

Spanish Heteronyms and Apocryphal Authors.

Some portraits and other fictions

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Keywords

Heteronym, apocryphal, Iberian literature, Eugeni d'Ors, Max Aub, Sabino Ordás

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to offer a layout of Iberian writers who created a body of literary heteronyms throughout their works, in different genres such as poetry, prose and painting. This study is focused on the strategies employed by different authors who were able to create a sensation of realness in their heteronyms.

Special attention is paid to contemporary Iberian heteronyms, from Octavi de Romeu — an Eugeni d'Ors' creation — to Sabino Ordás — a collective work by young Juan Pedro Aparicio, José María Merino and Luis Mateo Díez —, whose portraits contributed to this realness, as did Archivaldo Orson Barnabooth and André Walter's literary portraits, icons of French heteronymy, strongly connected to Spanish heteronyms.

Palavras-chave

Heterónimo, apócrifo, Literatura ibérica, Eugeni d'Ors, Max Aub, Sabino Ordás

Resumo

O objetivo deste trabalho é traçar uma panorâmica de manifestações ibéricas de alguns escritores que construíram um universo de heterónimos literários desde os seus primeiros trabalhos, praticando com diferentes géneros como a narrativa, a poesia e a pintura. A interpretação aqui apresentada da heteronímia está focada nas estratégias empregadas pelos autores para criar uma sensação de realidade em torno das suas máscaras.

Por outro lado, neste artigo vamos concentrar a nossa atenção nos heterónimos ibéricos contemporâneos: desde Octavi de Romeu — uma criação de Eugeni d'Ors — até Ordás Sabino — uma obra coletiva realizada por Juan Pedro Aparicio, José María Merino e Mateo Díez Luis na sua juventude —, cujos retratos contribuíram para a construção dessa realidade, assim como os retratos literários de Archivaldo Orson Barnabooth e André Walter, representantes emblemáticos da heteronímia francesa, fortemente ligada à espanhola.

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The Apocryphal Dimension: a new paradigm

Cualquier desdoblamiento literario de la personalidad se nos presenta, bien entendido, como una representación en microcosmos del anhelo cósmico hacia el superhombre.

Octavi de Romeu, Spanish writer and artist
created by Eugeni d'Ors¹

Two very precise ideas are to be considered in this article: the necessary establishment of what may be called “A History of the Fake in Contemporary European Literature” which would allow us to possibly identify and study a continuum of artistic practices – closely related to Fernando Pessoa’s literature – through trans-historical and multi-disciplinary analyses. To that end, we must analyse if the various authors here studied wrote in isolation or if, on the contrary, they were part of a tradition to which they themselves also contributed, generating a tradition of their own which would be adopted afterwards by other young authors.

First of all, it is necessary to define what the concepts of “forgery”, “fake”, as well as “apocryphal” refer to in this study. These terms are customarily associated to the detection of arts and fraud, the history of the falsification of works of art and techniques for detecting forgeries in addition to forgery strategies of texts and objects. Consequently, the translation of these concepts offers an added difficulty. For instance, when translating programmatic poems by Fernando Pessoa such as “Autopsicografía”, the translator must decide the best option for the Portuguese word “fingidor”, choosing between “feigner” or “forger”. A study carried out by George Monteiro, “Fernando, Old Artificer”(1985), analyses this complicated issue as, in general, these are all notions which are instinctively associated to something untrue, which is normally regarded negatively as it is related to the absence of truth – considered a positive value in our society. However, if we consider “falsity” as something that is not true, one can reach the conclusion that all art is irredeemably affected by this perception, with moral implications in creative genres. In this sense, the consistency between two authors with concerns in aesthetic-moral issues cannot be ignored. Specifically, Oscar Wilde and Fernando Pessoa, whose artistic and intellectual connections regarding the creation of masks and the myth-making process at work have been thoroughly analysed by Mariana de Castro (2006: 219-220), for whom:

Despite his efforts to convince us of the contrary, however, there is an ample evidence that Pessoa was fascinated by Wilde [...] The extent of Pessoa’s interest in Wilde is further supported by his *espólio* at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon which contains, among the twenty-seven thousand or so manuscripts left behind after his death, at least thirty-seven fragments directly related to Wilde.

¹ “Carta de Octavio de Romeu al profesor Juan de Mairena” (Ors, 1949: 291).

Wilde studied the topic of artistic forgery in greater depth, focusing on its ethical and cultural dimension, when writing the essays included in *Intentions* and particularly in a short story called "The Portrait of Mister W. H." — which is found at the Casa Fernando Pessoa in Lisbon (Castro, 2006: 219).

"The Portrait of Mister W. H." was written in 1889. It was included in *Lord Arthur Savile's Crime and Other Prose Pieces*, and first published in *Blackwood's Magazine*. It confronts the topic of the enigmatic person to whom William Shakespeare dedicated his 154 *Sonnets*, which were published in 1609 by Thomas Thorpe and addressed "To the only begetter of these ensuing sonnets Mr. W. H". The real person who inspired the characters referred to as the "Fair Youth", the "Rival Poet" and the "Dark Lady" in these poems still today surrounded by an aura of mystery. Scholars have yet to agree who Shakespeare was thinking of when he wrote these sonnets.

Wilde's story begins with an unexpected discussion between two distinguished gentlemen, of quite different age and character, concerning literary forgery from Macpherson to Chatterton. One of them insists that alleged forgery shows the artist's desire to obtain a perfect representation. Accordingly, we have no right in disapproving an artist for the conditions under which he may choose to present his work: censoring an artist for forgery would be mistaking a problem of ethics for one of aesthetics (Wilde, 2004: 7-8).

The basis of Wilde's narrative game, to celebrate literary fraud as a sublime practice, is soon exposed when his young conversational partner, Erksine, asks him the following question: What would you have to say about a young man with a peculiar theory on a particular piece of art, who firmly believes in his theory, if he were willing to commit forgery in order to prove it? His theory is that William Shakespeare's *Sonnets* are dedicated to a young actor of great talent and physical appeal, Willie Hughes, of whom Erksine possesses a late XVI Century portrait.

One may quickly infer that Wilde creates this story in order to enounce an apocryphal theory in relation to the *Sonnets* (due to which two of the three main characters die): they are not dedicated to Lord Pembroke, William Herbert, as many scholars believe, but to an effeminate actor, the inspirational source of Viola, Juliet, Rosalind, Portia, Desdemona or Cleopatra.

The outcome of this story takes place when W. H. joins rival Christopher Marlowe's theatre company provoking, according to Wilde's hypothesis, the spite observed in some of the poems. In order to defend this thesis, already mentioned in the XVIII Century, two of the three main characters of the story die. What is left of their life-long detective investigation is but a critical collection of *The Sonnets* and an apocryphal portrait commissioned by one of them, as sole historic proof to support their thesis.

Fraud is a key element in Wilde's narration as it not only allows him to adhere to the thesis which was first verily defended by Thomas Tyrwhitt, but also

to form part of the critical and literary sector which defended an artist's apocryphal writing in his politically critical works against the English cultural *establishment* of the latter part of the eighties, which would ultimately result in his conviction. Various decades after Wilde's efforts to honour Ossian's disciples, although he himself would not fake Shakespeare's lover's portrait, experimentation with fraud explodes in such a way that finally leads us to these most important questions: who is the true creator of a written text? What value is conveyed to originality nowadays?

We shall now abandon Wilde, and continue with the use of dictionaries in order to analyse the terminology they both employed. According to the *British Encyclopedia*, the word "forgery" has various meanings, one of which is related to the adjective "spurious", a term rarely used in normal conversation nowadays, but that is present in the Beaux Arts argot of different languages. In Spanish, for example, the *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua (DRAE)* defines this term as follows:

Espurio

(Del lat. *spurius*).

1. adj. bastardo (que degenera de su origen o naturaleza).

2. adj. falso (engañoso).

V. hijo espurio.

Fortunately, philological and historical analysis in recent decades is less focused on the aspects of reference or the verity of literary works than on the perspective of fiction and its limits. Thanks to this new perspective, it is now possible to review previously ignored texts, unclassified within traditional parameters, those which distinguished between fiction and testimony, or which established a clear separation between the generic frameworks of historical essays and those of novels. Authors such as Hayden White, Carlo Ginszburg, Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger or Joan Oleza have shown that literature presented as objective, truthful or neutral, in fact as a historic or biographical account, follows the same paradigm as that of narrative fiction.²

Through recent theory and practice of what today is known as *meta-fiction* and *self-fiction*, we are now able to revise and recuperate these types of works (Oleza, 2010; Juan Navarro, 2002). The same can be carried out with others written by Spanish authors who were difficult to study from a perspective of Aristotelian verisimilitude. Thus, the public will not judge a work so much on its veracity, as on its plausibility, even if it contradicts historical or scientific truth (Eleanor Londero; José María Pozuelo Yvancos; Noël Valis)³. Impossible verisimilitude, in fact, can be

² Their complete bibliographical references are included in the final Bibliography.

³ See Bibliography.

preferable to something possible but not credible in terms of the creation of a personal literary universe.

In literary terms, by means of his most famous heteronym, Juan de Mairena, the master Antonio Machado developed a personal point of view about another word often employed in his texts, the word “apocryphal”: “Vivimos en un mundo esencialmente apócrifo, en un cosmos o poema de nuestro pensar, ordenado o construido todo él sobre supuestos indemostrables. [...] el hecho — digámoslo de pasada— de que nuestro mundo esté todo él cimentado sobre un supuesto que pudiera ser falso, es algo terrible, o consolador. Según se mire” (Machado, 1936: 144-145).⁴

In a similar way, the adjective “apócrifo” is a key element of the terminology used to analyse his works. This is an accurate concept when referring to the Spanish poetic tradition inherited by Machado’s skepticism and, also, by two of his heteronyms, Juan de Mairena and Abel Martín, poets who:

No existieron, pero debieron existir, y hubieran existido si la lírica española hubiera vivido su tiempo. Como nuestra misión es hacer posible el surgimiento de un nuevo poeta, hemos de crearle una tradición de donde arranque y él pueda continuar. Además, esa nueva objetividad a que hoy se endereza el arte, y que yo persigo hace veinte años, no puede consistir en la lírica — ahora lo veo muy claro — sino en la creación de nuevos poetas — no nuevas poesías —, que canten por sí mismos.

(Machado, 1957: 157-158)

“Terrible” and “consolatory”, Mairena stated when describing an apocryphal world: two adjectives not at all associated with the conventional definitions offered by the Holy Scriptures upon which Christian tradition is based.

Once again, the *DRAE* furnishes a different meaning of that used by Machado:

Apócrifo

(Del lat. *apocryphus*, y este del gr. ἀπόκρυφος, oculto).

1. adj. Fabuloso, supuesto o fingido.

2. adj. Dicho de un libro atribuido a autor sagrado: Que no está, sin embargo, incluido en el canon de la Biblia.⁵

⁴ According to Fernando Pessoa the heteronym is “uma individualidade completa fabricada por ele [the writer], como seriam os dizeres de qualquer personagem de qualquer drama seu” (Pessoa, 1928: 10).

⁵ Antonio Machado recovers part of the first meaning of the word when between 1923 and 1925 he brought together a secret philosophical society called “Doce poetas que pudieron existir”, formed, among others, by Jorge Menéndez, Victor Acucroni, Jose María Torres, Manuel Cifuentes Fandanguillo, and a poet by the name of Antonio Machado. Despite the name of the society, there were, in fact, fourteen members. All of them formed a choir called *Los Complementarios*, the homonymic title of a notebook published in 1957 in Buenos Aires, but written between 1912 and 1925.

By means of Machado we come back to the initial question referring to the possibility of conceiving a history of fake, based on artistic forgeries, especially conceived by apocryphal authors. In addition, further questions arise: is the study of the tradition of apocryphal authors relevant to a more complete knowledge of our cultural history? Which would be the best period in which to initiate a new critical angle that would allow us to systematize apocryphal practices, insufficiently studied, in Iberian culture? The answer to the first query as to the most fitting period to be analysed is that which is marked by a hypertrophy of the author's dimension and a recreational conscience of Art. More specifically, this characteristically took place during the periods of Romanticism and Modernism, but also during the end of the 1980's.

Reviewing the history of contemporary literature, one reaches the conclusion that the apocryphal tradition in Europe has rarely had the objective of committing fraud, an act of bad faith or willful misconduct. A classic example is Tomé de Burguillos (1634), alter ego of Lope de Vega, as shown by authors such as José Manuel Rozas (1985) or afterwards by Mark J. Mascia (2001).

It has nothing to do with trying to exhibit a fake painting in a museum or a private collection or trying to sell it at an auction. Fake paintings have been plentiful in the history of art, and can be found in most museums.⁶

Those found responsible for these frauds face serious consequences, such as prison sentences. When referring to a fake or an apocryphal author, however, we rarely find cases of personal enrichment, although some cases have been found.

In order to study this *alternative* tradition, we first have to analyse the semantic field related to forgery. What is the meaning of apocryphal, or heteronym? When using these terms, are we referring to pseudonyms or pen names used by authors to hide their identities? No, we are not. Thus, we are aware of the fact that the heteronymous goes beyond any psychological drive inherent to the creative personality as the author intends to be more ambitious and to create a real empirical alternative. In the famous Pessoa's "Tábua Bibliográfica" (1928) this difference is pointed out explicitly by Ettore Finazzi-Agrò:

Com respeito a este desejo de "dar nome" à sua divisão, a utilização de *heterónimo* em prejuízo de *pseudónimo* parece-me francamente irrelevante já que não se trata de dois modos de se mascarar, mas de uma única forma de exprimir a sua desconfiança em relação à identidade do sujeito pensante/locutor consigo mesmo. E ao mesmo tempo de um modo de "dizer poeticamente" a sua própria crise, reduzindo os nomes próprios a puros significantes que podem, ou não, concretizar-se em personagens mas que de qualquer modo continuam a ser partes integrantes do discurso pessoano.

(Finazzi-Agrò, 1987: 30)

⁶ In *Fake! The Story of Elmyr de Hory, the Greatest Art Forger of Our Times* (1969), Clifford Irving relates Elmyr de Hory's story as a forger; Jonathan López studied Han van Meegeren's biography in *The man who made Vermeers. Unvarnishing the legend of Master Forger Han van Meegeren* (2008).

TÁBUA BIBLIOGRÁFICA

Fernando Pessoa

NASCEU em Lisboa, em 13 de Junho de 1888. Foi educado no Liceu (*HIGH SCHOOL*) de Durban, Natal, África do Sul, e na Universidade (ingleza) do Cabo de Boa Esperança. Nesta ganhou o prémio Rainha Victória de estilo inglez; foi em 1903 — o primeiro anno em que esse prémio se concedeu.

O que Fernando Pessoa escreve pertence a duas categorias de obras, a que poderemos chamar orthónymas e heterónymas. Não se poderá dizer que são autónymas e pseudónymas, porque de veras o não são. A obra pseudónyma é do autor em sua pessoa, salvo no nome que assina; a heterónyma é do auctor fóra da sua pessoa, é de uma individualidade completa fabricada por elle, como o seriam os dizeres de qualquer personagem de qualquer drama seu.)

As obras heterónymas de Fernando Pessoa são feitas por, até agora, trez nòmes de gente — Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, Alvaro de Campos. Estas individualidades devem ser consideradas como distinctas da do auctor dellas. Fóra cada uma uma espécie de drama; e todas ellas juntas fórmam outro drama. Alberto Caeiro, que se tem por nascido em 1889 e morto em 1915, escreveu poemas com uma, e determinada, orientação. Teve por discipulos — oriundos, como taes, de diversos aspectos dessa orientação — aos outros dois: Ricardo Reis, que se considera nascido em 1887, e que isolou naquela obra, estylizando, o lado intellectual e pagão; Alvaro de Campos, nascido em 1890, que nella isolou o lado por assim dizer emotivo, a que chamou «sensacionista», e que — ligando-o a influências diversas, em que predomina, ainda que abaixo da de Caeiro, a de Walt Whitman — produziu diversas composições, em geral de indole escandalosa e irritante; sobretudo para Fernando Pessoa, que, em todo o caso, não tem remédio senão faze-las e publicá-las, por mais que dellas discorde. As obras destes trez poetas formam, como se disse, um conjuncto dramático; e está devidamente estudada a entreação intellectual das personalidades, assim como as suas próprias relações pessoaes. Tudo isto constará de biographias a fazer, acompanhadas, quando se publicarem, de horoscopos e, talvez, de photographias. E' um drama em gente, em vez de em actos.

(Se estas três individualidades são mais ou menos reaes que o próprio Fernando Pessoa — é problema metaphisico, que este, ausente do segrêdo dos Deuses, e ignorando portanto o que seja realidade, nunca poderá resolver).

Fernando Pessoa publicou, orthonymamente, quatro folhetos em verso inglez: *ANTINOUS* e *35 SONNETS*, junctos, em 1918, e *ENGLISH POEMS I-II* e *ENGLISH POEMS III*, também junctos, em 1922. O primeiro poema do terceiro d'estes folhetos é a refundição do «Antinous» de 1918. Publicou, além d'isto,

em 1923 um manifesto, *SOBRE UM MANIFESTO DE ESTUDANTES*, em appoio de Raul Leal, e, em 1928, um folheto, *INTERREGNO — DEFESA E JUSTIFICACÃO DA DICTADURA MILITAR EM PORTUGAL*, que o Govêrno consentiu que se editasse. Nenhum d'estes textos é definitivo. Do ponto de vista esthetico, o auctor prefere pois considerar estas obras como apenas approximadamente existentes. Nenhum escripto heterónimo se publicou em folheto ou livro.

Tem Fernando Pessoa collaborado bastante, sempre pelo acaso de pedidos amigos, em revistas e outras publicações, de diversa indole. O que d'elle por ellas anda espalhado é, na generalidade, de ainda menor interesse público que os folhetos acima citados. Abrem-se, porém, mas com reservas, as seguintes excepções:

Quanto a obras orthónymas: o drama stático *O MARINHEIRO* in *ORPHEU* 1 (1915); *O BANQUEIRO ANARCHISTA* in *CONTEMPORANEA* 1 (1922); os poemas *MAR PORTUGUÊS* in *CONTEMPORANEA* 4 (1922); uma pequena collecção de poemas in *ATHENA* 3 (1925); e, em o número 1 do diário de Lisboa *SOL* (1926), a narração exacta e comovida do que é o Conto do Vigário.

Quanto a obras heterónymas: as duas odes — *ODE TRIUMPHAL* e *ODE MARITIMA* — de Alvaro de Campos in *ORPHEU* 1 e 2 (1915); o *ULTIMATUM*, do mesmo indivíduo, em o número único de *PORTUGAL FUTURISTA* (1917); o livro de *ODES*, de Ricardo Reis, em *ATHENA* 1 (1924); e os excerptos dos poemas de Alberto Caeiro in *ATHENA* 4 e 5 (1925).

O resto, orthónimo ou heterónimo, ou não tem interesse, ou o não teve mais que passageiro, ou está por aperfeçoar ou redefinir, ou são pequenas composições, em prosa ou em verso, que seria difficil lembrar e tediento enumerar, depois de lembradas.

Do ponto de vista, por assim dizer, publicitário, yale, contudo, a pena registrar uns artigos em *A AGUIA*, no ano 1912, sobretudo pela irritação que causou o anúncio nelles feito do «próximo apparecimento do super-Camões». Com a mesma intenção se pode citar o conjuncto do que veio em *ORPHEU*, dado o escândalo desmedido que resultou d'esta publicação. São os dois únicos casos em que qualquer escripto de Fernando Pessoa chegasse até à attenção do público.

Fernando Pessoa não tenciona publicar — pelo menos por um largo emquanto — livro nem folheto algum. Não tendo público que os leia, julga-se dispensado de gastar inutilmente, em essa publicação, dinheiro seu que não tem; e, para o fazer gastar inutilmente a qualquer editor, fóra preciso um tirocinio para o processo a que deu seu apellido o saudoso Manuel Peres Vigário, já acima indirectamente citado.

Fig. 1. Fernando Pessoa, "Tábua Bibliográfica", in *Presença*, n.º 17, December 1928, p. 10.

Although European languages share these and other concepts to describe lying, copying, forgery, truth, originality and authenticity, and although the negative connotation associated with everything false is a common denominator, we find ourselves on slippery ground when we assume that a dictionary can provide us with a precise set of words to suit our needs. This brings us to the following question: do dictionaries include accurate definitions of these terms? Dictionaries offer an unambiguous meaning of the word “apocryphal”: something of doubtful authenticity, fictitious, supposed or feigned. Bearing this meaning in mind — already devoid of the canonical sense it originally had —, researchers of the Iberian cultural tradition from the Modern period need to respond to various questions. It is necessary to clarify the concepts of apocryphal and the heteronym between the XIX and XXI Centuries. The internal history of the concept “heteronym” as used by Fernando Pessoa must be considered, as Pedro Sepúlveda (2012) and Jerónimo Pizarro (2012a) did. Pseudonyms have traditionally been a form of a shield which writers hid behind to conceal their true identity; heteronyms promote the “author function”, as detected by Jorge Uribe (2007: 49), when analyzing the precursors of Fernando Pessoa, as shall be discussed later.

In addition, it is possible to employ the word heteronym as well as the word apocryphal in relation to Spanish authors who share similar conceptions of identities, personalities or authorial dimensions, even if Pessoa’s results are more radical and extreme. The latter is only comparable to the subsequent Romain Gary/Émile Ajar affair in France — an extremely interesting literary affair that deserves a study of its own (Rosell, 2009).

Despite terminological difficulties within the semantic field surrounding the concept of “false”, and due to the lack of financial interest from the academic sphere related to this field, the apocryphal and heteronymous author reaches a certain poetic level if accompanied by a need for dialogue in the way that Fernando Pessoa did? In the last century he introduced an assemblage of undiscovered poets marked by an unprecedented discovery of the master he had within himself.

Considering *Sebastianismo e Quinto Império* (Pessoa, 2011) Pessoa could not wait for future generations to initiate a varied and rich literary tradition which was to be the Fifth Empire and so he created poets through whom he could emit a message that could summarize what could be considered as the most valuable religious option in the western world.

After his radical experience, the lyrical and philosophical ideas of Antonio Machado (1875-1939) generated all sorts of original searches in the Iberian Peninsula as, in his opinion, there was a lack of direction for young poetry. Thus, he created his own universe of poet-philosophers with whom he was able to maintain a dialogue that contributed to his country as well as his own

intellectuality. Machado's example is so imprinted in future generations that this model is still an inescapable reference (Ordás, 2002).

The equivalencies between the poetry of Pessoa and Machado have originated extensive bibliography as they have been analysed from very different perspectives, too vast to be summarized in the present article. It is worth, however, to point out the opinions of authors such as Liliana Swiderski (2006) or Jerónimo Pizarro, for whom much has been stated "nos aspectos que diferenciarían Machado de Pessoa; e muito pouco nas suas "afinidades electivas" (Pizarro, 2012b: 181). On the other hand, "ambos partilharam uma 'pretensão ao objectivo' através da 'criação de novos poetas', e que ambos pertenceram a uma geração para a qual a lírica se havia transformado num problema, após a exagerada exaltação do eu-lírico durante o período romântico" (Pizarro, 2012b: 181).

But he was not the first one in Spain to develop a notorious tendency toward apocryphal creation. Before him, there were other important authors linked to the Pessoa and Machado initiative and after them a new wave of artists, writers and "outsiders" emerged to channel the aesthetic and existential worries of some of the most remarkable contemporary writers of the Iberian Peninsula.

So before and after Pessoa an exceptional group of Spanish writers influenced by various European predecessors employed their talent in imagining other authors, even other painters, other literary writings, biographies and portraits. Experts such as Antonio Sáez Delgado (2010) are reviewing Pessoa's Spanish reception and it appears that the author was not so well received as expected by the poets of the "Generación del Veintisiete" (Luis Cernuda, Federico García Lorca or Max Aub) or by Ramon Gómez de la Serna, always *à la page* introducer of young foreign talents. Although until the 1960's there had not been a serious approach to Pessoa in this country, as has been studied by Antonio Sáez Delgado (2010; 2012), for years before, other writers had projected their careers making use of playing with their names and their works.

Before Antonio Machado's "Complementarios", the most representative of these writers was the multifaceted Eugeni d'Ors (1882-1954), who showed such a great liking for literary masks that we know of at least four signatures of Ors, systematically serving him for the distinct features and interests of the writings and illustrations he published from 1904 onwards. Octavi de Romeu is, along with Xènius, his most complete invention of all.

Eugeni d'Ors was interviewed in *La Esfera* (early June, 1916) in which he offered his concept of paganism as "El *sophrosine*, la armonía, calma, equilibrio y continua posesión y dirección de sí propio, me parecen el bien humano más apetecible, y así me lo concediesen los dioses, en los cuales, *al pie de la letra*, creo."⁷ Fernando Pessoa read this interview and wrote a note in which he stated his accord with the Catalan, as may be seen below:

⁷ The complete interview may be found at: www.unav.es/gep/dors/entrevistas14.htm

Eugenio d'Ors – "Xenius" –

V[er] entrevista em *La Esfera* de principio de junho 1916 (1º ou 2º nº do mez).

His loves and hates are curiously like mine. – What real theories of paganism has he – who declares himself, *al pié de la letra*, a believer in the gods.⁸

(BNP/E3, 90^l-10^v)

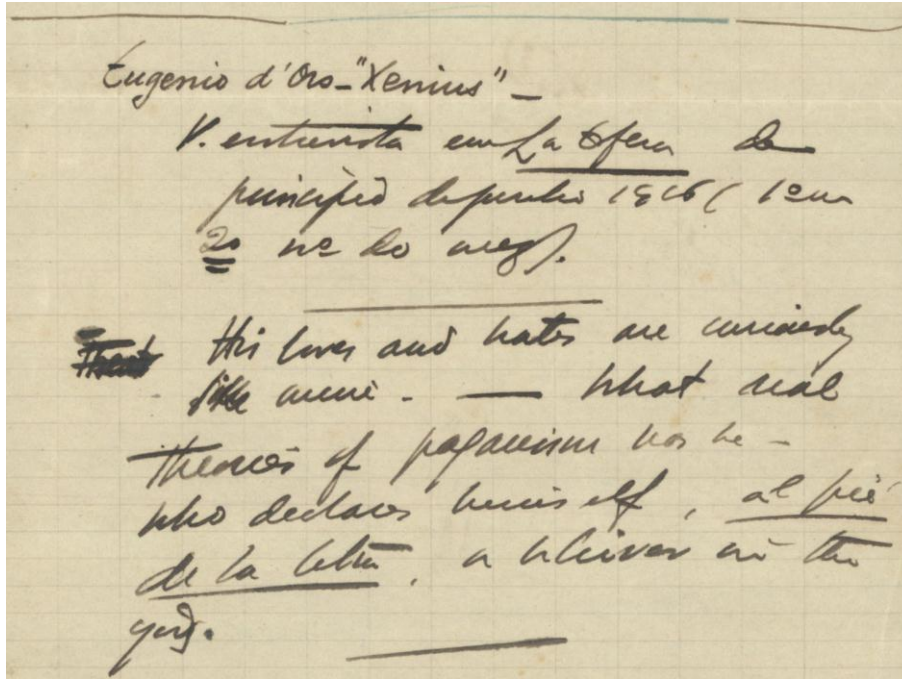


Fig. 2. Fernando Pessoa's note about Eugeni d'Ors

Portraits from Barcelona: the master Octavi de Romeu

Mas busca en tu espejo al otro,
el otro que va contigo.

Antonio Machado (1936: 279)

Multipliquei-me aprofundando-me.

Bernardo Soares (Pessoa, 2006: 113)

Despite the cultural affinities between Fernando Pessoa and Eugeni d'Ors, the Catalan did not introduce Pessoa into his intellectual circle (Sáez Delgado, 2010). However, their connections and sensibilities become obvious when we read and observe drawings by Octavi de Romeu.

From the very beginning, Ors made the most of self-representation strategies, setting himself up as an *authentic* character, a poseur, and a certain dalliance developed through a never-ending game of identities aimed to confirm

⁸ Text offered by Pauly Ellen Bothe, to whom I thank for the discovery.

the author with an own literary voice (Ors, 2003: xiii). Octavi de Romeu's charm emerges due to his emblematic construction, represented as an icon of freedom through his acts and discourses. Consequently, the Octavi de Romeu invention was also a perfect way of exposing Ors' most extreme ideas. He was created as a source of intellectuality that never hid his fictional aura from his readers. One example of his non-conventionalism has to do with his opinion concerning the decadence of contemporary literature in contrast to the excellent writings by journalists, doctors, or engineers who had something substantial to express (Ors, 1924: 7).

Romeu summarizes Ors' desires by means of a sophisticated game of *dandyism* resembling the ideological and aesthetical movements in Europe during the first few decades of the 20th Century – that reminds us of Vicente Guedes' description: “Nunca [...] houve criatura por fora humana que mais complexamente vivesse a sua consciência de si própria. Dandy no espírito, passeou a arte de sonhar através do acaso de existir” (Pessoa, 2006: 455-456).

However when Xènius is not capable of severing ties from his creator, Romeu becomes a parallel, although independent, entity as is documented by testimonies on the evolution and conversion of Romeu's identity into a true heteronym. This process was commented on by Ors himself in a note about writers affected by the “fenómenos del desdoble”, “que no deben confundirse, por cierto, con los del seudónimo: ‘Octavio de Romeu’ no es precisamente, aunque algunos lo tomen por tal, un seudónimo mío” (Ors in Jardí, 1990: 30). The Catalan Octavi at that moment becomes Octavio. At the same time, Eugeni d'Ors adopts the Spanish language for his works and life in Madrid. A possible parallelism could be established between Xènius, the Soares semi-heteronym, and Romeu, the full Álvaro de Campos heteronym.

The sympathy for his creation continued until the 1950's, the end of Ors' life, when he continued using Octavio for his own representation, as is shown below in Ors' portrait, made by Octavio de Romeu for *Arriba*. More than sympathy, Octavi de Romeu was born to be what the master Eugeni d'Ors lacked in his entourage, much in the same way as Juan de Mairena, created by Antonio Machado: “Como lo probable es que los más de vosotros no hayáis oído hablar, hasta ahora, de Octavio de Romeu, me creo en el deber de declararos en dos palabras que este nombre es, más que el de un amigo, el de mi capital maestro, el del hombre a quien debo lo mejor de lo poco que yo sepa y sea” (Ors, 2000: 45).



Fig. 3. Eugeni d'Ors' caricature by Octavi de Romeu in *Arriba* (06-03-1951)

Although Eugeni d'Ors referred to his master until the 1950's, the genesis of this heteronym can be traced fifty years back, 1902 to be exact, which is a very important date for the History of Fake in Iberian Literature, because the name "Octave", in French, appears in print for the first time, as a mysterious addressee of a poem by a mysterious author, Charlotte Rower, in *Auba – Revista mensual d'Arts i Lletres* (Rosell, 2011). The genesis of this heteronym is revealed in a similar way as Pessoa's heteronyms' birth on the 8th of March 1914⁹; Octavi is first described in a conference that same year (the 16th of February) in the Residencia de Estudiantes, in which Ors expresses the relevance and significance of the creation of the heteronym:

Más entrado en años, bastante más, que todos nosotros, ingeniero y misterioso artista, hombre arquetipo además, dandy de la especie mejor, fabricante exquisito de finuras, de eficacias y desdenes, hombre de cara rasa, frente idealista, monóculo analista, [...] la única sombra que en tan singular personaje puede obscurecer tales dones, es acaso la desventaja de no existir.

(Ors, 2000: 45)

⁹ This information is revealed in a famous letter to Adolfo Casais Monteiro in *Presença*, the 13th of January 1935, the year of Pessoa's death.

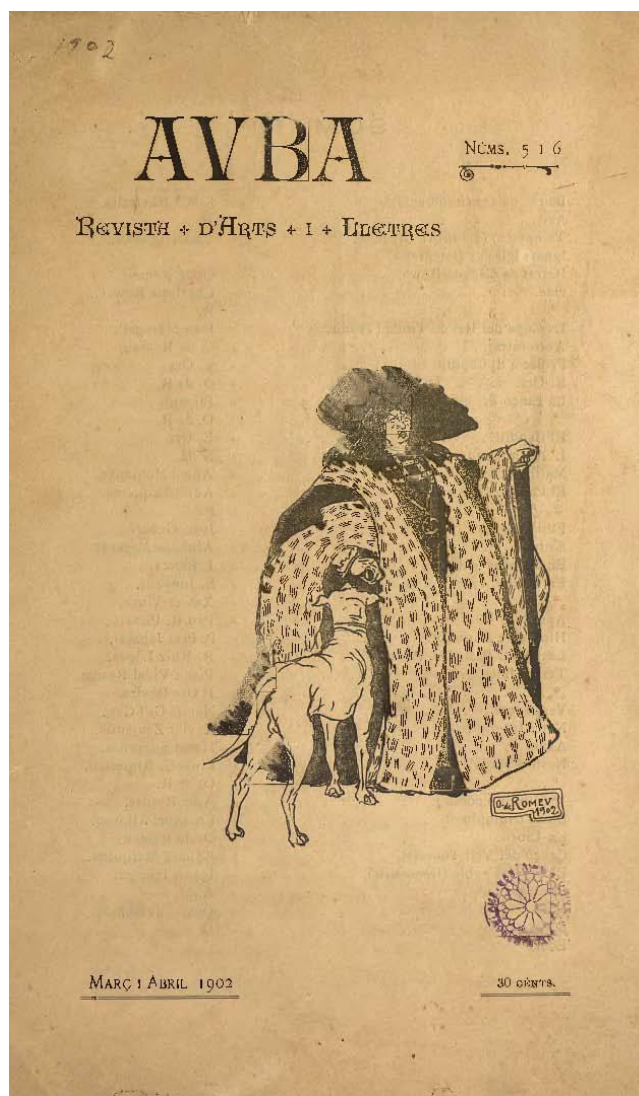


Fig. 4. *Auba* – Revista mensual d'Arts i Lletres, n.º 5-6, November-April, 1902

The evolution of the heteronym was complex and had just been completed on the 19th of July 1907, when he ceased using this name exclusively in the signings of illustrations and as an art critic. Years before Pessoa had given life to his naval engineer Álvaro de Campos, in Catalonia there existed a rich “Ingeniero-Artista”, philanthropist, philosopher and art expert; so admired by Eugeni d’Ors himself¹⁰ that he is described in his own texts and illustrations as a dandy: “Octavi de Romeu está ya dibujado, tiene su carácter, sus límites. No es una gloria patria, no es un ministro, un Goethe. Es un divorciado de su país, un ignorado de él, un solitario aristocratizante, un excéntrico (¡él, que tanto ama lo concéntrico, lo normal!), un dandy... Sí, eso dirán las gentes, un dandy!... ¡Curad de no serlo vosotros, que estáis a tiempo de colaboración social, tal vez!” (Ors, 6th of January 1914: 5).

¹⁰ For a detailed study of Octavi de Romeu from his genesis until his revision in *Dietario apócrifo de Octavi de Romeu*, by Joan Perucho in 1985, it is possible to consult Maria Rosell (2011; 2012).

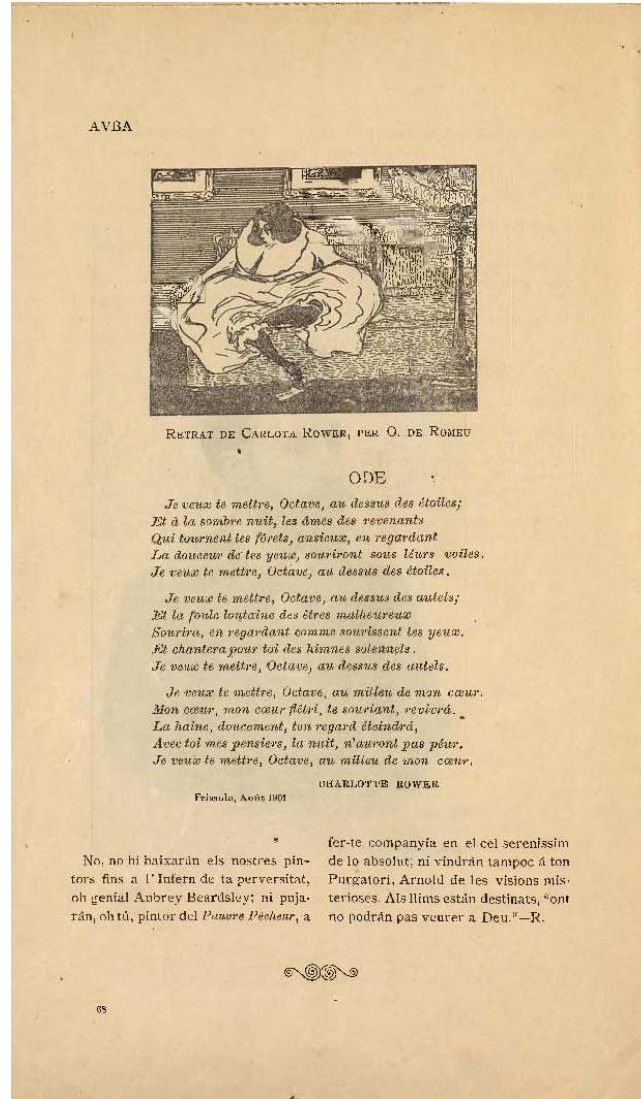


Fig. 5. "Ode", in *Auba – Revista mensual d'Arts i Lletres*, n.º 5-6, November-April, 1902, p. 68

In this context, we must consider the chronology of Iberian apocryphal and heteronym authors in the 20th Century, and also the possible echoes of the Latin-American *bon vivant* Archivaldo Orson Barnabooth (presented in 1902) in Ors and Pessoa's heteronyms. Barnabooth, as an important Valéry Larbaud creation, was no doubt a model for Eugeni d'Ors' Octavi de Romeu. They maintained a long-lasting relationship, as can be observed in various collaborations during the latter part of the 1920's (Rosell 2009; 2011; 2012).

In order to offer a more precise evolution of heteronyms in this article, it becomes necessary to mention one of Fernando Pessoa's precursors. I am referring to José Maria Eça de Queirós (1845-1900), and specifically to his semi-heteronym Fradique Mendes, as cited by Jorge Alberto Uribe (2007) in his monography on the influence upon the author of "Notas para a recordação do meu Mestre Caeiro" (fragments of which were first published in 1921) in the book *A Correspondência de*

Fradique Mendes.¹¹ Its dimension is considered ambiguous as, for authors such as Uribe, Fradique Mendes “surge como un personaje que encarna el carácter autocrítico de Eça” (2007: 3), although the term “personaje” is insufficient to determine the magnitude of the project initiated by Eça, as “el reconocimiento de una identidad heteronímica está relacionado, entonces, con el alcance de cierto nivel de *otredad*, es decir, que en un texto se configure la mediación de un *otro*” (Uribe, 2007: 50). This would favour the dialogical characteristic of this type of writing, as it allows to “analizar y reafirmar, y en algunos casos contradecir, la propia obra” (Uribe, 2007: 50). Considering the relevance of the author, a few brief words should suffice to contextualize Carlos Fradique Mendes, a collective heteronym of the *Cenáculo* group, formed by Jose Maria Eça de Queirós, Antero de Quental and José Duarte Ramalho Ortigão. The latter, along with Eça de Queirós, was responsible for *O Mistério da Estrada de Sintra* (1870), in which Fradique Mendes describes himself as a “cavaleiro medieval, heróico defensor de damas [de] ar asiático, viajante apaixonado pelo mundo, íntimo de imperadores que o citam, filósofo de boulevard, criador de frases-sínteses, artista e deportista...” (Queirós, 2002: 235-236).

Given his impact, Pessoa would doubtlessly assimilate his writing, as Carlos Fradique Mendes acquires a consolidated public image after 1900, date in which his definitive epistolary *Correspondência* is published. Already previous to that, in 1888, the heteronym had collaborated with the *Repórter* and with the *Gazeta de Notícias do Rio de Janeiro*. Prose is, however, a small part of his work, as by 1869 his disciples described the impact of “Lapidárias”, poems which appeared in the publication *A Revolução de Setembro*, 29th of August. His poetry, of notable testimonial and artistic interest, has survived also thanks to the *Poemas do Macadam*. They were diffused amongst magazines as well as other types of publications, hidden for a great deal of time, waiting for an anthological and analytic work.

Thanks to the description offered in *O Mistério da Estrada de Sintra*, as well as in an initial note in his correspondence, Fradique Mendes did not only emulate the dandyism typical of the end of the century, but he also was critical of his own writing, which was characteristic of Eça de Queirós himself, along with the anti-establishment sentiment of the great revolutionaries of art. As they did, the semi-heteronym contended the Portuguese literary schools of his period.¹²

¹¹ According to Uribe (2007: 50), “Pessoa se refiere en varios textos al estatuto semi-heteronímico de Bernardo Soares, el cual le confiere el título de personalidad literaria, pues no alcanza el nivel necesario de *otredad* para referirse a él como un heterónimo más. La diferencia fundamental entre Soares y los tres heterónimos es mayores está relacionada con la falta de autonomía de estilo”.

¹² Due to the interest in this work by Eça de Queirós, it merits a more detailed analysis, such as that carried out by Jorge Uribe (2007). Additionally, the significance in Brazil and Europe of the novel *Memórias póstumas de Bras de Cubas*, by Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, published in serial form in the *Revista Brasileira* in 1880, and a year later as a book, should be considered. This work has great importance in the chronological axis described in this paper concerning heteronymic

In short, according to Uribe (2007: 77), Fradique Mendes can be considered as the precursor of a “proceso de despersonalización dramática que cristalizaría en 1914” (with Pessoa), but which was insinuated previously in various languages.

Some French Faces: Prosper Mérimée and André Gide’s apocryphal portraits

A. O. Barnabooth can be interpreted as his author’s extravagant double, a hyperbole for the love of exquisiteness and luxury which, in turn, promotes comparison to Octavi de Romeu. Both are described in *A. O. Barnabooth. Son journal intime* (Larbaud, 1940) and “De la amistad y del Diálogo” (Ors, 2000) not only physically, but intellectually and psychologically, in full detail converging in *dandyism* and virility. Not only do they share their dandyism, but other typical characteristics of apocryphal and heteronymous authors. More specifically, they share three fundamental aspects: a) experimentation with uncharacteristic literary genres for the author —painting in the case of Eugeni d’Ors and poetry with regards to Valéry Larbaud—, b) genre hybridity —a mixture of novel, short story, diary, poetry and painting—, and c) intermittent composition —protracting and diversifying apocryphal publications for years. Fernando Pessoa’s heteronyms and semi-heteronyms comply with these requisites, as indicated by David Jackson, who insists furthermore that “he made their collective work greater than that in his own name” (2010: 6), and that:

Pessoa promotes fragmentary and contradictory positions in a sleight of hand to distinguish his artistry. Their nonexistence as non-elves undermines the genres in which they “write”, from the point of view of authorship, while they allow Pessoa to be “as a poet”. Poetry written by the heteronyms subverts genre and questions the role of personal experience in literature. They cast a negative shadow over their chosen genres, since the writing of verses and their publication is also independent of them.

(Jackson, 2010: 13)

These mixed genres consequently become “adverse genres”, that would be, however, a first step, seen as a conflict between form and thought, writer and text, language and meaning, according to Jackson. To a certain extent, the same occurs in A. O. Barnabooth.

Barnabooth is the author of *Poèmes d’un riche amateur* (1908), through Valéry Larbaud’s design during 1902, the year in which the short story “Le pauvre chemisier” first appeared, followed, in 1913, by his *Journal intime*. In a way, the poem “Le masque” synthesises his poetry and illustrates the sign of his apocryphal

experimentation, relevant enough to be studied in larger works, such as *Los poetas apócrifos de Max Aub* (Rosell, 2012).

dimension, by means of the description of his first theatrical and thespian appearance (Larbaud, 2002: 31):¹³

J'écris toujours avec un masque sur le visage;
 Oui, un masque à l'ancienne mode de Venise,
 Long, au front déprimé,
 Pareil à un grand mufle de satin blanc.
 Assis à ma table et relevant la tête,
 Je me contemple dans le miroir, en face
 Et tourné de trois quarts, je m'y vois
 Ce profil enfantin et bestial que j'aime.
 Oh, qu'un lecteur, mon frère, à qui je parle
 À travers ce masque pâle et brillant,
 Y vienne déposer un baiser lourd et lent
 Sur ce front déprimé et cette joue si pâle,
 Afin d'appuyer plus fortement sur ma figure
 Cette autre figure creuse et parfumée.

The metaphor of an actor is just as relevant as two other characteristics of the apocryphal: the cosmopolitanism and the industrialism of urban life. The famous "Oda Triunfal" shows sensitivity to both natural and mechanical paganism, and an epic conception of poetry. Not by chance, modern epics are vindicated by Pessoa for Portugal, as there had not been a Portuguese epic lay since Camões (Paz, 2001: 162). If pantheism for Pessoa's heteronyms also includes industrial aesthetics, for A. Or. Barnabooth, the previous apocryphal, machines become epicurean whereas for futurists, they become visionary. For all, machines have become the destructive agents of false humanism, of the natural man.

The "Oda triunfal" offers a fragmented, cosmopolitan view of the city in which modern citizens blend in violently and convulsively to be treated as objects. This is reflected in the metaphor in which body and soul are a sort of train station to which all Cities arrive. For the author, Álvaro de Campos, the City is generic: it is the fusion of all cities in an innovative pastiche of the Metropolis,

Nova Minerva sem-alma dois cais e das gares!
 Novos entusiasmos de estatura do Momento!
 Quilhas de chapas de ferro horrendo encostadas às docas,
 Ou a seco, erguidas, nos plano-inclinados dos porto!
 Atividade internacional, transatlântica,
 Canadian-Pacific!
 Luzes e febris perdas de tempo nos bares, nos hotéis,
 Nos Longchamps e nos Derbies e nos Ascots,
 E Piccadillies e Avenues de l'Opéra que entram

¹³ The connections between the meanings of Author and Actor in Pessoa and other writers are analysed in greater depth in Rosell (2012: 43-47), and previously in classical studies on Pessoa, such as *O Alibi Infinito*, by Ettore Finazzi-Agró (1987: 73).

Pela minha alma dentro!

(Pessoa 1976, 38)¹⁴

What possible connection can there be between the split personality of Pessoa's heteronym and that of the *parvenu* Barnabooth —whose only occupation and moral obligation is to make good use of his extreme wealth and to proudly develop the privileged role he plays in society— aside from his continuous reflection on life and art?

Given that the definitive Barnabooth appeared in 1913, both he and Álvaro de Campos shared the frantic vertigo of Modernity, as both are spiritual heirs of Walt Whitman and Charles Baudelaire (Paz, 2001: 173).

It is also necessary to consider to what extent Valéry Larbaud tried to dissent with this world which could hardly be hinted at the time of Barnabooth's appearance, despite the fact that his apocryphal author seemed to adapt to the incipient perspectives offered by modern city. Similarly, where within the avant-garde should Pessoa be placed when he creates Álvaro de Campos, a witness and participant of new messages offered by the Modern Age?

As stated earlier, in "Oda triunfal" Álvaro de Campos displays the cultural experiences of a dandy in the new urban society, as well as the ebb and flow of a city seen as an extremely pleasing sensory experience.

À dolorosa luz das grandes lâmpadas elétricas da fábrica.
 Tenho febre e escrevo:
 Escrevo rangendo os dentes, fera para a beleza disto,
 Para a beleza disto totalmente desconhecida dos antigos.
 [...]
 Ah, poder exprimir-me todo como um motor se exprime!
 Ser completo como uma máquina!
 Poder ir à vida triunfante como um automóvel último-modelo!
 Poder ao menos penetrar-me fisicamente de tudo isto,
 Rasgar-me todo, abrir-me completamente, tornar-me passento
 A todos os perfumes de óleos e calores e carvões
 Desta flora estupenda, negra, artificial e insaciável!
 Fraternidade com todas as dinâmicas!
 Promíscua fúria de ser parte-agente
 Do rodar férreo e cosmopolita
 Dos comboios estrênuos.
 [...]
 Horas européias, produtoras, entaladas
 Entre maquinismos e afazeres úteis!
 Grandes cidades paradas nos cafés,
 Nos cafés — oásis de inutilidades ruidosas

¹⁴ These laudatory city images can be associated to films from the same period, such as *Metropolis*, by Fritz Lang (1927), whose vision of the city as being dystopian, alienating and apocalyptic is well known.

Onde se cristalizam e se precipitam
 Os rumores e os gestos do útil
 E as rodas-dentadas e as chumaceiras do Progressivo!

(Pessoa, 1976: 36-38).

This poem confirms the tendency of masquerading of his heteronyms or the obsessive meta-fiction of his life. Nevertheless, what I set to point out is the continuity amongst writers who, during the first decades of the 20th Century, coming from different urban areas, projected complementary visions of the city as a symbolic territory of culture for the benefit, or the anguish, of the apocryphal personality. This projected a surprising combination of jubilation and loss in the big city.

In the 1960's Max Aub (1903-1972) published a poem attributed to the North American author Robert Lindsay Holt (1924-1948), feigning to be a translator and editor, in the *Antología Traducida* whose verses remind us of the "Oda Triunfal":

¿No has oído nunca
 en la madrugada
 el largo lamento
 de las máquinas,
 el tristísimo lamento de las locomotoras,
 el penetrante lamento del silbato de las fábricas,
 esas válvulas de escape
 del hierro y del aluminio?

¡Qué fácil es decir:
 la era de las máquinas,
 la era atómica, como si el acero,
 como si el hierro,
 no tuvieran nada que decir!
 Como si los metales
 fuesen menos que los árboles
 y la entraña de la tierra
 tuviese que estar satisfecha
 de ser solo la materia.

The poem is marked by intense verbal violence of the city's prosopopeia and leading to the alienated character of the industrialized world, affected by an acoustic contamination that the protagonist expresses through images related to the invading and penetrating sounds to ear and soul:

Los únicos que lo saben
 son el acero y el aluminio.
 ¿O es que nunca has oído
 el trágico mugir ululante
 de las locomotoras o de las fábricas

antes de que empiece a flotar,
muerta,
con los ojos vidriosos,
la madrugada?

(Max Aub, 2001: 251-252).

Due to this experience, the lyric voice begins to feel the metropolitan experience with a feeling of expropriation, a sensation that something has been taken from him. Using more characteristic futuristic topics, and the visions and sensations regarding machinery that prevailed in modern societies, Aub is able to offer a citizen's view, by means of the poet from Ohio, in his false compilation *Antología Traducida*.

Although the literary life of Barnabooth or Aub's poets is an attractive cultural field for analysis, in other heteronyms or apocryphal works —as observed from the relevant predecessor McPherson's *Ossian* (Rosell, 2012), to Max Aub's false cubist Jusep Torres Campalans—, we observe that, apart from the biographical and stylistic information required, there are other formal texts that become essential for the reconstruction of the chosen reality,

Se trata de los propios paratextos – título, dedicatorias, epígrafes, datos de impresión, etc. –, que indican en qué sentido discurre la obra, puesto que en todo producto apócrifo la ilusión de realidad debe reforzarse a partir del uso cuidadísimo de las herramientas que configuran una imagen de normalidad, esto es – si se trata de una obra con pretendido carácter erudito –: cubierta, contracubierta, referencia a la autoridad de eruditos que conozcan la obra y den fe de su calidad, notas a pie de página, bibliografía detallada de los autores antologados, etc.

(Rosell, 2012: 80)

One of the most remarkable strategies used in the construction of the “ilusión de realidad” is the heteronym's intervention in the works of other contemporary authors. Antonio Machado, for instance, reflected on philosophy with his “Complementarios”, and these thoughts were cited by other writers, even by heteronym ones, such as Octavi de Romeu, who tried to create a new philosophy without disciples, but with interlocutors sharing the same conditions and status.¹⁵

In addition, painting, particularly portraits and self-portraits, represents an essential document as it is frequently included in the biography and works of many authors. Pessoa, Machado and Ors built this “ilusión de realidad” based on varied strategies which not always included portraits, but sometimes photographs and even astral charts.

Not only Octavi de Romeu explored the possibilities of art including dandies as himself in his illustrations. Other well-known European writers

¹⁵ “Carta de Octavio de Romeu al profesor Juan de Mairena” (Ors, 1949: 291).

completed the images of their heteronyms by use of portraits. This is the case of Prosper Mérimée or André Gide, who began their brilliant careers at the age of twenty-two by means of mystification.

One of the most interesting apocryphal *supercherie* is Clara Gazul, a supposed anticlerical and baroque Spanish dramaturge, author of *Le théâtre de Clara Gazul*, which consists of nine plays published by Éditions Sautélet between 1825-1830. The woman's portrait seems to be the transvestite image of Mérimée himself, who, as a pretended translator and editor, presented Gazul to painter Delécluze's circle in a series of unedited comedies located in a Spanish universe "de capa y espada" controlled by ancient valour, typical of Calderonian "drama de la honra", and by romantic *donjuanes* closer to Lord Byron than to Tirso de Molina. In brief, Clara Gazul became so transcendental in Mérimée's trajectory that Stendhal, in *Souvenirs d'Égotisme*, calls his friend "Conde Gazul" (Stendhal: 121).

With her unconventional way of life, Clara expressed the transformations of Romantic theatre and showed Mérimée's concerns regarding Napoleon's policies.



Fig. 6. Clara Gazul's portrait "a la española", published in the first edition of his plays, by Étienne-Jean Délecluze (1781-1863), David's disciple.

Next to Mérimée, the other great influence for a possible History of Fake in Arts and Literature is called André Walter (born in France in 1870), André Gide's heteronym presented in 1891 in *Les Cahiers d'André Walter: oeuvre posthume*.¹⁶ The posthumous dimension of this young representative of *spleen* affected by religious conflict and old-fashioned romanticism, would promote the realistic effect in the text.¹⁷ The next edition, *Les Poésies d'André Walter*, lessened this effect as Gide included his name on the cover next to André Walter's name and portrait. The writer apparently combined components of heteronymic fiction along with his own signature.

¹⁶ First edition in Paris, éd. librairie Académique Didier Perrin.

¹⁷ Rosell (2012) covers a complete study of his journals.

With this simple gesture, the volume went beyond the established limitations of its genre and it came to be known as an authentic autobiography of an apocryphal author. The conclusion is that, eventually, apocryphal authors tend to lose their inherent obscurity, the main characteristic that defines this genre itself.

A detailed study of the variations in the subsequent editions of Walter's, as well as other, apocryphal texts – which exceeds the purpose of this article – would allow us to reach a paradoxical conclusion: parallel to the progressive visibility of the empiric author in his heteronyms texts – where he ends up including his own signature –, the final product tends to ennoble the apocryphal author's life and work, complete with the inclusion of specific documents such as photographs, personal correspondence, previously unpublished manuscripts, etc.



Fig. 7. André Walter by Mairie Laurencin in 1922.

By means of Walter's experiment, Gide shows himself in the avant-garde of many authors who, during the 20th Century, explored the possibilities of playing with the public appearances of their apocryphal authors. We will soon see this same process when analysing Max Aub's practices.

Regardless of their obvious differences and strategies used to create a credible reality, Gide shares other characteristics with Larbaud, Mérimée and Ors: their apocryphal and heteronymous authors appeared very early in the writer's life, and they evolved by means of a fragmentary progression of texts and publications during their entire trajectory, in which there was a clear intent to make them as "official" as their creators. Gide, however, did not accept Walter as a productive heteronym at all, and years after his invention he expressed an aesthetic and spiritual distance from Walter's romantic philosophy.

Mérimée, in contrast, made the most of dealing with mystification, and “translated” and introduced in France—two years after having translated Clara Gazul’s plays— *La Guzla, ou choix de poésies illyriques, recueillies dans la Dalmatie, la Bosnie, la Croatie et l’Herzégowine*, a compilation of exotic poems recited by a mysterious Hyacinthe Maglanovich, whose portrait was also included in his false anthology and brief biography (Rosell, 2009). It is easy to identify similarities between “Guzla” and “Gazul”:



Fig. 8. Illustration in *La Guzla*, by a supposed Hyacinthe Maglanovich, in 1827

In conclusion, we can affirm that as the persistence in the elaboration of the intertextual framework of the biographies continues – by means of detailed documentation of the physique, *etopeia*, life and works of all apocryphal authors –, the success and the realistic illusion of their writing will increase, although the editorial paratexts are contradictory when containing simultaneously true and apocryphal marks. Because of this, from the first half of the 20th Century, “hemos asistido a un proceso ascensional de celebración gozosa del artificio artístico, especialmente sensible a los experimentos con lo falso” (Rosell, 2012). In another

sense, another type of paratexts, known as Pessoaan “marginalia” – writings in the margins of books –, have grasped the interest of researchers such as Patricio Ferrari (2011), who has combed Pessoa’s private library paying special attention to annotations by the author within his books. The result of this detailed study shows how Pessoa’s pre-heteronyms – Pip, David Merrick, Lucas Merrick, Sidney Parkinson Stool, Charles Robert Anon and Alexander Search –, who so greatly influenced the emergence of heteronyms, were not limited to writing, but were also involved in the meticulous reading of authors.

Iberian Portraits Gallery (I): the Catalan Cubist Jusep Torres Campalans

¿... pensáis —añadía Mairena— que un hombre no puede llevar dentro de sí más de un poeta? Lo difícil sería lo contrario, que no llevase más que uno.

Juan de Mairena (XXI, O. C.: II, 1995)

Viver é ser outro.

Bernardo Soares (Pessoa, 2006: 114)

If some French heteronyms have offered us their portraits, Spanish ones, during the 20th Century, have done likewise. From Antonio Machado to the 21st Century, some authors have developed an intense career connected to the apocryphal sense of literature because this experience is not just a game, but a poetic one, and also a way of being *engagés*. In this context, around 1923 Federico García Lorca also experimented with the apocryphal creation by imaging Isidoro Capdepón Fernández, “poeta protofalangista” and apocryphal “Académico de la Lengua” — a suggestive and insufficiently studied creation of Lorca’s. Through him, Lorca criticized old-fashioned Spanish poetry and fascist ideology, *in crescendo*. At the same time, he built a self-parody of his own cultural generation. As of yet, no Capdepón portrait has been found, but it is possible that Lorca and his circle of friends had considered this when exposing Capdepón to the media (Rosell, 2009; 2012).

In the 1930’s, another heterodox author, Max Aub (1903-1972), started his career with *Vida y obra de Luis Álvarez Petreña*, a Max Aub alter ego and antagonist, a supposed real intellectual pseudo-romantic whose portrait was included in the first edition, and who endured death and revival all through the three editions of the novel, in Valencia, Mexico and Barcelona (1934, 1965 and 1971).¹⁸

¹⁸ Eugenio Montejo and his heteronyms are an important reference for experimentation with authorial possibilities in contemporary writers who have combined their work in the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America, as has been analysed by Ana Lucía de Bastos (2012: 187-224). This researcher studies the Pessoaan influence in Eugenio Montejo (1938-2008) — who lived most of his life in Valencia— and Rafael Cadenas (1931).



Fig. 9. "A Luis Álvarez Petreña, su amigo M[ax] A[ub] 1929",
in Luis Álvarez Petreña (1934)

If we consider the hypothesis that Max Aub – Spanish-German-French-Mexican – could have contributed to a tradition of artistic and critical demonstrations extending widely from the 21st Century, we can understand that he became a heterodox as well as an emblematic author because during the four decades of his career – from the thirties to the beginning of the seventies – his personal evolution is comparable to that of Iberian literature: from the consummation of innovative tendencies in art and thinking, and their disintegration through the realist poets of the "postguerra" (after the Spanish Civil War) and their cultural exile, to the neo-latest most up-to-date practices which we can situate harmoniously with post-modernism *avant la lettre*.

We can talk about "the apocryphal dimension" of Max Aub to bring together his "false" production starting with what is surely Aub's most successful contribution: *Jusep Torres Campalans* (1958). This work is difficult to catalogue as it mixes narrative genre with a personal diary and it also includes a catalogue of plastic arts exhibits. The mixture of genres is formulated in order to represent, from a multi-perspective cubist interpretation, a historical masquerade: that of the painters in Picasso's circle (Rosell, 2009). As shown in the photograph below, a real Picasso poses next to an apocryphal Torres Campalans. His novel illustrates how European apocryphal tradition, fostered in 1760 by Ossian, shows the emblematic signal of hybridity through the characteristic fusion of genres (painting, poetry, journal, memories, criticism, novels), and by minimizing the differences between verifiable reality and fiction.



Fig. 10. Jusep Torres Campalans next to Pablo Picasso, by José Renau in 1902 (photomontage). *Jusep Torres Campalans* (1958: 97).

Torres Campalans appeared in 1958 as a forgotten painter and Picasso's companion in Paris. He was presented as the real "precursor del cubismo", so he had to be involved in reality with authentic efforts by Max Aub, who exhibited his canvases —done by Aub himself— in New York, Paris and Mexico City. Some of them, related to Picasso, illustrate the sense of this masquerade: a mixture of parody, self-parody and the history of Avant-gardism. The following images represent a portrait of Picasso and the canvas titled *La lágrima frente al espejo*.

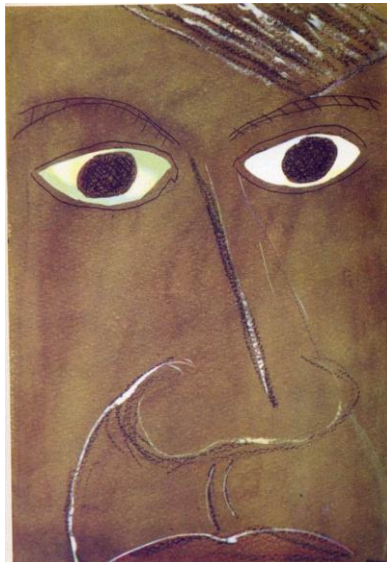


Fig. 11. *Retrato corto de Picasso* (1912),

by Jusep Torres Campalans (1958: 223).

The book was organized as a puzzle surrounding the figure of the protagonist, nourished by heterogeneous sources that conferred originality to a work that is closer to a novel than to a diary, according to traditional canons.



Fig. 12. *La lágrima frente al espejo* (1909),
by Jusep Torres Campalans, (1958: 214)

As can be observed, the dimensions of Aubian intellectual commitment are clearly defined, especially through the fictional writings of the apocryphal, as they allow him to show a world which is different from the usual exile drama, seeing it in a different way through a stereoscopic eye with characters such as the Catalan cubist painter exiled in Mexico. Nevertheless, some people seemed to feel cheated after discovering the fake, so a new approach to Aub's work, amongst others analysed in this study, could contribute to the progressive disintegration of the quasi-religious aura that art seems to preserve at present, based on its genuineness and originality. In this sense, worthy of mention is the work by Marú Ruelas on the Mexican José Emilio Pacheco (1939): *José Emilio Pacheco ante la heteronimia. El lado*

apócrifo del autor, which collects episodes from the book *Legítima defensa*, in which a letter by Aub and a portrait of the apocryphal Julián Hernández by painter Jusep Torres Campalans are included (Ruelas: 2010: 114-115).

In any case, after having exhibited these and other canvases, secretly painted by Max Aub, and compiled in a catalogue, in English, French and Spanish, which appeared in the book *Jusep Torres Campalans* (1958), the cubist painter Torres Campalans surprised his public with a new work. In 1964 he came back from another period of obscurity to illustrate *Juego de Cartas*, an original literary-plastic experiment in which 104 playing cards can be used to play traditional card games or to be read as a fragmented novel, aimed to discover the real life and death of the protagonist, Máximo Ballesteros. The cards, on one side, are painted by Jusep Torres Campalans and on the other side, contain a letter written by people who meet Ballesteros but do not know much about his real identity. The reader will have the mission of using the playing cards to put together the fragmented image of this character:

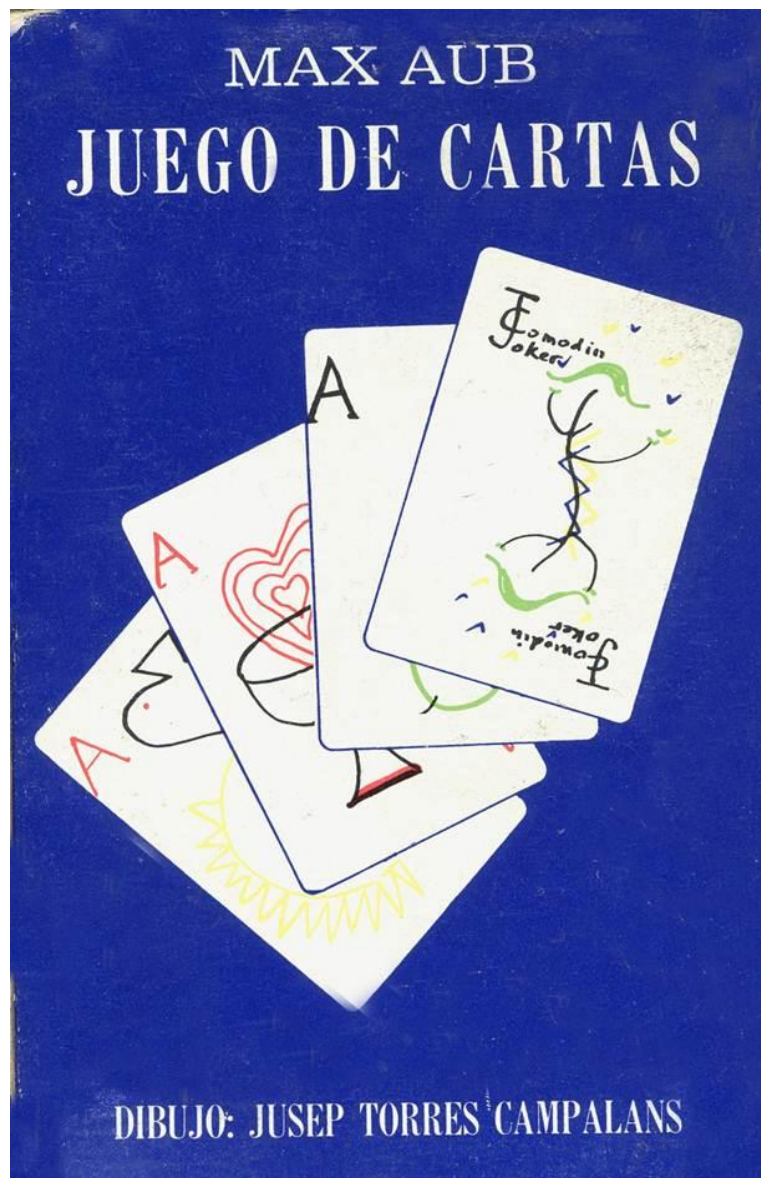


Fig. 13. Pack of cards containing *Juego de Cartas*, 1964.
Illustrations by Jusep Torres Campalans.

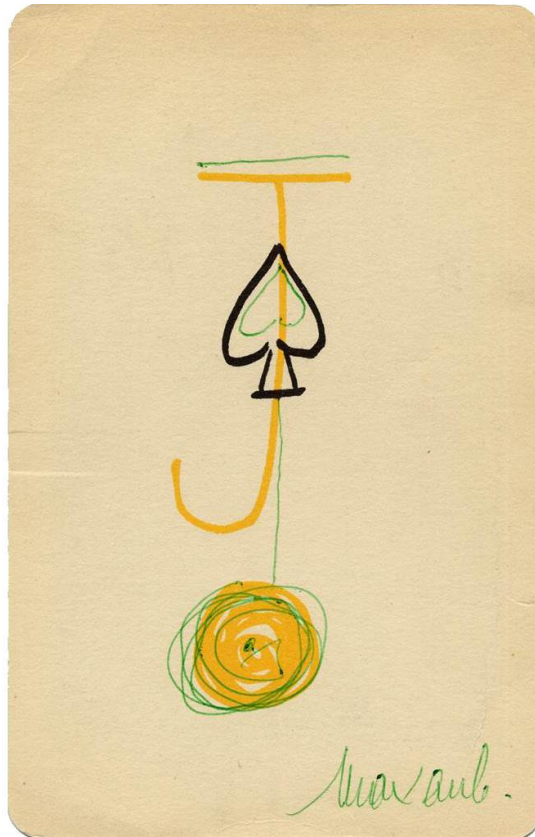


Fig. 14. Card in *Juego de Cartas* signed by Max Aub.

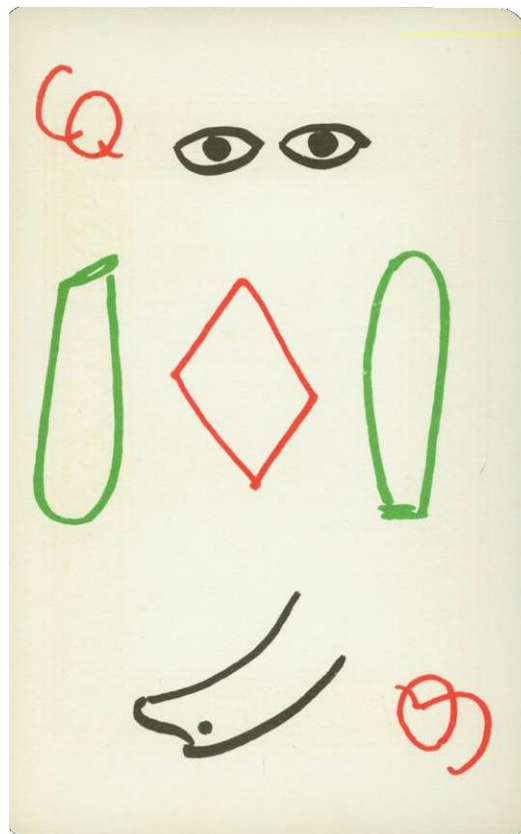


Fig. 15. Card in *Juego de Cartas*.

If the apocryphal and heteronymous representation of the Iberian great masters, Antonio Machado and Fernando Pessoa, can be interpreted as an ennoblement of the impossible harmony between reality and desire, it is also likely that both poets wrote about what could have been and what they themselves could have become. What about Max Aub in relation to Jusep Torres Campalans? The writer was aware of the Iberian and French traditions of apocrypha and heteronyms, although some works often seem to be more humoristic games, such as *Juego de Cartas*. Contrarily, the necessity of projecting in the fictitious poets and thinkers their own constant concerns as seen in Pessoa and Machado is also present in *Antología traducida* (1963). Here, Max Aub puts together a real anthology of international poets –translated and compiled by himself– from the XVIII Egyptian Pharaoh Dynasty until the 1960's.

As in the way of classic anthologies, Max Aub introduces these poets to society by means of a short biographical note, followed by selected poems from a great variety of genres, such as songs, *jarchas*, hymns, epigrams or haikus. One text, by João da Silva Botelho, shows the *Antología's* style and structure (Aub, 2001: 250):

João da Silva Botelho
(1919)

De Lisboa. Vive en París dedicado al turismo

LOS CUERNOS DE LA LUNA

El toro, plantado encima del cerro. Enhebrados en sus afilados, altísimos, cuernos, once toreros muertos; en uno, cinco; en otro, seis; doblados por la cintura.

Negro, quieto, estampa vengadora recortada en la luz nácar de la noche, los verdes sin color; los ocre sí, camino del violeta. Malva la línea desteñida del horizonte. (Gris nunca dice lo que quiere decir.)

Brama el toro. Un torero, el tercero ensartado en el cuerno derecho, se dobla más; ligero movimiento de la muerte.

Abajo, la tierra partida deja al descubierto su complicado mecanismo de relojería, de acero y cobre. Todo se engrana a la perfección, silenciosamente; una rueda en otra, diente por diente, moviendo estrellas y soles.

Un marino ciego, sentado, aburrido, vigila la maquinaria con el oído.

El toro da un paso. La sangre escurre por la cepa de sus cuernos; cae, gota a gota del belfo en la yerba rala, seca, del cerro.

Surge el tañido lejano, ligeramente agrio, de una flauta. El horizonte se aclara pausadísimamente. El toro vuelve a mugir. Los toreros se hunden unos centímetros más.

El animal mira el horizonte en espera de los cuernos de la luna.

El duelo será a muerte.

By means of such poems, and acting as a modern imitator of the anthology genre, Aub offers a different Literary History, both alternative and false. The fictitious voices also update, in all cases, the great contradiction and identity paradox that made Rimbaud become famous with “Je est un autre”, a constituent

paradox of the human being, of the personality that requires the “essential heterogeneity of the being” to be individual and which is based on the dialectics of Me and You. Consequently, the dialectical relationship is always established with the other as somewhat real and existing as can only be experienced through literature. In the case of Pessoa, “his entire literary project was dedicated to discovering the true nature of cognitive perceptions and deeper realities”, as K. David Jackson affirms (2010: 4).

Iberian Portraits Gallery (II): Sabino Ordás, the collective apocrypha

La hermosa paradoja del apócrifo es que después uno se mira en su espejo y la sabia simulación nos hace dudar de si no seremos nosotros los simulados. Y esa poética inquietud también ayuda a vivir.

(Sabino Ordás, 2002: 109)

After having reflected on the instances of falsity and authenticity through various significant literary works, it seems logical that the contributions of this kind of research in Humanities do not have to opt exclusively for exercises of attribution, or not, of the fakes or for the exhibition of authentication techniques (Heinich, 2010: 5). The fact that Jusep Torres Campalans did not paint his canvas is just as irrelevant as if the poems in *Antología traducida* had all been invented. In all of them, Aub is depersonalized and transformed.

Undoubtedly, there is a permanent Iberian influence on the history of fake, because its main characters understood the productivity of this game of identities associating it with denunciation (Federico García Lorca’s Isidoro Capdepón) and the generation of personal manifest (Sabino Ordás). This history can be understood as a different canon, another “parnaso”, as has been studied by Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, especially in his edition of the apocryphal Spanish *Satyricon* (2007), the *Fragmentum Petronii*, in the coordination of *Imposturas Literarias españolas* (2011), and in *El otro Parnaso* (forthcoming).

Beyond the possibilities that a collective pseudonym offered to contemporary artists – the name Luther Blisset embraced international “performers” during the nineties – allowing them to carry out their actions (Molina, 2008), the classical model of the poetical and essay anthology has been renewed in order to have a greater impact on cultural means, an impact of jeer, of critique or of poetics.

Other languages and traditions such as French bear witness to their own tradition of what is known as “canular”, a practice that in artistic slang has normally been linked to insult and discredit, referring to non-serious environments and generally during the youth’s childhood (Pequignot, 1999: 311).

Due to the ideology from which they arise, and the critical and social function they pursue, it is necessary to observe these “canulars”, which have become historical testimonies in a widely true apocryphal Spain, and have demonstrated that, especially in Max Aub’s work, the sign of contemporary art is present. In order to prove that someone is an authentic artist, it is necessary to show the capability of making the inauthenticity.

Following his footsteps, other generations felt the situation of being intellectual orphans in which they were left in exile like Aub (adding the insiders to them) and found that given the lack of masters, they would have to invent them, just as Pessoa and Machado had done before. That is exactly what the group of young authors, including Juan Pedro Aparicio, José María Merino and Luis Mateo Díez decided to do at the end of the seventies when they created their apocryphal group, clearly following the traditions of Machado and Aub, called Sabino Ordás. Even Ordás appeared as the writer who might have been but was not, as his predecessor Max Aub had done with the plethora of apocryphal authors appearing throughout his work.

Ordás, rescued from exile and obscurity, appeared in Spain by means of a compilation of essays called *Las cenizas del Fénix* (1977), that also included a collection of portraits created by some of the most important Spanish painters, including Jusep Torres Campalans – whose signature is on the right bottom of the image below– Solana or Salvador Dalí. The formal structure of *Las cenizas del Fénix* reminds us of the structure of *Jusep Torres Campalans*, a hybrid mix of different genres and arts in a single book: ¹⁹

¹⁹ I have enjoyed the support of Sabino Ordás, personified in Juan Pedro Aparicio, who gave me the unique gift of being able to see and photograph Sabino Ordás’ private collection of portraits. I must thank him for his willingness to let me publish the canvases that, without a doubt, represent a privileged graphic testimony to literary life in the “Transición española” period.

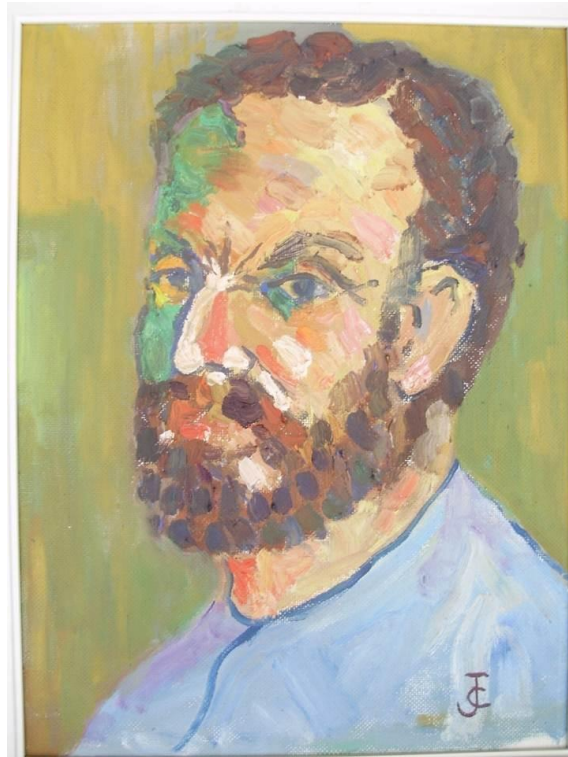


Fig. 16. Sabino Ordás by Jusep Torres Campalans.
Front cover of *Las cenizas del Fénix*. (Ordás, 2002)

Ordás (2002: 107) confesses to feeling emotionally connected to the “amplia galería de apócrifos españoles contemporáneos”, “el museo vivo de simulaciones” orchestrated by the master Antonio Machado, poet “guiado por la innata necesidad de sobrevivir en muchos rostros”, after so many decades in which Machado had not been considered as the master he once was. The vital impulse of this experience is inseparable from the transgressor’s sense of its proposal, aimed to criticise the Spanish cultural situation in the late 1970’s, as a sort of program and a literary manifest (Rosell, 2009: 529).



Fig. 17. Sabino Ordás by Salvador Dalí
(Juan Pedro Aparicio's personal archive)

Apart from being painted by other apocryphal and real artists, Ordás (107-109) is the author of a “Teoría del apócrifo”, an interesting approach to the imposture creation that offers a conclusion to our study:

Frente a otras manifestaciones literarias [...], el apócrifo y el heterónimo suponen una práctica transgresora que subvierte las normas del arte y las reglas del pacto o espacio autobiográfico: son la fabulación – y la vida –, explica Ordás, que se pretenden hacer pasar por reales y cobrar así la autonomía que les pertenece. La ficción se enmascara para no dejar entrever su identidad, escondiéndose, y la simulación opera en un primer término ejecutando la copia más exacta y posible que el propio original.

(Rosell, 2009: 526)

Having read this paragraph, it is possible to argue about the sense of Iberian apocryphal manifestations if, according to the queer theories (Klobucka *et al.*, 2007), Pessoa's heteronyms allow the impossible accomplishment of a satisfactory sexuality in the poet; or Pessoa wants to set himself up as a national epic poet and so he must first create all the poetical Portuguese generations in his own person. According to Jerónimo Pizarro (2012b), “Machado cria os seus precursors, enquanto Pessoa cria os seus contemporâneos”; according to K. David Jackson, “Pessoa stands out among the writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century who used imagined, multiple authorship to structure a comprehensive literary project because his selection of author challenges and replaces the

centrality of a single creative and responsible self, while focusing the entire literary tradition on the present moment of writing” (2010: 6).

On the other hand, in his diaries Max Aub (1998: 128) expressed a desire to remain over time and necessary exile, a desire perpetuated in his apocryphal writings.

Finally, it would not be completely inaccurate to interpret Eugeni d’Ors’ and Max Aub’s apocryphal exercise as an attempt to perpetuate themselves through figures who, from a distant point of view, make international recognition possible. Moreover, in painting or even in poetry, the apocryphal strategies help to dilute frustration and stage fright when being criticized by specialists and generational colleagues, a worry usually expressed by Max Aub (1998). The recent publication of *Notas inéditas al cancionero inédito de A. S. Navarro*, signed by the “empirical author” Emilio Alarcos Llorach (1922-1998), shows the usefulness of apocryphal resource as a means of concealment, firstly of the poetic work itself, considered *démodé* by Alarcos when commenting on the poems by the mysterious A. S. Navarro, and secondly as the collection allowed Alarcos Llorach to distance himself and be critical of Spanish poetry of the period (1940-1946); finally, it reveals the interest that the finding of a previously unknown artist or writer arouses, such as in this case the alleged A. S. Navarro, in the wake of the poet Rafael who wrote the poems of *Teresa. Rimas de un poeta desconocido presentadas y presentado por Miguel de Unamuno* in 1924 (Rosell, 2012: 47-49).

For this reason, an interdisciplinary and diachronic approach to the works of Prosper Mérimée, André Gide, Paul Valéry, Valéry Larbaud, Fernando Pessoa, Antonio Machado, Max Aub, Agustín Delgado, Luis Mateo Díez or José María Merino allows us to investigate the apocryphal aspect understood as a critical action against a well-defined aim, and also to think about its artistic properties if the apocryphal literature itself can be considered as an independent canon, as occurs with some interesting texts by Miguel de Unamuno and Jose Maria Eça de Queirós, Machado de Assis or Hernández Catá and Alberto Insúa. Most of them have built a large cast or *dramatis personae* focused on artists and writers often marked by the stigma of marginality, as outsiders who suffer their “real” creator’s aesthetics and existential thoughts, worries and contradictions.

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