

Alfredo Guisado and the *Orpheu* Affair: Tracing the Magazine's Reception and Impact through the Távora Archive

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Keywords

"Making-of" of *Orpheu*, Reception in national and international periodicals, Alfredo Guisado and *Orpheu*, Guisado's poetry and Pessoa, Paulismo and Sensationism

Abstract

Created by a group of practically unknown young writers and artists, when it appeared in 1915, *Orpheu* caused a scandal of significant proportions for a literary phenomenon, and the striking echoes in the mainstream press ensured its notoriety well beyond the moment of publication. The extent to which this outcome was planned or the result of chance circumstances is discussed in this essay, which reappraises the contemporary reception of *Orpheu* in the light of new findings yielded by the Távora archive, namely two notebooks with cuttings of press reviews kept by Alfredo Guisado. By considering these, the article reviews the latter's role in the making of the *Orpheu*'s critical fortune. Guisado was one of the few authors associated with *Orpheu* who had published works before the magazine appeared. Through his early association with the mentors of the magazine, he was also one of the first members of the *Orpheu* group to write under the influence of the poetics that became associated with it. Therefore, his works document the tenor of the movement that was established through *Orpheu*, which will be revisited through the analysis of the manuscript of a poem — thought to be previously unpublished — found among Guisado's papers in the Távora archive.

Palavras-chave

"Making-of" de *Orpheu*, Recepção em periódicos nacionais e internacionais, Alfredo Guisado e *Orpheu*, a poesia de Guisado e Pessoa, Paulismo e Sensacionismo

Resumo

Criada por um grupo de jovens escritores e artistas praticamente desconhecidos, quando surgiu em 1915, *Orpheu* causou um escândalo de proporções significativas para um fenómeno literário, e os ecos notáveis na imprensa corrente asseguraram a sua notoriedade para além do momento de publicação. Em que medida este resultado foi planeado ou a consequência de circunstâncias fortuitas será discutido neste ensaio, que reexamina a recepção contemporânea de *Orpheu* à luz de novos achados na coleção Fernando Távora, nomeadamente, dois cadernos com recortes de imprensa de Alfredo Guisado. Ao considerá-los, o ensaio contribui para determinar o papel do escritor no estabelecimento da

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fortuna crítica da revista. Guisado foi um dos poucos autores de *Orpheu* que publicara obras suas antes do aparecimento da revista. Em virtude de se ter aproximado desde muito cedo dos mentores do projeto, Fernando Pessoa e Mário de Sá-Carneiro, Guisado foi um dos primeiros membros do chamado grupo do *Orpheu* a escrever sob a influência da poética que lhe ficou associada. Por conseguinte, as suas obras documentam o teor do movimento estabelecido por intermédio da revista, tal como exemplificado pelo MS de um poema seu – julgado inédito – que se encontra no arquivo Távora.

1. The Portuguese periodical scene in the 1910s and the making of *Orpheu*

Orpheu made its debut into the Portuguese cultural scene on 24 March 1915. On March 27th, the daily newspaper *O Mundo* published a brief note announcing its publication, referring to it as “uma espécie de resumo das várias correntes modernas na nossa literatura” [a sort of summary of various modern literary trends in our literature], which was said to include “variada colaboração das mais características figuras de entre os novos” [varied collaboration from the most characteristic figures among the “young”] (*MUNDO*, 27 March 1915: 3). Following this initial innocuous but telling appraisal of the magazine, which underscored the modernity of its contributions and the youth of its contributors, a series of inflamed articles criticizing it ensued in local, regional and national newspapers, which will be discussed in detail further ahead. The strong criticisms the magazine garnered from several sectors of the Portuguese press played a significant part in ensuring it the status of the most significant cultural magazine of the period and one of the most impactful in Portuguese cultural history. Thus, this essay proposes to reexamine the contemporary reception the magazine received in mainstream periodicals, especially in light of documents extant in the Távora archive, which offer new insights about both the logistics and circumstances of the dissemination and reception of the magazine in Portugal and abroad.

The momentous reception *Orpheu* received in the mainstream press owes its fair share to fortuitous circumstances, which have much to do with the particular context in which the magazine made its appearance, since the scandal occasioned by its publication arose from the rapid spread of the views posited in what was effectively its first review, an unsigned article entitled “Literatura de manicómio: Os poetas do *Orpheu*” [Lunatic-asylum Literature: the Poets of *Orpheu*], published on the title page of *A Capital* on March 30th (*A CAPITAL*, 30 March 1915: 1). This review centered on the perceived novelty of its literary content, notably the experimental and original use of language – neologisms, synaesthesia, alliteration, assonance, fragmentation –, which was attributed to language-impairment conditions of the mentally disturbed. The contributions from Mário de Sá-Carneiro

and Álvaro de Campos, in particular, bore the larger part of those criticisms, with the latter accused of being under the “influencia do chamado futurismo” [influence of the so-called futurism] and of suffering from “paranoia”, with some “expressões verbais” [verbal expressions] in his “Ode Triunfal” deemed as “pornographicas” [pornographic] (*A CAPITAL*, 30 March 1915: 1) – incidentally, an accusation indicted against other strikingly innovative works across Europe at that time.¹ According to Maria Aliete Galhoz, “a chocarrice, em nome do bom senso, com que comenta *Orpheu*, vai dar o tom a tudo o que se seguiu” [the jocular reproach, in the name of common sense, with which *Orpheu* is reviewed sets the tone for everything that followed], adding that this publicity kept *Orpheu* in the limelight for three months (GALHOZ, 1981: xvii). Hence, by the time the second issue was published on June 28th, the *Orpheu* affair in the press had developed into a full scandal that sent shock waves through the cultural establishment, which this issue further inflamed by including textual and visual works with a greater avant-garde bias and from more polemical contributors (SILVA, 2017: 88).

As well as underscoring the sensationalist bias that underpins the presentation of front-page news stories in daily periodicals, the bombastic reception *Orpheu* earned in the mainstream press can also be seen to reflect the socio-political turmoil Portugal was experiencing at the time. Though not yet involved in WWI at the time of publication of the magazine, Portugal was nonetheless prey to circumstances which were not amenable to the onset of a burgeoning modernity and the vibrant cultural life that generally accompanied it, which perhaps explains the short lives of many of its cultural magazines. Arnaldo Saraiva remarks the proliferation of cultural magazines in Portugal in the decade of 1910 (as elsewhere in Europe), some of which were very short-lived, such as *Dionysos* (1912-1913), *A Renascença* (1914), *Alma Nova* (1914), *Centaurus* (1916), *Exílio* (1916), *Portugal Futurista* (1917), and *Ícaro* (1919), among others (SARAIVA, 2015b: 407). There was even the unusual case of a specimen issue of a magazine, *Contemporânea* (1915), which would only be continued in 1922. Appearing halfway through the decade, *Orpheu* belongs to the group of short-lived magazines since, though initially planned as a quarterly, it was circumscribed to two published issues.

In situating *Orpheu* within the Portuguese cultural and periodical field, Saraiva highlights the specificity of the Portuguese context at the time, underscoring the defeatist outlook with regard to Portugal’s place in the concert of nations, notably the sense of “humilhação nacional, nascida com o ‘Ultimatum’, a somar ao crónico complexo de inferioridade e de dependência económica e cultural inglesa e francesa” [national humiliation which arose with the “Ultimatum”, adding to the chronic sense of inferiority and of economic and cultural dependence

¹ See VASCONCELOS (2017: 27-47) for a systematization of the dialectical readings of *Orpheu*, at the time, as either the result of “madness” or “blague”.

of English and French culture]. He also mentions the political instability caused by “permanentes guerrilhas entre monárquicos e republicanos, que não terminaram com o regicídio nem com a implantação da República” [permanent squabbles between monarchic and republican supporters, which did not end with the regicide nor with the newly founded Republic], and the accompanying social unrest “que se evidenciava em greves, em manifestações anarquistas, em sucessivas crises governamentais” [shown in strikes, in anarchist manifestations, and successive governmental crises] (SARAIVA, 2015b: 408). Against this backdrop of socio-political crisis, incipient modernization, and cultural paralysis, epitomized by the “saudosist” aesthetic of Teixeira de Pascoaes, *Orpheu* asserted itself, argues Saraiva,

como resultado de um projecto de clara *ruptura* com a instituição literária e com os códigos decadentistas e simbolistas, para já não dizer românticos ou parnasianos, ou como resultado de um projecto de revelação e *afirmação* individual e colectiva, nacional e internacional, de jovens que se queriam de e na vanguarda artística

(SARAIVA, 2015b: 408, my emphasis).

[as the result of a project of clear rupture with the literary institution and the decadent and symbolist codes, not to mention the romantic and parnassian ones, or as the result of a project of individual and collective, national and international, revelation and affirmation, of young men who regarded themselves as part of the artistic avant-garde]

As well as identifying the key goals underpinning the publication of *Orpheu* – the foundation of a literary movement and, thereby, renewal of the cultural field –, Saraiva also underscores the fact that it was a planned venture, as signalled by the term “project”.

In effect, the origins of the project of a magazine date back to late 1912, early 1913 – when Fernando Pessoa, Mário de Sá-Carneiro began planning it and the main contributors, Alfredo Pedro Guisado, Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues, and Almada Negreiros gathered around them –, which was therefore synchronous with other early avant-garde manifestations in Europe. Aside from the rupture with the literary establishment mentioned by Saraiva, the avant-garde principles underpinning the magazine project are apparent in the language employed by its mentors, notably the terms “*marcar e agitar*” [make a mark and agitate] (SÁ-CARNEIRO, 2015: 181), which evoke the shock tactics deployed by contemporary avant-garde movements via manifestos and magazines. Responding to Pessoa’s proposal of producing a magazine, in a letter from 14 May 1913, Sá-Carneiro states, “[c]laro q[ue] não será uma revista perduravel. Mas para *marcar e agitar* basta fazer sair uma *meia* duzia de n[umer]os. O titulo *Esfinge* é optimo. O q[ue] é preciso é arranjar mais colaboração do que a q[ue] indica” [Of course it will not be an enduring magazine. But to *make a mark* and *agitate* it is enough to get half a dozen issues out. The title *Sphinx* is excellent. What is needed is to get more contributions

than the one you suggest] (SÁ-CARNEIRO, 2015: 181). This excerpt shows they began discussing practical matters concerning the constitution of the magazine from an early stage of planning, which went on for two years, during which the project had different guises. It also discloses Sá-Carneiro's pragmatic sense in assessing the need to secure further collaboration, a process which would take some time, as both he and Pessoa, as well as most of the young writers associated with the project at the time, were still in the process of producing their first works. The project underwent several stages, with its proposed names changing from the initial post-symbolist-sounding *Esfinge* to the more reality-grounded *Lusitânia*, epitomizing a nationalist and even regionalist bias, which gave way to a more international outlook encapsulated in the title "Europa", which recurs in Sá-Carneiro's letters from June through August 1914 (Sá-Carneiro, 2015: 231). With regard to the latter, claims Pessoa,

O que esteve mais proximo de se realizar foi o de uma revista pequena, intitulada «Europa», que abriria por um manifesto, de que escrevi apenas uns quatro paragraphos, com colaboração ocasional de Sá-Carneiro, e de que me lembro ser uma das principaes afirmações a da nossa necessidade de «reagir em Leonino» contra o ambiente.

(*apud* CASTEX, 1963: 60)

[The one that was closest to being fulfilled was that of a small magazine, entitled "Europa", which would open with a manifesto, of which I have written only about four paragraphs, with occasional contributions from Sá-Carneiro, and about which I recall one of our main statements being the need to "react in Lion-fashion" against the milieu]

A few months later, though, they were considering an alternative way of disseminating their newly-baptized artistic movement, as corroborated by Pessoa's statement in a letter to another one of *Orpheu's* future contributors, Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues, dated from 4 October 1914:

Em vez de uma revista interseccionista, contendo o manifesto e obras nossas, decidimos (e v., estou certo, concordará) para evitar possíveis fiascos e não se poder continuar a revista, etc., e, ao mesmo tempo, ficar coisa mais escandalosa e *definitiva*, fazer aparecer o Interseccionismo, não em uma revista nossa, *mas em um volume*, uma *Antologia do Interseccionismo*.

(PESSOA, 1999: 126)

[Instead of an intersectionist magazine, including the manifesto and our works, we have decided (and, I feel certain, you will agree) in order to avoid possible fiascos and not being able to give continuation to the magazine, etc., and, at the same time, so it becomes a more scandalous and *definitive* thing, to make Intersectionism appear, not in a magazine of ours, *but in a volume*, an *Anthology of Intersectionism*.]

Pessoa's suggestion to replace the magazine with an anthology is based on his awareness of the ephemeral quality of magazines and was possibly informed by

contemporary examples, such as the anthology *Des Imagistes* – edited by Ezra Pound and published in *The Glebe* in February 1914 and as a chapbook by The Poetry Bookshop later that year – with which he was familiar (PESSOA, 2009: 385). The reasons Pessoa presents for doing so illustrate, on the one hand, his and Sá-Carneiro's desire to make a lasting contribution to Portuguese culture, as suggested by the term “definitive” (underlined by him for further emphasis); and, on the other hand, their deliberate intention to cause a scandal that would agitate the cultural milieu. With this in mind, careful thought went into the selection of authors, artists and their collaborations, as shown by the numerous lists of contributors and possible contributions shared between Pessoa and Sá-Carneiro, and the production of the magazine issues. The planning went as far as the graphic layout, from the choice of covers and visual reproductions to typographic details deployed so as to achieve a maximum effect, as suggested by Pessoa's reference to “the scandalous typographic processes adopted by Mario de Sá-Carneiro in his famous ‘Manucure’” (PESSOA, 2009: 385) in a letter introducing the magazine to an English publisher. And indeed, this poem included in the second issue of the magazine was one of the pieces that received most attention from the Portuguese press, and one of the most criticized alongside Álvaro de Campos's poems. Therefore, the scandal caused by *Orpheu* owes something to the militant and strategic approach adopted by its mentors, who were partly responsible for the magazine's turbulent reception in the press.

Similar care went into what Saraiva terms “a definição de estratégias de publicação, venda e promoção” [the definition of publication, sales and promotional strategies] (SARAIVA, 2015b: 409), countering the received narrative of the impromptu emergence of the magazine, following a chance meeting in a Lisbon café. The Luso-Brazilian guise in which the magazine emerged was itself the result of a meeting of two discrete but analogous strategies of publication already underway, led respectively by Pessoa and Sá-Carneiro, and by Luís de Montalvor and Ronald de Carvalho, who had also been planning to publish a magazine in Brazil. Therefore, when the opportunity of a joint publication with Brazilian writers presented itself, it was immediately grasped by the Portuguese mentors of *Orpheu* as a way of increasing its impact and sales. Letters from Ronald de Carvalho to Luís de Montalvor extant in the Távora archive – previously transcribed by Arnaldo Saraiva (SARAIVA, 1986: II) – attest to the fact that sometime in March, in the run-up to the publication of the magazine, the Brazilian poet was busily gathering contributions from fellow writers and securing sellers and subscribers, claiming to have raised about twenty in one of the letters. By the same token, the MS of one of the poems he sent Montalvor for publication in *Orpheu* features a list of what appear to be suggested subscribers in the verso of one of its pages.

Muitas vezes olhando a aquarela de Urcan
 não vejo as minhas palpebras um desejo
 de acordalo, de resuscital-o de lyra d
 ouro que Eurydice traz as mãos de saer
 ficio!
 Já comencei a trabalhar por elle. Assignaturas,
 publicações e outras burgueras cousas estão
 em caminho, baratamente. Collaboração é mais
 difficil, bem imaginas! Entretanto, tambem
 me vou interessando. Escreverei ao Eduardo
 para lates forer o que me pedes. Mandarei
 versos do Alvaro, do Homero, do Ernani,
 prosa do Aleydes Vaz e, talvez, do Graça-Aranha.

Fig. 1. Ronald de Carvalho informs Luís de
 Montalvor that he is gathering contributions
 and subscribers for *Orpheu* (Letter from March
 1915; in the Fernando Távora Collection).

e Pugnio de Castro. Canções da hira, bisarra
 fataes e angustiosas!
 Escreve-me nesse respeito. Si for possível
 faremos uma edição igual á do livro do
 Mallarmé "Poésies" da Nouvelle Revue
 Française, que tu sabes. A vendagem será
 em beneficio do Orfeu e, com a editorista
 que o "jornal do ^{commercio}" fez com nigo sobre os meus
 trabalhos inéditos, creio, conseguiremos bastante.
 Enfim, só depois da tua resposta.
 le Castilhos, o Alves e o ^x ^x Brigueiro se encarregam
 da venda amba do Orfeu, já lhes falei
 para isso.

Fig. 2. Ronald de Carvalho informs Luís de
 Montalvor that he has secured sellers for the
 magazine (Letter from March 1915; Fernando
 Távora Collection).

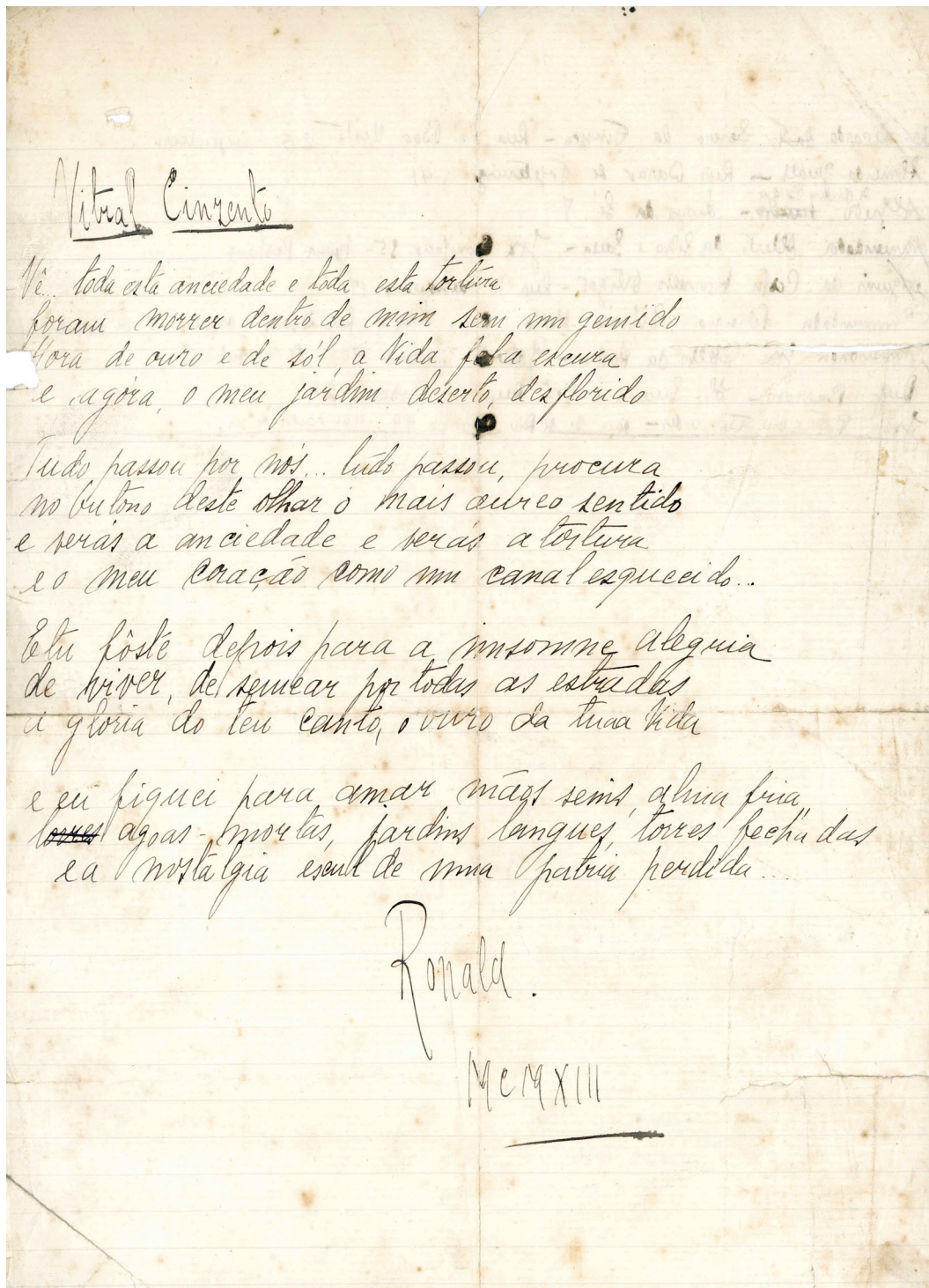


Fig. 3. MS of poem by Ronald de Carvalho with potential list of subscribers in the verso (Fernando Távora Collection).

Thus, even though Montalvor and Carvalho featured as joint directors of the first issue of the magazine, according to Pessoa, “[a] direcção real da revista era, e foi sempre, conjuncta, por estudo e combinação entre nós trez e tambem o Alfredo Guisado e o Côrtes Rodrigues” [the real direction of the magazine was, and always had been, shared, by planning and arrangement by the three of us and also Alfredo Guisado e o Cortes Rodrigues] (*apud* CASTEX, 1963: 60). By three he meant himself, Sá-Carneiro and Montalvor, who planned *Orpheu* together in Lisbon; along with the other two associates. Accordingly, Pessoa also discusses sales with Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues, based in the Azores, stating in a letter from 4 March:

Temos que tratar afincadamente — como v. compreende — da parte-administração da revista; que é por descurar esta parte que costumam cair, em geral, as revistas literárias. Indique-me v. também para onde, em Ponta Delgada (e outros pontos de S. Miguel, se valer a pena) se devem mandar exemplares para a venda avulso; quantos exemplares; se v. fala aos donos desses estabelecimentos, etc., etc. Temos que firmar esta revista, porque ela é a ponte por onde a nossa Alma passa para o futuro.

(PESSOA, 1999: 126-127)

[We have to diligently take care – as you’ll understand – of the administration of the magazine; as it is by neglecting this part that literary magazines generally fail. Please let me know also where copies for retail sale should be sent to in Ponta Delgada (and other parts of S. Miguel if worth it); how many copies; if you will speak to the owners of those establishments, etc., etc. We have to secure this magazine, because it is the bridge through which our Soul crosses into the future.]

The closing statement of this excerpt underscores, yet again, the serious motivations behind the efforts to promote the magazine on the part of its mentors, notably the sense that the magazine would create a legacy for Portuguese culture, which indeed it did. These testimonies also show that those efforts were shared among a few of the co-contributors to the magazine who associated more closely with Pessoa and Sá-Carneiro. This letter includes a list of the intended contributions to the first issue of the magazine which is very close to the final arrangement, except for Luís de Montalvor’s “Narciso”, which was submitted too late to be included in that issue and only appeared in the second one, and two poems by Álvaro de Campos, which were added just before the magazine went to the printers.

2. Alfredo Guisado and the critical fortune of *Orpheu*

Like Côrtes-Rodrigues, Alfredo Guisado, the other associate mentioned by Pessoa in his statement about the genesis of *Orpheu*, also closely accompanied the development of the project of a magazine throughout and even had a substantial stake in it at one point, as noted by António Apolinário Lourenço, for whom

Alfredo Guisado pertenceu inequivocamente ao núcleo duro do projecto órfico, tendo integrado todas as tentativas frustradas anteriores ao *Orpheu* de publicação de revistas ou de volumes antológicos representativos do paulismo ou do interseccionismo (...) *Lusitânia*, da qual (...) Guisado deveria ser o administrador, e *Europa*, um projecto que esteve mais avançado e ao qual há referências em cartas de Sá-Carneiro e Guisado (...). Para essa última publicação, disponibilizava Alfredo Guisado, em carta a Fernando Pessoa, mil e quinhentos escudos.

(LOURENÇO, 2015: 287)

[Alfredo Guisado unequivocally belonged to the core group involved with the orphic project having taken part in every previous failed attempt to publish magazines or anthological volumes representative of paulismo or interseccionismo before *Orpheu* (...) *Lusitânia*, of which (...) Guisado was to be the administrator, and *Europa*, a project that was more advanced and to which there are references in letters from Sá-Carneiro and Guisado (...). For that latter publication, Alfredo Guisado made available a thousand and five hundred escudos in a letter to Fernando Pessoa.]

In effect, Guisado not only featured in the list of authors for the *Anthology of Intersectionism* project Pessoa entertained for some time (LOURENÇO, 2011: 163), but was also assigned the role of administrator of *Orpheu*, to whom any of the advertised works by the magazine's contributors could "ser requisitada directamente" [be directly requested], as stated in the front matter of the magazine (*ORPHEU* 1, 1915: iv). Tellingly, Fernando Távora's acquisition of the Guisado papers appears to have partly derived from a conviction about the importance of the latter's involvement in the making of *Orpheu*, as suggested by a note in which he puzzles over the tenor of Pessoa's dedication in the copy of *Mensagem* he offered Guisado (which had appeared on sale at the time),

Interessante a dedicatória – ao poeta, ao amigo, ao *cúmplice* – poeta e amigo, sem dúvida², mas *cúmplice* em quê? Creio que na aventura do *Orpheu*; Pessoa chama-lhe³ cúmplice comprovando esta denominação,⁴ segundo suponho, um certo sentido qual o de considerar Guisado *cumplíce*⁵ (e não, por exemplo⁶ participante) de uma aventura, de um golpe audacioso, de um rasgo de humor. Será assim? Revelar-se-á nesta dedicatória uma posição de dever perante as intenções e o significado do *Orpheu*?⁷

[Interesting, the dedication – to the poet, friend, and the *accomplice* – poet and friend, undoubtedly, but accomplice in what? I believe that in the adventure of *Orpheu*; Pessoa calls him accomplice and this denomination proves a certain notion, that of considering Guisado an accomplice of an adventure, of an audacious gesture, of a stroke of humour.

² Sem acento.

³ <mas Pessoa> [↑ Pessoa] chama-lhe

⁴ <designação segundo suponho> denominação

⁵ Sem acento.

⁶ [← (e) <(> não, por ex[emplo]

⁷ I am grateful to Fernanda Vizcaino for the reference to Fernando Távora's note in one of his loose notes, and the editor for his reading of it.

Could it be so? Is there an assumption of duty before the intentions and the meaning of Orpheu disclosed in this dedication?]

Távora's hypothesis is certainly convincing, since Pessoa's use of the term *accomplice* is suggestive of a conspiracy, underscoring the strategic planning that went into the making and disseminating of the magazine.

The promotional strategies continued after *Orpheu* was published, with a view to ensuring a wide distribution of the magazine and its early reception in the press. In that regard, Sá-Carneiro's annotations at the beginning of a notebook he kept with cuttings of press reviews of the magazine are invaluable in tracing the steps taken by the orphics. Entitled "Identificação de exemplares" that section displays a detailed plan to distribute copies of the magazine among journalists or acquaintances with contacts in the press, which included a list of subscribers, contacts in the press and targeted newspapers. For instance, of the first ten copies to be printed on the 24th of March, one strategically went to Carvalho Mourão – former director of *A Renascença*, the single-issue magazine Pessoa, Sá-Carneiro and Guisado had contributed to in the previous year –, who, as intended, "em 11 de abril publicaria no jornal *Terra Nossa*, de Estremoz, uma das primeiras críticas elogiosas à revista" [on 11 April would publish one of the first reviews praising the magazine in the newspaper *Terra Nossa*, from Estremoz] (SARAIVA, 2015a: 214). This was to prove an exception since, as previously mentioned, the magazine generally elicited critical reviews, but it was precisely their inflamed antagonism that ensured the magazine achieved the goal of causing a "scandalous" affair in the Portuguese cultural milieu and that the just over 450 copies (SARAIVA, 2015a: 216) of its first issue sold out in three weeks (PESSOA, 1999: 185). Consequently, as argued by Saraiva,

A estratégia publicitária de distribuição do *Orpheu* por estes [jornais indicados na "Identificação de exemplares"] e outros jornais resultou em pleno, porque logo a 27 de março *O Mundo* se lhe referiu como "uma espécie de resumo das várias correntes modernas na nossa literatura" e a 30 de março *A Capital*, em duas colunas de primeira página, falaria nos "casos de paranoia" dos "artistas" de Rilhafoles, o que fez com que nos dias seguintes o *Orpheu* fosse notícia privilegiada de várias publicações da capital e da província – e até de Vigo.'

(SARAIVA, 2015a: 216)

[The publicity strategy for distributing *Orpheu* through these (newspapers indicated in the list "Identification of copies") and other newspapers was a complete success, because immediately on March 27th *O Mundo* referred to it as "a sort of summary of various modern literary trends in our literature" and on March 30th, in two front page columns, *A Capital* would speak of the "cases of paranoia" of the "artists" of Rilhafoles, which caused *Orpheu* to be privileged news of several periodicals of the capital and the province – and even of Vigo – over the next few days.]

As is known, many of the reviews published in the mainstream newspapers, including the ones mentioned in this excerpt, were collected in Sá-Carneiro's two notebooks of press cuttings, one for each issue of the magazine.⁸ These notebooks constitute a committed effort on his part to document and record the "scandalous" reverberations of *Orpheu* in the public sphere at the time, thus ensuring the preservation of its legacy for posterity. Possibly because of his role as administrator of the magazine and out of personal interest about a publication in which his work features, Guisado also kept a record of reviews of the magazine in the press.⁹ The documents extant in the Távora archive include a notebook with press cuttings entitled "Críticas do Orfeu" [Orfeu reviews]. Additionally, there are a few loose-sheet cuttings with articles from the time of publication of *Orpheu* and when it was recalled at the time of publication of *Centauro* (1916); these were assorted under the title "Recortes sobre o Orfeu, etc." [Cuttings about Orfeu, etc.] and kept inside another notebook with press cuttings of reviews of Guisado's works, entitled "Críticas" [Reviews].¹⁰

Guisado's collection of press cuttings about *Orpheu* only includes reviews of the first issue of the magazine, which he accompanied more closely, having subsequently distanced himself from the rest of the group and failing to contribute to the second issue of the magazine. Lourenço comments on Sá-Carneiro's observations in daily notes to Pessoa over that Spring – in which he puzzles over Guisado's disappearance –, venturing that he might have feared the negative repercussions of the scandal for his family's restaurant ("Irmãos Unidos", the main venue where *Orpheu* was plotted) or that issues might have arisen regarding Guisado's ostensible financial contribution to the publication of the magazine (LOURENÇO, 2015: 289); or possibly because of his political ambitions.

⁸ Sá-Carneiro's notebooks with press cuttings of reviews of *Orpheu* are held at the National Library of Portugal and are digitally available here: <http://purl.pt/28015#.Wd4vxzEvlLo.gmail>; <http://purl.pt/28016#.Wd4vhSCaIrs.gmail>.

⁹ A note from the architect Fernando Távora identifies these notebooks as belonging to Alfredo Guisado: "Comprado a M[an]uel Ferreira, Porto, em 30/V/72, por esc. 15.000\$00. Pertencia a Alfr[edo] Guisado que a vendeu à Biblarte (Sr. Ernesto) e este, por sua vez, a M[an]uel Ferreira. Sobre o lote a que se refere este negócio vêr apontamento meu em "Ceú⁹ em Fogo," [Bought from Manuel Ferreira, Porto, on 30/V/72, by 15.000\$00 *escudos*. It belonged to Alfredo Guisado who sold it to Biblarte (Mr. Ernesto) and this one, in turn, to Manuel Ferreira.] (transcription of a note by Fernando Távora). I am grateful to Fernanda Vizcaino for the transcription.

¹⁰ The cuttings grouped under "Recortes sobre o Orfeu, etc." [Cuttings about Orfeu, etc.] are attached to loose sheets of a paper which differs in aspect from that in the "Críticas do Orfeu" [Orfeu reviews] notebook and in the "Críticas" [Reviews] notebook; i.e., the paper is plain whereas that in the two notebooks has horizontal lines across its length. The photograph of the "Críticas" [Reviews] notebook displayed here shows the assorted loose sheets inside it.

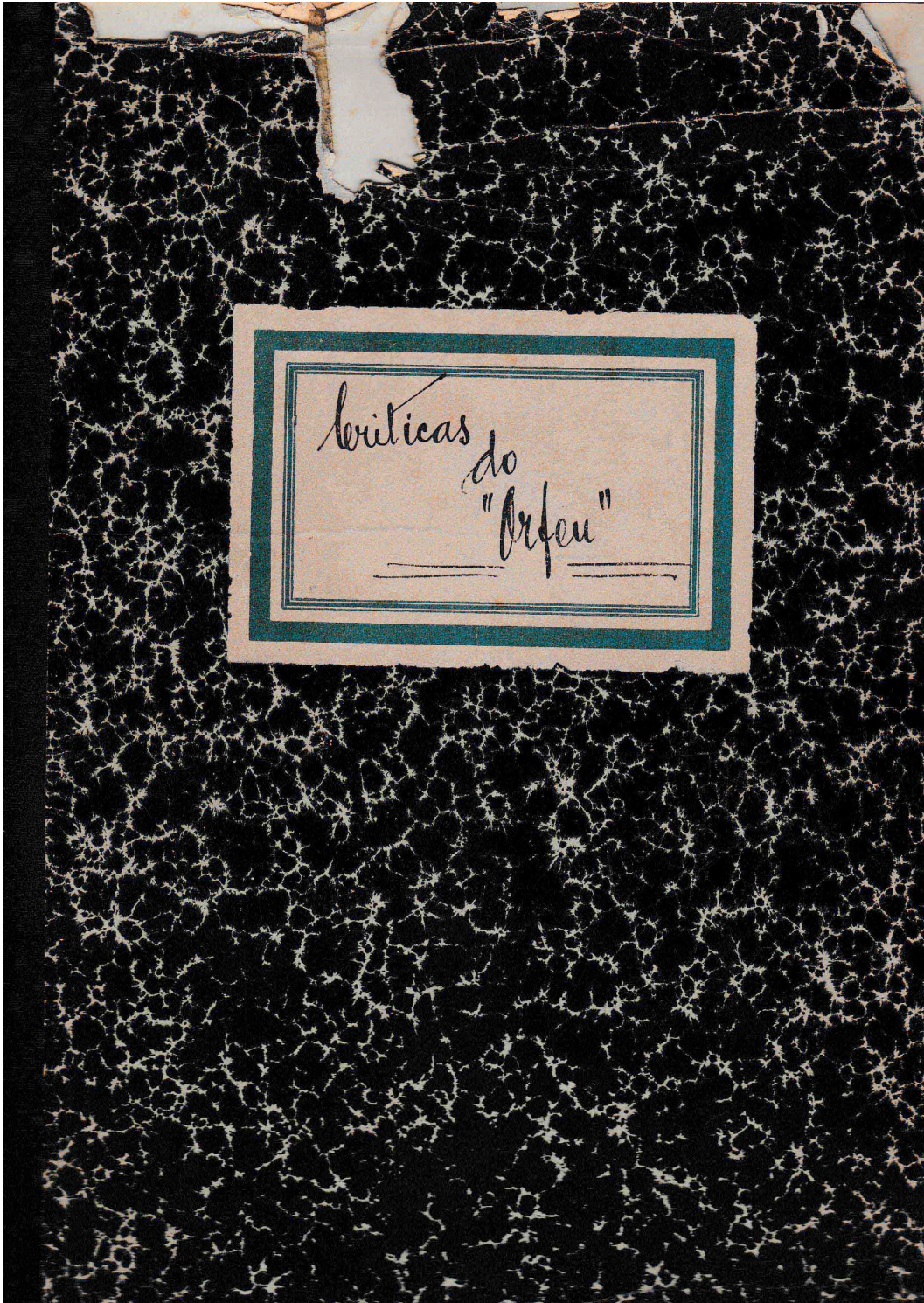


Fig. 5: Cover of the "Críticas do Orfeu" [Orfeu reviews] notebook.

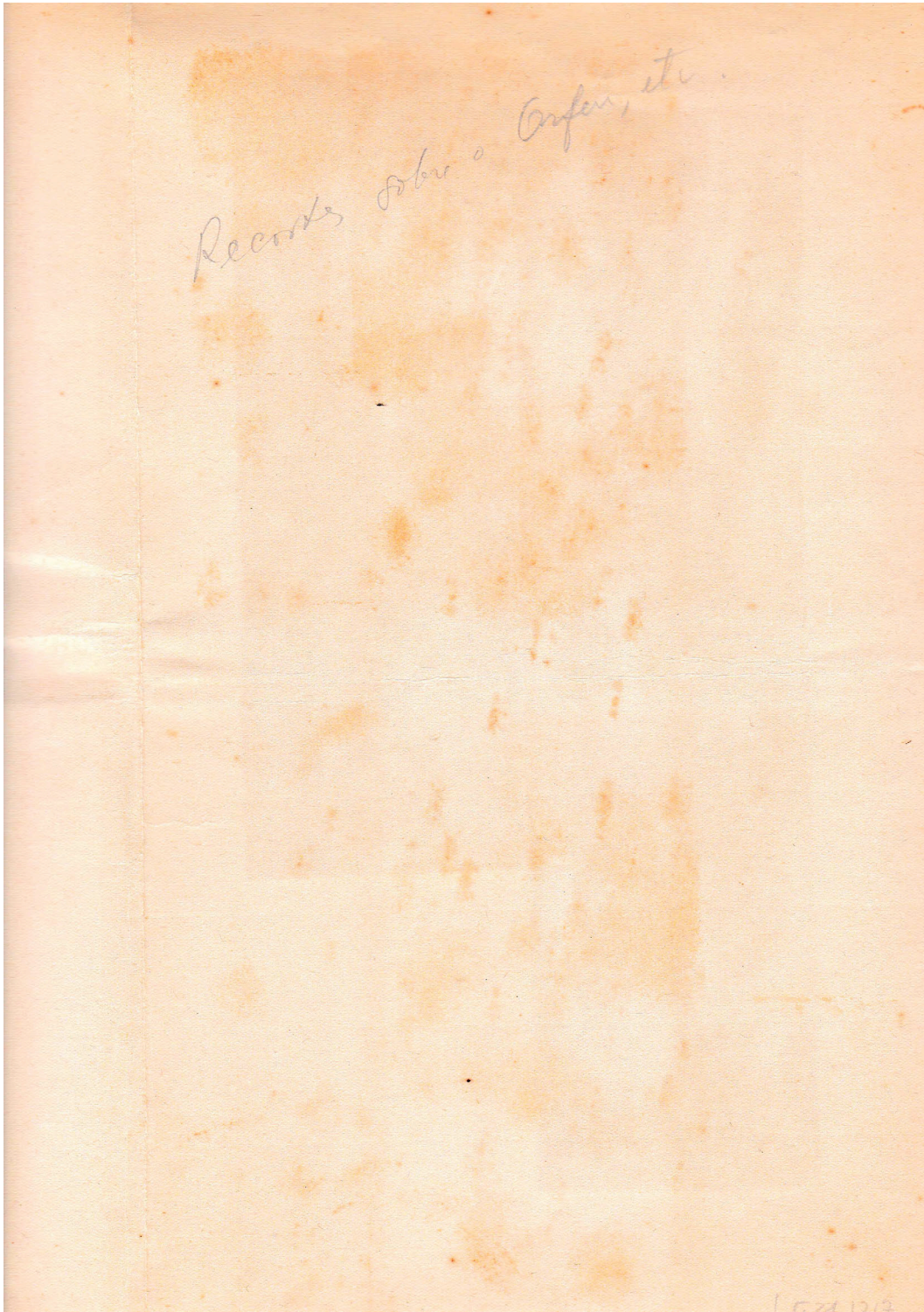


Fig. 6: Notation of front page of loose sheets, with the heading "Recortes sobre o Orfeu, etc." [Cuttings about Orfeu, etc.].

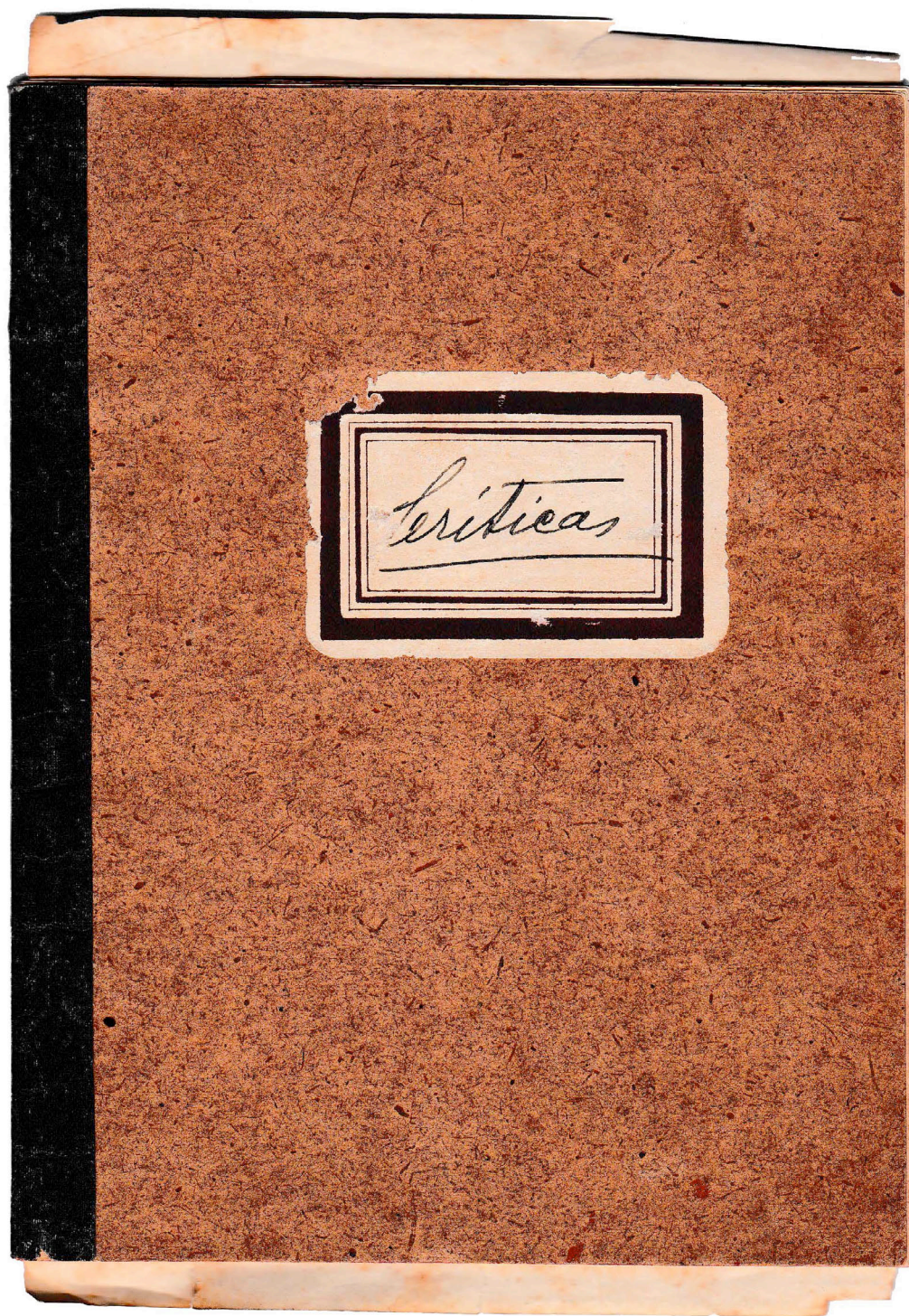


Fig. 7: Cover of the "Críticas" [Reviews] notebook, with the "Recortes sobre o Orfeu, etc." [Cuttings about Orfeu, etc.] cuttings inside.

This cooling of their relations was brought to a head by the publication of a letter, in *A Capital* on 6 July, signed by Álvaro de Campos, with a sarcastic allusion to an accident suffered by the politician Afonso Costa. There followed numerous articles condemning the heartlessness of the orphics, to which Guisado responded with “uma carta ao jornal *O Mundo* desvinculando-se das opiniões de Álvaro de Campos e proclamando a sua ruptura com o *Orpheu*. A carta (...) precisava ainda que Alfredo Guisado se havia desligado da revista logo a seguir à publicação do seu nº 1” [a letter to the newspaper *O Mundo* detaching himself from Álvaro de Campos’s opinions and announcing his falling-out with *Orpheu*. The letter also specified that Alfredo Guisado had stopped his involvement with the magazine soon after the publication of its first issue] (LOURENÇO, 2015: 290). The incident with the letter, published just days after the publication of the second issue of *Orpheu*, underscores the post-publication press campaign undertaken on behalf of the magazine by Fernando Pessoa, which included other provocative letters signed by Álvaro de Campos sent to mainstream newspapers, and constitutes a good example of the “propagandistic” strategies characteristic of avant-garde movements deployed by some of the mentors of *Orpheu* in order to generate polemics and further fuel the scandal. However, the consequences of this particular action caused a rift amid some of the contributors to the magazine, including Guisado.

Consequently, the reviews of *Orpheu* collected by Guisado do not extend beyond mid-March, but they amount to a substantial sample. A comparison of the press cuttings in Guisado’s “Orfeu reviews” notebook and Sá-Carneiro’s notebook of reviews about “Orfeu 1” shows that they collected sensibly the same reviews, though the ones collected in Sá-Carneiro’s notebook (some of which likely by Pessoa after the latter’s departure for Paris) amount to a larger number. Concerning the reviews in regional and national newspapers, it is worth noting that they echo, for the most part, the argument of “patologia mental” [mental pathology] regarding the “artists” associated with *Orpheu* advanced in the aforementioned review from March 30th in *A Capital* (COVAS, 1999: 11). These claims reverberate even in sympathetic reviews such as the aforementioned one by Carvalho Mourão, published in the “Vient de Paraître” section of *Terra Nossa* on April 11th, though with a lighter tone which, rather than criticize, conveys sheer surprise at the novelty introduced by some of the works featuring in the magazine and the inability to fully grasp their import. After appraising pieces from several contributors, illustrating his argument with excerpts from their works, Mourão concludes that “*Orpheu* é no seu conjunto uma psicologia doente mas bela” [in its ensemble *Orpheu* is a sickly but beautiful psychology], adding nonetheless, that “(u)ma grande obra, com efeito, se propõe erguer esse grupo gentil de inteligencias” [a great work, in effect, is what this charming collection of minds proposes to build] (*apud* COVAS, 1999: 11). Hence, he counters the generally

negative opinion about the magazine circulating in the press, which he accuses of having failed to understand it, seeing in that proof of its success. Singularly, this review is doubly recorded in Guisado's documents extant in the Távora archive, appearing both in the "Críticas de Orfeu" [Orfeu reviews] notebook and as a loose sheet under the heading "Recortes sobre o Orfeu, etc." [Cuttings about Orfeu, etc.] kept inside the "Críticas" [Reviews] notebook. Guisado likely wished to keep a record of it alongside reviews of his own works, given that Mourão made a direct reference to his poems appearing in *Orpheu*, describing them as "essa enorme estranheza, doentia" [that enormous sickly strangeness], and transcribed "Ante-Deus" (SÁ-CARNEIRO, 2017: 597-599), which featured alongside "7" from Sá-Carneiro in that issue of *Terra Nossa*.

Both Sá-Carneiro's and Guisado's notebooks also include reviews of the magazine abroad, namely in Spanish newspapers. The first reviews appeared in Spanish newspapers just days after the publication of its first issue, as the result of an elaborate strategy for internationalization of the magazine. Regarding themselves as "portugueses que escrevem para a Europa" [Portuguese writing for Europe] (PESSOA, 1966: 121), the orphics hoped that the movement they established in Portugal through *Orpheu* – Sensationism, to which Pessoa refers as "primeira manifestação de um Portugal-Europa" [first manifestation of a Portugal-Europe] (PESSOA, 1916: 46) – would take its rightful place alongside other irruptions of the European avant-garde. That they thought this goal could be achieved by making the magazine known abroad justifies their efforts to disseminate news of its publication internationally. In a letter from 10 August 1915, Sá-Carneiro, back in Paris following the publication of the second issue of the magazine, urges Pessoa "a que não descure a propaganda europeia do *Orfeu*" [not to neglect the European propaganda of *Orfeu*], suggesting the translation of excerpts from "Chuva Oblíqua" and "Manucure" to send with enclosed copies of the magazine (SÁ-CARNEIRO, 2015: 347). Pessoa would follow this suggestion, as gathered from some of his letters to English publishers and magazine editors. Although Sá-Carneiro was thinking of the Italian futurists, whom he mentions in the letter, or possibly some of the Paris-based artistic movements, for Pessoa, "[o]s três pontos de apoio exteriores d'esta propaganda devem ser Londres, Madrid e o Rio de Janeiro" [the three points of support of this propaganda abroad should be London, Madrid and Rio de Janeiro] (*apud* LÓPEZ, 1915a: 186).

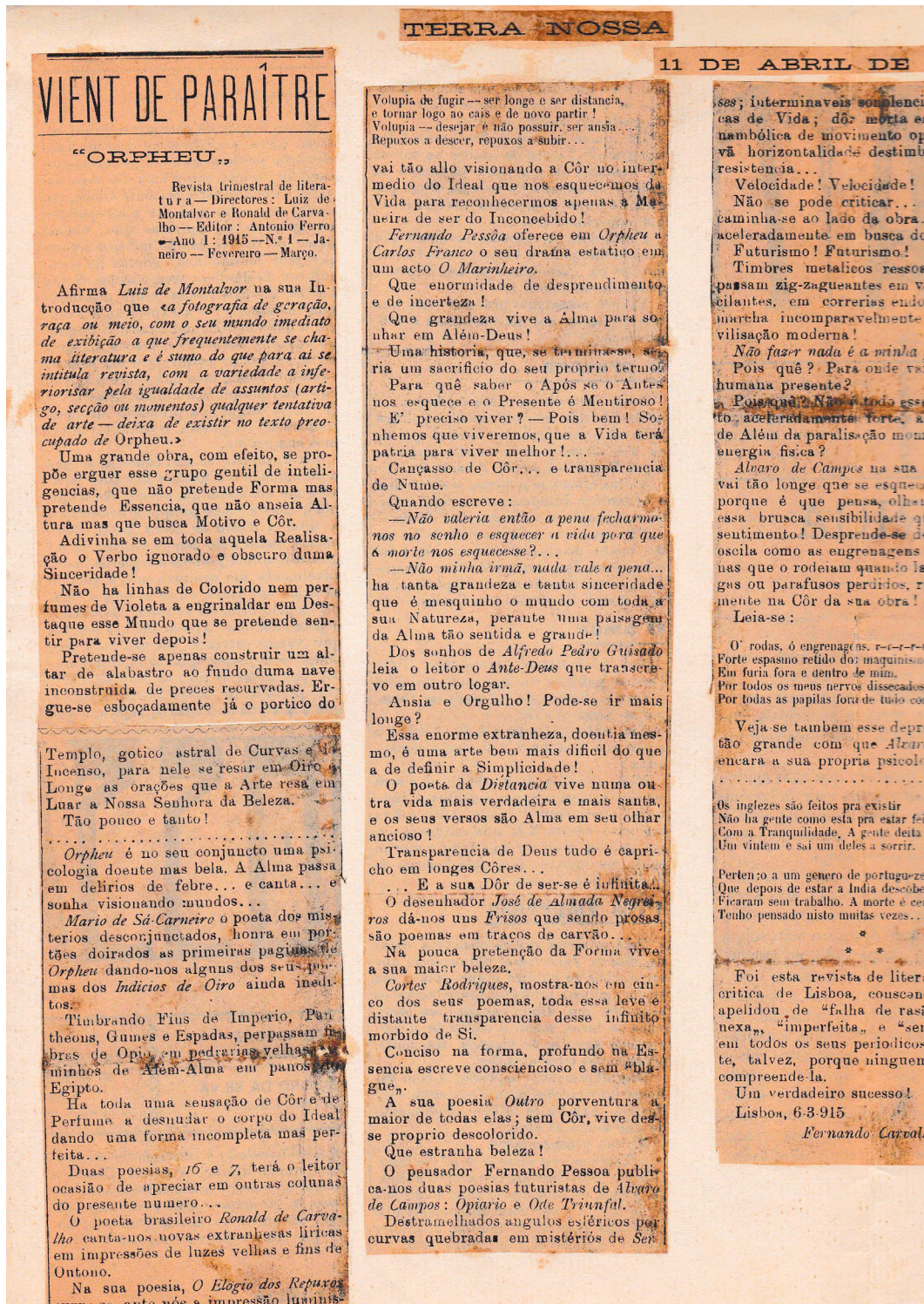
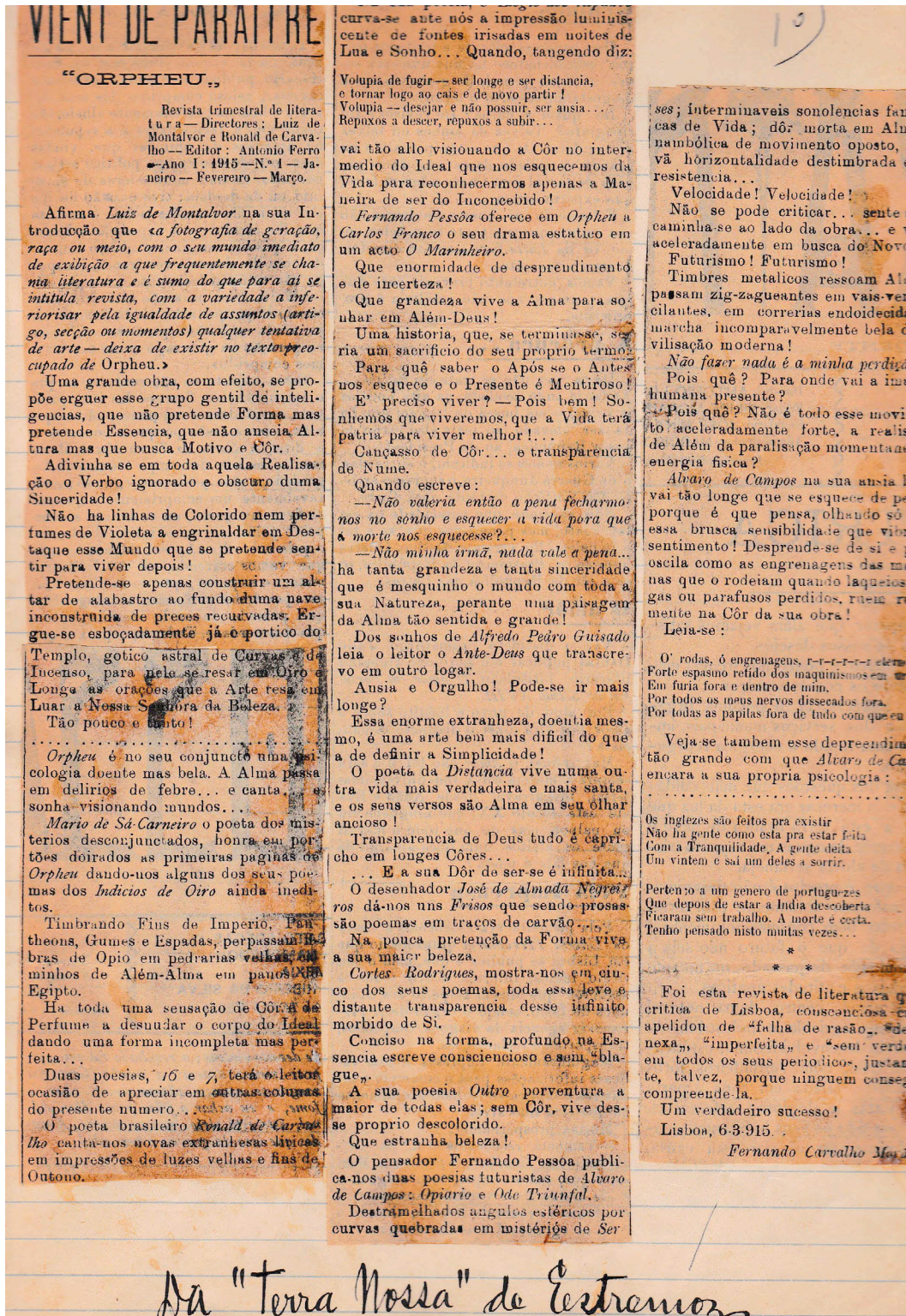


Fig. 8: Cutting of review published in *Terra Nossa* (April 11), included in assorted loose sheets "Recortes sobre o Orfeu, etc." [Cuttings about Orfeu, etc.]



Da "Terra Nossa" de Estremoz

Fig. 9: Cutting of review published in Terra Nossa (April 11), included in the "Críticas de Orfeu" [Orfeu reviews] notebook.

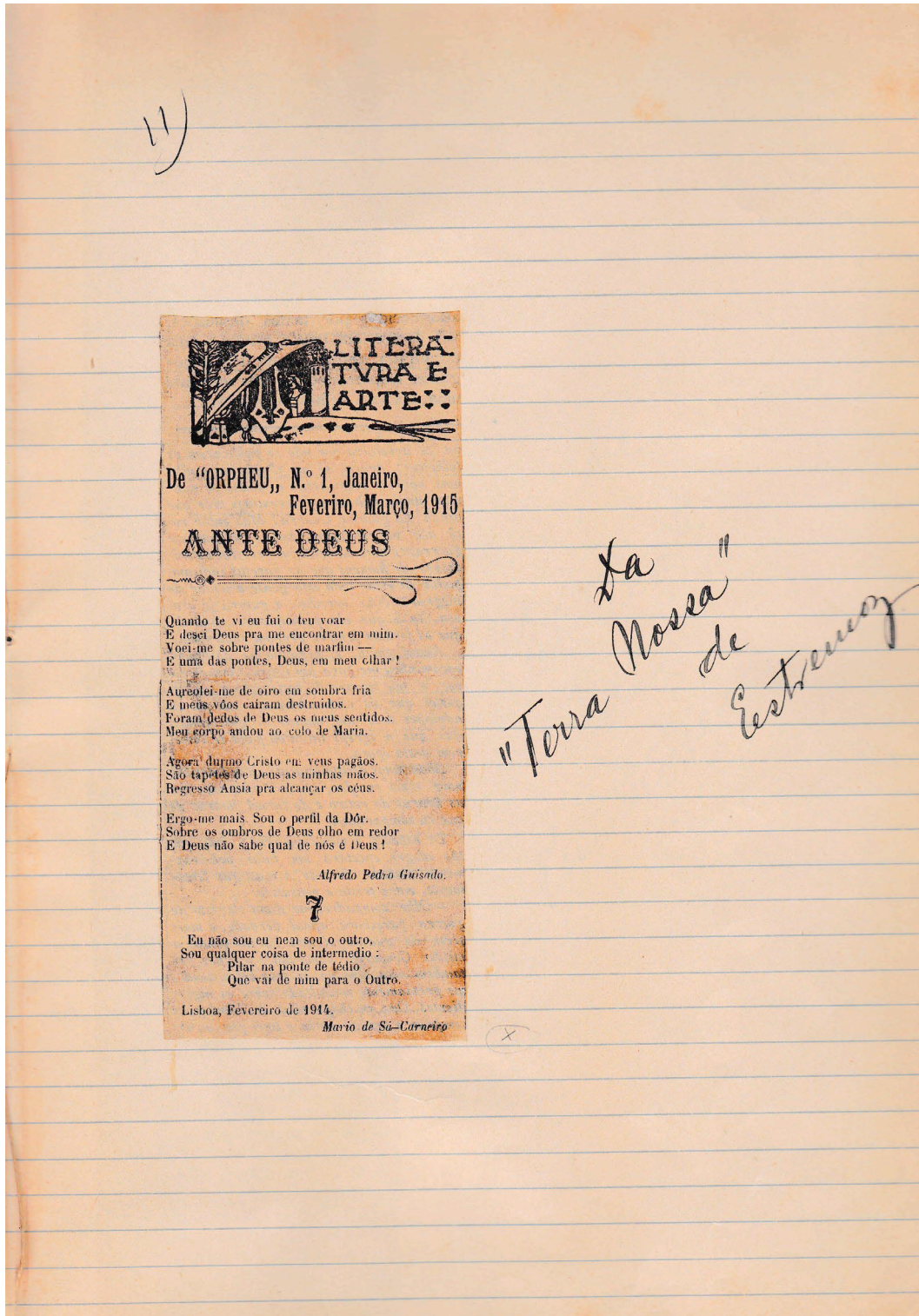


Fig. 10: Cutting of Alfredo Guisado's poem "Ante-Deus" published in Terra Nossa (April 11).

The reception of the magazine in Spain was particularly important for Pessoa, given “[a] *conveniência de uma entente ibérica*” [the convenience of an Iberian entente] (*apud* LÓPEZ, 1915a: 186). As noted by Pablo Javier Pérez López, that same year Pessoa began developing his project about Iberia, which “supõe a afirmação de uma necessidade de acção civilizacional conjunta, de um imperialismo cultural e de uma aliança espiritual ibérica que deixe para trás o provincianismo” [supposes the affirmation of a necessity of joint civilizational action, a cultural imperialism and an Iberian spiritual alliance that leaves behind provincialism] (LÓPEZ, 2015: 187), thus increasing the international projection of peninsular literatures. Aside from the well-known letter to Miguel de Unamuno, Pessoa intended to contact other important figures in the Spanish letters, as shown by lists with names and contacts found in his archive (LÓPEZ, 2015: 187), which also includes a list of Spanish newspapers to which they should send reviews of the magazine, notably *El Mundo*, *La Tribuna*, and *El Tea* (PESSOA, 2009: 39). If Pessoa’s attempts to introduce *Orpheu* to London publishers and magazine editors did not bear fruit, nor his attempted contacts with some Spanish intellectuals, the plan to disseminate the magazine in the Spanish press was more successful, resulting in a few reviews being published in Spanish newspapers, though not from Madrid.

According to López, “a maior ressonância espanhola relativa à publicação do *Orpheu* foi atingida na Galiza, onde vários jornais publicaram “críticas” ou comentários. Os seus autores relacionavam-se com Alfredo Guisado, que manteve, desde muito cedo, uma forte vinculação com a Galiza” [the largest Spanish resonance regarding the publication of *Orpheu* was achieved in Galicia, where several newspapers published reviews or commentaries. Their authors had relations with Alfredo Guisado, who kept, from early on, a strong connection to Galicia] (LÓPEZ, 2015: 189). Among the latter, he lists *El Eco de Santiago*, and *La Concordia de Vigo*, as well as *El Tea*, originally included in Pessoa’s prospective list of targeted newspapers. López argues that Guisado not only assisted Pessoa in the elaboration of the aforesaid lists, as shown by his handwriting on some of them, but was also responsible for passing on the Galician contacts to him (LÓPEZ, 2015: 187-188). Additionally, he also availed himself of the contacts he already had with Galician journalists to disseminate news of the magazine’s publication and secure reviews of it. Therefore, the reception of *Orpheu* in Spain was, to a large extent, mediated by Guisado, through his acquaintances in the Galician press.

Originally from Galicia, Guisado had close personal and professional ties to that part of Spain and therefore played a central role in the reception of the magazine in the local press from that region. Unlike most of the Portuguese contributors to *Orpheu*, he had previously published two volumes of poetry, namely *Rimas da Noite e da Tristeza* (1913) and *Distância* (1914), which feature in the list of works by contributors advertised in the front matter of *Orpheu*. These works had been reviewed not only in several major Portuguese newspapers such as

Diário de Notícias, *O Século*, and *A Capital*, but also in some Galician newspapers, including *El Tea*, in which one of the reviews of *Orpheu* subsequently appeared, and *Vida Gallega* – in which Alejo Carrera Muñoz, who signed the review of *Orpheu* for *El Tea*, had previously published, in November 1914, “a que seria a primeira notícia do grupo do *Orpheu* fora de Portugal” [what would be the first piece of news about the “*Orpheu* group” outside of Portugal], an article entitled “Los Poetas Lusitanos”. In this review in Spanish the critic referred to the main figures that would become associated with *Orpheu* as a “grupo de jóvenes poetas de la escuela moderna” [group of young poets from the modern school] (*apud* LÓPEZ, 2015: 191). The reviews about Guisado’s works were carefully collected by the author and kept in the aforementioned notebook entitled “Críticas” [Reviews], extant in the Távora archive.

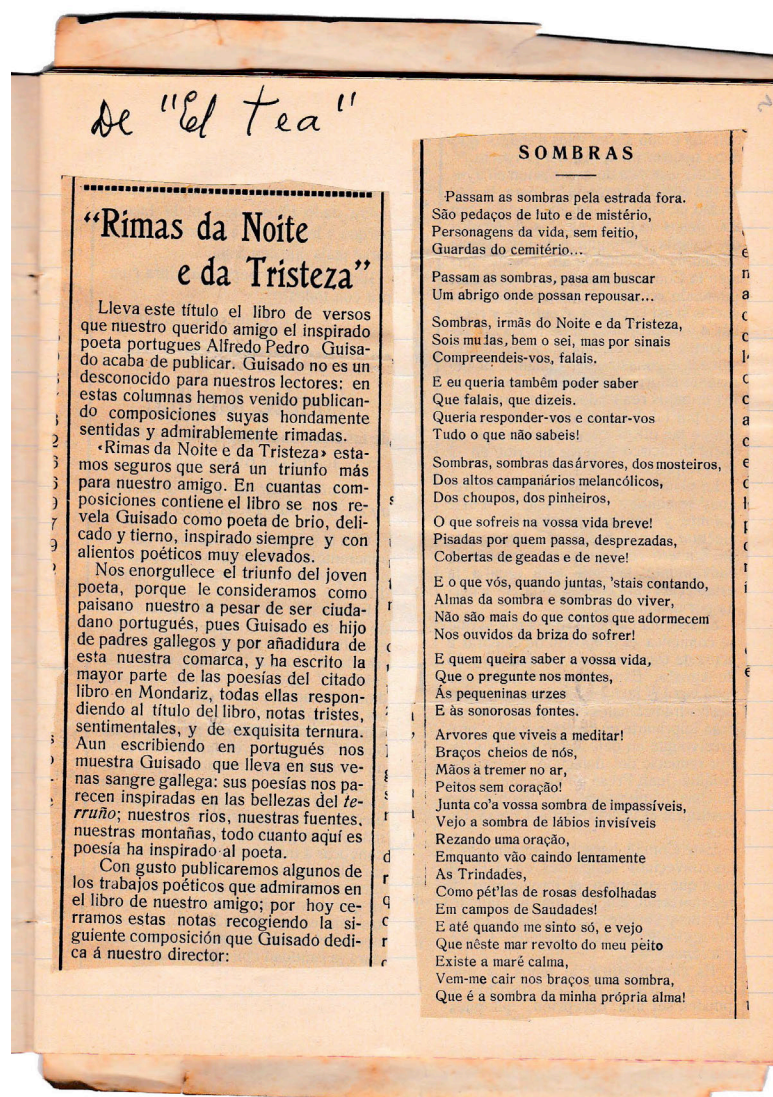


Fig. 11: Cutting of review of Guisado’s *Rimas da Noite e da Tristeza* (1913) in *El Tea*, from the “Críticas” [Reviews] notebook.

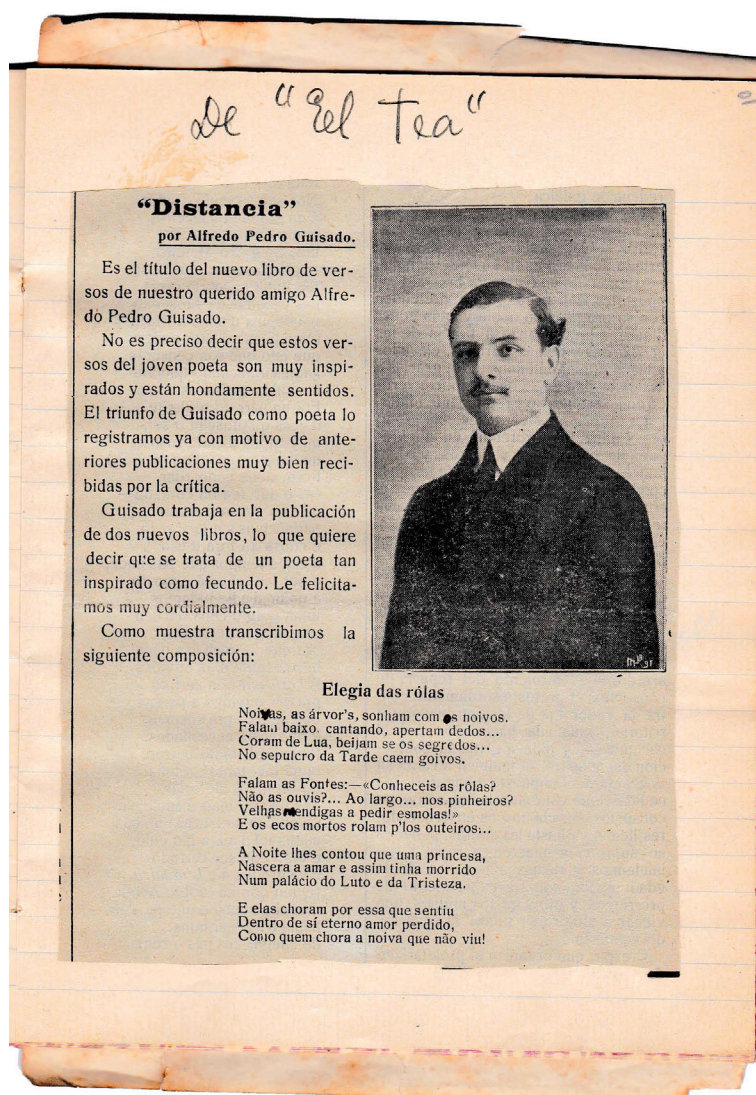


Fig. 12: Cutting of review of Guisado's *Distância* (1914) in *El Tea*, from the "Críticas" [Reviews] notebook.

Regarding the reviews of *Orpheu* in Spanish newspapers, Sá-Carneiro managed to gather more of them, namely Juan Barcia Caballero's in *El Eco de Santiago* (6 April 1915: 1), Jesús Cano's in *La Concordia de Vigo* ([5th-7th?] May), and a third review ([22nd/23rd?] April) in an unidentified Vigo newspaper (LÓPEZ, 1915: 190)¹¹, all of which feature in the "Orfeu 1" notebook. However, Guisado's "Críticas de Orfeu" [Orfeu reviews] notebook includes a review which is not found in Sá-Carneiro's notebook: the aforementioned review from the weekly *El Tea* (9

¹¹ While the information about the month of publication is based on Pablo López (2015), the proposed dates for these three reviews in Galician newspapers are based on the examination of the reviews adjoining them in Sá-Carneiro's notebook of press cuttings of reviews of *Orpheu* 1.

April 1915: 2), published a mere few days after the publication of the first issue of *Orpheu*, making it one of the first Spanish reviews of the magazine. Signed by Alejo Carrera (Muñoz) and entitled “Revuelo literário: Los poetas de *Orpheu*” [Literary Stir: the *Orpheu* Poets] – resuming the term he used to describe the action of the group of young “Lusitanian” poets in the aforementioned 1914 article from *Vida Gallega* (LÓPEZ, 2015: 191) –, this review in Spanish underscores the scandal caused by the newly-launched magazine (said to be selling out fast), quoting from the article published in *A Capital* as example of the attacks *Orpheu* was under from the Lisbon mainstream press. Carrera names all the contributors to *Orpheu*, whom he identifies as representatives of a new school of poetry, i.e. the so-called “*paúlicos*”, claiming that they were being hailed as “*innovadores de la musa lusitana*” [innovators of the Lusitanian muse] and underscoring the defiant way in which they were facing the sustained attacks from the press and lack of recognition by the general public, which he regarded as proof of their serious mission to “*legar a su patria una obra de grandeza literaria*” [leave a work of literary grandeur to their country].

According to López, Alejo Carrera (Muñoz), who signed the review, was an acquaintance of Guisado, hailing from the same Galician town, and was based in Lisbon as correspondent to several Galician publications (LÓPEZ, 2015: 191). This explains the notation “Lisboa” alongside the date of “6-IV-915”, below the signature; in effect, the review comprised that issue’s “*Crónica de Lisboa*” [Lisbon Chronicle] (LÓPEZ, 2015: 192), the name of the regular column he wrote for *El Tea*. The newspaper is identified in Guisado’s notebook as “*de Puentearreas*” [from Puentearreas], which shows his familiarity with the newspaper since, as noted by Lopez, “*Guisado era colaborador habitual do semanário agrarista El Tea de Puentearreas*” [Guisado was a regular contributor to the rural weekly *El Tea* from Puentearreas] (LÓPEZ, 2015: 189). Therefore, considering Guisado’s close ties to the journalist and the newspaper, and given the review’s encomiastic tone, it seems reasonable to ponder whether it wasn’t in fact written by Guisado himself (if not by Pessoa). This possibility is reinforced by the fact that the review comprises one column, corresponding therefore to the notation “*artigo para uma columna*” [article for one column], written about *El Tea*, in the list of Spanish newspapers to which reviews of *Orpheu* should be sent, which is extant in Pessoa’s archive (PESSOA, 2009: 39).

Revuelo literario
Los poetas de "Orpheu"

Hace días vió la publicidad una revista trimestral de literatura que tiene por título *Orpheu*. En ella colabora un grupo de poetas que dan por el nombre de *paúlicos* o sea el nombre de la novísima escuela poética que sus discípulos quieren hacer popular o célebre.

Ese grupo de jóvenes son: Mario de Sá Carneiro, Luis de Montalvôr, Ronald de Carvalho, Fernando Pessoa, José de Almada-Negreiros, Côrtes Rodrigues, Alvaro de Campos, Alfredo Pedro Guisado y como editor figura Antonio Ferro.

Nosotros quisiéramos conocer a fondo la poesía portuguesa para formular una opinión propia referente a la escuela sustentada por estos jóvenes literatos, que hoy son señalados por las calles como innovadores de la musa lusitana.

Innecesario se hará decir a nuestros lectores que la primera edición se está agotando, porque hoy no hay nadie que no desee leer la ya célebre revista *Orpheu*, tan raras, rarísimas, son las inspiraciones que la misma contiene.

Los llamados *paúlicos* han aguantado sobre ellos la implacable metralla de la prensa cotidiana lisbonense. Algunos diarios llegaron a dar la palabra al doctor Julio de Mattos, versado en enfermedades mentales.

A *Capital* lleva su crítica al extremo siguiente:

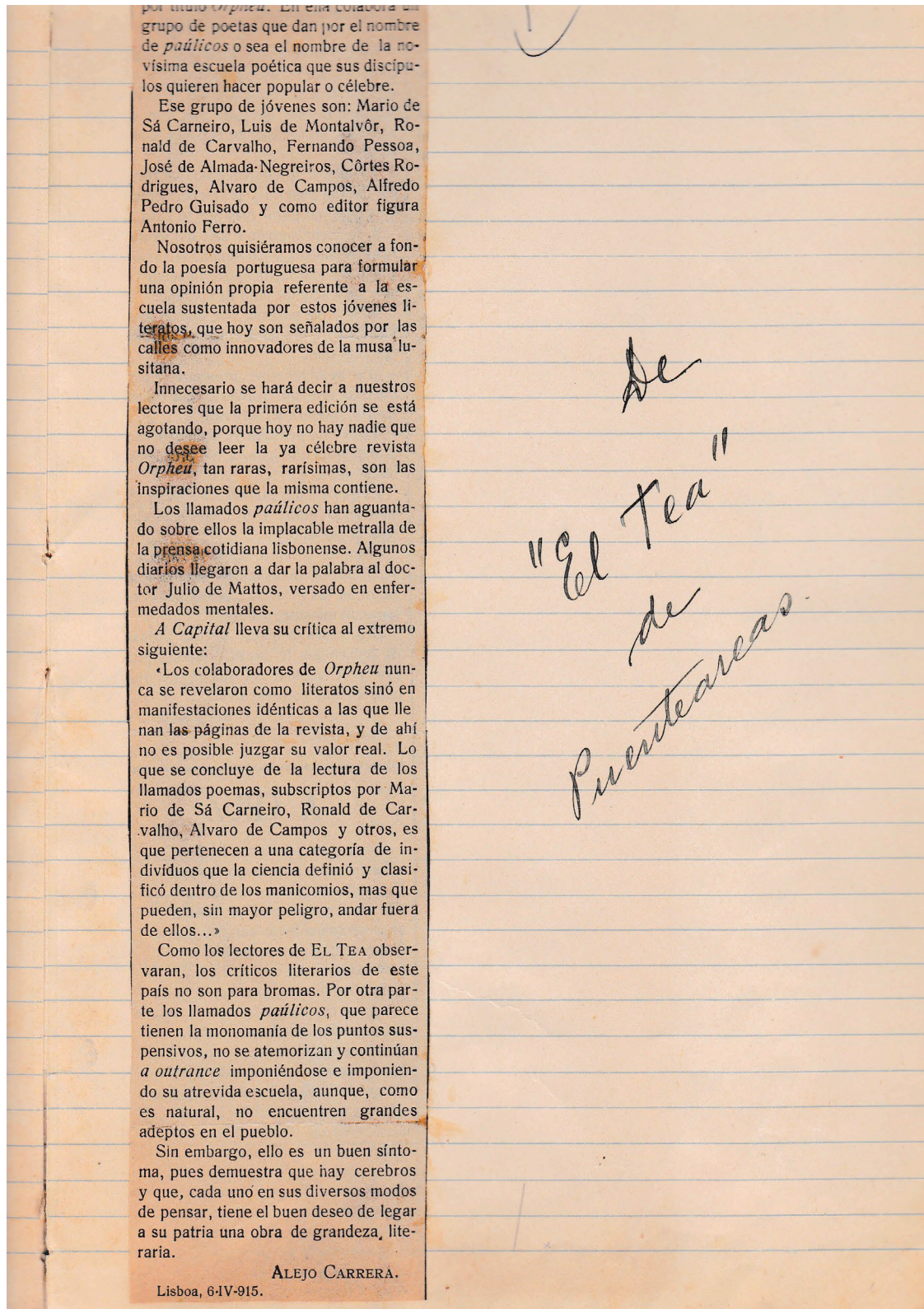
«Los colaboradores de *Orpheu* nunca se revelaron como literatos sinó en manifestaciones idénticas a las que llenan las páginas de la revista, y de ahí no es posible juzgar su valor real. Lo que se concluye de la lectura de los llamados poemas, subscriptos por Mario de Sá Carneiro, Ronald de Carvalho, Alvaro de Campos y otros, es que pertenecen a una categoría de individuos que la ciencia definió y clasificó dentro de los manicomios, mas que pueden, sin mayor peligro, andar fuera de ellos...»

Como los lectores de EL TEA observaran, los críticos literarios de este país no son para bromas. Por otra parte los llamados *paúlicos*, que parece tienen la monomanía de los puntos suspensivos, no se atemorizan y continúan a *outrance* imponiéndose e imponiendo su atrevida escuela, aunque, como es natural, no encuentren grandes adeptos en el pueblo.

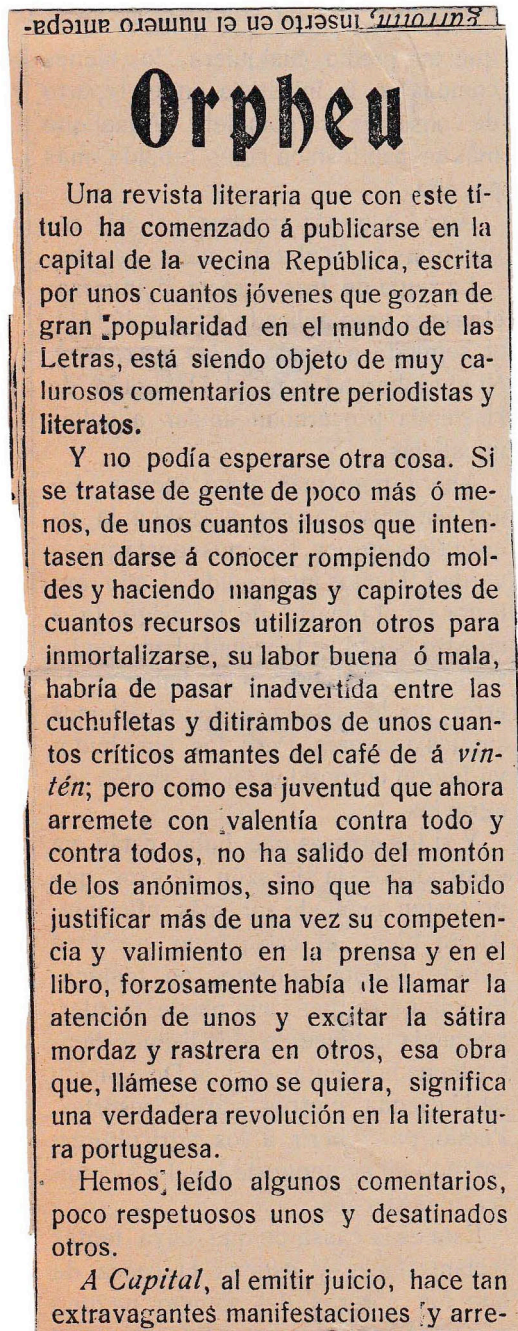
Sin embargo, ello es un buen síntoma, pues demuestra que hay cerebros y que, cada uno en sus diversos modos

12

de
"El Tea"
de
Ponteareas.



Figs. 13 & 14: Cutting of review of *Orpheu* in *El Tea*, kept in Guisado's "Críticas de *Orfeu*" [Orfeu reviews] notebook.



Figs. 15 & 16: Cuttings of review of *Orpheu* in an unknown Vigo newspaper, kept in Guisado's "Críticas de Orfeu" [Orfeu reviews] notebook.

mete con tanta furia contra los colaboradores de la nueva revista, que no podemos tomar en serio sus consideraciones harto apasionadas y fuera de razón.

Pretende hacer crítica literaria y lo único que consigue es exteriorizar el odio ó la envidia que siente hácia alguno de los jóvenes literatos, valiéndose para ello de copiar trozos de composiciones que luego no analiza ni comenta, sin duda por ser cosa muy superior á las fuerzas del anónimo comentarista de *A Capital*.

No hemos de decir ahora si la labor de esa juventud que honra á su patria, habrá ó no de prosperar; mas lo que sí nos atrevemos á afirmar, es que la nueva escuela ha de tener muchos partidarios en todas esas tierras en que se habla el idioma tierno y melodioso de Camoens.

Porque es lo cierto que los fundadores de *Orpheu*, verdaderos revolucionarios de la pluma, no son, como hemos dicho antes, cuatro mozalbetes almidonados, con muchas pretensiones y sin ningún prestigio, sino escritores de muy sólida reputación, hallándose entre ellos Alfredo Pedro Guisado cuyos trabajos hemos leído y admirado varias veces en las columnas de la prensa española.

Esta nueva escuela, lejos de apartarse del arte, rompiendo el ánfora divina en que bebieron los genios de la poesía portuguesa, pretende hermanar lo bello y lo sublime dando vida á la idea, color al pensamiento.

Esos jóvenes enamorados de la nueva escuela, por ellos creada, constituyen una hermosa aristocracia intelectual, la aristocracia del nuevo estilo que sabe entrelazar las opacidades de melancólicos atardeceres con los bellísimos destellos de doradas auroras.

Y hemos de terminar este brevísimo trabajo, dando un fuerte y sincero ¡hurra! á esos rebeldes artistas que con tanta valentía y arrogancia vuelven los ojos hácia lo porvenir, despreciando con una sarcástica sonrisa bajezas, odios y desplantes de cuatro miserables sapos.

R. R.

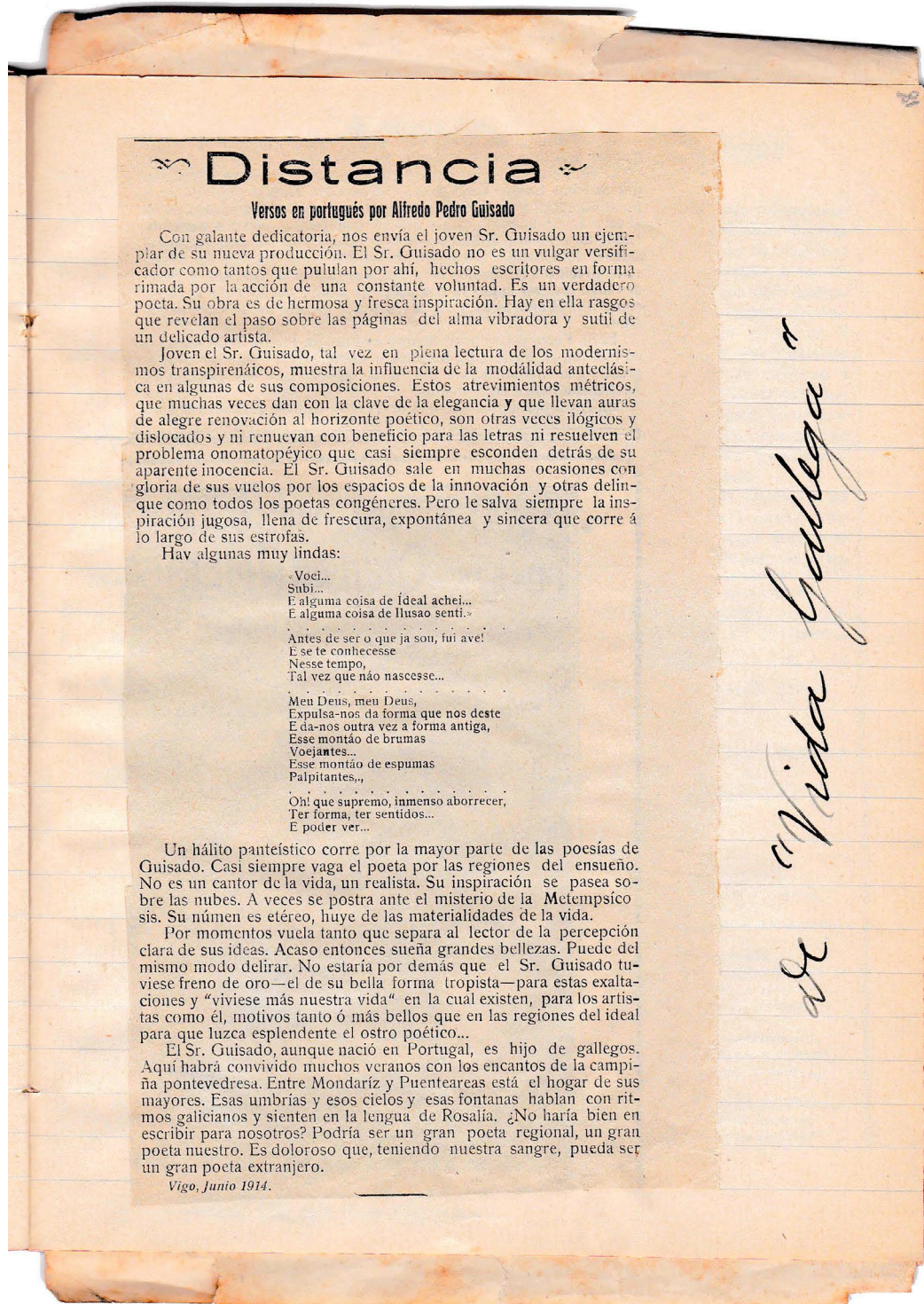


Fig. 17: Cutting of review of Guisado's "Distância" in *Vida Gallega* kept in "Críticas" (Reviews) notebook.

A similar question of authorship about other reviews in some of the Galician newspapers is raised by López, who wonders whether Guisado wrote the review published in *La Concordia de Vigo* (LÓPEZ, 2015: 190) and whether Pessoa wrote another one entitled “Orpheu” and signed with the initials R.R. (LÓPEZ, 2015: 192), published in an unknown newspaper said to be from Vigo in a hand-written notation in Sá-Carneiro’s “Orpheu I” notebook. Cuttings of this review are also found among the Guisado papers in the Távora archive, possibly not added to the “Críticas de Orfeu” [Orpheu reviews] notebook because it was published at a later date – in late April, judging from its positioning among other late April reviews in Sá-Carneiro’s notebook –, by which time Guisado was no longer following as closely the magazine’s press career. Nonetheless, the reference to his works, which are said to be read and appreciated often on the pages of the Spanish press, likely sparked his interest in the review, which does seem to have “um cunho muito pessoano em algumas das suas frases” [a very Pessoa-like imprint on some of its sentences] (LÓPEZ, 2015: 192). Therefore, these findings reinforce the argument that the majority of reviews of *Orpheu* published in the Spanish press originated from both Guisado and Pessoa and were part of a sustained campaign to publicize the magazine in Spain. If the focus on Guisado in this review is directly related to the latter goal, appealing to the readers’ familiarity with the author from the *Orpheu* group who regularly published work in Spanish periodicals, on the other hand, if it was written by Pessoa, it can also be seen to convey a genuine admiration for Guisado’s work, which was indeed the case.

III. A subsidy to the poetic legacy of Alfredo Guisado from the Távora archive

In a *Post scriptum* to the aforementioned letter to Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues, from 4 March 1915, Pessoa remarks, “O Guisado tem feito ultimamente extraordinárias e inesperadas coisas, versos ofuscantemente belos” [Guisado has been producing extraordinary and unexpected things lately, obfuscatingly beautiful lines]. He was likely referring to the “Treze Sonetos” [Thirteen Sonnets] that Guisado contributed to the first issue of *Orpheu*, which in their poetic imagery and diction epitomized the predominant aesthetic in the first issue of the magazine, “paúlismo”, a term coined after a poem entitled “Pauis” published by Pessoa in the single-issue magazine *A Renascença* (February, 1914), and subsequently adopted by most writers of the *Orpheu* group. Guisado also published, in the same magazine, “Asas Quebradas” (February, 1914: 13), the closing poem of *Distância* (1914) (LOURENÇO, 2011: 161), which, according to António Apolinário Lourenço, “[é] já na linha estética paúlica que se integra” [already falls within the “paúlica” aesthetic orientation] (LOURENÇO, 2015: 286). Lourenço emphasizes the importance of this volume of poetry, arguing that *Distância*, “com as suas sinestésias, paradoxos, o intenso cromatismo imagético, o desdobramento do sujeito, a fusão do material

com o espiritual, constituiria um dos primeiros testemunhos em livro da geração modernista” [with its synaesthesia, paradoxes, the intense chromatism of the imagery, the dissociation of the subject, the fusion of the material with the spiritual, it would constitute one of the first testimonies in book form of the modernist generation] (LOURENÇO, 2015: 287). *Distância* also elicited the following comments from the author of a review in Spanish published in *Vida Gallega*, in June 1914, and included in the “Críticas” (Reviews) notebook: “Un hálito panteístico corre por la mayor parte de las poesias de Guisado. Casi sempre vaga por las regions del ensueño” [A pantheistic breath runs through the majority of Guisado’s poems. He almost always wanders through the regions of dreams] (*Vida Gallega*, 25 June 1914: 26).

A similar pantheistic strand, which constitutes a dominant trait of Sensationism, the aesthetic that subsumed “Paúlismo” in the rapid progression from the first to the second issue of *Orpheu*, and which also straddles Pessoa’s Portuguese and English poetry at the time, is also present in *O Elogio da Paisagem* (1915), published by Guisado, under the pseudonym Pedro de Menezes. This book would give Pessoa the opportunity to endorse Guisado’s poetic talent publicly, as well as the “pretexto (...) para Pessoa apresentar e defender na revista *Exílio* (...) Abril de 1916, o ‘Movimento Sensacionista’” [pretext for Pessoa to present and defend in the magazine *Exílio* April 1916, the “Sensationist Movement”] (Lourenço, 2015: 292), which he claimed the book encapsulated. Thus, argues Pessoa,

A breve e magistral colheita de sonetos, que o Sr. Pedro de Menezes fez para o seu público, marca bem a individualidade definida, que ele tem adentro do Sensacionismo. A exuberância abstracto-concreta das imagens, a riqueza de sugestão na associação delas, a profunda intuição metafísica que rodeia tanto os versos culminantes dos sonetos desta *plaque*, como, bastas vezes, a direcção anímica de certos sonetos integralmente – tantas são algumas das razões que um espírito esclarecido e europeu encontra para admirar e amar o *Elogio da Paisagem*.

(apud LOURENÇO, 2011, 163)

[The brief and magistral collection of sonnets which Mr. Pedro de Menezes offered his public signals the clear individuality he has within Sensationism. The abstract-concrete exuberance of the images, the wealth of suggestion in their association, the profound metaphysical intuition that surrounds both the best lines of the sonnets in this chapbook and, oftentimes, the vital thrust of certain sonnets in full – so many are some of the reasons an enlightened, European spirit finds to admire and love *Elogio da Paisagem*.]

Apolinário Lourenço underscores the aesthetic parallels “entre o conjunto de poemas reunidos neste volume e dois importantes ciclos poéticos que Pessoa ultimava na mesma altura, “Os Passos da Cruz” e “Além-Deus”, que assentam no princípio da suprema unidade de todas as coisas” [between the group of poems gathered in this volume and two important poetic cycles Pessoa was finishing at that time, “Os Passos da Cruz” and “Além-Deus”, which rely on the principle of

the supreme unity of all things] (LOURENÇO, 2015: 293), which helps to explain the perceived affinities by Pessoa.

Several of the aforesaid characteristics indentified in Guisado's poetry by the reviewer from *Vida Galega* (possibly Alejo Carrera, by Pessoa and Lourenço are also present in a, seemingly, previously unpublished poem entitled "Poema da Hesitação", the manuscript of which, featuring the date 1916 and Guisado's signature,¹² is among Guisado's papers in the Távora archive, and reads thus:

O eu ter sido um outro me procura.
 Passa por mim e parte convencido
 De que não me encontrou.
 E ao regressar, em <†> trémula ternura,
 Alguém busca saber em que *sonho* de altura
 Me deixou esquecido
 E porque regressou.

Não responde.
 O ser o que já sou me desconhece.
 Este que eu possa ser
 A minha sombra esconde,
 Para o que fui,
 Que de mim se esquece,
 Me não conhecer.

Tudo o mais que me cerca e me acompanha
 É um país que para mim próprio invento.

This first section introduces the central themes of dissociation of self, inability to know oneself due to mutability of past and future selves, and real life as a dream, as experienced by the poetic *persona*. The depiction of the dream of existence as a country draws on the underlying metaphor of *O Marinheiro*, Pessoa's "static" poetic drama published in the first issue of *Orpheu*.

That the latter intertextual allusion was deliberate is confirmed by the setting evoked at the start of the second part (section breaks signaled with "x"):

No alto do castelo que o mar banha
 E em cujo varandim me sento,
 Olho em redor...
 A paisagem parada em minha frente.

¹² The holograph comprises six loose unnumbered sheets of smooth paper written in black ink with tears on the last page, which features the date and Guisado's signature. Beside the signature, there is a handwritten notation, presumably by Fernando Távora, stating, "Assinado em 29 de Novembro de 1972" (signed on 29 November 1972), likely the date in which he succeeded in having Guisado sign the holograph, which is corroborated by the fact that both this note and Guisado's signature are in the same blue ink, which differs from the black ink in which the poem is written.

A própria água que o rio acarinhava
 E por êle passava,
 Parou. Não há nem árvore, nem flor...
 E serei eu que vejo essa paisagem
 Quieta, parada em frente do castelo,
 Ou será ela que, ante a minha imagem,
 Se julga ser paisagem
 E tudo o mais é sonho e eu querer vê-lo?

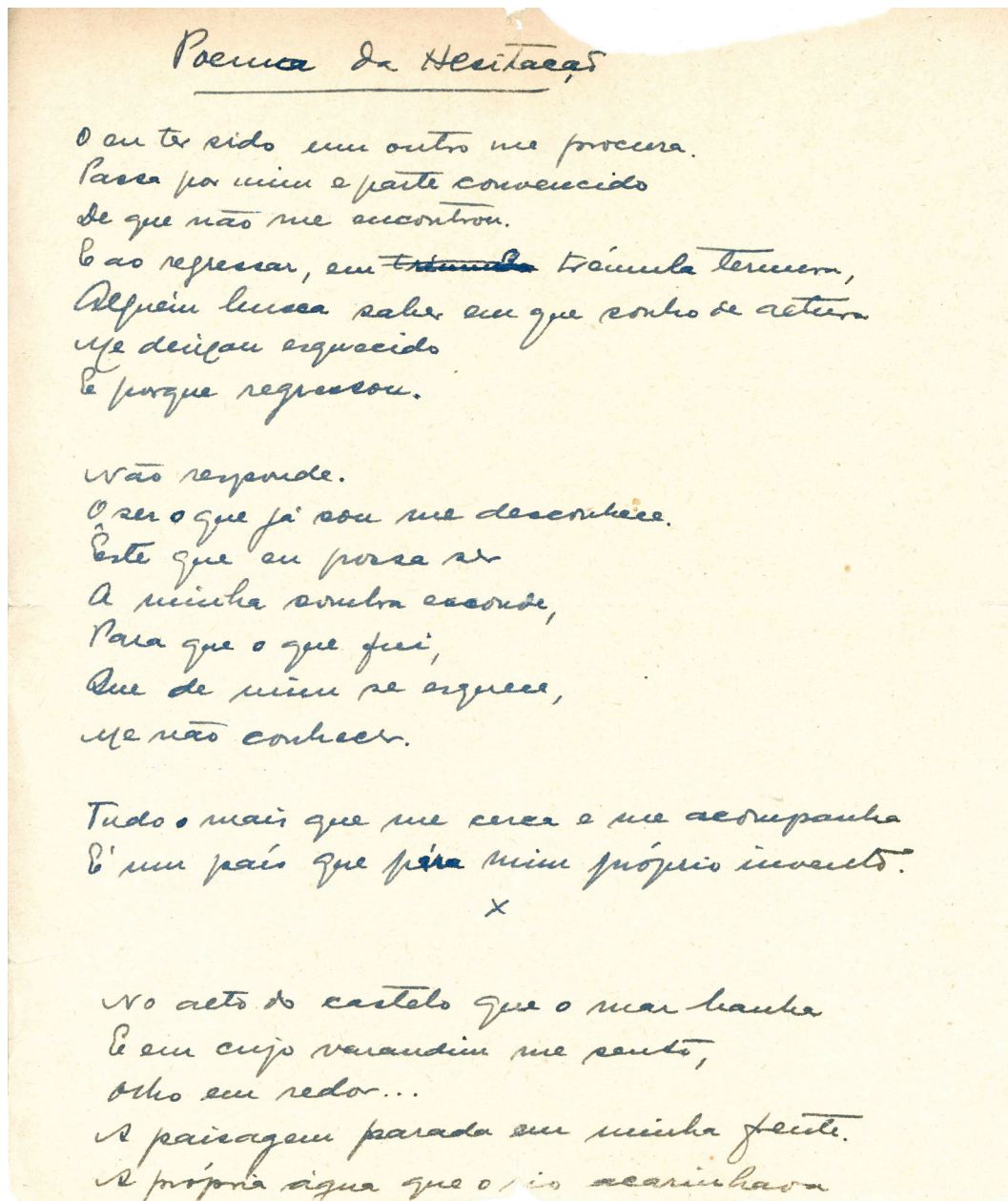


Fig. 18: first page from the holograph of Alfredo Guisado's
 "Poema da Hesitação" extant in the Távora archive.

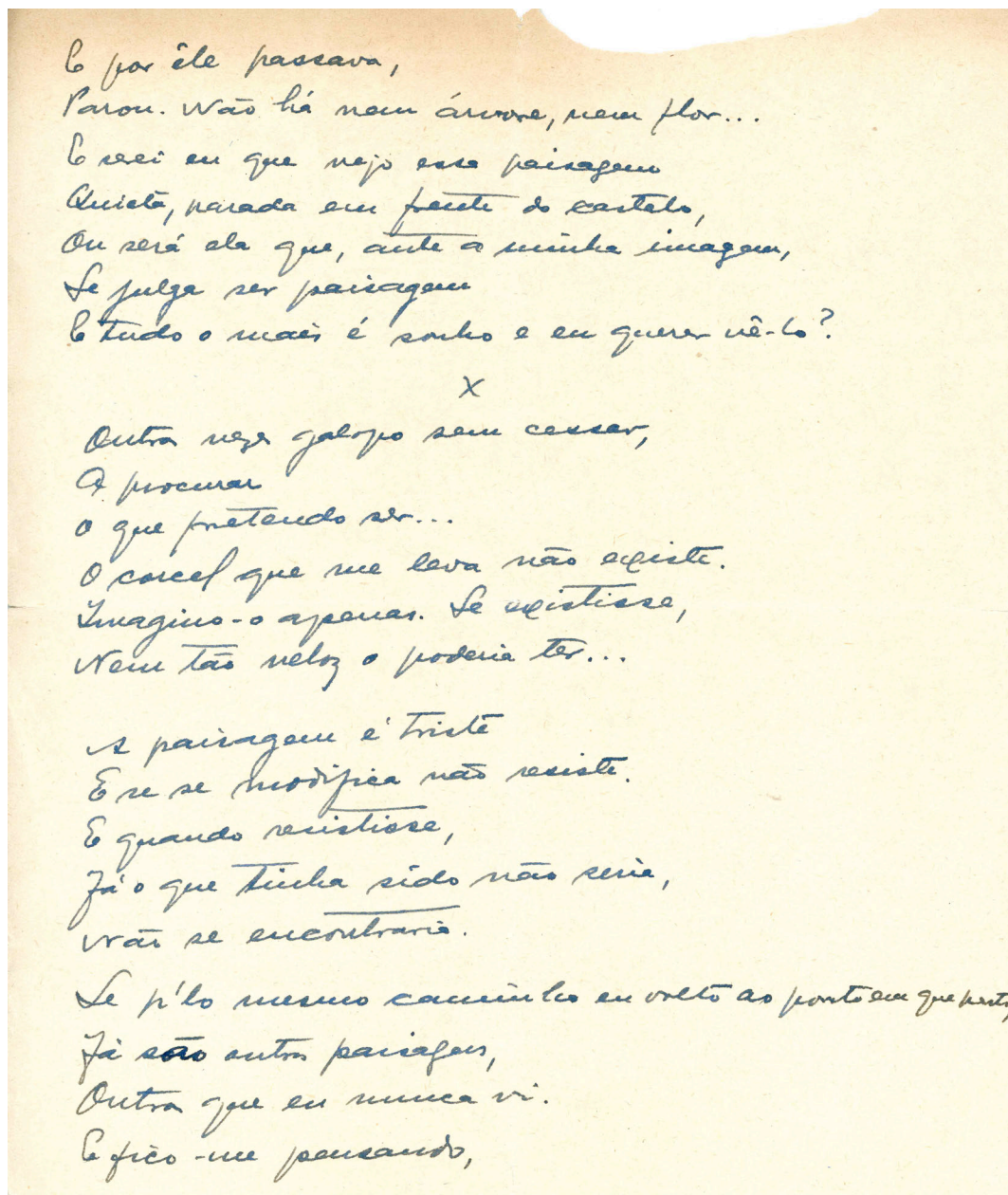


Fig. 19: second page from the holograph of Alfredo Guisado's
 "Poema da Hesitação" extant in the Távora archive.

In turn, this section of the poem evokes the process of intersection of different planes rehearsed in "Chuva Oblíqua", published in the second issue of *Orpheu*, juxtaposing the actual perspective of the *persona* looking onto the landscape and, hypothetically, the imaginary perspective of the landscape observing the subject, which is thus objectified, through the same oneiric logic underlying Pessoa's poem.

The ostensible "dream" landscape is descriptively rendered in the following section, which reads:

Outras vezes galopo sem cessar,
 A procurar
 O que pretendo ser...
 O corcel que me leva não existe.
 Imagino-o apenas. Se existisse,
 Nem tão veloz o poderia ter...

A paisagem é triste
 E se se modifica não resiste.
 E quando resistisse,
 Já o que tinha sido não seria,
 Não se encontraria.

Se p'lo mesmo caminho eu volto ao ponto em que parti,
 Já são outras paisagens,
 Outras que eu nunca vi.
 E fico-me pensando,
 Na minha hesitação,
 Se sou eu que procuro outras paragens,
 Ou se tôda a paisagem é só uma
 E me procura a mim.

Num campanário, ao longe, uma oração...
 Numa praia, mais perto, inquieta espuma.
 E entre esse campanário e a praia há sedas e marfins.

This section develops the *topos* of search for an integrated Self introduced in the previous section through the metaphor of wandering through a landscape, which is an inner landscape, as encapsulated the line “Toda a Paisagem está dentro de mim!” [The whole Landscape is inside me!] from “Romaria dos ecos”, the closing poem of *O Elogio da Paisagem* (Guisado, 1969: 15). As noted by Lourenço, “da intersecção da natureza com os estados anímicos resulta a anulação da fronteira entre o sujeito e o objecto (...). O desdobramento psíquico é quase sempre de signo negativo, insinuando indecisão (...)” [from the intersection of nature with the states of soul results the dissolution of the border between the subject and the object (...). The psychic dissociation almost always has a negative stress, insinuating indecision] (Lourenço, in Guisado 2003: xxxiii), which is the central mood conveyed in the poem, encapsulated in the word “hesitação” [hesitation]. Throughout the poem, Guisado persistently emphasizes the impossibility of achieving integration, developing the themes of mutability and unreality of all sensory things.

In attempting to delineate Guisado’s key themes and motifs, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues highlights, “o carácter radicalmente incerto e problemático do ser e do acontecer (...). Incessantemente, na poesia de Alfredo Guisado, o ‘eu’ é posto em causa (...). A despersonalização toma um cunho dramático, por vezes mesmo histriónico” [the radically uncertain and problematic character of being

and happening (...). Incessantly, in Alfredo Guisado's poetry, the 'I' is put into question (...). The depersonalization has a dramatic, sometimes even histrionic, quality] (Guisado, 1969: XII). This, coincidentally, is possibly the biggest reason why Pessoa took such an interest in and so insistently praised his poetry, with which he undoubtedly felt a close affinity. As with the Pessoaan subject, the dissociation is poignantly felt by the *persona* in Guisado's poem, as evinced in the following section:

Eu mesmo, se me encontro, nada digo.
 Um, o que sou, me fico meditando,
 Outro, o que fui, afasta-se e consigo
 Que me não veja.
 Cada vez mais ao largo se deseja.
 Cada vez mais ao longe vai passando.
 E se outro que jamais tivesse sido
 Pudesse ainda ser,
 Nunca mais a mim próprio voltaria.
 Teria conseguido
 No que então seria,
 O que fui e o que sou
 Dentro em mim esquecer.

Quando será que dentro em mim se acalme
 A torturante luta
 De ser enfim o que desejo ser!
 Ou quando será que deixe então de ser
 O que nunca desejaria ter sido?

This section expresses the sense of dissociation of the subject in a manner analogous to the neoplatonist treatment it received in some of the poems from *Distância*, as "cindido dum 'Eu' originário e, na condição agônica de quem suspeita o insucesso de suas decaídas faculdades (...) persegue a reminescente recuperação da integridade primordial" [separated from an original "I" and, in the agonic condition of someone who suspects the failure of his fallen faculties (...) he chases the reminescent recuperation of the primordial integration] (PEREIRA, 1976: 79). The "subjectivist Neoplatonism" ostensible in his poetry, previously highlighted by Óscar Lopes (Guisado, 1969: XIV), resembles that of Pessoa, which is particularly salient in the "Passos da Cruz" and "Além-Deus" series. In turn, the expression "Outro, o que fui" [Another, the one I was] and surrounding lines evoke the lines "Outro que eu fui armei ao sol a minha tenda, / (...) Embebo os olhos, scismo" in Mario Beirão's "Ermos" [Another that I was, I pitched my tent in the sun / (...) I water my eyes and brood] (*A Águia*, February 1913: 58-59),¹³ disclosing a similar

¹³ This line of Beirão's, in turn, may have owed its suggestion to Pessoa, who, as noted by Lourenço, "enviou, no dia 1 de Fevereiro de 1913, uma carta que é um dos primeiros testemunhos do

brooding subject whose excessive self-awareness leads to dissociation and disquiet and denoting the influence of the post-symbolist diction of Saudosismo on Guisado's poetry (SOUSA, 2013: 33).

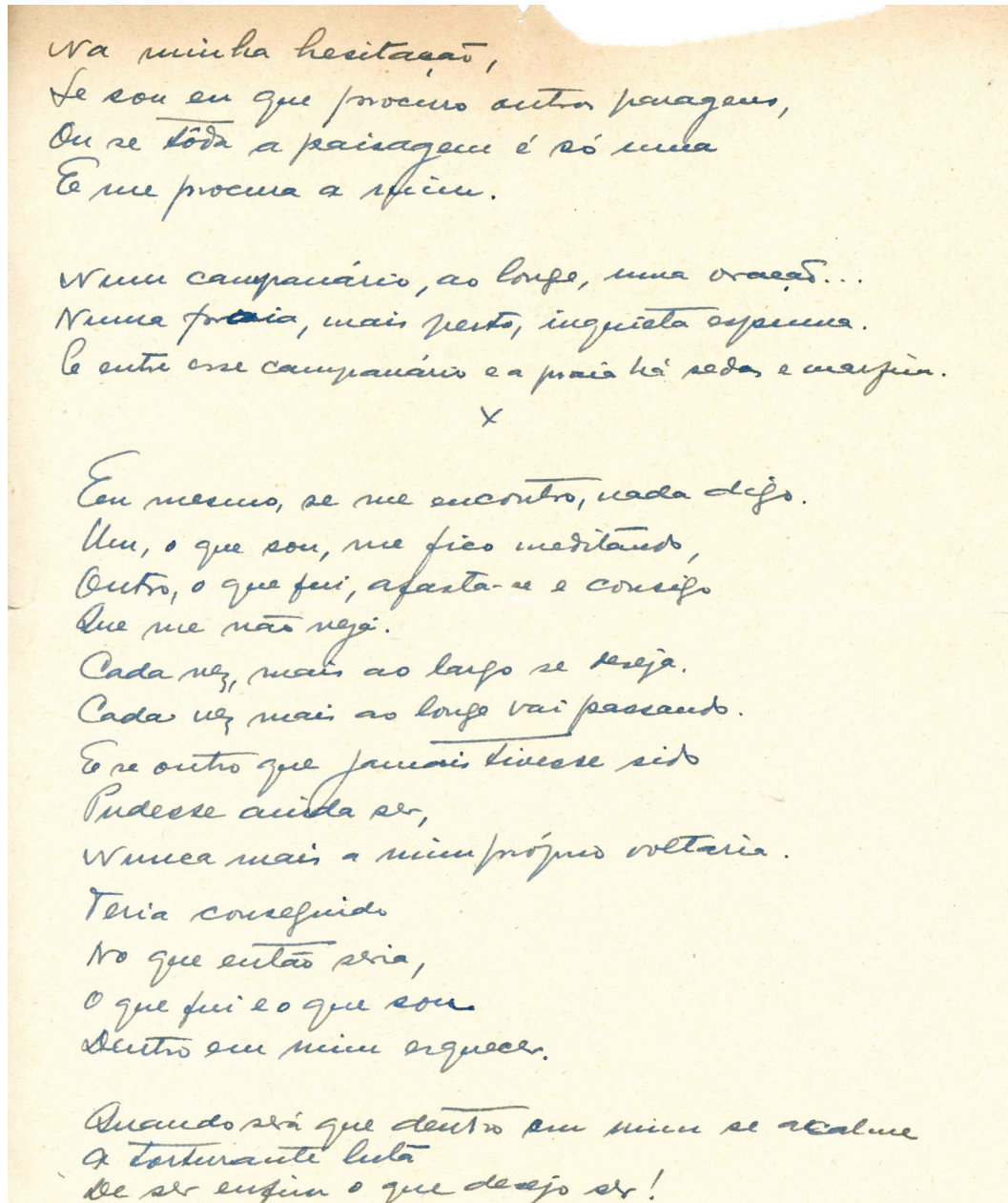


Fig. 20: third page from the holograph of Alfredo Guisado's "Poema da Hesitação" extant in the Távora archive.

desdobramento pessoano" [on the 1st of February 1913 sent a letter which is one of the first testimonies of pessoan depersonalization], experienced in writing the poem "Abdicação" (Guisado, 2003: XV.)

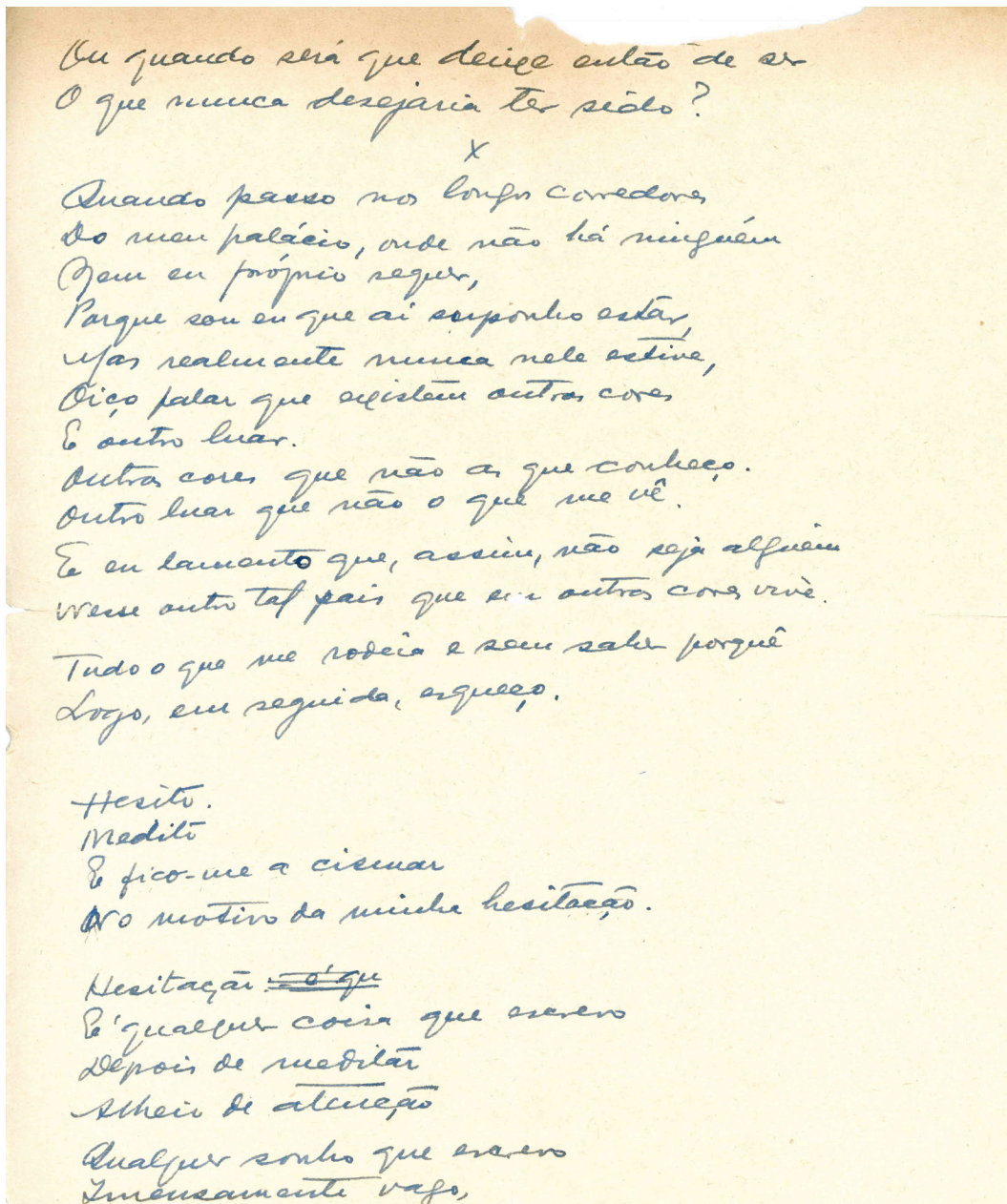


Fig. 21: fourth page from the holograph of Alfredo Guisado's
 "Poema da Hesitação" extant in the Távora archive.

Some of the imagery from the "decadent saudosismo" Rodrigues refers to, more prominent in "Distância" also features in this poem, as illustrated by the following section:

Quando passo nos longos corredores
 Do meu palácio, onde não há ninguém
 Nem eu próprio sequer,
 Porque sou eu que aí suponho estar,
 Mas realmente nunca nele estive,
 Oíço falar que existem outras cores
 E outro luar.

Outras cores que não as que conheço.
 Outro luar que não o que me vê.
 E eu lamento que, assim, não seja alguém
 Nesse outro tal país que em outras cores vive.
 Tudo o que me rodeia e sem saber porquê
 Logo, em seguida, esqueço.

Hesito.
 Medito
 E fico-me a cismar
 No motivo da minha hesitação.

Hesitação <†>¹⁴
 É qualquer coisa que escrevo
 Depois de meditar
 Alheio de atenção
Qualquer sonho que escrevo
Imensamente vago.
 Sobre uma ardósia imensa,
 E que logo que minha *alma* chega e pensa,
 Rapidamente apago...
 Uma bola que atiro e que acerta
 Na minha imaginação
 Numa resolução
 Que existiu e voou.
 A minha sombra é essa ardósia incerta
 Onde se escreve a curva do que sou.

Eu próprio passo
 E a minha sombra fica...
 Sou mesmo um braço
 Onde um punhal existe...

Todo o meu pensamento é um rei que abdica
 E que se afasta triste,
 Para esquecer o reino em que julgou ser rei
 E onde só foi vassalo,
 E outras vezes desejou ser apenas
 Um súbdito obediente
 E o seu sonho, depois, foi encontrá-lo
 No alto trono em que, afinal, foi rei
 E dêle se encontra ausente.

¹⁴ Scratched words: "é que".

Sobre uma ardória incensa,
 É que logo que minha alma chega e pensa,
 Rapidamente apaga...
 Uma bola que atiro e que acerta
 Na minha imaginação
 Numme resolução
 Que existe e vou.
 A minha sombra é essa ardória incensa
 Onde se encerra a curva do que sou.

Em pausado passo
 É a minha sombra fica...
 Foi mesmo um tempo
 Onde um punhal existe...

Todo o meu pensamento é um rei que abdica
 É que se aparta triste,
 Para esquecer o reino em que nasceu o rei
 E onde si foi vascelo,
 E outro vez desejou ser apenas
 Um súbdito obediente
 É o seu sonho, depois, foi encontrá-lo
 No acto trono em que, afinal, foi rei
 É dele se encontra ausente.

X

Hesitação...
 É a minha sombra em ânsia resoluta.
 É o momento
 Em que dentro em mim se acende a luta
 Entre aquele, o que fui,

Fig. 22: fifth page from the holograph of Alfredo Guisado's "Poema da Hesitação" extant in the Távora archive.

This section resumes two *topoi* which the saudosist aesthetic of *A Águia* and the “Paúlismo” of *Orpheu* shared in their common rooting in a decadent post-symbolism, notably the dream and the vague encapsulated in the lines, “Qualquer sonho que escrevo / Imensamente vago” [Whichever dream I write / Imensely vague]. In effect, the latter is one of the key traits which Pessoa had identified as characteristic of the “new Portuguese poetry” in a series of articles published in the second series of *A Águia* in 1912 (PESSOA, 1980: 45), and one that would become equated with the paúlita aesthetic cultivated by most contributors to *Orpheu* and Guisado in particular. In the same stanza, he borrows the central image of the closing section of Pessoa’s “Chuva Oblíqua”, in which the *persona* evokes a memory of throwing a ball against a wall as a child, which constitutes a metaphor for the act of remembering through the action of the imagination, evoked here by the lines, “Uma bola que atiro e que acerta / Na minha imaginação” [A ball I throw and which lands on / my imagination]. Similarly, towards the end of the section, Guisado rehearses the *topos* of abdication found in Pessoa’s “Abdicação”, a poem from 1913, as attested by a letter to Mário Beirão from 1 February that year (PESSOA, 1999: 80-81), though published much later in *Ressurreição* (February, 1920), but undoubtedly circulated amongst the “orphanics”. Through the reference to the dagger, Guisado also evokes that poem’s medieval imagery, characteristic of the paúlita style, which is also apparent in the setting of the palace as the site of his desolate wandering, recalling, and possibly emulating, Pessoa’s “Hora Absurda”, published in the single issue of *Exílio* (1916), with which he was familiar as co-editor of that magazine. The Pessoaan allusions continue into the closing section of the poem:

Hesitação...
 É minha sombra em *ânsia* resoluta.
 É o momento
 Em que dentro em meu ser se acende a luta
 Entre aquele, o que fui,
 E aquele outro, o que sou.
 A *alma* é o que resta.
 Porque o que desejo ser, só vive em mim,
 Jamais se manifesta!

The mention of “*ânsia*” and “*alma*” in the closing section deliberately evokes the opening lines of the founding poem of “Paúlismo”, entitled “Pauis” and published in the aforementioned *A Renascença* – “Pauis de roçarem *ânsias* pela minha alma em ouro” (PESSOA, 1914: 11) –, to which the Portuguese wing of *Orpheu* would quickly adhere, as shown by their contributions to the first issue.

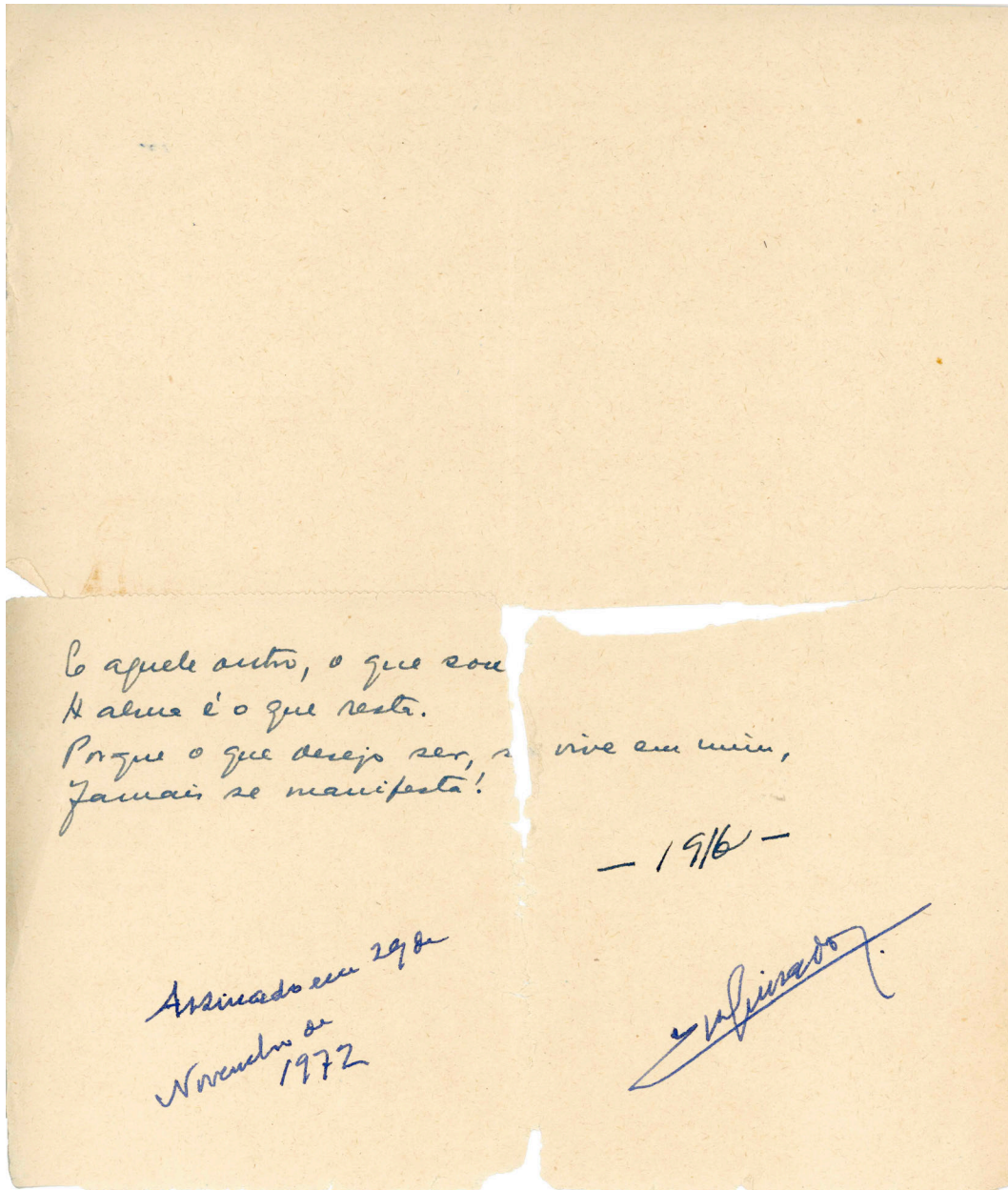


Fig. 23: sixth page from the holograph of Alfredo Guisado's
 "Poema da Hesitação" extant in the Távora archive.

Thus, Guisado's poem has all the hallmarks of an homage to Pessoa – since, as noted by Lourenço, “as grandes referências de Guisado são, no momento da sua [*Tempo de Orfeu*] composição, os poemas que na época Pessoa lhe vai revelando” [Guisado's major references at the time of its composition are the poems which Pessoa had been disclosing to him] (Lourenço, in Guisado 2003: xxxi). Additionally, it also underscores his allegiance to Paulismo as late as 1916, which he would later define as “uma poesia-padrão, qualquer coisa de basilar, e tanto que se convencionou chamar ‘paúlismo’ a esse alvorecer de modernismo literário” [a landmark-poetry, something of a basis, so much so, that this dawning of literary modernism became known as paulismo] in an article published in *O Diabo*, on 15 December 1935 (Lourenço, 2003: xvii, 193). This poetic style is epitomized by Guisado's *O Elogio da Paisagem*, which this poem also evokes – and which Pessoa hailed as an accomplished and eloquent expression of Sensationism –, resuming the diction and imagery of several of its lyrics, namely “Meus olhos p'ra o luar”, “A agonia da tarde”, and “Romaria dos ecos”. However, it is distinguished from the latter by not being a sonnet, which was his preferred poetic form until then and subsequently, as confirmed by the poems up to *Ânfora* (1918), collected in the anthology *Tempo de Orfeu*. Incidentally, the poem's departure from his poetic form of election and its ostensible filial bonds to Pessoa's poems could explain why the author was reticent to publish it. Therefore, regardless of its hypothetical poetic value, “Poema da Hesitação” constitutes a valuable record of an experimental exercise in a rhymed longer form on Guisado's part, which ascribes further documental value to the manuscript.

IV. Conclusion

Having reexamined the contemporary reception of *Orpheu*, as proposed at the start of this essay, by way of critical revision of recent appraisals of the circumstances of publication of the magazine on the occasion of its centenary and analysis of documents extant in the Távora archive, more light has been shed on the logistics and tenor of the dissemination and reception of the magazine. These new findings underscore the close collaboration between the mentors of *Orpheu*, Fernando Pessoa and Mário de Sá-Carneiro, and Alfredo Guisado, who accompanied the project of production of a cultural magazine from an early stage and throughout the lengthy preparatory period leading up to its publication, highlighting Guisado's contribution in various ways to its fulfillment. Thus, they establish Guisado as one of the original and leading actors of the making of *Orpheu* and of its reputation. They also require us to reconsider the complexities involved in the reception of the magazine, namely the extent to which the scandal it caused in the press resulted from a carefully devised publicity campaign (or *marketing campaign*, in today's terminology), to which contributed a series of fortuitous turns of events

that greatly magnified its reach and impact. It is hoped that this study has also clarified previously unclear aspects concerning certain developments in the aftermath of the publication of the magazine, notably the circumstances that gave rise to a rift between its contributors which likely impacted negatively on preparations for a planned third issue and, adding to paralyzing financial pressures, was partly responsible for the denouement of the magazine.

Aside from offering valuable documental evidence towards the material and cultural history of *Orpheu*, the notebooks of press cuttings of reviews of the magazine kept by Guisado and extant in the Távora archive challenge the received notion that he broke away from the group entirely after the scandal that followed the publication of the first issue, providing conclusive evidence that he attentively followed its progress in the press and the general public sphere for at least some time, if privately. These documents also help to reconstitute the extent of Guisado's intervention in the reception of *Orpheu* abroad, which he facilitated through his contacts in the Spanish press, earned through the merits of his previously published works, thus also clarifying a misconception that Guisado was a minor writer of the *Orpheu* group at the time: the dates and circumstances of publication of his works as well as their critical reception show that, along with Sá-Carneiro, he was one of the first Portuguese modernists to establish himself as a poet. A review of the critical reception of his works at the time and subsequently in parallel with the analysis of a poem by him thought to be previously unpublished – whose MS was found among the documents pertaining to the author in the Távora archive –, has reinforced critical readings of his poetry as drawing substantially from the wellspring of Paulismo, the autochthonous aesthetic more closely associated with *Orpheu* by its contemporaries. Additionally, it highlights Guisado's close aesthetic affinity with Pessoa, the creator of what can be called an *Orpheu* poetics, or more precisely a couple, whose legacy continued beyond the period of its publication, as attested by Guisado's poem discussed in this essay, from 1916. Finally, it is hoped that the critical examination of the documental evidence presented here has underscored the importance of the documents extant in the Távora archive in redressing the conventional narrative of the reception of *Orpheu*.

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