Presence of Islamic philosophy in unpublished writings by the young Fernando Pessoa

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Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Islamic philosophy, philosophical narrative, National Library of Portugal / Archive 3, Fernando Pessoa’s private library, Curso Superior de Letras (University of Lisbon).

Abstract

Here published are fragments of a philosophical narrative by Fernando Pessoa, on the subject of Islamic philosophy. These are accompanied by other documents from the author’s estate and private library on the same subject. Most of these documents were written by Fernando Pessoa at a young age, around 1906, in the period when he attended the university-level course of Arts and Letters at the University of Lisbon.

Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, filosofia islâmica, conto filosófico, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal / Espólio 3, Biblioteca particular de Fernando Pessoa, Curso Superior de Letras (Universidade de Lisboa).

Resumo

Publicam-se aqui fragmentos de um conto filosófico escrito por Fernando Pessoa, sobre o tema da filosofia islâmica. Também vêm a ser publicados e analisados outros documentos do espólio e da biblioteca particular de Pessoa, inerentes ao mesmo tema. A maior parte destes documentos foram escritos por Pessoa por volta de 1906, no período em que o jovem Pessoa frequentava o Curso Superior de Letras na Universidade de Lisboa.

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At the National Library of Portugal, among Fernando Pessoa’s estate (Archive 3) are the fragments of a philosophical narrative written by the Portuguese author, based on his first reflections on Islamic philosophy. Fernando Pessoa wrote these texts probably around 1906, at the age of eighteen, when he was a student at the university-level course of Arts and Letters in Lisbon (from October 1905 until, probably, June 1907). That course included a philosophy class. Pessoa had returned alone to Portugal from Durban, South Africa, where he had lived with his family from 1896 until 1905 (with a stay in Portugal between 1901 and 1902).

The fragments here published have no title but it seems reasonable to assume that this material was written in accordance with Pessoa’s declared intention to produce some “Arabian Tales”, possibly around 1903-1904, with the following titles: “Conscience”; “The Enemies”; “The Arab’s Bounty” (BNP/E3, 153-9; Pessoa, 2009a: 112 and 313).

These fragments were written by Pessoa in English and narrate the encounter and dialogue between a young man (could this be an imaginary transposition of Pessoa himself or is it, on the other hand, one of his many literary personas?) and an Arab sage called Al-Cossar. This dialogue, mostly sustained by the young man’s questions to Al-Cossar about Islamic philosophy and some of its main proponents, concerns mainly metaphysical, gnoseological and spiritual issues.

The first set of documents [26A-60v to 61v] describes the moment of the encounter between the young man and Al-Cossar. Narrated here is the beginning of their conversation (driven by the young man’s questions) and it is important for two reasons: Firstly, it is the clearest and most well structured of the documents

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1 Thomas Carlyle, “The Hero as a Prophet. Mahomet: Islam”, in On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic of History (1903: 64 [CFP, 8-89]). The quoted sentence was underlined in pencil by Pessoa on his copy. He probably started reading it around February 1904. After the initials of the Casa Fernando Pessoa comes the catalogue reference. Fernando Pessoa’s private library was digitalized and catalogued by Jerónimo Pizarro, Patricio Ferrari and Antonio Cardiello. Cf. Pizarro et al. (2010: 13-25); and the following webpage: http://casafernandopessoa.cm-lisboa.pt/bdigital/.

2 The name of the Arab sage Al-Cossar may evoke the Arabic etymological root ǧāf-sād-rā, from where the words within the general meaning of abbreviate, confine, bind, restrain – as in the word al-qaṣr, “castle, palace” derive. There is some probability that Pessoa knew this word on account of it being the lemma of the word Alcácer-Quibir (al-qaṣr al-kabīr, “the big castle”). This is a Moroccan city where a battle – in which the Portuguese King D. Sebastian disappeared – was fought in 1578. D. Sebastian is a major figure in the Portuguese movement called sebastianism, which is addressed in a part of Pessoa’s work (cf. Pessoa, 2011).
found and secondly it directly relates to the history of Islamic philosophy as several Islamic philosophers are named within the text.

The following documents [2718 A3-10; 15A-32r and 32a; 15A-33] are sketches of another part of the narrative. These fragments describe, with some differences of terminology and meaning, the Arab sage as he explains philosophical concepts to the young man using drawings on the ground (e.g. a circumference with some lines inside it).

These documents offer us an opportunity to explore a part of Fernando Pessoa that has previously received little attention i.e. his interest in Islamic philosophy. It appears to be unlikely that other fragments of this narrative have been previously published; therefore they deserve our attention and should provide material for those wishing to examine this area of Pessoa’s work in more depth.

The names of the medieval Islamic thinkers presented by Pessoa in these fragments (Al-Kindī, Al-Fārābī, Ibn Bājah, Ibn Sinā, Ibn Ṭufayl, Al-Ghazzālī and Ibn Rushd/Averroes) are exactly the same that can be found on Histoire de la Philosophie by Pierre Vallet (1897: 170-178), a book taken from Durban to Lisbon by Pessoa when he left from South Africa in 1905 (Ferrari, 2012: 370; cf. Pessoa, 2009a: 261). It is also possible that Pessoa was familiar with Averroes and Ibn Ṭufayl (the author of a philosophical novel known as Philosophus Autodidactus in the Western world) for they were also mentioned in Antero de Quental’s Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares nos Últimos Três Séculos. In fact, as Pizarro argues (in Pessoa, 2009b: 222), some of Pessoa’s texts written between 1916 and 1918 appear to enact a direct dialogue with this work on Peninsular decadence (cf. Pessoa, 2009b: 222-227; Pessoa, 2012: 70-74). In those texts, Pessoa praised (in a similar way to Antero, some decades earlier) the Islamic civilization, and particularly its presence in the medieval Iberian Peninsula – on account of its tolerance and for its important part on the transmission of Greek science and thought to Europe (cf. Boscaglia, 2013; Boscaglia and Pérez López, 2013). Furthermore there are several marked passages

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3 The original title of this novel is Ḥāyy ibn Yaqẓān ("Alive, son of Awake").

4 In English: Causes of the Decline of the Peninsular Peoples on the Last Three Centuries. Consider the following excerpt: “Nem posso tambem deixar esquecidos os Mouros e Judeus, porque foram uma das glórias da Península. A reforma da Escolástica, nos séculos 13.º e 14.º, pela renovação do aristotelismo, foi obra quasi exclusiva das escolas arábe e judaica de Hespanha. Os nomes de Averroes (de Cordova), de Ibn-Tophail (de Sevilha) e os dois judeus Maimonides e Avicebron serão sempre contados entre os primeiros na historia da filosofia na Idade Media” (Quental, 1871: 10; cf. 2008: 42). In English: “I must mention the Moors and the Jews, since they were one of the peninsula’s glories. The reform of the scholasticism during the 13th and 14th centuries, through the renewal of Aristotelianism, was accomplished almost exclusively by the Arabic and Judaic schools of Spain. Such men as Averroes (from Córdoba), Ibn-Tufail (from Seville) and the two Jews Maimonides and Avicebron will always be remembered between the most important ones on the history of philosophy in the Middle Ages”. English translations of the titles and citations are mine. In other cases the translator’s name is given.

Pessoa Plural: 3 (P./Spr. 2013)
in Fernando Pessoa’s private library, which are references to Islamic philosophers as the transmitters of Greek philosophy to Europe. (cf. Benn, 1912: 4 [CFP 1-174 MFC]; Alighieri, 1915: 18 [CFP 8-139]; see Figs. 19 and 20).

It is also possible to suppose that Pessoa, while attending the university-level course of Arts and Letters, attended classes on the subject of Islamic civilization as the transmitter of Greek philosophy and Culture. This would most likely have been based on the work of Agostinho José Fortes, who had presented a dissertation entitled *O Hellenismo ou Persistencia da cultura hellenica através da civilização*⁵ (published in 1904), which helped him to obtain the appointment as the lecturer of the course on Antique, Medieval and Modern History in the university-level course of Arts and Letters. This dissertation included a chapter about the Islamic civilization, mostly about the middle age Islamic philosophers and their role as transmitters of Greek philosophy to Europe (Fortes, 1904: 36-44). Can we say that Pessoa had read or consulted this volume? If so, it could have happened in two places: either at the university-level course of Arts and Letters or at the National Library of Portugal where the young Pessoa used to consult philosophical texts (cf. Pessoa, 2009a: 256-257). While researching Islamic philosophy, Pessoa also consulted at least in 1906, and probably without finding representative material, one edition of the work *Histoire de la Philosophie Européenne* by Alfred Weber (cf. Pessoa, 2009a: 218, 257, 259). Pessoa mentions an English translation of this book in a manuscript note, published by António de Pina Coelho in *Os Fundamentos Filosóficos da Obra de Fernando Pessoa*,⁶ (BNP/E3, 15r-12r and 13r; cf. Pina Coelho, 1971, vol. 2: 142). Pina Coelho’s edition does not mention that the list of books presented by Pessoa (including “Averroës ‘Commentary’”) had been copied by the young Pessoa from Weber’s book where it can be found (cf. Weber, 1892: 8; Weber, 1898: 9-10).

There is a possibility that the young Pessoa wanted to acquire one of Averroes philosophical commentaries, nevertheless none of them is on the list of books of Fernando Pessoa’s private library compiled by Pizarro, Ferrari and Cardiello (2010). It must be noted that both Vallet’s and Weber’s works weren’t kept at the author’s private library, but undoubtedly were either in his possession or read by him.

It was possibly based on that small note about Averroes, that Pina Coelho wrote in 1968, in the introduction of *Textos Filosóficos de Fernando Pessoa*,⁷ that Pessoa “also studied the Arab philosophers”, among other thinkers (Greek, German, etc.) (Pina Coelho, 1968: XV). In fact, this statement cannot be sustained by the two volumes of Pessoa’s philosophical texts edited by Pina Coelho in 1968. In these volumes there are no references made to the Islamic philosophy or

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⁵ In English: The Hellenistic Period or The Perdurance of the Hellenistic Culture through Civilization

⁶ In English: The Philosophical Foundations of Fernando Pessoa’s Work.

⁷ In English: Philosophical Texts of Fernando Pessoa.
philosophers that can support the editor’s statement made in the introduction to this edition. Besides from this fact, there are no works exclusively on Islamic philosophy in Fernando Pessoa’s private library.

There are nonetheless, a number of Pessoa’s manuscripts, probably from around 1906, where it may be seen that Pessoa was trying to purchase copies of the Quran and, possibly, of the Sufi theologian Al-Ghazzâlî (BNP/E3, 93-95; 93A-3r). Such books are not found in Pessoa’s private library.

Taking these documents into account, as well as Pessoa’s biography, during his study years at university-level course of Arts and Letters, it is possible to assume that the fragments of the philosophical narrative here published have been written by Pessoa in a period (around 1906) in which the young author wanted to learn more about Islamic philosophy, following his general interest in philosophy. Perhaps he was unable to find suitable material on this subject, being it in short number and incomplete, in the philosophy books to which he had access at that time. Possibly, he then decided to write a narrative in which the person who questions the sage Al-Cossar about Islamic philosophy, may be seen as a projection of the young Pessoa himself, wanting to learn more about the subject. One could say that Al-Cossar’s answers represent Pessoa’s knowledge, studies, imagination and intuitions on the topic, during 1906.

In fact, as these documents show, while attending the university-level course of Arts and Letters, the young Fernando Pessoa, read, thought and wrote about Islamic philosophy and its most significant authors. These readings, reflections and texts had a part in the author’s philosophical, cultural and historical education and would have probably contributed to Pessoa’s lifelong reflections about the Islamic civilization in the philosophical realm as well as in others.

Actually, the young Pessoa’s interest in Islamic philosophy is a part not only of his philosophical education. As someone who stated himself to be “a poet animated by philosophy”, Pessoa would take the presence of Islamic philosophy to the literary, cultural, historic and religious aspects of his complex experience as a Portuguese “poet and thinker”. Such presence can be seen in the existence of Arabic and Islamic themes along several textual cycles of Pessoa’s work, particularly in the writings about Iberia, in which Pessoa discussed the Arabic and Islamic past of the Iberian Peninsula or Al-Andalus (ca. 711-1492) (cf. Pessoa, 2012; Boscaglia and Pérez López, 2013).

It is worthwhile noting that some of the philosophers mentioned by Pessoa on his writings of 1906 (Ibn Bājjah, Ibn Ṭufayl, and Ibn Rushd/Averroes) were born

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8 ’Umar Khayyâm was a philosopher as well as a poet and despite the fact that some of Pessoa’s writings about the Persian address the intrinsic philosophy of the Rubâ‘iyât, the works Rubâ‘iyât of Omar Khayyâm (CFP, 8-296) and Omar Khayyâm The Poet (CFP, 8-662 MN), are not considered here as works on Islamic philosophy.


and lived in the Al-Andalus. The cultural and philosophical influence of Andalusian philosophers, particularly Averroes, was to be deeply felt in the Western world through the Iberian Peninsula (cf. Nasr, 2006: 150-158). Around 1918, Pessoa addressed the Arabic and Islamic presence in the history of the Iberian Peninsula, stating that it constitutes “our great Arabic tradition of tolerance and free civilization. We will maintain a unique individuality in the measure of our capability to maintain the Arabic spirit in Europe. [...] Let us atone now the crimes we committed when we expelled from the Iberian Peninsula the Arabs who civilized it”.

Fernando Pessoa’s other projects and textual cycles containing Arabic and Islamic themes (apart from the writings about Ibéria) include: texts about sensationism and neo-paganism written between 1916 and 1918 (cf. Pessoa: 2009b); the writings of the literary persona António Mora (cf. Pessoa: 2002); texts about sebastianism dated 1928 (cf. Pessoa, 2011), the Rubaiyat and the texts about the Persian sage ‘Umar Khayyâm (cf. Pessoa, 2008). The latter would become an increasingly important figure to Pessoa, especially from 1926 until 1935 (the year of Pessoa’s death).

Curiously, a few months before his death, Pessoa kept a page of the newspaper Bandarra – Semanário da Vida Portuguesa dated 1st of June of 1935, with a text entitled “In Maghreb” written by Antero de Figueiredo, where the names of “Aben-Hazan” (Ibn Ḥazm) and Averroes, two Islamic philosophers of the Al-Andalus, are mentioned (Figueiredo, 1935: 3; BNP/E3, 135C-18; see Fig. 16).

Incidentally, the theme of the encounter with the Muslim sage – present in Pessoa’s philosophical narrative of 1906, here published – is also present in a newspaper feature written by Mário Domingues, entitled “Ominous prophecies of an Arab”. This feature was published in the newspaper Reporter X – Semanário das grandes reportagens, in the 4th of April of 1931, and directly involves Fernando Pessoa (Domingues, 1931: 8, 9, 14; BNP/E3, 135C-8 and 9, 14; see Figs. 17 and 18). It is the account of a conversation between Pessoa and a man called Ernest Hermann,

11 Cf. “nossa grande tradição arabe – de tolerancia e de livre civilização. E é na proporção em que formos os mantenedores do spirito arabe na Europa que teremos uma individualidade aparte. [...] Expiemos o crime que commetemos, expulsando da peninsula os arabes que a civilizaram” (Pessoa, 2012: 71-74).
12 In English: Bandarra – Weekly Newspaper of the Portuguese Life.
13 This text is introduced as “Primeiro capítulo do livro inédito Granada e Córdova” (“Primeiro capitulo do livro inédito Granada e Córdova”) by Antero de Figueiredo. (v. following footnote).
14 Mario Domingues (1899-1977), born in São Tomé e Príncipe, lived in Lisbon since he was two years old. Journalist, essayist, novelist and translator. Had a particular interest in adventure and detective stories. Editor in chief of the newspaper Reporter X – The weekly of the Big Scoops, founded in 1930 by the Portuguese journalist, writer and artist Reinaldo Ferreira (1897-1935) under the pseudonym Reporter X.
15 “Profecias fatídicas de um árabe” (Domingues, 1931: 8-9; BNP/E3, 135C-8 and 9).
at the Martinho da Arcada cafe in Lisbon. According to the article, in the course of this conversation Pessoa was listening “very attentively”\textsuperscript{16} to what Ernest Herrman was telling him about an encounter he (Herrman) had had in Casablanca (Morocco) with a “mysterious prophet”\textsuperscript{17}, an Arab called “Abd-el-Ram” that foretold future events to take place in the world and in Portugal.

Did the encounters between Herrmann and Abd-el-Ram in Casablanca and between Pessoa, Hermann and Domingues in Lisbon really take place? Are these facts true or is it a hoax? Was Mário Domingues’s feature written with Fernando Pessoa’s help or complicity? In either case, Fernando Pessoa kept this newspaper feature in his \textit{trunk}\textsuperscript{18} and it presents itself as another useful document to see that Fernando Pessoa’s interest in the Islamic civilization manifested itself in several ways and in several stages of his life/work, from a young man until his final years.\textsuperscript{19}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[16] “Fernando Pessoa, escutando com enorme atenção” (Domingues, 1931: 8; BNP/E3, 135C-8 and 9).
\item[17] “Um misterioso profeta” (Domingues, 1931: 8; BNP/E3, 135C-8 and 9).
\item[18] “Over the years at least two trunks were filled with papers [by Pessoa]. They were like a labyrinth of overlapping papers, whose investigation began in the late 1930s when Luis de Montalvor and other poets, editors, literary critics and friends associated with the magazine \textit{presença} (without a capital P) initiated the posthumous publication of Pessoa’s writings – a task that is far from concluded to this day” (Pizarro and Dix, 2008: 6).
\end{enumerate}
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Critical Text

I. FRAGMENTS OF A PHILOSOPHICAL NARRATIVE ON ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

1  [26A-60r to 61v]  [c. 1906]

I sat beside the tent with Al-Cossar, the Arab. The night was cool on our eyelids half-closed and there seemed to be in the air ought that favoured an easy though profound contemplation. Al-Cossar, the Arab[,] had been sitting after the way of his race, muttering strange words to himself – strange without gesture nor motion nor passiveness of eye or countenance. We had sitten thus long, when the need arose for conversation, when a topic of interest seemed to appear with the moment, synchronous1 with the need, and involved in2 it. I broke the silence in curiosity:

“Al-Cossar,” said I to the Arab, “men say thou art versed in the deep3 of poet and thinker, that thyself thou art a thinker of deep thoughts, and that thou knowest much of strange things and art learned in vague & unquiet lore. Men say thy thoughts have the newness that charms and affrights, as a snake, and the deep thoughts, that are the music of the mind. Thou art a silent man, writing nothing & of little speech. I would fain hear what thou wouldst say, if thy mind can unbend itself unto me. Speak to me of God and of the world, of the soul, of matter and of spirit, unfold to me what thy mind hath made of the deep thinker of Stagira, whom thou knowest well. Perchance the [60r] thoughts of him can come from thee with more sweetness, perchance with more depth & more truth, as the mind that comes through the forest and through the garden brings in itself the scent of the pines and the odour of the grass and of the flowers.

“Speak to me, an thou willst, of the ancient thinkers of Arabia; strange must be their4 lore.

[“]I too am not ignorant of the philosophy of ye, Al-Kindi, the philosopher5 by name, Al-Farabi, Ibn-Bâdja of Saragoza6, Ibn-Sina, who wrote of medicine, Ibn-Thofail, Al-Gazali, who findeth no truth in the words of thinkers and of sage[,] and Ibn-Roshd, whom we call Averroës, □

[“]Tell me of them. I know what they said, yet I would know what they could not say. Tell me, speak to me of the Absolute and of the Relative, and of the essence of God and of all things.” And I, seeing that he8, Al-Cossar, said no word, descended to a question direct: “What knowest thou of Life?”

“Child9, thou askest well in thy intention, but otherwise10 than well in thy expectation. Beasts communicate with each other, speak to each other11 what they

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20 I would like to thank Jerónimo Pizarro, Pauly Ellen Bothe e Patricio Ferrari for their help in the transcription of these documents.
wish, understand each other. It is man’s alone to have such thought as words can
girdle not with their girdle, even though it\textsuperscript{12} hath\textsuperscript{13} the infinity of the universe.

“I could say many things – many truths – that would make thee restless and
sad, for untruths have little power\textsuperscript{14} to sadden the soul or to trouble it. But to what
purpose should I impart these things to thee; thou art over young and over
enthusiastic for them; should I make thee unhappy, because thou dost wish
unwisely to know? Child, I should not.

“They call me a man of deep thoughts – rightly, for I live in thoughts. They
say likewise that I am a learned man – wrongly indeed for I have read nothing at
all.

[“]Yet to him who thinks deeply all thoughts come\textsuperscript{15} that ever men had, or
can have; in\textsuperscript{16} him lie all the philosophies of what kind or end soever that men have
conceived and spoken, or have left unspoken, and these are the deepest of all. I
have heard of many philosophers – names – whose theories I know not, whose
works I have not read. Yet I know that it is impossible that I have not in me their
theories, of whatsoever kind they may be. The thoughts of philosophers are not
their thoughts but man’s, men’s. Wherefore what can I tell you, child, that thou\textsuperscript{17}
hast\textsuperscript{18} not heard before, or that thou\textsuperscript{19} hast\textsuperscript{20} not read? In the hearth of the savage
lies the germ of Idealism, of Transcendentalism – names of whose meaning I guess,
for I know well what thoughts they conceal.

[“]Of the world everything can be said; of God nothing. Why, child? Because
God alone exists and the world exists not, save in a sort of dream, a hard and bad
dream, dear child.”\textsuperscript{21}

\[2\] \textsuperscript{27\textsuperscript{18} A\textsuperscript{3}-10\textsuperscript{r}} \textsuperscript{[c. 1906]}

And he traced this figure on the ground:

[“]The circle thou seest (said he) is eternity, for wherever on it thou begin
and whithersoever thou move, there is neither beginning nor end, there is in it no
determined point. Movement in it is eternal; I have said it, it is eternity.[“]

\[3\] \textsuperscript{15A-32\textsuperscript{r} and 32ar\textsuperscript{r}} \textsuperscript{[c. 1906]}

[“]The lines which are traced within this circle from\textsuperscript{1} one part of the
circumference\textsuperscript{2} on to another\textsuperscript{3}, some smaller, some larger, some rising from the
same point; crossing each other, running parallel with each other – these are
human lives and thou mayest see in those particularities & diversities of these
lines, the particularities & diversities of human lives.

[“]Thy comparison can extend unto infinity; everything in human lives is
here in these lines.
“All systems of philosophy lie herein. Observe it well.

[“]Yet this is but a representation. It is impossible to represent the Absolute in words, neither in figures nor in forms is it possible to give an idea of it.[“]

“The circle is, then, eternity, infinity?”

“Nay, nay,” replied the Arab, “it is immensity, which is infinitely higher. Infinity and eternity are the space within the circumference, & time and space are portions thereof. Yet, as ye see, this part in the centre hath no reality, none – unless to them that move through it, from Immensity to Immensity. The circle is the only reality; all these whatsoever therewithin & thereout, are unreal, untrue.[“]

4 [15A-33’] [c. 1906]

[“]Consider the space that this circumference incloses. This is eternity, infinity, for, to them that move within, it is without bound nor end. Yet, as thou seest, it has indeed bound, end, for it is enclosed in the circle, which is immensity. Yet it has not really bound nor end for ye may move in it in many ways (even if only in circles) and move in it without cease. Oh, for the explanation thereof.[“]

5 [15A-33v] [c. 1906]

[“]This inner space is eternity as men conceive it. For thou mayest cross it in straight lines broken here & there & cross it & move on it straight & no end to it. Yet this space is limited. It is eternal in thy way of thinking. Measuring it with the measure of human life – a straight line here – in truth TIME – therefore findest it eternal, for the straight line may be broken & twisted into angles & may move about in this circle for ever. Yet is it all in a limit. Yet is eternity different from time[.] As a circumference from a right line. Dost thou understand me?[“]
II. LISTS OF BOOKS

6  [15\textsuperscript{3}-13\textsuperscript{c} and 15\textsuperscript{3}-12\textsuperscript{c}]  [c. 1906]

Weber\textsuperscript{21} contains all – except Hindoo, Arab & Jewish Systems. Science is philosophy in power; ph[ilosophy] is sc[ience] in act.


Renascence. □

7  [93-95]  [c. 1906]

Dionysius\textsuperscript{1}:  “De Divinis Nominibus.”
“Theologia Mystica.”

Justinus:  “Exhortatio ad Graecos.”

Athenagoras:  “Legatio pro Christianis.”

Irenaeus:  “Adversus Haereses.”

Tertullianus:  “Apologetica.”

Clementis Alexandrinii:  “Stromates.”

Origen:  “Periarchon.”

St Augustinus\textsuperscript{2}:  “Confessiones.”
“De civitate Dei\textsuperscript{3}.”

\textsuperscript{21} The lists of authors and titles presented by Pessoa in 15\textsuperscript{3}-13\textsuperscript{c} and 15\textsuperscript{3}-12\textsuperscript{c} had been copied by the young Pessoa from an edition of Alfred Weber’s Histoire de la Philosophie Européenne (1892: 8; 1898: 9-10).
Scot Erigenes: “De naturae divisione.”
Al-Gazali: “Destruction of Philosophers.”
Henri de Gand: “Quodlibeta”

**Renascence.**

Platonic School:
Bruno: “De immenso et innumerabilibus.”
“De infinito.”

Peripatetic School:
Pomponat: “Opera.”
Cesalpino d’Arezzo: “Quaestiones peripateticae.”
Vanini: “Dialogi”
Campanella: “City of the Sun”

8 [93A-3r] [c. 1906]

*Books Wanted.*

Descartes: “Discours sur la Méthode.”
“Oeuvres” (Charpentier).

Koran: □
Talmud: □
Bossuet: Oeuvres. (Charpentier).
Fénelon: Ouvres Philosophiques (Charpentier).
Leibnitz: □
Genetic notes

1 [26A-60\textdegree to 61\textdegree]

Materials: two leafs of graph paper, with horizontal creases in the middle, handwritten in black ink. On the upper half of the page 26A-61\textdegree there is a text, handwritten with great care (see Annex 1). On the lower part of the page 26A-61\textdegree are two incomplete sentences and one incomplete paragraph, handwritten in black ink, probably in two different moments (see Annex 2).

Genetic notes

1 <at> synchronous
2 <wit> in
3 deep <lore>
4 <these> [↑ their]
5 phil<oo>/oso\pher
6 Sarago<ç>/z\a
7 she ] in the original
8 I ] in the original
9 “Child<”>
10 <not> [↑ otherwise]
11 speak [↑ to each other]
12 <which is as> [↑ even though it]
13 ha<ss>/th\ 
14 little [↑ power]
15 all thoughts [↑ come]
16 <†>/in\ 
17 <you> [↑ thou]
18 ha<ve>/st\ 
19 <nor> [↑ or that thou]
20 ha<ve>/st\ 
21 child.” Ay God alone exists, not in the way men mean, not the God men conceive, □ [See Annex 2]

Annex 1 [26A-61\textdegree – ms.]

N.º 32 – Aviso d<e>/a\ partida de um navio

Alexandria, 13 de Março de 1906

Ill.\mo Sr. Bernard

22 Editorial note: Transcriptions from the originals follow the symbols initially used in the Fernando Pessoa Critical Edition: □ blank space, * conjectured reading, // passage doubted by author, † illegible word, <> autograph segment crossed out, <>/\ substitution by overwriting (<substituted>/substitute\), <> [↑ ] substitution by crossing out and addition in the in-between line above, [↑ ] addition in the in-between line above, [↓ ] addition in the in-between line below, [→ ] addition in the right-hand margin, [← ] addition in the left-hand margin, <†> illegible and crossed out.
Paris
Am. e Sr.:
Tenho a satisfação de lhe anunciar a partida do steamer «Ville-de-Paris», capitão Caillat.
Levantou hontem ancora com um bello tempo, em direcção a Nantes.
A carga □

Annex 2 [26A-61v – ms.]

Ay God alone exists, not in the way men mean, not the God men conceive, □

Sometimes professors of universities of Europe □

□ for I have them all, all in me, though often not even in mental words. I admired the words the philosophers used; how could I admire their theories when I had know them long before?

2 [271v A3-10r]

Materials: a fragment of a leaf of graph paper, taken from a notebook, handwritten in black ink.

3 [15A-32r and 32a]

Materials: one leaf of graph paper, folded in double folio and handwritten in black ink. On the overleaf is a text, neatly handwritten, such as in 26A-61v (Annex to text nº1). On the upper part of 15A-32r, on the right side, there is a note in black ink: Some running into one | another, *then continuing in *one.

Genetic notes

1 *from
2 <end> [↑ part of the circumference]
3 <the> [↑ another]

4 [15A-33r]

Materials: the left half of a leaf of graph paper, identical to the previous ones, handwritten in black ink.

Genetic notes

1 is <infinite>
2 wa<y>/ys \
Materials: the same paper fragment of the previous description. In the upper half of the page is a part of the newspaper with a headline that reads O Palador, which dates probably later than 1905. The published text is on the lower half of 33v.

Genetic notes

1 *on
2 <>/\
3 *therefore
4 & [↑ may]
5 *circumference
6 <Thou> Dost

Materials: two leaves of graph paper, taken from a notebook, handwritten in black ink. Published along with the excerpt in the overleaf of 153-12 (Annex), in Os Fundamentos Filosóficos da Obra de Fernando Pessoa (1968: II, 142), with some transcription errors. In the overleaf of 153-13 is an incomplete text in rhyme, not transcribed here.

Genetic notes

1 L<e>/a\ctantium
2 [↑ De] Divisionae
3 S<>/u\mma

Annex [153-12v – ms.]

Sources

Anaximander: □
Anaximenes: □

Xenophanes: Aristotle (?) De Xenophane, Zenone et Gorgia.”

V. Cousin: “Xenophane, Foundateur de l’École de l’Élée.” (Nouveaux Frag.* Phil.*)

We find in this phil. the embryo of all explan. of nature afterwards attended.

Water to Thales, Air to An.nos is all at one substratum, motion force <e>/\ fatum or law of movement.
Materials: a fragment of a leaf of graph paper, handwritten in black ink.

Genetic notes

1. <Dion> [↓ Dionysius]
2. <S/t Augustinus
3. <D/ei
4. Rena<sca>nce.

Materials: one leaf of graph paper, taken from a notebook, wide and not very long, handwritten in black ink. The published text can be found in the upper half. In the lower half of 93A-3r is the following transcribed note (Annex). In the overleaf are the grades (reading grades? Class grades?) of an exam on the unity of character of man, that are not transcribed here.

Genetic notes

Annex [93A-3r – ms.]

Para explicar esta aceitação universal da idéa do caracter, os theologos catholicos teêm empregado varios argumentos deverás interessantes, mas cujo interesse é parecido com o que nos inspira <a/>o desastrado attentado de S. Thomaz d’Aquino para conciliar a Providencia [↑ divina] com o mal que <hav> <ha> existe no mundo.
Bibliography

I. Fernando Pessoa’s Archive, National Library of Portugal (BNP/E3)

DOMINGUES, Mário (1931). “Profecias fatídicas de um árabe”, in Reporter X - Semanário das grandes reportagens, ano 1, nº 35, 4 de Abril de 1931, pp. 8, 9, 14 (BNP/E3, 135C-8-9).


II. Fernando Pessoa’s Books


III. Fernando Pessoa’s Private Library, Casa Fernando Pessoa (CFP), Lisbon


Boscaglia

Presence of Islamic philosophy

IV. Other


I sat beside the tent with Al-Cassar the Arab. The night was cool on our eyelids half-closed and there seemed to be in the air, night, that favored an easy though profound contemplation, Al-Cassar the Arab had been sitting after the way of his race, mumbling strange words to himself, strange intent, motion, nor passiveness of eye or countenance.

He had sat there long when the need arose for conversation when a topic of interest seemed to appear with the moment, not synchronous with the need and involved into it. Under the silence in curiosity:

"Al-Cassar," said I to the Arab, "men say, their art raised in the deepness of poet and thinker, that they themselves are a thinker of deep thoughts, and that their nearest much of strange things and art learned in vague and unquiet lore. Men say they thought here the ancients that charms and rights, as a snake, and the deep thoughts, that are the name of the mind. Then art a silent man, writing nothing of little speech. And I would hear what they would say if they mind can unbind itself from me. Speak to me of love and of the mind, of the soul, of matter and of spirit, unfold to me what they would have made of the deep thinker of Egypt, whom their nearest well.
thoughts of him can come from there with more sweetness perchance with more depth & more truth, as the wind that comes through the forest and through the garden brings in itself the scent of the flowers, and the odor of the pass and of the flowers.

"Speak to me, an then might of the ancient thinkers of Arabia; strange must be thy lore.

I too am not ignorant of the philosophy of ye, Al-Kendi, the philosopher by name; Al-Farabi, Ibn-Badja of Saragossa, Ibn-Sina, who wrote of medicine, Ibn-Thofail, Al-Gozali, who predicte us truth in the words of thinkers and of sage and of Rambis; whom we call Avicenna.

Tell me of them. I know what they said, yet I would know what they could not say. Tell me, speak to me of the Absolute and of the Relative, and of the essence of God and of all things. And then, seeing that I, Al-Cossa, said no word descended to a question direct: "What knowest thou of life?"

"Child," thus answered well in thy volition, but a child than well in thy expectation. Beasts communicate with each other. Speak what they wish, understand each other. It is man’s alone to have such thoughts as words can quibble not with their prattle, which is the emptiness of the wind.
"I could say many things—many truths—that would make thee restless and sad, for untruths have little, to sadden the soul or to trouble it. But to what purpose should I impart these things to thee; thou art our young and our enthusiastic for thee; should I make thee unhappy because thou dost wish wisely to know? Child, I should not.

"They call me a man of deep thoughts—rightly, for I live in thoughts. They say likewise that—I am a learned man—wrongly indeed, for I have read nothing at all.

Yet to him who thinks deeply, all thoughts that men had, or can have, or him lie all the philosophers of what mind or end, source that men have conceived and spoken, or have left unspoken, and these are the deepest of all. I have heard of many philosophers—names—what theories I know not—whole works I have not read. Yet I know that it is impossible that I have not in me their theories, if whatsoever mind they may be. The thoughts of philosophers are not their thoughts, but man's means.

Wherefore what can I tell thee child, that has not heard before? What hast thou read? In the heart of the savage lies the germ of Idealism of Transcendentalism, names at whose meaning I guess, for I know not what thoughts they conceal."
"Of the world, everything can be said; of God, nothing. Why, child? Because God alone exists and the world exists not, save in a sort of dream, a hard and bad dream, dear child. Nay, God alone exists not, save in a sort of dream, a hard and bad dream. Sometimes professors of universities of Europe, for I had them all, all in one, though often not even in mental words. I admired the arts the philosophers used; how could I admire their theories when I had here theirs?"

Fig. 4. BNP/E3, 26A-61v
And he traced this figure on the ground:

The circle thou seest (said he) is eternity, for wherever on it thin he put and whithersoever thou move, there is neither beginning nor end, there is in it no determined point. Movement in it is eternal; I have said it, it is eternity.
The lines which are traced within this circle, from one part to another, some smaller, some larger, some rising from the same point, crossing each other, running parallel with each other — there are human lives and their nearest peers, these particularities and diversities of these lines, the particularities and diversities of human lives. This comparison can extend unto infinity, everything in human lives is here in these lines. "All systems of philosophy lie here. Observe it well."
Yet this is but a representation. It is impossible to represent the Absolute in words, neither in figures nor in forms is it possible to give an idea of it.

"The circle is, then, eternal, infinity?"

"May we reply the Bab, it is immensity, which is infinitely higher. Immensity and eternity are the space within the circumcentre (the plane and space are periphery thereof). Yet as ye see this part of the centre hath no reality, none unlike to that which moves through it, from immensity to immensity. The circle is the only reality; all that whatsoever exists thereon are unreal nature."

Fig. 7. BNP/E3, 15A-32a*
Consider the space that this circumference encloses. This is eternity, infinity, for that more within it is finite without bound no end. Yet, as thin a mist, it has indeed bound and, for it is enclosed in the circle which is immensity. Yet it has not really bound nor end for ye may move in it in many ways (even in only in circles) and move in it without cease. Oh, for the explanation thereof.
Fig. 9.1. BNP/E3, 15A-33v
Weber contains all, except Windelband, Hartmann, and Lukács. Science is philosophy in power, or is a fact in society.

Sources: Patristic philosophy, patristic writings of the fathers of the church, especially Irenaeus, Pseudo-Dionysius, and Theodoret, as well as the works of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and others.

Boscaglia

Presence of Islamic philosophy

Pessoa Plural: 3 (P./Spr. 2013)

Fig. 11. BNP/E3, 151-12r


Xenophanes: Anaximander (3) de l'homme femme et souris.

V. Comiti Xenophanes, Fundamenta de l'Etce d'Ela, Moravia Fina 1959.


We find in the Iphi the embryo of all things of nature interfered attempted.

Water to Thales, fire to Parmenides, is all at one substance. Nature free & factum in Law of movement.
Fig. 13. BNP/E3, 93-95v
Fig. 14. BNP/E3, 93-95r
Fig. 15. BNP/E3, 93A-3r
Fig. 17.1. BNP/E3, 135C-8 and 9

Reporter X – Semanario das grandes reportagens, 4th of April of 1931, pp. 8 and 9
Boscaglia

Presence of Islamic philosophy

Fig. 17.2. BNP/E3, 135C-8 and 9

*Reporter X – Semanario das grandes reportagens, 4th of April of 1931, pp. 8 and 9*
Fig. 18. BNP/E3, 135C-14

Reporter X – Semanario das grandes reportagens, 4th of April of 1931, p. 14
study. Latin translations were made from Arabic versions of Aristotle, and in this way his doctrines became more widely known to the lecture-rooms of the Catholic world. But their derivation from infidel sources roused a prejudice against them, still further heightened by the circumstance that an Arabian commentator, Averroes, had interpreted the theology of the *Metaphysics* in a pantheistic sense. And on any sincere reading Aristotle denied the soul’s immortality which Plato had upheld. Accordingly, all through the twelfth century Platonism still dominated religious thought, and even so late as the early thirteenth century the study of Aristotle was still condemned by the Church.

Nevertheless a great revolution was already in progress. As a result of the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in A.D. 1204 the Greek manuscripts of Aristotle’s writings were brought to Paris, and at a subsequent period they were translated into Latin under the direction of St. Thomas Aquinas, the ablest of the schoolmen, who so manipulated the Peripatetic philosophy as to convert it from a battering-ram into a buttress of Catholic theology—a position still officially assigned to it at the present day. Aristotelianism, however, did not reign without a rival even in the later Middle Ages. Aquinas was a Dominican; and the jealousy of the competing Franciscan Order found expression in maintaining a certain tradition of Platonism, represented in different ways by Roger Bacon (1214–1294) and by Duns Scotus (1265–1308). In this connection we have to note the extraordinary fertility of the British islands in eminent thinkers during the Middle Ages. Besides the two last mentioned there is Eriugena ("born in Ireland"), John of Salisbury

Fig. 19. CFP 1-174 MFC
Benn, *History of Modern Philosophy* (1912), p. 4
Of all to speak at full were vain attempt;  
For my wide theme so urges, that oft-times  
My words fall short of what bechanced. In two  
The six associates part. Another way  
My sage guide leads me, from that air serene,  
Into a climate ever vex’d with storms:  
And to a part I come, where no light shines.

CANTO V

ARGUMENT

Coming into the second circle of Hell, Dante at the entrance beholds Minos the Infernal Judge, by whom he is admonished to beware how he enters those regions. Here he witnesses the punishment of carnal sinners, who are tossed about ceaselessly in the dark air by the most furious winds. Amongst these, he meets with Francesca of Rimini, through pity at whose sad tale he falls fainting to the ground.

From the first circle I descended thus  
Down to the second, which, a lesser space  
Embracing, so much more of grief contains,  
Provoking bitter moans. There Minos stands,  
Grinning with ghastly feature:¹ he, of all  
Who enter, strict examining the crimes,  
Gives sentence, and dismisses them beneath,  
According as he foldeth him around:  
For when before him comes the ill-fated soul,  
It all confesses; and that judge severe  
Of sins, considering what place in Hell  
Suits the transgression, with his tail so oft  
Himself encircles, as degrees beneath

¹ Minos, mythological lawgiver of Crete, the judge of the infernal regions in Virgil's Æneid, is here the symbol of the sinner's own guilty conscience.