique Ferreira.

F[rancis]co Fernandes Lopes. Jnr. escrever

Luiz Bernardino da Silva. escrever

Numa de Figueiredo (ag).

Mario Freitas (obter, † conjuncto)

Alv[aro] da Camara Leme (ag).

Jayme Leite (ag).

Fernando Valladas.

José Damião Felix.

⁴ 160 people for 8 contos] *anotação no canto superior direito da página, separada da lista por dois traços, que corresponde ao total de 160 acções de 50\$00.*

Joaquim Pantoja (ag.)
Af[fonso] Sá Pereira de Mello (ag.)
Fernando Lobo d'Avila Lima.
Manuel Lobo d'Avila Lima.
José Lobo d'Avila Lima.
□ Soeiro (?).

Bibliografia

- ALMEIDA, Luís Pedro Moitinho de (1985). *Fernando Pessoa no Cinquentenário da sua Morte*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora.
- BARRETO, José (2014). “Fernando Pessoa – germanófilo ou aliadófilo? Um debate com João de Barros que não veio a público”, *Pessoa Plural – A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 6, Outono, pp. 153-216.
- ____ (2013). “Mar Salgado: Fernando Pessoa perante uma acusação de plágio”, *Pessoa Plural – A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 3, Primavera, pp. 46-55.
- ____ (2012a). “Fernando Pessoa e Raul Leal contra a campanha moralizadora dos estudantes em 1923”, *Pessoa Plural – A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 2, Outono, pp. 240-270.
- ____ (2012b). “A publicação de *O Interregno* no contexto político de 1927-1928”, *Pessoa Plural – A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 2, Outono, pp. 174-207.
- ____ (2012c). “O mago e o louco: Fernando Pessoa e Alberto da Cunha Dias”, *Pessoa Plural – A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 1, Primavera, pp. 70-138.
- ____ (2010). “Fernando Pessoa e António Ferro: do espírito do *Orpheu* à ‘Política do Espírito’”, comunicação ao II Congresso Internacional Fernando Pessoa, Casa Fernando Pessoa / Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 23-25 de Novembro. Acessível em: https://www.academia.edu/6765671/Fernando_Pessoa_e_Ant%C3%B3nio_Ferro
- LENCASTRE, Maria José (1981). *Fernando Pessoa: uma fotobiografia*, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- LOPES, Teresa Rita (2011). “O seu a seu dono”, *JL – Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias*, Lisboa, 20 de Abril a 3 de Maio, pp. 10-11.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2013a). *Apreciações Literárias*. Edição de Pauly Ellen Bothe. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (2013b). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia: 136 autores fictícios*. Edição de Jerónimo Pizarro e Patricio Ferrari. Lisboa: Tinta-da-china.
- ____ (2010). *Livro do Desasocego*. Edição de Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (2009). *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*. Edição de Jerónimo Pizarro. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (2003). *Escritos Autobiográficos, Automáticos e de Reflexão Pessoal*. Edição de Richard Zenith. Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim.
- ____ (1999). *Correspondência 1923-1935*. Edição de Manuela Parreira da Silva. Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim.
- ____ (1998). *Correspondência 1905-1922*. Edição de Manuela Parreira da Silva. Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim.
- ____ (1996). *Correspondência Inédita*. Edição de Manuela Parreira da Silva. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.
- ____ (1967). *Páginas de Estética e de Crítica e de Teoria Literárias*. Edição de Georg Rudolf Lind e Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisboa: Ática.
- ____ (1913). “Naufrágio de Bartolomeu”, *Teatro – Revista de Crítica*, Lisboa, ano 1, n.º 1, 1 Março, p. 6.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo (2015). “‘Essa Besta’: sobre *Orpheu*, Egas Moniz e Júlio de Matos”, in Cid Seixas e Adriano Eysen (org.), *Orpheu em Pessoa. Simpósio Internacional 100 anos da revista Orpheu: Fernando Pessoa e as Poéticas da Modernidade*. Feira de Santana: Editora Universitária do Livro Digital, pp. 13-42.
- ____ (2012). *Pessoa Existe?* Lisboa: Ática.

- SÁEZ DELGADO, Antonio (2007) “Ramón Gómez De La Serna, António Ferro y la greguería”, *Península – Revista de Estudos Ibéricos*, Porto, n.º 4, pp. 195-202.
- SÁEZ DELGADO, Antonio; PIZARRO, Jerónimo (2014). *Fernando Pessoa em Espanha*. Lisboa: BNP/Babel.
- SOSA, João Rui de (2010). *Fernando Pessoa Empregado de Escritório*. Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim. 2.ª ed.
- XAVIER, Alberto (1962). *História da Greve Académica de 1907*. Coimbra: Coimbra Editora.

Pessoa na língua de Baudelaire

Fernando Carmino Marques*

PESSOA, Fernando (2014). *Poèmes français*. Edition established and annotated by Patricio Ferrari in collaboration with Patrick Quillier. Preface by Patrick Quillier. Paris: Éditions de la Différence.

Sob o título *Poèmes Français* Patricio Ferrari (em colaboração com Patrick Quillier) reúne num só volume a produção poética de Fernando Pessoa na língua de Baudelaire, colocando assim à disposição do público francófono, conhecedor ou não da obra do poeta do “drama em gente”, os poemas por ele escritos diretamente em francês. Publicado em 2014 na coleção Clepsydre da editora parisiense La Différence, o livro fornece em mais de quatrocentas páginas, além de poemas completos, inacabados, ou em esboço, uma ampla informação paratextual suscetível de contribuir para uma mais fácil contextualização desta componente da obra pessoana.

Antes de chegar à leitura de “Trois Chansons Mortes” (o único poema em francês publicado em vida por Pessoa) que inicia esta espécie de antologia, o leitor dispõe de um longo estudo introdutório de Patrick Quillier, em que se contextualizam e analisam os poemas agora reunidos, e de uma nota de apresentação tão completa quanto possível, para não dizer quase exaustiva, da responsabilidade do editor Patricio Ferrari.

Nas mais de quarenta páginas que servem de prefácio aos *Poèmes Français* Quillier propõe ao leitor um estudo extensamente intitulado “Petit traité d’ontologie appliquée en guise de prolegomènes à la lecture des poèmes français de Fernando Pessoa” em que enfatiza a importância destes poemas para a compreensão do conjunto da poesia de Pessoa e seus heterónimos. Nestes poemas franceses Quillier diz encontrar, pelo menos em alguns deles, matéria suficiente para afirmar (p. 14) que: “le corpus des poèmes français permet parfois de mieux comprendre le reste de l’oeuvre pessoenne” [“o *corpus* dos poemas franceses contribui, por vezes, para uma melhor compreensão do resto da obra pessoana”], ou ainda que há várias passagens do *corpus* francês que podem pretender ao estatuto de paradigma do paradoxo e/ou do oxímoro: “plus d’un passage d’ailleurs du corpus français peut prétendre au statut de paradigme du paradoxe et/ou de l’oxymore” (p. 27) [“aliás, certas passagens deste *corpus* francês poderiam servir de paradigma do paradoxo e/ou do oxímoro”].

A partir destas considerações, Patrick Quillier, recorrendo a conceitos, como “hétéroglossie” e “*acousmate*”, definidos respetivamente como “le dispositif

* UDI – Instituto Politécnico da Guarda.

d'usage créatif de langues non maternelles" ["o dispositivo de uso criativo nas línguas não maternas"] e "des sons fictifs ou hallucinés" ["sons fictícios ou alucinados"] que contêm em si "comme des résonances ou des évocations d'autres acousmates" (p. 11) ["como ressonâncias ou evocações de outros acusmáticos"], assim como a uma terminologia própria a uma certa crítica literária pós-estruturalista, propõe-se penetrar no mistério da poesia para desmontar dans l'économie générale de l'oeuvre" (p. 9) ["na economia geral da obra"] "le dispositif hétéronymique" (p. 15) ["o dispositivo heteronímico"] de "l'atelier de l'hétéronymie" (p.12) [do "atelier da heteronímia"] pessoana e assim poder afirmar que a heteronímia tem certamente a sua origem num espaço mental de natureza acusmático: "L'hétéronymie personne s'origine donc très certainement dans un site mental de nature acousmatique" (p. 11) ["A heteronímia pessoana tem certamente a sua origem num recanto mental de natureza acusmática"]. Quillier também afirma que a obra de Pessoa diz respeito a uma "ontologie du paradoxe indissociable d'un maniérisme concerté de l'écriture"(p.28) ["ontologia do paradoxo indissociável de um maneirismo cuidadosamente pensado na escrita"], paradoxo que não somente é necessário à heteronímia como constitui o seu motor. Refira-se que por maneirismo da escrita Quillier entende não um qualquer movimento da história literária, mas uma técnica apurada de diferenciações infinitas e por vezes infinitesimais de que Pessoa teria com brilho demonstrado a maestria: "une technique éprouvée de différenciations infinies, dont Pessoa a manifesté avec éclat la maestria" (p.29) ["uma técnica apurada de variantes infinitas que Pessoa, com brilho, mostrou plenamente possuir"].

Do longo e pormenorizado exercício de explicação do universo pessoano a partir dos *Poèmes Français* que o estudo de Quillier julgo constituir, e não obstante a pertinência de algumas das suas observações, uma dúvida se me apresenta ao espírito: caberá Pessoa nos limites aqui sugeridos por Patrick Quillier, na sua visão predominantemente dominada por alguns aspetos formais da poesia de Fernando Pessoa? Perante esta dúvida ocorreu-me igualmente ao espírito os versos escritos por Pessoa, em seu nome próprio, dois anos antes de morrer, versos que, para mim, soam como um aviso por antecipação a qualquer tentativa de interpretação afirmativa sobre a sua obra: "Ninguém conhece quem sou. | Nem eu mesmo me conheço" (em "A miséria do meu ser", de 19-9-1933; cf. 61B-27^r, em *Poemas de 1931-1933*, Lisboa, INCM, 2004, p. 145).

Ao prefácio de Patrick Quillier seguem-se as dezassete páginas que constituem a "Note sur la présente édition" ["Nota sobre a presente edição"] do editor Patricio Ferrari, já experiente em matéria de edição de obras de Fernando Pessoa. Para o presente livro Ferrari trabalhou diretamente, e longamente, a partir dos espólios existentes da obra de Pessoa: o arquivo Pessoa à guarda da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal; o acervo conservado na Casa Fernando Pessoa e a coleção particular de Manuela Nogueira, sobrinha do poeta, conforme o editor assinala.

Isto para reunir, e pela primeira vez publicar, uma edição completa dos poemas escritos em francês pelo autor de *Mensagem*, edição dirigida não apenas a um público exclusivamente constituído por especialistas da obra de Fernando Pessoa mas ao leitor em geral, atual e futuro: “notre intention étant d’atteindre un lectorat qui aille bien au-delà des cercles spécialisés dans l’oeuvre de Fernando Pessoa, tout en offrant à ces derniers comme à la part la plus curieuse des futurs lecteurs le maximum d’informations utiles” (p. 58) [“é nossa intenção chegar a um leitor não limitado aos círculos especializados na obra de Fernando Pessoa, embora fornecendo a estes e à parte mais curiosa dos futuros leitores as informações mais úteis”].



Fig. 1. Capa e contracapa de *Poèmes français*

Para pôr ordem na desordem que o *corpus* disponível apresenta, o editor entendeu organizá-lo por ordem cronológica, mas considerando ao mesmo tempo a especificidade de cada um dos textos. Assim, esta edição dos poemas escritos em francês de Fernando Pessoa apresenta-se dividida em nove capítulos. O poema publicado em vida pelo poeta, “Trois Chansons Mortes”, que já atrás assinalei, serve de ponto de partida para esta antologia; sucedem-se os poemas concluídos; os versos soltos, “Quelques vers” (um dos títulos dado por Pessoa a alguns

poemas em francês); os poemas inacabados; os cinco poemas de figuras literárias, nomeadamente Alexander Search; um poema mediúnico; os poemas rasurados (três ao todo); os sete fragmentos e as três traduções dos poemas de António Boto.

Dos 183 textos apresentados, escritos em três períodos distintos da vida do poeta, 1907-1908; 1912/1913-1919 e 1933-1935, quase metade, 88, data dos anos 1907-1908, período em que Pessoa abandona o Curso Superior de Letras em Lisboa e inicia diversas atividades profissionais. Se o recurso ao francês se mantém no segundo período em número próximo do período anterior, não deixa de ser interessante constatar que entre 1919 e 1933 apenas um texto, e rasurado, tenha sido revelado pelo editor e que vinte e um textos, incluindo as três traduções, tenham sido redigidos durante os dois últimos anos de vida do poeta, 1933-1935, oito desses poemas concluídos e nove por concluir, todos, se exetuarmos, “Quand tu chantaïs” (pp. 267-268), breves, talvez simples anotações de ideias a desenvolver, por vezes, numa perspetiva formal, bastante próximos da quadra popular, dou como exemplo dois poemas em que os primeiros versos são quase idênticos: “J’ai trouvé une rose | Sur les marches de l’escalier” e “J’ai trouvé couverts de roses | Les marches de l’escalier” (pp. 269-270). É possível que para este despertar da inspiração poética em francês não seja estranho o convívio que nessa altura Pessoa mantinha com Pierre Hourcade que desde 1930 se esforçava para dar a conhecer em França a sua poesia através da publicação de vários artigos e de algumas traduções de Pessoa e seus heterónimos, suposição que não me parece totalmente desprovida de fundamento atendendo à relação de amizade entre os dois e à leitura da carta a Luiz Pedro Moitinho de Almeida, de 9 de novembro de 1931 (carta igualmente referida por Patricio Ferrari nesta sua edição dos *Poèmes Français*, p. 68) em que o poeta desaconselha a Moitinho de Almeida de escrever em francês porque ele próprio tem um amigo, “profundo conhecedor de francês”, que lhe pediu (referindo-se ao poema “Trois Chansons Mortes”) para “não repetir a proeza” de publicar em francês, e que só se deve escrever numa língua quando esta é intrínseca “isto é, com os pensamentos formados organicamente nela”. De facto, num estudo que durante muitos anos ficou inédito Pierre Hourcade reconhece, por experiência própria, quanto Pessoa dominava quase perfeitamente escrita e oralmente o francês, embora não pareça ter apreciado esta vertente poética de Pessoa na medida em que não hesita em qualificar os poemas franceses, pelo menos os que conhecia, de “infrassimbolismo” (Luiz Pedro Moitinho de Almeida, *Algumas Notas Biográficas sobre Fernando Pessoa*. Setúbal: Tipografia do Sado, 1954, p. 17.)

Apesar desta opinião, e mesmo se Pessoa afirma em tom humorístico, na referida carta, que “não escreveria um livro nessa língua a não ser sob ameaça de fuzilamento sumário ou coisa parecida”, os poemas em francês estão agora, pela primeira vez, reunidos para o público em geral graças ao trabalho meticuloso de Patricio Ferrari que, depois de relembrar as várias fases e tentativas de publicação

que precederam a atual edição, que inclui 77 inéditos, situa e contextualiza cada um dos textos apresentados ao mesmo tempo que lhe acrescenta abundante e elucidativa informação a fim de proporcionar ao leitor uma perspetiva mais abrangente dos poemas agora editados no conjunto da obra pessoana. Um trabalho de reconstituição textual, atendendo o estado em que cada um destes poemas se encontra no manuscrito original, que leva o editor a assinalar, nas “Notes sur l’établissement du texte” (p. 61) [“Notas sobre o estabelecimento do texto”], o cuidado posto na edição destes textos no que à revisão ortográfica diz respeito mas também relativamente a gralhas e erros de conjugação e de sintaxe, assim como o preenchimento de lacunas na pontuação; a disposição dos versos e até uma chamada de atenção para alguns lusitanismos utilizados por Pessoa nos poemas em questão. Edição que, pela, pela sua especificidade, conforme Ferrari assinala, não pretende servir de modelo a futuras edições mas sim pôr em relevo a singularidade do *corpus* reunido: “notre édition ne se veut pas pour autant un modèle que les éditeurs futurs devraient reprendre, car elle entend avant tout être adaptée au corpus singulier qui est le sien” (p. 58) [“a nossa edição não pretende constituir um modelo a seguir pelos futuros editores, pretende sim adaptar-se à singularidade do *corpus* que a constitui”]. Uma linha editorial que tem como principal objetivo colocar à disposição do leitor um número significativo de textos revelador de mais um aspeto da inspiração e produção poética de Pessoa e deste modo contribuir para contrariar o estatuto secundário atribuído por vários editores aos poemas franceses durante largos anos (cf. “Ce statut mineur attribué aux poèmes français”, p. 55). De facto, além da importância de ver reunida a totalidade da produção poética em francês de Fernando Pessoa, a presente edição dos “Poèmes français” inclui alguns textos de inquestionável interesse suscetíveis de constituir a prova que qualquer que seja o idioma escolhido Pessoa é igual a ele próprio, quer nos temas que lhe são recorrentes, quer na implacável lucidez que põe em tudo o que escreve; a título de exemplo, cito apenas o dístico “Dans cette ombre et dans ce silence | Je ne suis rien-ni moi-même” (p. 207) [Nesta sombra e neste silêncio | Não sou nada- nem eu mesmo sou], que, como tantos outros nesta edição, ficou por desenvolver e concluir, e o poema incompleto “Quels grands acteurs que nous sommes”, poema que pelo tema me lembra o famoso monólogo de Jacques na peça de Shakespeare, *As You Like It* (ato II, cena VII), e que começa por “All the world is a stage”; no poema de Pessoa todos nós somos atores conscientes do role que desempenhamos: “Ah que chacun sait bien son rôle | Quoi qu’il ne sache | On ne sait que veut dire | Cette comédie triste et drôle | Aucun d’eux n’en connaît l’auteur” [“Ah, como cada um sabe de cor o seu role | Apesar de não saber | De não saber o que quer dizer | Esta comédia triste e cómica | De quem não conhece o autor”]. Como estes, são inúmeros os exemplos nos poemas franceses (como bem assinala Patrick Quillier no prefácio desta edição) que

mostram como Pessoa permanece igual a ele mesmo quando poeticamente em francês se exprime.

Depois de que disse, e pelo contributo indispensável que esta edição proporciona aos leitores de Fernando Pessoa para um melhor conhecimento da sua obra em geral, apetece lançar um desafio: para quando a tradução na língua materna de Pessoa?