

Pessoa's Walter Pater

Archival Material from a Reading Story

ABSTRACT: In a polemical article Pessoa wrote in 1922 about his close acquaintance the poet António Botto, Walter Pater was identified as a standard of comparison. Two years later, in the second issue of his art and literature review *Athena*, Pessoa became the first translator of Pater's work in Portugal, publishing a brief prose piece, "La Gioconda," extracted from the essay on Leonardo da Vinci in Pater's *The Renaissance*.

However, as the public now knows, after almost eighty years of constantly renewed posthumous publication, what Pessoa published during his life is just the tip of the iceberg. What he translated and published, together with the reference to Pater in his printed article, is but a dim reminiscence of both a well-informed interest, nourished for several years, and a much more ambitious editorial project. Such a project aimed to make Pater's name familiar to a community of readers who would eventually become readers of Pessoa's literary works.

The goal of this essay is to offer the reader a panoramic view of how and in which forms Pessoa's literary production make reference to Pater's, shedding light on both the influence and the instrumental use of tradition in Pessoa's writings.

KEYWORDS: Pessoa, Pater, reading, influence, private library, archive

Fernando Pessoa read Walter Pater's works carefully and perhaps thoroughly. In Pessoa's private library, the presence of a book by Pater with abundant underlining and other kinds of marginalia supports the claim of careful reading (Appendix I). Further, in Pessoa's archive, many documents that remained unpublished after the author's death contain various references to the former don at Oxford University. In some of these documents, Pater is considered one of a triad of Victorian authors to whom Pessoa refers regularly, and not always in flattering terms. The triad consists of Pater, Matthew Arnold, and Oscar Wilde. The joint treatment of these three great Oxonians is not surprising, because of

the strong intellectual and biographical links underlying their work. However, the use Pessoa occasionally makes of that joint reference implies a very personal reading, which motivated the outlining of individual characters inside his own literary project. In other cases, Pater appears in Pessoa's texts as a separate, independent reference. Because of this second kind of reference, it seems possible to argue that Pessoa was keen to notice Pater's individuality, even though in some contexts he decided not to emphasize it. The decision of individualizing or not individualizing Pater appears to correlate with the objectives in certain texts, which may vary in others, especially if those texts were signed with different names.

Projects and Lists

Based on the information contained in his archive, it is not clear when Pessoa first became aware of Walter Pater's works. Pater died at age fifty-five in 1894, only six years after Pessoa was born in Lisbon, and less than a year before the infamous trial of Oscar Wilde ended with his condemnation to prison and forced labors for "indecent and sodomy."¹ Wilde's imprisonment encouraged the attribution of a scarlet letter of social disapproval to what some artists and art critics were writing in England at that time. The scandal was, in some cases, an appealing form of publicity for the works of some artists, but inside official circles—as in schools and the academic sphere—this same feature could keep books banned and away from young people's access. Pater was a recurrent name in Wilde's works, and the path that could lead from the publicly disgraced man and possible corruptor of minors to his former professor and mentor at Oxford was too visible for any judicious critic. It was evident, for example, that Wilde's description of "Pater's Renaissance" in his *De Profundis*, as "that book which has had such a strange influence over my life,"² resonated with the effects associated with the mysterious "yellow book" that led to the transformation of Dorian into a murderous hedonist in the novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.

Pater enjoyed some recognition during his lifetime, and died just before the scandalous turmoil created around Wilde could reach him. For this reason, and for the obvious sympathetic stance toward male homosexuality implied by Pater's works, these could not be swiftly integrated into the pedagogical reading lists for British schools for the generations immediately following his death. Even though the worst part of the scandal began only after his death, Pater endured some negative labeling of his works. His individualistic ideas of human percep-

tion and sensibility building, supposedly at stake in the appreciation of any art form, provoked instantaneous questioning about their moral implications. The most direct exposition of these ideas appeared in the conclusion of *The Renaissance*, ending with the following statement: "For art comes to you, proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake."³

Criticisms arose immediately after the first edition of this book was published under the title *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* in 1873. As a result, the book was later republished as *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, with the original conclusion removed—a defensive act by Pater, who sought to protect his career as professor at Oxford. Pater reintegrated his conclusion into the book, in a slightly modified version, only after having published his historical and philosophical portrait titled *Marius the Epicurean: His Sensations and Ideas* in 1885, and after renouncing his professorship. As he asserted in a note added to the reprinting of his conclusion in 1893, he thought that in his portrait of the life of a young man in Rome during the rule of Marcus Aurelius, he had successfully explained the difference between the meditation on the perpetually changing world of impressions and sensations, and the mere apology of egotistical, irresponsible, and antisocial hedonism.⁴ For that purpose, the character Marius was portrayed as an ascetic, humanitarian, and courageous man capable of admiring the simplicity of the animistic local religion of his native village as well as the rising affective power present in the beginnings of Christianity in the outskirts of Rome.

Given this context, it is possible that Pessoa did not come across any of Pater's books as part of his curriculum, and that Pater's work would not commonly be recommended to a schoolboy by teachers at Durban High School. But the existence in Pessoa's archive of a project for a dramatic piece titled "Marino the Epicure," in a notebook used between 1903 and 1904 (Appendix II, 1)—before his definitive return to Lisbon—appears as an indicative but inconclusive hint. In this early list of projects attributed to a fictional author named David Merrick,⁵ the title of the piece offers no additional information. Afterward, Pessoa seems to have carried on with this dramatic project, writing some fragments of it during the first decade of the twentieth century, although calling it "Marino: A Tragedy." The similarity between the first title of Pessoa's project and Pater's *Marius the Epicurean* is evident. Considering some fragments of Pessoa's play (or plays) with the note "Marino"—not edited, and of which a sequential reading is not

feasible—similarities that could be mentioned do not appear as proof of a clear and direct relationship between the two works.

In Pessoa's play, Marino interacts with other male characters—Vincenzo, Antonio, and Terentio—thus an Italian or Roman context is suggested by the names. The trait that would more directly relate "Marino" to Pater's Marius seems to be the presence, in both stories, of the sickness and death of a beloved friend provoking a sentimental meditation on the fragility of life and its impermanency.⁶ It is clear that, even though Pessoa might have been thinking of *Marius the Epicurean* when he thought of writing "Marino the Epicure," at age fifteen or sixteen, this possibility is just a vague hypothesis. Other sources to support an informed consideration of Epicureanism were available to him at that time.

After his return to Lisbon, in 1905, Pessoa had direct contact with French symbolist literature, together with works that described in accusatory terms the state of art, perceived as "decadent" by the end of the nineteenth century in Europe. Perhaps the most important of these works was Max Nordau's *Entartung*, which Pessoa read in a French translation around 1907 (*Dégénérescence*). Authors who defended the autonomy and self-justifying property of art provoked a major concern in critics such as Nordau. All kinds of aestheticism would seem to those critics to be an egotistical and potentially antisocial influence being spread in modern society by corrupted art forms. This historical context was favorable for Pessoa discovering Pater's work in a broader context of European literature and art criticism outside England's shores and colonial extension, even if these works had a negative label. This also seems to be the context in which Pessoa for the first time was able to read about Oscar Wilde, an author who was constantly ridiculed and abhorred by Nordau.⁷ The corrupted nature of Wilde, accused and censored by Nordau—and with this criticism extendable to Pater—would be re-signified by Pessoa in his own texts. He would maintain the idea that Wilde and Pater were morbid artists, but he would characterize their illness as a lack of completeness, an incapacity to realize a much more radical project that he intended to lead in modern art.

A concrete trace of what became Pessoa's attentive reading of Pater dates from approximately 1913, in a vast and pluralistic editorial plan. Simply titled *Anthology* (Appendix II, 2), this list of projects features titles from English-language authors from different periods, such as Wordsworth, Shakespeare, Poe, and Coleridge, side by side with such contemporary and older Portuguese authors as Camilo Pessanha and Soares de Passos, and also with non-European

references, such as Omar Khayyam and even a selection of Japanese haiku. The list does not seem to have been created under a single criterion for uniting such diverse authors, but when a reference to Pater's conclusion to *The Renaissance* appears translated into Portuguese as "Epilogo da 'Renascença'" just after the translation of two titles from Wilde—*Prose Poems* and *De Profundis*⁸—some associative continuity may be recognized. The proximity of Wilde to Pater, and especially of his *De Profundis* with the conclusion to *The Renaissance*, is emphasized in this ordering. Publishing these two authors would prove a more relevant project when the reference to them became pivotal in texts where Pessoa intended to introduce the public to the more original aspects of his own literary production by contrasting his ideas with a biased characterization of his predecessors.

In another list, written probably in the second decade of the twentieth century (Appendix II, 3), a reference to Pater appears without a corresponding title. In this document, Pater is again listed immediately after Wilde, but here the Irish author is represented by his novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. In contrast to the list for the *Anthology*, noted earlier, all the names mentioned in this document have much in common. Besides Pater and Wilde, the list includes G. B. Shaw, G. K. Chesterton, Max Stirner, Remy de Gourmont, Maurice Barrès, Rudolf Eucken, J. M. Robertson, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Jules Gautier.⁹ All these authors could be considered bibliographical references for developing an encompassing argument on art and religion, the moral implications of individualism, or the value of Christianity by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. This list does not have a title or general designation, and the fact that only Stirner's title *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* was translated into Portuguese, simply as "O Unico," suggests that this was not necessarily a list of translation projects. Instead, this could be a reading list Pessoa was organizing, having in mind a project for an essay or article. Pater in this case could serve as a reference for argument in a case study.

A significant list from around 1915 (Appendix II, 4) is also difficult to classify. The document presents the titles "Studies in the History of the Renaissance," "Imaginary Portraits," "Appreciations," and "Marius the Epicurean," under the heading "W. H. Pater." On the left side of the page, Pessoa added the word "Chief" joining, with a line, both *The Renaissance* and *Imaginary Portraits*. Hesitating about the correct order of enumeration, which is revealed as hierarchical, Pessoa first wrote "Marius," and then crossed it out and replaced it with a reference to *Appreciations with an Essay on Style*, putting Marius at the bottom of the

list. This document contains Pater's most important works, leaving aside only his later *Plato and Platonism*. It is not clear if this was some kind of wish list of books Pessoa wanted to read or purchase, not having read them before, or if the list was created after a first reading of the works mentioned in it. In that case, the hierarchical order would be a product of Pessoa's reflection after reading those books instead of a guideline suggested by some other source. The appearance of the title "Studies in the History of the Renaissance" in order to refer the book *The Renaissance* makes it difficult to understand what Pessoa's knowledge of Pater was at the moment he made this list, particularly when we remember that in 1913, he had probably already used the later and definitive title for that book when he projected a translation of its conclusion. These are not questions that these lists alone may resolve. More relevant is the fact that every direct reference to Pater that Pessoa integrated into his writings is a reference to *The Renaissance*. The unique appearance of other titles of Pater's works in Pessoa's documents are contained in this list. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine Pessoa voluntarily ignoring other works of an author that impress him so deeply, especially because those other books were also clearly dedicated to subjects of interest to him.

Pessoa bought a copy of *The Renaissance* after October 1916, evidenced by the fact that he wrote on the cover pages of that book, printed in 1915, the signature "Fernando Pessoa" and not "Pessôa" as he had done before that date (Appendix I, 1.). The pages of the book are filled with underlining and other reading notes, and the references to Pater become more noticeable in Pessoa's writing after 1916. And yet, even if it were possible that Pessoa might have read some parts of *The Renaissance*, as is suggested by the 1913 project for a translation of the conclusion, he made an attentive reading or rereading in his own copy of the book and left plenty of annotations. *The Renaissance* would become Pater's emblematic book for Pessoa, but this does not necessarily mean that his knowledge of the author was limited to this book only.

Two other lists in Pessoa's archive, clearly called translation projects, were created closer to the 1920s (Appendix II, 5 and 6). In these lists, Pater appears side by side with Wilde and Matthew Arnold, and in one case he shares a page with the heteronym Ricardo Reis, assigned as a translator of poems from the *Greek Anthology*. In the first of these lists, the project of translating Pater consists of a selection of some excerpts from *The Renaissance*, and in the second list, the project seems to be a complete translation of the book. Therefore, Pessoa seems

to have extended his initial interest in the conclusion to other parts of Pater's book, after purchasing his copy. Both these projects include content similar to the editorial lists of Olisipo, the publishing house Pessoa founded in the beginning of the 1920s, where Botto, Almada Negreiros, Raul Leal, and Pessoa were able to publish, before some of the books were seized by the police in 1923 and Olisipo went out of business. One of the most detailed plans for Olisipo also contains a reference to a translation of *The Renaissance* (Appendix II, 7).

Chronologically, the last list of projects identified in Pessoa's archive as containing a reference to Pater was certainly written after 1923 (Appendix II, 8). In this list, two different projects related to Pater were noted. The first was a complete translation of the essay dedicated to Leonardo da Vinci in Pater's *The Renaissance*, and the second was a translation of the conclusion.

Translations

Pessoa's project of translating Pater turned into concrete action and development in the 1920s. For that purpose, he wrote a detailed list containing the precise pages from which he would extract the excerpts to translate (Appendix III, 1). The pages correspond to those in his copy of the book. As part of this project, Pessoa began a translation of the preface (Appendix III, 2). Narrowing his efforts, Pessoa concentrated on the translation of an excerpt from Pater's chapter on Leonardo da Vinci, which he simply titled "La Gioconda," carefully choosing words and syntax. Two complete versions of the excerpt were redacted with some differences between them (Appendix III, 3, 4). This excerpt was finally published in the second issue of *Athena* (Appendix III, 5), the review Pessoa directed for five issues between 1924 and 1925, with some alteration from the previous drafts. This became Pater's first translation published in Portugal, and it is possible that many of the readers of *Athena* had never heard of Pater.¹⁰

Having the opportunity to publish an excerpt from *The Renaissance*, Pessoa opted, significantly, for "La Gioconda" instead of some lines from the conclusion or the preface, as he had many times considered. In this decision he would anticipate W. B. Yeats, who in 1936 included a verse rendering of Pater's prose on Da Vinci's painting as part of *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse*.¹¹ "La Gioconda" features Pater's prose in action: not making general judgments about the purpose of art, or reflecting on its consequences, but passionately describing Pater's own impressions of an object he contemplates. The last lines of Pater's excerpt were also adequate for a review such as *Athena*, with no avant-garde pretensions

expressed by Pessoa in an introductory text included in the first issue of the review, titled "Athena." Pater's final assertion on Da Vinci's painting could easily reinforce the ideas Pessoa had already presented: "modern philosophy has conceived the idea of humanity as wrought upon by, and summing up in itself, all modes of thought and life. Certainly Lady Lisa might stand as the embodiment of the old fancy, the symbol of the modern idea."¹² The publication of those lines, translated into Portuguese, was also part of an anticipatory excitement that Pessoa wanted to create before finally publishing, after almost ten years of judicious preparation, some poems of Alberto Caeiro in the fourth and fifth issues of the review.

References

In Pessoa's archive, the presence of Pater is not merely an occasional token either of his self-taught erudition or of his instructed acquaintance, in Durban, with the critical and poetical traditions of nineteenth-century English literature. The author of *The Renaissance*, together with the authors that were closer to his works, played an instrumental and performatory role in the heart of Pessoa's understanding of his own literary project. Therefore, having a broader comprehension of what Pessoa found in Pater may help us grasp the meaning of some texts that, at first sight, could appear as being isolated or containing needlessly conflicting ideas.

Probably the most significant reference that Pessoa made to Pater in his texts can be found in a notebook annotation in which he associates Pater's description of "La Gioconda" with a project for a new kind of literature that would contain and supersede the arts of architecture, music, and painting (Appendix IV, 1). Characterizing Pater's critical effort as a supporter of Wilde's description of the critic's objective "to see the object as in itself it really is not,"¹³ Pessoa celebrates Pater's capacity of seeing in "La Gioconda" "things that are not there." The text, written around 1916, also recalls the content of Pater's essay included in *The Renaissance* on the eighteenth-century art historian Johann Winckelmann. Pater created a bridge between romantic authors such as Goethe—Winckelmann's admirer—and the study of classical Greece, arguing that Winckelmann offered Goethe the experience of a time not his own. The implications of Pessoa's take on Pater's description of Winckelmann as a post-Christian return to some constituent elements of "Greek modelling" were identified by António Feijó in a seminal article on Pessoa's systematic creation of fictional

authorships, in which Pater is recognized as a source for Pessoa's architectural understanding of his own literary project.¹⁴ Pessoa's descriptions of his fictional authors, as personalized poetical styles, owe much to the "Classical" and "Romantic" elements and their complementary dynamics in modern art as postulated by Pater. Those terms are explored with detail in the postscript with which he concludes his book *Appreciations with an Essay on Style*.¹⁵

The acknowledgment of Pater as a precursor of the literary movement of which *Orpheu* was the first manifestation was explicit in a text in which Pessoa intended to foretell the sociological consequences of World War I on the future of the arts (Appendix IV, 2). In this case, "Pater or Wilde" or Mallarmé were described as interchangeable parts of a dual heritage from the nineteenth-century artistic movements. That heritage, together with the influence of Verlaine, would offer models to modern literature for responding to the need for introspection and the cultivation of social indifference that would be awakened by the devastation of the war. The text affirms that *Orpheu* had brought something new to literature because it could be seen as a synthesis of the influence of those four authors.

Until this point Pessoa's texts are unambiguously apologetic of Pater's importance for literature in the beginning of the twentieth century, but this same feature does not reveal itself univocally in Pessoa's archive.

After the publication of the two issues of *Orpheu* in 1915, one of Pessoa's main objectives was to publish the works of Alberto Caeiro, whose writings had been partially conceived in 1914. Pessoa intended Caeiro to be at the center of his literary works, representing the return of a pagan *Weltanschauung* into the modern world. In order to guarantee the attention to Caeiro's poems that Pessoa thought they deserved, he also found it necessary to create some presentation texts for the poems that could explain to the public Caeiro's revolutionary nature, which Caeiro as a non-self-conscious poet would not explain for himself. One of those texts was an extended preface authored by Caeiro's self-proclaimed disciple Ricardo Reis. Pessoa never finished this task, but he produced abundant material relating to it.¹⁶

In some of the preparatory documents for the preface, Reis expresses with vehemence his own opinions on Pater. For example, he unites Wilde, Pater, and Arnold, calling them "Christian waste with pagan pretensions" (Appendix IV, 3), with clearly derogatory intent that benefitted his exalted object, that is, Caeiro. In still another text that was also meant to be integrated into the preface, Reis

accuses “the aesthete Wilde” and “his master Pater” of being completely ignorant of the moral substance of Greek paganism, equating non-Christian principles with straightforward immorality (Appendix IV, 4). In yet another contemporary draft for the same preface, Reis refers to Pater separately, in terms that are less caustic but not free of reproach: he calls Pater’s understanding of paganism “perfect”—in direct opposition to the ignorance he attributed to Pater when considered next to Wilde—but he still characterizes him as a “morbid Christian with pagan aspirations” (Appendix IV, 5).

These slight variations of tone and the moderation of caustic language could seem to be consequences of an ingratitude Pessoa felt toward his predecessors, poorly disguised under the name Ricardo Reis. But it has become clear, for some of Pessoa’s critics, that even when he was not eulogistic about some authors he had read carefully, for his own work, Pessoa did not always deny the importance of those authors.¹⁷ The fundamental point about Pater in Reis’s preface is that Reis is supposed to write about him in a certain manner, because that manner represents who he becomes in his writing. The variation in the form of a reference can be read as Pessoa’s way of calibrating the voice that was to be Reis’s voice. This idea becomes much clearer when reading another text, which began as being written by Reis, as part of his preface on Caeiro; but at some point in its development, it changed from being by Reis to being about Reis, acquiring a new authorship under the signature António Mora (Appendix IV, 6). As surprising as it may seem, after the harsh judgment Pessoa made about Pater under Reis’s authorship, Mora makes a harsh criticism of Reis and Caeiro as well, accusing them of acting like Pater and Wilde in an aspect of their understanding of paganism. The authorship of the text changed when Pessoa understood that it was necessary to affirm a new individuality that could be responsible for a particular assertion that had Pater as a reference point.

In yet another text, Mora corrects what were Pessoa’s own projects. After the publication of *Orpheu*, Pessoa planned to develop a “Portuguese Neo-Pagan” movement led by the figures of Ricardo Reis, Caeiro, Mora, and himself. The name of the movement appears in numerous texts and editorial lists.¹⁸ In a moment of extreme orthodoxy, Mora attacks the use of that name, considering it an absurd label, acceptable only in the cases of some “Christian rebels” such as Pater and Swinburne (Appendix IV, 7). Pessoa’s coterie of writers takes advantage of constant opposition, using Pater and other authors’ names as a vertex point toward delineating each signature’s autonomy. Then, a negative reference to

Pater in a certain text should not be merely understood as Pessoa's erratic underestimation of the author. Rather, it should be recognized as a calculated radicalism that benefits from a predecessor's achievements and reputation in order to note its own independence.

In other texts not attributed to any fictional author, Pessoa seems to be more at ease with the extravagant assessment of Pater's importance. For example, in a text in which he reflects on how to write commercial publicity, he considers Pater and Arnold as paradigms for brilliant prose writing (Appendix IV, 8). More directly, on the back of a page used for redacting a text for an essay titled "Impermanence," dedicated to "[t]he problem of the survival of literary works and of the permanent elements of literature,"¹⁹ Pessoa presented Pater in a short note as the most enduring element of his epoch: "Of all that modern times have said, only Pater will remain" (Appendix IV, 9). Finally, inserted in a critical consideration of Anatole France, written after the French author's death in 1924, Pessoa intended to quote Pater as the author that defined "once and forever" the meaning of humanism (Appendix IV, 10). In that text Pessoa left a blank space where he would, most likely, transcribe from his edition of *The Renaissance* a sentence he had underlined in Pater's essay about Pico della Mirandola: "For the essence of humanism is that belief [. . .] that nothing which has ever interested living men and women can wholly lose its vitality."²⁰

Continuing this apologetic line, the most noticeable reference to Pater in what Pessoa published during his lifetime appears in his essay on António Botto's poetry (Appendix IV, 11). The meaning of that reference can be better understood in relation to the constant presence of the author of *The Renaissance* in the construction and reformulation of Pessoa's literary project. After publishing Botto's second edition of the book *Canções* through Olisipo, Pessoa wrote an article for the literary review *Contemporanea* in 1922. In this article, he suggested a paraphrasing of Winckelmann by Pater as a perfect preface for the book *Canções*, and he also argued, subtly, that Botto was a lower degree of aesthete on a scale ranking Winckelmann and Pater at the top. This kind of positioning should be seen precisely as another version of the instrumental use Pessoa made of Pater's reference in order to compose individualized characters inside his own works. Giving Botto a place on this scale, Pessoa could feel closer to what he thought were the adequate conditions for presenting his own works to the public, by preparing a standard of comparison. The consequences of his article were different: Olisipo's books were seized by the police in 1923, after a group of

Catholic students saw them as an immoral insurrection that one of the supporters of the group baptized "Literature of Sodom."²¹

By the end of the 1920s, and after the not immediately successful publication of Caeiro poems in *Athena*, Pessoa reflected in a short note on the possibility of maintaining an ironic stance toward life to endure suffering. In that reflection, Pater reappeared in order to remember the condition of criticism in life as a perpetual appreciation of values (Appendix IV, 12). The presence of the author of *The Renaissance* cuts across Pessoa's life, leaving the mark of a conscious recognition of influence. Pater was thus summoned to be part of a literary project that required him as a character.

NOTES

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1. Another version of the pledge of charges against Wilde states "gross indecency with other men." Cf. Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (London: Penguin Books, 1988), 431; and J. Bristow, "Biographies," in *Palgrave Advances in Oscar Wilde* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 7.

2. Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis and The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (Leipzig: Taunichtz, 1908), 45. This book belongs to Fernando Pessoa's private library, and a digital copy is available online at the Casa Fernando Pessoa website: <http://casafernandopessoa.cm-lisboa.pt>. In these notes, when quoting books from the private library, the abbreviation CFP will be used with the number in the catalog of reference: *De Profundis*, CFP 8–583.

3. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1915), CFP 8–425, 252.

4. Pater's disclaimer in the republishing of the conclusion: "This brief 'Conclusion' was omitted in the second edition of this book, as I conceived it might possibly mislead some of those young men into whose hands it might fall. On the whole, I have thought it best to reprint it here, with some slight changes which bring it closer to my original meaning. I have dealt more fully in *Marius the Epicurean* with the thoughts suggested by it." Pater, CFP 8–425, 246. About the reception of *The Renaissance* when it was first published, see Donald L. Hill, "Notes," in Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, the 1893 Text (Berkeley: University of California, 1980), 443–58.

5. About David Merrick's projects and figure, see Pessoa, *Eu sou uma antologia* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2013), 126–33.

6. The incomplete fragments for the drama *Marino* can be found in Pessoa's archive, in the envelope BNP/E3, 11^oMA, and a plot resume can be found in BNP/E3, 13–1^v. It is not clear if all the material corresponds to only one play, or even if *Marino: A Tragedy* has any correspondence with the project titled *Marino the Epicure*. The fragment on the lament of the death of a friend is related to the character Vincenzo (cf. BNP/E3, 11^oMA–11), a

name that would also be used by Pessoa as the title for another dramatic project. In BNP/E3, 13–17 Marino has leprosy. In *Marius the Epicurean*, Pater dedicated a long chapter to describing the friendship of Marius with the young poet Flavian, who dies of plague, provoking in Marius a sentimental understanding of life as a continuous flux. I'm grateful to Richard Zenith, who gave me the references on *Marino*, and who explained some details on the development of the plays.

7. The relationship of Pessoa with Nordau's works has been studied in detail by some critics, namely Jerónimo Pizarro, *Fernando Pessoa: Entre génio e loucura* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2007) and Keneth Krabbenhoft, *Fernando Pessoa e as doenças do fim de século* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2011). From 1907, Pessoa kept a reading diary that mentioned his first reading of Nordau. This diary was transcribed in Pizarro, 2007, 57. Max Nordau dedicated a chapter of his *Dégénérescence* to Wilde, portraying him as the English rendering of a French decadent artist. Nordau accused Wilde of being unconscious of his actions and took Wilde's works as proof of his morbid deviation; cf. Nordau, *Dégénérescence* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1894), 131–41. No reference to Wilde has been found in Pessoa's archive prior to 1911. About the first contact Pessoa had with French Symbolism, see Pessoa, *Correspondência 1923–1935* (Lisbon: Asísrio & Alvim, 1999), 279.

8. Pessoa's projects of translating Wilde were ambitious and numerous, and covered all the genres of Wilde's works, from drama to critical writing. However, the concrete development of those projects was limited. Pessoa actually translated some of Wilde's *Prose Poems*, without publishing them. Those translations were edited by Richard Zenith, in "A Importância de não ser Oscar? Pessoa tradutor de Wilde," *Egoísta* (June 2008). Pessoa also translated one initial page of *De Profundis* (BNP/E3, 23–66^r) that has been erroneously published by some editors as Pessoa's original production.

9. Books by Robertson, Shaw, Chesterton, Gourmont, and Gaultier belong to Pessoa's private library, and books about Nietzsche and Barrès as well. These names were of interest for Pessoa from the first years of his return to Lisbon, and they reappear in his papers regularly.

10. In a book dedicated to Walter Pater's reception in Europe, Teresa Malafaia and Jorge da Silva confirmed this information; cf. Malafaia and Silva, "Fernando Pessoa and the Reception of Walter Pater in Portugal," in *The Reception of Walter Pater in Europe* (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), 224–26.

11. Yeats was also an author deeply influenced by Pater. The way that the Irish author and Pessoa took advantage of and characterized the influences of English aestheticism in their works has been explored by Patricia Silva McNeill in a comparative study titled *Yeats and Pessoa: Parallel Poetic Styles* (London: Legenda, 2010).

12. Pater, *The Renaissance*, CFP 8–425, 130.

13. Oscar Wilde, "The Critic as Artist," in *Complete Works* (London: Harper Collins, 2003), 1128. Pessoa here radicalized Pater's famous take on Matthew Arnold's definition of the objective of criticism, leaving Pater closer to Wilde than to Arnold.

14. See António Feijó, "Fernando Pessoa's Mothering of the *Avant-garde*," *Stanford Humanities Review* VII, 1 (1999).

15. Walter Pater, "Postscript," in *Appreciations with an Essay on Style* (London: Macmillan, 1924).

16. The most complete edition of the remains of this project in Pessoa's archive can be consulted in Pessoa, *Ricardo Reis: Prosa* (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2003). The editor of that volume, Manuela Parreira da Silva, decided to title the section dedicated to Reis's preface "Notas para um prefácio a Alberto Caeiro," highlighting the unfinished and disorganized state of the documents.

17. One of the first critics to notice this particular condition of Pessoa's critical prose was Orietta Del Bene, in an article about Walter Pater. See Orietta Del Bene, "Vivências de Walter Pater em Fernando Pessoa," *Separata da Revista "Occidente" LXXIV* (1968), 296. Del Bene's article concentrates on a detailed reading of Pessoa's essay on António Botto and the genealogy of what she calls, following Jacinto do Prado Coelho, Pessoa's Anglo-Saxon anti-Christian feeling.

18. At least three editions of Pessoa's works concentrate partially on the project that Pessoa baptized "Neo-paganismo Português," and reproduce several texts and project lists under that category: Pessoa, *Ricardo Reis: Prosa*; Pessoa, *Obras de António Mora* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2002); and more recently, Pessoa, *O Regresso dos deuses e outros escritos de António Mora* (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2013).

19. Pessoa, *Heróstrato e a busca da imortalidade* (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2000), 231.

20. Pater, *The Renaissance*, CFP 8–425, 51.

21. The article originally titled "Literatura de Sodoma: O Sr. Fernando Pessoa e o ideal estético em Portugal" was also published in *Contemporanea*, written by a Catholic journalist named Álvaro Maia. About the polemics awakened by the article and its consequences, see José Barreto, "Fernando Pessoa e Raul Leal contra a campanha moralizadora dos estudantes em 1923," *Pessoa Plural* 2 (Fall 2012).

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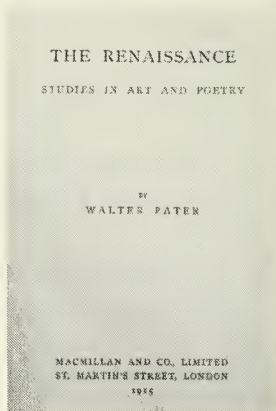
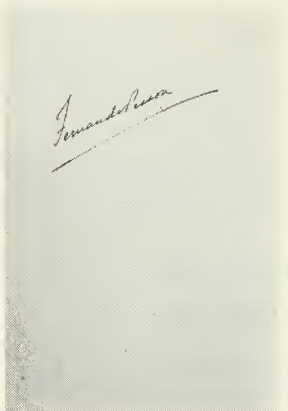
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Appendix I: A Book



PREFACE

"To see the object as in itself it really is" has been justly said to be the aim of all true criticism wherever; and in artistic criticism the first step towards seeing each object as it really is, is to know each man's imagination, as it really is, to discriminate it, to realise it distinctly. The objects with which aesthetic criticism deals—music, poetry, artistic and unaccommodated forms of human life—are indeed representatives of so many powers as forces they possess, like the products of nature, so many virtues or qualities. What is this song or picture, this engaging personality presented in life or in a book, to me? What effect does it really produce on me? Does it give me pleasure? and if so, what sort or degree of pleasure? How is my nature modified by its presence and under its influence? The answers to these questions are the original facts with which the aesthetic critic has to do; and, as in the study of light, of music, of number, one must realise such primary facts for one's self, or not at all. And he who experiences these impressions directly and directly directly at the discrimination and analysis of them, has no need to trouble himself with the abstract question what "study is in itself, or what its connection to truth or experience—metaphysical questions, so unprofitable as metaphysical questions themselves. He may pass them all by as being, unprofitable or not, of no interest to him.

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of beautiful women of antiquity, and how would they be troubled by this beauty, into which the real world all its manhood has passed! All the thoughts and experiences of the world have ebbed and flowed there, in that which they have of power to reflect and subtle experience the outward form, the external of things, the last of Rome, the evolution of the middle age with its spiritual ambition and imaginative loves, the return of the Pagan world, the sins of the Borgias. She is older than the rocks among which she sits; like the vampire, she has been dead many times, and learned the secrets of the grave; and has seen a dower in deep seas, and keeps their fallen day about her; and trafficked for strange wares with Eastern merchants' sons, as Leto, was the mother of Helen of Troy, and, as Saint Anne, the mother of Mary; and all this has been to her but as the sound of lutes and flutes and lives only in the Gelleries with which it has moulded the changing lineaments, and tinged the eyelids and the hands. The fancy of a personal life, sweeping together ten thousand sympathies, is an old one; and modern philosophy has nurtured the idea of it since only as weights upon his mind, stirring up in itself all modes of thought and life. Certainly Lady Lisa might stand as the embodiment of the old fancy, the symbol of the modern idea.

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to Erasmus, some to high passions, the wisest at least among "the children of the world" in art and song. For our one chance lies in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time. Great passions may give us this prolonged sense of life, ecstasy and renewal of love, the highest forms of aesthetic activity, first-intensed or otherwise, which come naturally to many of us. Only be sure it is passion—that it does yield you this drift of a quickened, multiplied consciousness. Of such wisdom, the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for its own sake, has most. For art comes to you, proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those one instant's sake.

1908

THE END

Printed by R. & R. Clark, Edinburgh, Edinburgh.

Walter Pater, *The Renaissance*, London: Macmillan, 1915. Top row (left to right): cover; Pessoa's signature in his copy; title page from Pessoa's personal copy; second row (left to right): preface, with underlining by Pessoa; chapter on Leonardo Da Vinci, with reading marks; conclusion, underlined by Pessoa.

❖ This book was purchased by Pessoa, probably after September 1916. The attribution of this date is associated with information contained in a letter Pessoa wrote to his friend Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues. On October 4, 1916, Pessoa communicated his decision to change the former spelling of his name "Pessôa," used in his published works until that date, by removing the circumflex. Pessoa, *Correspondência 1905–1922* (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 1999), 222.

Anthologia

Shakespeare: A Tormenta

S[amuel] Johnson: Carta ao Conde de Chesterfield

J[ean] B[Pèrès]: Como Napoleão nunca existiu.

Amiel: excerpotos do “Diario Intimo”

/Maupassant: Madame Baptiste./

Antonio Molarinho: Maria Manuela.

Soares de Passos: O Firmamento.

Manuel da Veiga; a “Ode” da “Laura de Anfriso.”

Edgar Poe: O Corvo.

O’Shaughnessy: Ode

Wordsworth: Ode sobre as Intimações de Inmor[talida]de.

Coleridge: Trova do /Velho Marinheiro/.

José Anastacio da Cunha: □

Oscar Wilde: Poemas em Prosa.

Oscar Wilde: De Profundis.

Walter Pater: Epilogo da “Renanscença.”

Rivarol: Dictos.

Sappho: Poemas extantes. (juntos ou separados).

Haikai japonezes.

Omar Khayyam: O Rubaiyat.

Keats: Ode a um Rouxinol.

Petronio: A Matrona de Epheso.

Swift: Conto de uma Celha

Schiller: O Sirio

(Camillo Pessanha: Poemas varios)

Vigny: Moisés.

❖ The project for this anthology was written on the same type of paper used by Pessoa in a personal diary, developed between February and March of 1913. See Pessoa, *Escritos autobiográficos, automáticos e de reflexão Pessoal* (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2003), 110–33. In this diary, some references to projects for editing Camilo Pessanha were included, together with notes describing the chronological progress of what Pessoa meant to be an extended article about Oscar Wilde. On Pessoa’s production about Wilde between February and March of 1913, see Jorge Uribe, “Oscar Wilde, educação e teoria aristocrática: Um texto que era três,” *Pessoa Plural* 2 (Fall 2012), 282–85; and Pessoa, *Apreciações literárias* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2013), 300–308.

3. BNP/E3, 48B-103^r [191-?]

G. B. Shaw: "Man and Superman." 48B-103
 Oscar Wilde: "Picture of Dorian Gray."
 Walter Pater:
 G. K. Chesterton: "Heretics."
 Remy de Gourmont: "Une nuit au Luxembourg."
 Maurice Barrès:
 Rudolf Eucken:
 J. M. Robertson: "Rationalism."
 Fr. Nietzsche
 Max Stirner: (O Unico.)
 Jules de Gaultier.
 _____ de Grecia.
 _____ de Roma.
 _____ dos Rep. Romanas.
 _____ de Portugal.

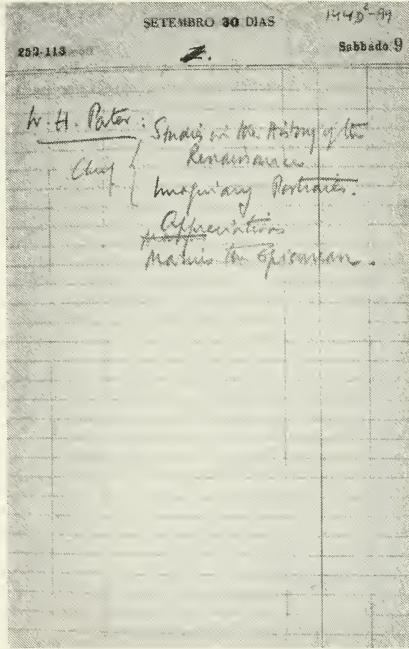
Plasticidade do povo português
 Adaptação de um povo a
 uma civilização.
 (1) adaptação orgânica.
 (2) ———— estabilizadora.
 (3) ————

List of authors, manuscript, BNP/E3, 48B-103^r.

"Plasticidade do povo português," manuscript, BNP/E3, 48B-103^r.

- G[eorge] B[ernard] Shaw: "Man and Superman."
 Oscar Wilde: "Picture of Dorian Gray."
 Walter Pater: □
 G[ilbert] K[eith] Chesterton: "Heretics."
 Remy de Gourmont: "Une nuit au Luxembourg."
 Maurice Barrès: □
 Rudolf Eucken: □
 J[ohn] M[ackinon] Robertson: "Rationalism."
 F[riedrich] Nietz[s]che:
 Max Stirner: (O Unico)
 Jules Gaultier: □
 [. . .]

4. BNP/E3, 144D²-99^f [1915?]*



W. H. Pater's list of works, manuscript, BNP/E3, 144D²-99^f.

W. H. Pater:

- Chief { Studies in the History of the Renaissance
 Imaginary Portraits
 Marius Appreciations
 Marius the Epicurean

* The notebook identified with the reference 144D² was considered by some editors as datable between 1914 and 1916. Pessoa, *Sensacionismo e outros ismos* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2010), 337. Moreover, the fact that in this list Pessoa writes the title that Pater only used in the first edition of *The Renaissance* could suggest that the list was written before Pessoa purchased his copy of the book.

5. BNP/E3, 551-5^v [1918-1921?]*

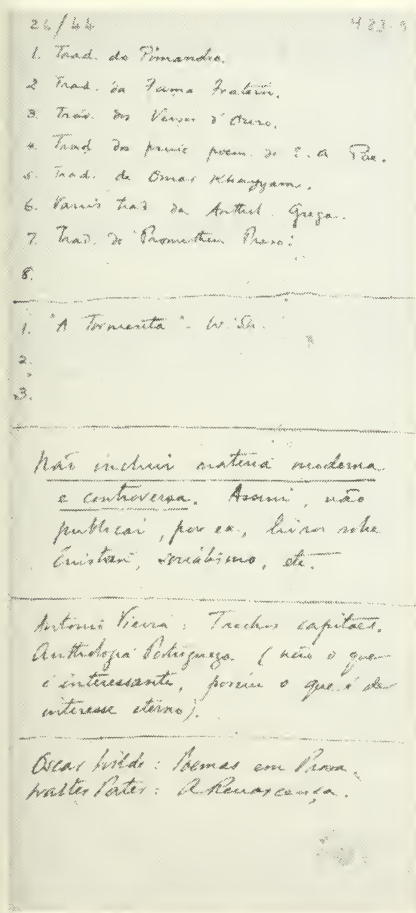
1. "A Decadencia da Mentira"—Oscar Wilde.
2. "Os Principais poemas de Edgar Poe."
3. "De 'A Renascença' de Walter Pater." Trechos Selectos.
4. Selecta de Dryden./
5. Alguns Poemas de Matthew Arnold.

6. Os Poemas de José Anastacio da Cunha.
7. Selecta on "Phenix Renascida."
8. Da Anthologia Grega—(Ricardo Reis)
9. Wordsworth.
10. □

❖ Even though Pessoa probably had known the Greek Anthology since his school years in Durban, the acquisition, sometime after 1918, of an edition of that book seems to have enhanced the appearance of projects for translating that title. See Pessoa's copy of the Greek Anthology in his library, CFP 8-235. The occurrence of Ricardo Reis as translator is also found in Pessoa editorial projects of the period of Olisipo (Appendix II, 7).

6. BNP/E3, 481-9^r [1918-1921?]*

Editorial projects, manuscript,
BNP/E3, 481-9^r.



1. Trad[ução] do Pimandro.
2. Trad[ução] da Fama Fraternal[is].
3. Trad[ução] dos Versos d'Ouro.
4. Trad[ução] dos princ[ipais] poem[as] de E[dgar] A[llan] Poe.
5. Trad[ução] de Omar Khayyam.
6. Varias trad[uções] da Anthol[ogia] Grega.
7. Trad[ução] do "Prometheu Preso."
8. □

Não incluir materia moderna ou controversa. Assim, não publicar, por ex[emplo] livros sobre Einstein, socialismo, etc.

Antonio Vieira: Trechos Capitaes.

Anthologia Portugeza (não o que é interessante, porém o que é de interesse eterno).

Oscar Wilde: Poemas em Prosa.

Walter Pater: A Renascença.

❖ Some of the titles in this list were also mentioned in Pessoa's editorial projects during the lifespan of his publishing company Olisipo, between 1920 and 1923 (Appendix II, 7). Pessoa actually published some translations of the *Greek Anthology* in *Athena*, but without authorial attribution. This could suggest that the lists mentioning that project were prior to that publication.

7. BNP/E3, 137A–21^r and 22^r [c. 1921]❖

"Canções" (Antonio Botto), 2^a edição, aumentada.

"A Tormenta" (Shakespeare), trad[ução], Fernando Pessoa.

[. . .]

Poemas de Sappho e de Alceu. Trad[ução] Ricardo Reis.

"Trovas do Bandarra," com commentario interpretativo de Raphael Baldaya.

Poemas Anthologia Grega. (Sel[ecção]). Trad[ução]. Ricardo Reis.

Poemas Principais de Edgar Poe. Trad[ucção] Fernando Pessoa.

“A Política” (Aristoteles). Trad[ucção] Ricardo Reis.

[. . .]

“Mar Portuguez” (Fernando Pessoa).

“Cancioneiro, Liv. I e II.” (Fernando Pessoa).

“Cancioneiro, Liv. III e IV.” (Fernando Pessoa).

“Auto das Bacchantes” (Fernando Pessoa).

“Arco do Triumpho” (Alvaro de Campos).

“A Invenção do Dia Claro” (José de Almada-Negreiros).

“Indícios de Ouro” (Mario de Sá-Carneiro). Ed[ição] Fernando Pessoa. (ou “Poemas Completos,” incluindo aquelle livro inedito, e outro ineditos que haja). (ou “Obras Completas de Mario de Sá-Carneiro,” sendo o primeiro volume o dos “Poemas Completos,” ut supra).

“A Idéa de Progresso” (J. B. Burry). Trad[ucção]

“Historia do Christianismo” (J. M. Robertson). Trad[ucção]

“A Renascença” (Walter Pater). Trad[ucção]

“Historia da Liberdade de Pensamento” (J. B. Burry). Trad[ucção]

“A Fabula das Abelhas” (Mandeville). Trad[ucção]

“Octavio.” (Victoriano Braga).

❖ These titles are part of the extended list of editorial projects considered for Olisipo at the time of its foundation. The complete list was published for the first time in Ferreira, *Fernando Pessoa: O Comércio e a publicidade* (Lisbon: Cinevoz, 1986), 159–62.

8. No call number [after 1923] ❖

Traduções

O CORVO, de Edgar Poe.
ODE, de O'Shaughnessy.
A CIDADE NO MAR, de Edgar Poe.
A ULTIMA CAVALGADA, de Robert Browning.
O HOMEM E A COBRA, de Ambrose Bierce.
POEMAS EM PROSA, de Oscar Wilde.
A DECADENCIA DA MENTIRA, de Oscar Wilde.
EPILOGO, da "Renascença", de Walter Pater.
LEONARDO DA VINCI, de Walter Pater.
CARTA AO CONDE DE CHESTERFIELD, do Dr. Johnson.
DESCIDA AO MAELSTROM, de Edgar Poe.
A CAVALGADA ATÉ O MAR, de J. M. Synge.
A TERRA DOS CEGOS, de H. G. Wells.
A PORTA NO MURO, de H. G. Wells.
O REVEREND DO CASTELO BRANCO, de Sir A. Conan Doyle.
A BARRACA, de Edgar Poe.
ALONSO MARTINEZ BUSTAS, de Robert Browning.
O REI, de Edgar Poe.
PROGRAMA DE TRAJES ORIENTAIS, de Matthew Arnold.
ODE À LIBERTALIDADE, de William Wordsworth.
DE COMO FALAMOS: NUNCA EXISTIU, de F. H. Ferris.
SANTO, de E. M. Forster.

O'Higgins, Camacho de Castro.

AVISO

POR CAUSA DA MORAL

Quando o publico soube que os estudantes de Lisboa, nos intervalos de dizer desconhecidas de senhoras que passam, estavam empunhados em moralizar toda a gente, teve uma exclamação de impaciencia. Sim—exactamente a exclamação que acaba de escapar ao leitor...

Ser novo é não ser velho. Ser velho é ter opiniões. Ser novo é não querer saber de opiniões para nada. Ser novo é deixar os outros ir em paz por o Diabo com as opiniões que tem, boas ou más—boas ou más, que a gente nunca sabe com quees é que vae para o Diabo.

Os troços da vida das escolas interromtem-se com os escriptores que não passam pela mesma razão porque se intimetem com as senhoras que passam. Se não sabem a razão antes de eu lá dizer, também a não saberiam depois. Se a pudessem saber, não se intimetariam nem com as senhoras nem com os escriptores.

Holdes para a gente ter que aturar isto! O menino: estudem, divertam-se e calem-se. Estudem ciencias, se estudam ciencias; estudem artes, se estudam artes; estudem letras, se estudam letras. Divertam-se com mulheres, se gostam de mulheres; divertam-se de outra maneira, se preferem outra. Tudo está certo, porque não passa do corpo de quem se diverte.

Mas quanto ao resto, calem-se. Calem-se o mais silenciosamente possivel.

Porque ha só duas maneiras de se ter razão. Uma é calar-se, e é a que convém aos novos. A outra é contradizer-se, mas só alguma de mais idade a pode comear.

Tudo mais e uma grande maçada para quem está presente por acaso. E a sociedade em que nascemos é o lugar onde mais por acaso estamos presentes.

Europa, 1923.

ALVARO DE CAMPOS.

Traduções, typescript, Manuela Nogueira's private collection.

Printed copy of Alvaro de Campos's "Aviso por causa da moral," Manuela Nogueira's private collection.

Traduções.

O CORVO, de Edgar Poe.
ODE, de O'Shaughnessy.
A CIDADE NO MAR, de Edgar Poe.
A ULTIMA CAVALGADA, de Robert Browning.
O HOMEM E A COBRA, de Ambrose Bierce.
POEMAS EM PROSA, de Oscar Wilde.
A DECADENCIA DA MENTIRA, de Oscar Wilde.
EPILOGO, da "Renascença," de Walter Pater.
LEONARDO DA VINCI, de Walter Pater.
CARTA AO CONDE DE CHESTERFIELD, do Dr. Johnson.
DESCIDA AO MAELSTROM, de Edgar Poe.
A CAVALGADA ATÉ O MAR, de J. M. Synge.
A TERRA DOS CEGOS, de H[erbert] G[eorge] Wells.
A PORTA NO MURO, de H[erbert] G[eorge] Wells.

- O SENHOR DO CASTELLO NEGRO, de Sir A[rthur] Conan Doyle.
A SOMBRA, de Edgar Poe.
STROPHES DA GRANDE CHARTREUSE, de Matthew Arnold.
ODE Á IMORTALIDADE, de William Wordsworth.
DE COMO NAPOLEÃO NUNCA EXISTIU, de J[ean] B[aptiste] Pérès.
MAXIMAS, de La Rochefoucauld.
O. Henry Caminhos do Destino.

❖ This list was written on the back of a printed page of “Aviso por causa da moral,” a pamphlet signed by Álvaro de Campos and published in 1923, as a response to the confiscation by the police of Antonio Botto’s and Raul Leal’s books. Manuela Nogueira’s private collection.

Appendix III: Translations

1. BNP/E3, 133F-90^v [after Sept. 1916] ❖

Preface—beginning to middle p. XII.

La Gioconda—128-130

Conclusion—all

❖ The pages referred to in this project for an anthology of *The Renaissance* correspond to the exact pages of the book Pessoa purchased.

2. BNP/E3, 14^s-79 [c. 1924] ❖

PAGINAS DE “A RENASCENÇA”

DE WALTER PATER

PREFACIO

Muitas são as tentativas, que teem feito os que escreveram sobre a arte e a poesia, de definir a belleza em abstracto, de exprimir-a em os termos mais geraes, de encontrar para ella uma formula universal. O valor d'estas tentativas tem sido principalmente o das cousas suggestivas e penetrantes dictas pelo caminho. Taes discussões muito pouco nos conduzem a gosar o que foi bem feito em arte ou em poesia, a distinguir o que em ellas é mais ou menos excellente, ou a usar de palavras como belleza, excellencia, arte, poesia com uma significação mais exacta do que antes para nós tiveram.

❖ This document and the following two were written with material characteristics similar to those that resulted in the more definite draft for the translation of Pater, which Pessoa published in *Athena*.

3. BNP/E3, 113P²-18^r and 19^r [c. 1924]

La Gioconda é, no mais verdadeiro dos sentidos, a obra prima de Leonardo, o exemplo revelador do seu modo de pensamento e de trabalho. Em suggestão, só a *Melacholia* de Dürer lhe é comparavel; e não ha rudeza de symbolismo que perturbe o effeito do seu mysterio esbatido e gracil. Todos nós conhecemos o rosto e as mãos da figura, posta na sua cadeira de marmore, naquelle circulo de rochedos fantasticos, como numa vaga luz de debaixo do mar. De todos os quadros antigos é talvez aquelle que o tempos menos esfriou. Como muitas

vezes acontece com as obras, em que a invenção parece chegar ao limite, he nella um elemento dado ao mestre, não inventado por elle. Naquelle inappreciavel folio de desenhos, em tempo possuido por Vasari, havia certos esboços de Verrochio, rostos de tão impressiva belleza que Leonardo na sua mocidade os copiou muitas vezes. É difficil não relacionar com estes desenhos do mestre mais velho, já do passado, como com o seu principio germinador, sorriso impenetravel, sempre laivado de qualquer cousa de sinistro, que paira por sobre toda a obra de Leonardo. Além d'isso, o quadro é um retrato. Desde a infancia vemos esta imagem definindo-se na materia dos seus sonhos; e se não fora o expresso testemunho historico, poderíamos crer que esta não passava de a sua dama ideal, corporizada e vista por fim. Que relação houve entre uma florentina real e esta creatura dos seus sonhos? Por que estranhas affinidades tinham o sonho e a pessoa crescido assim tão afastados, e todavia um do outro? Presente desde o começo incorporeamente no cerebro de Leonardo, esboçada vagamente nos desenhos de Verrochio, ella aparece por fim na casa de *Il Giocondo*. Que no quadro é muito que é simplesmente retrato, testifica-o a lenda de que por meios artificiaes, a presença de mimicos e de tocadores de flauta, aquella expressão subtil se demorou no rosto. E, ainda, seria em quatro annos e por um labor renovado que nunca na verdade completou, ou em quatro mezes e como por um golpe de magia, que a imagem se projectou?

A presença, que assim tão estranhamente surgiu de ao pé das aguas, é expressiva de aquillo que nos caminhos de milhares de annos os homens tinham vindo desejar. Aquella é a cabeça sobre a qual todos “os fins do mundo tinham vindo,” e as palpebras estão um pouco cansadas. É uma belleza trabalhada de dentro sobre a carne, o deposito, cellula a cellula, de pensamentos estranhos e sonhos fantasticos e paixões exquisitas. Collocae-a um momento ao pé de uma d'aquellas brancas deusas gregas ou mulheres bellas da antiguidade, e como as perturbaria esta belleza, na qual entra já a alma com todas as suas doenças! Todos os pensamentos e a experiencia do mundo alli modelaram e gravaram, no que teem de poder de afinar e tornar expressiva a forma externa, o animalismo da Grecia, a luxuria de Roma, o mysticismo da idade media com a sua ambição espiritual e os seus amores imaginativos, o regresso do mundo pagão, os peccados dos Borgias. Ella é mais velha que os rochedos entre os quaes se senta; como o vampiro, morreu já muitas vezes, e aprendeu os segredos do tumulo; e mergulho em mares profundos e guarda em torno a si o seu dia morto; e traffiou em tecidos estranhos com os mercadores do Oriente; e, como Leda, foi a mãe

de Helena de Troia, e, como Santa Anna, a mãe de Maria; e tudo isto não foi para ella mais que um som de lyras e de flautas, e vive apenas na delicadeza com que modelou as feições instaveis, e coloriu as palpebras e as mãos. É antiga a fantasia de uma vida perpetua, ajuntando dez mil experiencias; e a philosophia moderna concebeu a idéa da humanidade como trabalhada por, e congregando em si, todos os modos de pensamento e de vida. Porcerto a dama Lisa poderia valer como a personificação da antiga fantasia, o symbolo da idéa moderna.

Walter Pater, "A Renascença"

4. BNP/E3, 30A-9^r and 8^r [c. 1924]

LA GIOCONDA

DE WALTER PATER

(Traducção de Fernando Pessoa)

La Gioconda é, no mais verdadeiro dos sentidos, a obra-prima de Leonardo, o exemplo revelador do seu modo de pensamento e de trabalho. Em suggestão, só a *Melancholia* de Dürer lhe é comparavel; e não ha symbolismo cru que perturbe o effeito do seu mysterio esbatido e gracioso. Conhecemos todos o rosto e as mãos da figura, posta em sua cadeira de marmore, naquelle circulo de rochedos fantasticos, como em vaga luz submarina. Talvez de todos os quadros antigos seja aquelle que o tempos menos desbotou. Como muitas vezes acontece com obras em que dir-se-hia que a invenção parece chegou ao seu limite, he nella um elemento dado ao mestre, que não inventado por elle. Naquelle inestimavel folio de desenhos, que um tempo Vasari possuiu, havia certos esboços de Verrochio, rostos de belleza tão impressiva que Leonardo, jovem, muitas vezes os copiou. É difficil não relacionar com estes esboços do mestre preterito, como com seu principio germinal, o sorriso insondavel, sempre como tocado de qualquer cousa de sinistro, que paira por sobre toda a obra de Leonardo. Além d'isso, o quadro é um retrato. Desde a infancia vemos esta imagem definindo-se no estofa de seus sonhos; e, se não fôra o testemunho expresso da historia, poderamos pensar que esta não era esta mais que a sua dama ideal, por fim corpo-

rizada e vista. Que parentesco teve uma florentina real e esta creatura do seu pensamento? Por que estranhas afinidades assim cresceram separados o sonho e a pessoa, ainda que ligados de tão perto? Presente desde o principio incorporeamente no cerebro de Leonardo, delineada vagamente nos desenhos de Verrochio, ella encontra-se por fim presente na casa d' *Il Giocondo*. Que ha muito de simples retrato no quadro, attesta-o a lenda de que por meios artificias, a presença de mimos e de tocadores de flauta, se prolongou no rosto aquella expressão subtil. E, ainda, seria em quatro annos e por um trabalho renovado nunca em verdade findo, ou em quatro mezes e como por um golpe de magia, que a imagem se projectou?

A presença que assim tão estranhamente se ergueu de ao pé das aguas é expressiva d'aquillo que os homens, nos caminhos de um milhar de annos tinham chegado a desejar. Aquella é a cabeça sobre a qual "vieram todos os fins do mundo," e as palpebras estão um pouco cansadas. É uma belleza trabalhada de dentro sobre a carne, o deposito, cellula a cellula, de pensamentos estranhos, e devaneios fantasticos, e paixões exquisitas. Collocae-a um momento ao pé de uma d'essas brancas deusas da Grecia ou mulheres bellas da antiguidade, e como ellas se turbariam d'esta belleza, para onde entrou já a alma com todas as suas doenças! Todos os pensamentos e experiencia do mundo allí gravaram e modelaram, no que teem de poder de afinar e tornar expressiva a fórmula exterior, o animalismo da Grecia, a luxuria de Roma, o mysticismo da Edade Media com a sua ambição espiritual e seus amores imaginativos, o regresso do mundo pagão, os peccados dos Borgias. Ella é mais velha que os rochedos entre os quaes se assenta; como o vampiro, morreu já muitas vezes, e apprendeu os segredos do tumulo; e mergulho em mares profundos, e guarda, cercanda-a ainda, o seu dia morto; e trafficou em tecidos estranhos com os mercadores do Oriente; e, como Leda, foi mãe de Helena de Troia, e, como Santa Anna, a mãe de Maria; e tudo isto não foi para ella mais que um som de lyras e de flautas, e vive apenas na delicadeza com que lhe modelou as feições instaveis, e coloriu as palpebras e as mãos. A fantasia de uma vida perpetua, congregando dez mil experiencias, é antiga; e a philosophia moderna concebeu a idéa da humanidade como trabalhada por, e resumindo em si, todos os modos de pensamento e de vida. Porcerto a dama Lisa poderia valer como a incarnação da fantasia antiga, o symbolo da idéa moderna.

5. [published in *Athena* 2, Dec. 1924]

LA GIOCONDA

DE WALTER PATER

(Tradução de Fernando Pessoa)

La Gioconda é, no mais verdadeiro dos sentidos, a obra-prima de Leonardo, o exemplo revelador do seu modo de pensamento e de trabalho. Em suggestão, só a *Melancholia* de Durer lhe é comparável; e não ha symbolismo crú que perturbe o effeito do seu mysterio esbatido e gracioso. Conhecemos todos o rosto e as mãos da figura, posta em sua cadeira de marmore, naquelle circulo de rochedos fantasticos, como em vaga luz de sob o mar. Talvez de todos os quadros antigos seja aquelle que o tempo menos desbotou. Como muitas vezes acontece com obras em que dir-se-hia que a invenção chegou a seu limite, ha nella um elemento dado ao mestre, que não inventado por elle. Naquelle inestimavel folio de desenhos, que um tempo Vasari possuiu, havia certas esboços de Verrocchio, rostos de belleza tão expressiva que Leonardo, jovem, muitas vezes os copiou. E' difficil não relacionar com estes esboços do mestre preterito, como com seu principio germinal, o sorriso insondavel, sempre como tocado de qualquer cousa de sinistro, que paira em toda a obra de Leonardo. Além d'isso, o quadro é um retrato. Desde a infancia vemos esta imagem definindo-se no estofa de seus sonhos; e, se não fôra o testemunho expresso da historia, pudéramos pensar que não era esta mais que a sua dama ideal, por fim corporizada e vista. Que parentesco teve uma florentina real com esta creatura de seu pensamento? Por que extranhas affinidades assim cresceram separados o sonho e a pessoa, ainda que ligados de tão perto? Presente desde o principio incorporeamente no cerebro de Leonardo, delineada vagamente nos desenhos de Verrocchio, ella encontra-se por fim presente em casa d'*Il Giocondo*. Que ha muito de simples retrato no quadro, attesta-o a lenda de que, por meios artificiaes, a presença de mimos e de tocadores de flauta, se prolongou no rosto aquella expressão subtil. E, ainda, seria em quatro annos e por um trabalho renovado nunca em verdade findo, ou em quatro mezes e como por um golpe de magia, que a imagem assim se projectou?

A presença que assim tão extranhamente se ergueu de ao pé das aguas é expressiva d'aquillo que os homens, nos caminhos de um millhar de annos, tinham chegado a desejar. Aquella é a cabeça sobre a qual «vieram todos os fins do mundo», e as palpebras estão um pouco cansadas. E' uma belleza trabalhada de dentro sobre a carne, o deposito, cellula a cellula, de pensamentos extranhos, e devaneios fantasticos, e paixões exquisitas. Colloc-a um momento ao pé de uma d'essas brancas deusas da Grecia ou mulheres bellas da antiguidade, e como ellas se turbariam d'esta belleza, para onde entrou já a alma com todas as suas doenças! Todos os pensamentos e experiencia do mundo alli gravaram e modelaram, no que teem de poder de refinar e tornar expressiva a forma exterior, o animalismo da Grecia, a luxuria de Roma, o mysticismo da Edade Media com sua ambição espiritual e seus amores imaginativos, o regresso do mundo pagão, os peccados dos Borgias. Ella é mais velha que os rochedos, entre os quaes se assenta; como o vampiro, morreu já muitas vezes, e aprendeu os segredos do tumulo; e mergulhou em mares profundos, e guarda, cercando-a ainda, o seu dia morto; e trafficou em tecidos extranhos com os mercadores do Oriente; e, como Leda, foi mãe de Helena de Troia, e, como Santa Anna, foi mãe de Maria; e tudo isto não foi para ella mais que um som de lyras e de flautas, e vive apenas na delicadeza com que lhe modelou as feições instaveis, e lhe coloriu as palpebras e as mãos. A fantasia de uma vida perpetua, congregando dez mil experiencias, é antiga; e a philosophia moderna concebeu a idéa da humanidade como trabalhada por, e resumindo em si, todos os modos de pensamento e de vida. Por certo que a Dama Lisa poderia ficar como a incarnação da fantasia antiga, o symbolo da idéa moderna.

Appendix IV: References

1. BNP/E3, 144C–12 and 13^v [1916?]❖

A descrição de uma estatua, feita em linguagem bella, é absolutamente essa estatua, com toda a sua belleza plastica mais o movimento, o *rhythmo vivo*, o *som* correspondente ao *rhythmo*, na pedra parada e morta, das suas linhas.

Todos os *assumptos* são bons—tanto os modernos como os antigos, os naturaes como os artificiaes, os do exterior como os da alma.

A literatura antiga é por vezes bella, mas sempre insufficiente. É, sobretudo, sempre antiga.

Dar á literatura o seu papel de arte unica e absoluta, fazendo-a ter: *architectura* na perfeita e bella estructura e construcção do *todo* da obra literaria e no arranjo constructivo das partes e das partes para com o *todo*; *esculptura* no perfeito recorte dos periodos e das idéas dadas; *pintura* na energia-côr com que as suggestões são insinuadas; *musica* no *rhythmo* das *phrases* componentes da obra, no *rhythmo* dos versos ou da prosa em que está escripta; *metaphysica* nas idéas—todas ellas cheias, inevitavelmente, porque são idéas, de *theorias* das cousas que a obra tem.

Quando Walter Pater descreve a Gioconda vê n'ella cousas que lá não estão. Mas a sua descrição é mais bella do que a Gioconda porque é Gioconda + *musica* (*rhythmo* da prosa) + idéas (as contidas nas palavras da descrição) + □

Todo o exhibicionismo é ordinario e vulgar. Cultivamos o aristocratismo do desprezo.

A pintura, a musica, etc. são confissões de impotencia artistica, porque não são a literatura.

❖ Published in Pessoa, *Sensacionismo e outros ismos* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2009), 282–84. Jerónimo Pizarro argued that the notebook 144C was used between 1914 and 1916. See Pessoa, *Sensacionismo e outros ismos*, 279. Pizarro also divided the text in two parts, separating the paragraph that is explicitly about Pater from the one that is implicitly about him. Here the entire text is presented as continuous.

2. BNP/E3, 20–100^f [1916?]❖

[. . .]

Como expressão da *dysgenica* da guerra, apparecerão correntes ultra-decadenes, interpretativas do abatimento em que grande parte ficará. São trez essas correntes, consoante reajam contra o *spirito* de organização, contra o *spirito* revolucionario, ou contra os dois simultaneamente. O primeiro *typo* de decadentismo será uma continuação, diferente por novas individualisações

apenas, d'aquella parte do decadentismo que representa uma revolta contra as regras, uma introspecção excessiva. O segundo tipo de decadentismo será uma continuação d'aquelle tipo de decadentismo que mais se occupa em crear uma indiferença aos problemas do meio, do que em se entregar á introspecção propriamente. O primeiro partirá de Verlaine, como o segundo de Mallarmé ou dos chamados esthetas ingleses, Pater ou Wilde. O terceiro tipo de decadentismo é que trará novidades; será uma exacerbação dos dois reunidos: qualquer prenuncio d'elle surgiu, de resto, já antes da guerra, na corrente portugueza que viu [veio] depois a manifestar-se em ORPHEU.

[. . .]

❖ Published in Pessoa, *Páginas íntimas e de auto-interpretação* (Lisbon: Ática, 1966), 176. This document was also published with corrections and improvements in Pessoa, *Sensacionismo e outros ismos*, 420. In both editions the date "1916?" was considered as a hypothesis for the text.

3. BNP/E3, 21-10 [c.1917] ❖

Prefacio de Ricardo Reis:

[. . .]

Reconstruir o paganismo envolve, pois, como primeira acção intellectual, fazer renascer o objectivismo puro dos gregos e dos romanos. Tudo o mais que se tente não passa de reproducção esteril dos elementos secundarios ou mesmo accessorios do paganismo antigo. Porisso nunca houve, adentro da civilização christan, tentativa alguma que de pagan mereça o nome, embora varias tenha havido com sobradas pretensões nesse respeito. Não exemplifiquemos exahustivamente, que a tarefa, sobre ser inutil, seria penosamente longa. Enumerar todo o lixo christão com pretensões pagans dos Matthew Arnolds, dos Oscar Wildes e dos Walter Paters do baixo-christismo, seria enfadonho e desolador. Esta gente julgava estar com os antigos quando ia de encontro ao christismo por o que ellas [elles] chamariam razões estheticas; não passam de discipulos christãos, nem sequer do paganismo, mas apenas de certas escolas philosophias que o paganismo produziu. Epicuristas christãos, hedonistas catholicos, stoicos de um portico judeu, deixemol-os na podridão estulta dos que quizeram aceitar os deuses sem saber de que materia elles eram feitos, dos que quizeram seguir os philosophos da antiguidade, no que elles tinham de essencial, sem saber o que é que elles tinham de essencial, nem por que caminho iam.

[. . .]

❖ Published in Pessoa, *Poemas completos de Alberto Caeiro* (Lisbon: Presença, 1994), 186-87.

4. BNP/E3, 21-16 and 17 [c. 1917]❖

Prefacio de Ricardo Reis:

[. . .]

Encaremos, agora, o paganismo greco-romano do ponto de vista em que é vulgar comparal-o ao christismo: isto é, da sua pretensa amoralidade, ou immoralidade mesmo. Esta immoralidade, a que a ignorancia moderna se até, apoiada ou em cultos que contrastam com a severidade do culto cristão, ou em que a expressão da moral pagan é, no geral, menos severa e menos espiritual que a cristista, provém simplesmente de que se considera moral o christismo, passando, portanto, a serem immorais os não-christismos todos. No erro teem cahido, com um descuido systematico, quantos, quer propondo-se ser christãos, quer propondo-se ser anti-christãos, quer defendendo a moral christã, quer procurando defender a immoralidade suposta anti-christan. É um erro crasso que subjaz os debeis pensamentos de tais como o "estheta" Wilde ou o seu mestre Pater; a ignorancia da substancia do paganismo basta para explical-a.

❖ Published in Pessoa, *Páginas íntimas e de auto-interpretação* (Lisbon: Ática, 1966), 245.

5. BNP/E3, 21-91^r [c. 1917]❖

R[icardo] Reis on Caero.

Das tentativas de paganismo, que o seculo passado produziu, não ha uma que não sofra de ser cristã. Mesmo Walter Pater, que unia a um perfeito entendimento do paganismo, um perfeito desejo de ser pagão, não passou de um cristão doente com ansias de paganismo.

A compreensão do paganismo, e o amor das verdades pagãs não bastam para fabricar um pagão. Um homem pode compreender por optima a profissão militar, e sentil-a por magnífica; e contudo ser falho de spirito de comando e de coragem physica. Ha uma sensibilidade da inteligencia, e ha uma sensibilidade de temperamento. Podem estar em desacordo, embora em geral o não estejam.

❖ Published in Pessoa, *Páginas íntimas e de auto-interpretação* (Lisbon: Ática, 1966), 352. The date attributed to the text was "1916?". The present hypothesis considers that choice, but also accepts an approximation of this document to others texts and projects from a later period, even from the beginning of 1918. This same argument applies to the two following documents, related with Ricardo Reis's preface to the works of Alberto Caero.

6. BNP/E3, 12A–16 [c. 1918]

Prefácio Ricardo Reis António Móra

Ad Finem

[. . .]

Não nos deixemos, porém, arrastar pela compreensão de quanto o nosso spiritu se não com a nossa epocha. É justo que nos isolemos, porque o que podemos dar a este mundo, ello não o quiere; nem elle nos pode dar aquillo que, se pedissemos, lhe pediríamos. Não podemos, pois, como pagãos participar da vida da cidade, ou das cousas da epocha activamente. Até este punto é justa e propria a nossa attitude negativa [. . .]

De outro modo não seremos dignos da statura de pagãos, nem do nome, que devemos merecer, de servos dos Deuses, de escravos submissos do universal Destino. Seremos apenas homens de um periodo de decadencia, superiores pelo instincto da libertação, mas /não/ pela practica, dentro em nós, d'esse instincto.

Digo isto porque tão altos e claros spriritus como Caeiro e Ricardo Reis não deixaram de peccar neste poncto. A que fim supremos serve dizer—e antes de dizer, pensar—como Caeiro □

Que nobreza ha na frase impia de Ricardo Reis:

Prefiro rosas, [meu amor, á] patria?

ou no estulto e jactancioso epodo em que se vangloria de não se importar com as guerras e as crises dos homens, antepondo-lhes um jogo de xadrez?

Em que se distinguem estas □ das mais characteristics efusões dos baixos “decadentes” do christismo, dos Paters, dos Wildes da nossa Bizancio universal? [. . .]

❖ Published in Pessoa, *Obras de António Mora* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2002), 242. The editor does not offer a possible date for the text. However, keeping in mind that this text seems to constitute an evolution from Ricardo Reis's original point of view, an approximate date of 1918 seems plausible.

7. BNP/E3, 21–43^r [c. 1918] ❖

António Mora

Não somos, na verdade, neo-pagãos, nem pagãos novos. O paganismo é a religião que nasce da terra, da natureza directamente—que nasce da attribuição a cada objecto da sua realidade verdadeira. [. . .]

Que se designassem, a si-mesmos, neo-pagãos aquelles christãos rebeldes, como Pater e Swinburne, que nada tinham de pagãos, senão o desejo de o ser—conceda-se porque não é falta de razão que se dê um nome impossivel a uma coisa absurda. Mas nós, que somos pagãos, não podemos usar um nome que indique que o somos como “modernos,” ou que viemos “reformatar” ou “reconstruir” o paganismo dos gregos. Viemos ser pagãos. Renasceu, em nós o paganismo. Mas, o paganismo que renasceu em nós é o paganismo que sempre houve, a subordinação aos deuses como a justiça da Terra para consigo mesma.[.] [. . .]

❖ Published in Pessoa, *Páginas íntimas e de auto-interpretação* (Lisbon: Ática, 1966), 286; and with corrections and improvements in Pessoa, *Obras de Antonio Mora* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2002), 210–11.

8. BNP/E3, 14⁴–47^r [192-?]

[. . .]

Literary finish is not indispensable α [and] a catalogue written in the style of Arnold or of Pater would presumably be, not be bad, but unnecessarily good. Still there is a limit to the non-literary element admissible in these cases, [and] that limit is *intensified by grammatical and idiomatic accuracy and clearness and flow in style. The best descriptions of goods or medicines [and] the best advertisements of them, are breed on no other principle.

❖ The transcription of this text is offered by Pauly Ellen Bothe. The hypothetical date for the document is related to the presence, on the back of the page, of a project for a “Commercial Guide,” also part of Olisipo’s projects. However, on the same page, notes are present for what seems to be an article, or even a detective story, about the authorship of Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*, perhaps associating this text with several periods of Pessoa’s writing, between the 1910s and 1930s.

10. BNP/E3, 133]–9^v [1918?]

Pater

Of all that modern times have said, only Pater will remain, [because] he tells us why it was said.

❖ This text was written on the same sheet of paper that contains a fragment belonging to the essay “Impermanence,” and it was included as a note in an edition of the drafts for that essay reunited by Richard Zenith, in Pessoa, *Heróstrato e a busca da imortalidade* (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2000), 245. Zenith has remarked that the essay was developed during the second half of the decade beginning in 1910, and some lists of projects that mention it can be dated to 1918.

10. BNP/E3, 19-106^r [after Oct. 1924]❖

Anatole France

Não, não era um dilettante. Prouvera aos deuses que o fôra! Anatole France era apenas um dilettante amador. Tinha do dilettante (excepto no que diz respeito á doença cancerosa, o communismo, de que soffria) o scepticismo, que nasce de se saber que todas as doutrinas são igualmente defensaveis, valendo cada uma, não o que vale, senão o que vale o defensor; a curiosidade, que sabe que em tudo ha tudo; e, aquella flôr suprema da cultura a que se chama o humanismo, assim definido, uma vez para sempre, por Pater □

O dilettantismo verdadeiro vae, porém, adiante da simples curiosidade pela superficie de tudo: desce á essencia das cousas, e é passageiramente intenso e sincero com cada uma d'ellas. O grande dilettante vive profundamente, com o pensamento e com a emoção, todos os aspectos que pode da realidade illusoria. Dilettanti foram Goethe e Shakespeare, nem ha dilettante maior que este, que viveu os typos mais differentes de humanidade com egual esplendor de imaginação e de intelligencia.

[. . .]

❖ Published in Pessoa, *Páginas de estética e de teoria e crítica literárias* (Lisbon: Ática, 1967), 345. The first editors attributed it to 1914, perhaps by typographical mistake. The text was written after the death of Anatole France, in October of 1924.

11. ["Antonio Botto e o ideal esthetico em Portugal," *Contemporanea*, nº3, 1922]

[. . .] Como se guia, pois, só pela belleza o estheta canta de preferencia o corpo masculino, por ser o corpo humano que mais elementos de belleza, dos poucos que ha, pode accumular.

Foi assim que pensaram os gregos; foi esse pensamento que Winckelmann, fundador do esthetismo na Europa, descobrindo-o nelles, reproduziu, como no passo celebre que Pater transcreveu, e que parece feito para servir de prefacio a um livro como *Canções*:

"Como é confessadamente a belleza do homem que tem de ser concebida sob uma idéa geral, assim tenho notado que aquelles que observam a belleza só nas mulheres, e pouco ou nada se commovem com a belleza dos homens, raras vezes teem um insitnto imparcial, vital, innato da belleza na arte. A pessoas como essas a belleza da arte grega parecerá sempre falha, porque a sua belleza suprema é antes masculina que feminina."

[. . .] o aparecimento na Europa moderna de um typo integro de estheta só pode dar-se por um desvio pathologico, isto é, por uma inadaptação estructural aos principios constitutivos da civilização europeia, em que vivemos.

Este desvio pathologico é, porém, no caso dos grandes esthetas europeus o elemento predisponente, se bem que, por isso mesmo, radical, do seu esthetismo; a elle se accrescenta uma mergencia prolongada do espirito na atmosphera da cultura hellenica, que lhe cria um perpetuo contacto, ainda que só intellectual, com a Grecia antiga e os seus ideaes. Da acção d'este segundo elemento sobre o primeiro o estheta desabrocha. São d'esta origem os esthetismo de Winckelmann e de Pater, quasi, em verdade, os unicos typos exactos do estheta que a civilização europeia pode apresentar. Como, porém este esthetismo tem uma base cultural, resulta que tem a plenitude e a largueza que distinguem todos os productos culturaes, em contraposição aos naturaes seus semelhantes, e porisso de algum modo transcende a estreiteza especifica do ideal esthetico, sem todavia deixar de lhe pertencer.

[. . .]

A dentro do ideal esthetico, os casos de Winckelmann e de Pater representam o genio, porque a tendencia para a realização cultural immanente no seu esthetismo ingenito é, por sua natureza, synthetica; o caso de Antonio Botto representa o talento, porque o ideal esthetico, dada a sua estreiteza e vacuidade, represente já o senso esthetico isolado de todos os outros elementos psychicos, e, no caso de Antonio Botto, estheta simples, esse isolamente não se modifica, como no esthetismo culto, pelo reflexo nelle da multiplicidade dos objectos de cultura. [. . .]

12. BNP/E3, 138A-11^r [c. 1929] ❖

Uma interpretação ironica da vida, uma acceitação indifferente das cousas, são o melhor remedio para o soffrimento, posto que não sejam para as razões que ha para soffrer.

Walter Pater.—A vida [humana] é um tumulto de valores. A critica é uma apreciação de valores.

❖ This text has been associated by some editors with *Livro do desassossego*, and was published in Pessoa, *Livro do desasocego* (Imprensa Nacional—Casa da Moeda, 2012), 513. But the editor, Jerónimo Pizarro, has explained that the text should not be considered part of that work.

Appendix V: Varia

I. BNP/E3, 14^a-55^r and 56^r [after 1915] ❖

14^a-55^r

Gautier - 61.
 Infante & Hays - 69.
 Boileau - 75.
 Pater - 55.
 Pascal - 39.
 S. Johnson - 74.
 Ben Jonson - 64.
 John Aphelate - 32.
 Lucan - 78.
 J. Knox - 67.
 Napoleon - 52.
 Cromwell - 59.
 Bernini - 83.
 Schiller - 46.
 Schubert - 31.
 Schumann - 46.
 W. Scott - 61.
 Senancour - 76.
 Lamartine - 79.
 Riquies - 66.
 Wagner - 70.
 Walpole - 78.

List of authors, including ages at their death, manuscript, BNP/E3, 14^a-55^r.

14^a-56^r

Samt. Beauve - 65.
 M. Arnold - 66.
 Aristotle - 63.
 F. Bacon - 65.
 R. Bacon - 80.
 J. E. Baggeen - 62.
 V. Hugo - 83.
 Goethe - 83.
 Herme - 65.
 Hugh Hunt - 75.
 Keats - 26.
 Shelley - 29.
 Byron - 36.
 S. Butler - 68.
 R. Burton - 64.
 Dante - 55.
 Darwin - 73.
 Pasteur - 73.
 C. Patmore - 73.
 Plato - 82.
 Kant - 80.
 Hegel - 61.
 Fichte - 52.
 Schelling - 79.
 Vigny - 57.
 Schopenhauer - 72.

List of authors, including ages at their death, manuscript, BNP/E3, 14^a-56^r.

❖ The year 1915 is part of a bibliographic reference on the other side of the paper. This is a list of famous men and their ages when they died. The purpose of a list of this kind is not clear.