On Pessoa's The Student of Salamanca

Jorge Wiesse-Rebagliati*

Keywords

Alexander Search, *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Fernando Pessoa, José de Espronceda, Metrics, *The Student of Salamanca*.

Abstract

Fernando Pessoa's version of José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* [*The Student of Salamanca*] is a curious singularity among Pessoa's works. As far as we know, this is the only Pessoan translation of a Spanish original into English. This article tries to acknowledge such singularity by pointing out links between Pessoa's archive and his private library, and also by studying the meter and rhythm of Pessoa's version—now available in full thanks to Nicolás Barbosa's transcription and edition, published in this issue of *Pessoa Plural*—a version that renders with taste and wit the metrical qualities of Espronceda's original.

Palavras-chave

Alexander Search, *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Fernando Pessoa, José de Espronceda, Métrica, *The Student of Salamanca*.

Resumo

A versão de Fernando Pessoa de *El estudiante de Salamanca* [O estudante de Salamanca], de José de Espronceda, é uma curiosa singularidade na obra pessoana. Até onde sabemos, não existe outra tradução de Pessoa de um original espanhol para uma versão em inglês. O artigo tenta reconhecer essa singularidade, apontando as ligações entre o espólio de Pessoa e sua biblioteca particular e estudando os elementos métricos e rítmicos do texto de Pessoa – agora disponível em sua totalidade graças à transcrição e edição de Nicolás Barbosa, também publicada neste número de *Pessoa Plural* – , uma versão que traduz com sensibilidade e inteligência as qualidades métricas e rítmicas do original de Espronceda.

^{*} Universidad del Pacífico; Lima, Perú.

After the findings of José Luiz Garaldi in 1990 (CAMPOS, 2015: 2) and Arnaldo Saraiva in 1996 (SARAIVA, 1996: 5-58), it seems difficult to downplay the role of Fernando Pessoa as a translator, not only because Pessoa earned his living as a translator (SARAIVA, 1996: 25) but also because his reflections and translation practices can shed light on his role as reader and writer.

In order to analize Pessoa's version of José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca*, it will be useful to consider his ideas on translation, and, most specifically, to examine the criteria he utilizes when translating texts. We must keep in mind this unique circumstance and try to account for it by relating it to the above-mentioned facets of Pessoa: that of reader and that of creator. At the same time, something should be said of Espronceda and of *El estudiante de Salamanca*.

Concerning his translations of some texts of the *Greek Anthology*, Pessoa confesses candidly:

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

D'essa maneira traduzi alguns poemas da Anthologia Grega.

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

[As long as I can feel the rhythm of the original or find a rhythmical equivalence, I can translate any Greek poem by way of an intermediary language. Reading Greek, something I can do, is all that is necessary.

I have translated some poems of the *Greek Anthology* in this way.]

The appropriation of the rhythm of the original and the goal of a rhythmic equivalence are key for achieving a successful translation. Pessoa is aware that "nenhuma tradução, supondo que existe, pode dar conhecimento da obra em sua completa e verdadeira vida" no translation, assuming that it exists, can make a work known in its true and complete life (PESSOA, 1993: 385). And although this equivalence is not obtained "line-by-line" or "verbum e verbo"¹ (one of the two possible criteria for translating that Saint Jerome prescribes, the other being "sed sensu exprimere de sensu"²), he works very hard to find precise equivalences—even in paratexts ³—between the original and the translation. As Saraiva acknowledges:

٠

¹ Pessoa is aware of the strenuous effort this kind of translation implies in connection with the translation of the 300 Portuguese proverbs he collected between 1913 and 1914 for his London publisher, Frank Palmer. In a letter to him dated 10 April 1914 he judges this type of translation "exceedingly difficult." (PESSOA, 2010: 131).

² Cf. Steiner (1992: 275).

³ "No geral, Pessoa respeitava não só os textos propriamente ditos como os paratextos e as pausas ou configurações gráficas (itálicos, maiúsculas, disposição dos versos)" [Pessoa used to adhere not

É visível, por exemplo, o esforço que Pessoa faz para encontrar rigorosas equivalências semânticas, métricas, rimâticas, fónicas, rítmicas; e não se pense que os seus achados só se deveram à sua inspiração, não a sua transpiração.

(SARAIVA, 1996: 47)

[It is clear, for example, the effort Pessoa made in order to discover rigorous equivalences of meaning, meter, rhyme, sound and rhythm; and one should not believe that his elections were due only to his inspiration, but also to his transpiration.]

This happens clearly in the remarkable translation of Edgar Allan Poe's *The Raven* published in *Athena* magazine (n°. 1, 1924), where it is specified that it is a "Tradução de Fernando Pessoa, rítmicamente conforme com o original" [Translation of Fernando Pessoa, rhythmically according to the original] (PRADO BELLEI, 1991 *apud* SARAIVA, 1996: 47). Saraiva observes that "a versão do poeta português imita com grande precisão o ritmo do original inglês e o efeito encantatório por ele produzido" [the version by the Portuguese poet imitates, with great precision, the rhythm and the incantatory effect produced in the original English], and Saraiva (1996: 47) adds: "tanto mais que [Pessoa] também respeita o número de versos por cada estrofe e os efeitos fono-rítmicos, e não apenas os do sentido" [so much so that (Pessoa) respects the number of verses per stanza and the phono-rhythmic effects, and not only the meaning]. This does not in any way imply an overt or submissive attitude vis-à-vis the original text. A complex, dynamic, but respectful attitude is maintained. The translation is no less valuable than the original. As Saraiva says,

O tradutor concebido por Pessoa não pode [...] sentir-se em posição subalterna em relação ao autor traduzido. Se à partida o texto a traduzir se lhe impõe como modelo, logo ele o

only to the texts themselves, but also to the paratexts and pauses or graphic configurations (italics, uppercase, verse structure)] (SARAIVA, 1996: 49). In his translation of *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Pessoa doesn't follow Espronceda's practice of using capital and small letters at the openings of the verses: all the lines of the finished sheets of *The Student of Salamanca* begin with capital letters, as is normal practice in the English typographical tradition. Although Espronceda begins every one of the four parts of *El estudiante de Salamanca* with an epigraph, only the epigraph of Part I is translated: *Don Quixote*'s "Sus fueros, sus bríos, | sus premáticas, su voluntad." ("His titles his courage | His parchments his own will"). See Nicolás Barbosa's contribution in this issue.

⁴ This is the strict application in the text of an ideal expressed, for example, in the foreword to the "Anthologia" collection, one of the editorial projects Pessoa imagined: "As traduções dos poetas extrangeiros obedecerão sempre à norma rigida que deve seguir-se na tradução de poemas – a absoluta conformidade com o rhythmo e a maneira de rimar (ou não rimar) do original." [The translation of foreign poets will always follow the norm required for the translation of poems— the absolute conformity with the rhythm and the rhyming manner (or absence of rhyming) of the original (PESSOA, 2011: 43).

remodela ou modeliza e o anula como modelo sobrepondo-lhe outro modelo, o seu [...]. O bom tradutor não *copia* para outra língua, porque *cria* ou recria noutra lingua.

(SARAIVA, 1996: 46)

[The translator conceived by Pessoa cannot [...] consider himself in a subaltern position in relation to the translated author. If, at first, the text to be translated imposes itself as a model, soon he [the poet] remodels and annuls it as model, superimposing on it another model, his [...]. The good translator does not *copy* into another language, because he *creates* or recreates in another language.]

I do not know to what extent the English translations of Pessoa can be acknowledged to be unique within the whole of his production. One might consider them as a part of Pessoa's effort to be recognized as an English writer, as was his intention with both his English poems (*The Mad Fiddler*) and his translation of *Provérbios Portugueses* – although it would appear that this latter was undertaken because Pessoa needed the money, as Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari state (PESSOA, 2010: 11) – or to promote in the English-speaking world Portuguese poets whom he considered of merit, like Antero de Quental and António Botto. This would separate them from the group of translations into Portuguese, no less valuable, but more linked to an editorial project to which he was more committed, professionally speaking.⁵ *The Student of Salamanca* appears to be in a group of its own. I will return to this issue.

In his edition, published in this issue, Nicolás Barbosa elaborates thoroughly on the external history of the text, so I will offer only briefly some information on this aspect of the translation. The rendering of José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* appears in documents attributed to Alexander Search (BNP / E3, 74A-64^r),⁶ the most prolific of Pessoa's fictitious English authors. In a loose, cut-off sheet of the archive we read "Espronceda. | Espronceda. | Espronceda. | Search. | Search. | Search. | Search. | Search. | Search. | [tra]nslation. | [tra]nslation" (BNP / E3, 90²-35^v).

⁵ This project involves Pessoa's work as a translator for the *Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres*, in 24 volumes and with 12,288 pages, which is the Portuguese version of *The International Library of Famous Literature*, published in London, probably in 1899. Pessoa was hired by a Mr. Warren F. Kellog. The translations were made, it seems, between mid-1911 and the first months of 1912. They include a wide range of English and American authors, some Spanish poets, Greek poets from the *Greek Anthology*, and Omar Khayyam (cf. SARAIVA, 1995: 5-25).

⁶ See Nicolás Barbosa's contribution in this issue. In Part II, a "Herr Prosit" (BNP / E3, 74A-70^r) is mentioned before the text. Herr Prosit is the main character of *A Very Original Dinner*, a story of "horror and suspense," as Natalia Jerez Quintero classifies it, attributed to Alexander Search (PESSOA, 2014: 68-127). Pizarro and Ferrari rule out the possibility of a Herr Prosit author of Part II of *The Student...*: "Assim, a tradução de *El estudiante de Salamanca*, de José de Espronceda, por exemplo, foi inicialmente atribuída a Alexander Search (BNP / E3, 74A-64^r *et seq.*) e há quem defenda que também passou pela pena de Herr Prosit, o protagonista de *A Very Original Dinner*, embora só exista uma folha solta de caderno para o sugerir (BNP / E3, 74A-70^r), a qual indica que Prosit se teria limitado a traduzir a segunda parte da obra espanhola, teoria que nos parece, porém, pouco sustentável." (PESSOA, 2016: 285).

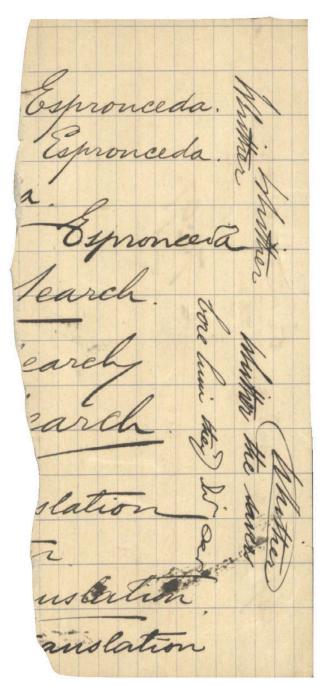


Fig 1. Manuscript with attribution of translation (BNP / E3, 90²-35^v).

Originally this task had been assigned to Charles James Search (BNP / E3, 48C-5^r). However, in to-do lists dated from 1910 onwards the translation stops being assigned to Search (see, for example, BNP / E3, 48l-30^v); instead, in the editorial plan of *Olisipo* – datable to 1921 (BNP / E3, 137A-24) – the title *El estudiante de Salamanca* appears with the translator's name: "Fernando Pessoa." Although the translation is diachronically attributed to Charles James Search and Alexander Search, respectively, Pessoa will be its final translator.

José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca* is a tale in verse,⁷ a legend in the style of those of the Duke of Rivas and José Zorrilla, or a long poem such as Lord Byron's *Mazzeppa* or *Don Juan* (see ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 27). It belongs to a literary paradigm subsequently abandoned in European and American literature; for example, Edgar Allan Poe separates his poetry from his fantastic narrative, using verse for poetry and prose for his fantastic stories. In Spain, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer, a poet representative of the Romantic generation that followed Espronceda's, wrote his *Rimas* in verse and his *Leyendas* in prose (GARCÍA MONTERO, 2001: 22). According to Benito Varela Jácome, *El estudiante de Salamanca* "es la mejor muestra del género [that is, of the "cuento" in verse] dentro del Romanticismo español" (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 27).

For Edgar Allison Peers, Espronceda, with *El estudiante de Salamanca*, although influenced by Lord Byron, distinctly shaped a personal view of the legend of Don Juan (PEERS, 1973: 394), a view that surely influenced the popular drama *Don Juan Tenorio* by José Zorrilla that appeared in 1844 (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 27). Indeed, as Varela Jácome points out, Geoffrey Brereton believed that Espronceda began writing *El estudiante de Salamanca* in 1836 (2010: 22). In 1837 he published the first part in the magazine *Museo Artístico y Literario*. In 1839 he read a fragment of the poem at the Literary Association of Granada. The entire poem was published under the title *Poesías* in 1840 (2010: 22).

While sources for *El estudiante de Salamanca* go back to *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra*, attributed to Tirso de Molina, and to other works of Spanish *Siglo de Oro* theater that refer to the myth of Don Juan (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 23), Espronceda might have had at hand more immediate sources: *El abogado de Cuenca* (1826), by José Joaquín de Mora; *El golpe en vago* (1835), by José García de Villalta (a friend of Espronceda and the author of the foreword to his *Poesías*); and the student Lisardo romances, especially the long romance *Lisardo*, *el estudiante de Córdoba*, of great popular acclaim, collected in the *Romancero de romances* (1828-1832) by Agustín Durán (2010: 25).

El estudiante de Salamanca is a lyrical narrative poem of 1704 verses, divided into four parts⁸: the first part opens at midnight in the Castilian city; then a description of somber colors is interrupted by a duel and a murder; the characterization of the main character, Don Félix de Montemar, follows. This part ends with another characterization, that of "innocent and unhappy Elvira" (I, 147). In Varela's words, the second part changes "el tenebrismo romántico" [the romantic tenebrism] of the first by "preimpresionismo" [pre-impressionism]

⁷ Moreno Villa's edition retains the original generic classification of the text: "Cuento" ["Tale"] (ESPRONCEDA, 1962: 187). In Pessoa's private library we find a copy of *Obras poéticas de Don José de Espronceda. Precedidas de la biografía del autor y elaboradas con su retrato*, Paris, Librería de Garnier Hermanos, 448 pp. (See Fernando Pessoa House, call number 8-175).

⁸ I follow Varela Jácome's summary (cf. ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 36 ss.).

(ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 38) and the serene night evokes the purity of Elvira, who died of the heartbreak caused by Félix de Montemar's debauchery, as she recorded in a letter. The third part is a dramatic sequence in four scenes. It is, as Varela puts it, a genre painting: Montemar joins the set of six card players betting and swearing around a table; Don Diego de Pastrana, brother of Dona Elvira, then arrives. The sequence ends with the death of Don Diego at the hands of Don Félix. The fourth part is probably the most impressive: Montemar follows through the streets of Salamanca a ghostly female figure that turns out to be the impersonation of death; Don Félix then attends his own funeral. Finally, after a coven that evokes the final movement of Hector Berlioz's "Symphonie Fantastique," as keenly observed by Fradejas Lebrero (cited by Varela), Montemar dies and goes to hell. The day dawns and work resumes in the Castilian city.

Pessoa's translation includes all the verses of the first part (lines 1-179) and most of the verses of parts two, three and four. Nicolás Barbosa's remarkable transcription of the translation gives us a complete picture of the present state of the manuscripts. I will not attempt to present a comprehensive commentary that matches the text. Instead, I will limit myself to offering a concise appraisal of the metrical features that have caught my attention.

Since the literary work of Espronceda has received recognition for its metric and rhythmic excellence, ¹⁰ I will focus on this in particular before discussing the singularity of the translation in Pessoa's works. I will initially examine the first part of *El estudiante de Salamanca*. I will then provide a brief insight into the other parts of the poem.

Espronceda begins his poem with a series of lines arranged in a Spanish *romance*. Although there are several types, the typical Spanish *romance* is a series of short – often eight metrical syllables (*octosílabos* in Spanish) – rhyming verses. The rhyme is the so-called *asonante* rhyme: only the vowels, from the last stressed vowel on, rhyme. The rhyme occurs only in *versos pares* [even verses]. Odd verses do not rhyme:¹¹

⁹ Berlioz's symphony made its debut in Paris in 1830 (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 26).

¹⁰ "Se registran en *El estudiante de Salamanca* once metros distintos, desde dos a doce sílabas, los cuales se combinan en siete tipos de estrofas y dan lugar a cincuenta y nueve cambios métricos. La variedad métrica es el principal factor en el efecto musical de la versificación de *El estudiante*, de las canciones y de otras poesías de Espronceda" [One may count eleven different meters in *El estudiante de Salamanca*, ranging from two to twelve syllables, combined in seven types of stanzas and giving rise to 59 metrical changes. The metrical variety is the main factor in the musical effect of the versification in *El Estudiante*, as well as in the songs and other poems by Espronceda] (NAVARRO TOMÁS, 1973: 392, n. 31).

¹¹ As Dorothy Clotelle Clark puts it: "Octosyllabic verse in which the even-numbered lines assonate with the same assonance throughout the poem and the odd-numbered lines are left free." (CLARKE, 1952: 359, s.v. romance)

Era más de media noche,	(8 metrical syll	ables)
antiguas historias cuentan	(8)	a
cuando en sueño y en silencio	(8)	
lóbrego envuelta la ti e rr a ,	(8)	a
los vivos muertos parecen,	(8)	
los muertos la tumba d eja n	(8)	a

(Part I, lines 1-6)

Sometimes the accentuation of the *romance* exhibits a very marked rhythm, as with the trochaic rhythm (i.e., stressed-unstressed) of the opening line:

Era más de media noche
$$/ \ U \ / \ U \ / \ U$$
 (Part I, line 1)

But that need not be the case. It suffices that the sequence of two contiguous accents be avoided, that the alternation of accented and unaccented syllables be guaranteed (BALBÍN, 1975: 127),¹² to feel the typical rhythm of the *romance*:

Espronceda concludes the presentation of the Salamancan night not with another meter but with a change of rhyme, from *llana* or *grave* [paroxytonic] to *aguda* [oxytonic].¹³ The evocation of the night is broken by the sudden appearance of the noise from a swordfight:

Súbito rumor de espadas		
cruje y un ¡ay! se escuch ó;	a	
un ay moribundo, un ay		
que penetra el coraz ó n,	a	
que hasta los tuétanos hiela		
y da al que lo oyó tembl o r.	a	
Un ¡ay! de alguno que al mundo		
pronuncia el último adi ó s.	a	
		/D

(Part I, lines 41-48)

Pessoa Plural: 10 (0./Fall 2016)

¹² Rafael de Balbín formulates this "law": "la alternación *acentuado/desacentuado*, que es la ley de la sucesión de los tiempos métricos" [the alternation stressed/unstressed, which is the law of succession of metrical tempos] (BALBÍN, 1975: 127).

¹³ Agudo, also called *oxítono*: "a verse or word having the main stress on the final syllable." (CLARKE, 1952: 318). *Llano* or *grave* [paroxytone or paroxytonic]: "said of a verse or word having the main stress on the next to the last syllable." (CLARKE, 1952: 346).

The following sequence is remarkable. To suggest the secrecy with which the murderer leaves the scene, Espronceda creates a fundamentally trisyllabic series: there are also some four-metric-syllable lines, which combine oxytonic and paroxytonic endings. The murderer seems to escape on tiptoe. It is one of the great mimetic effects of the poem:

El ruido	
ces ó ,	a
un hombre	
pas ó	a
emboz ado ,	b
y el sombrero	
recat ado	b
a los ojos	
se cal ó .	a
Se desliza	
y atravi e s a	C
junto al muro	
de una igl e si a	C
y en la sombra	
se perdi ó .	a

(Part I, lines 49-63)

An agudo [oxytonic] romance follows (not very long; eleven lines, i.e., lines 64-75). Six dodecasyllabic serventesios [crossed quartets]¹⁴ come next (lines 76-99). Consider the third:

La cálle sombría, // la nóche ya entráda U / U U / U / U U / U	A
la lámpara tríste // ya prónta a expirár U / U U / U / U / U / (U)	В
que a véces alúmbra // la imágen sagráda U / U U/ U // U / U / U	A
y a véces escónde // la sómbra a aumentár U / U U / U // U / U / (U)	В

We can identify in these verses a phenomenon that is not immediately perceptible to the untrained eye: the Spanish verso compuesto [compound verse]. 15 In Espronceda's text, a caesura regularly divides the verse into two hemistiches of six

¹⁴ Cf. NAVARRO TOMÁS (1964: 104, n °27). "Having alternate rhyme (abab)" (CLARKE, 1952: 363).

¹⁵ Cf. Domínguez Caparrós (1985).

metrical syllables with the same amphibrachic¹⁶ rhythmic pattern: U / UU / U. The pause and the rhythmic regularity make these verses more emphatic. This amphibrachic rhythmic structure is repeated, with few significant variants (which might even be "moments of frustrated expectation,"¹⁷ in formalist jargon) along all hemistiches of the six *serventesios*.

The metric and rhythmic structure changes. The following five stanzas are called *octavillas agudas* ¹⁸ or *octavillas italianas* ¹⁹ (oxytonic octaves of *arte menor* verses²⁰). The short meter and the masculine endings of the quatrains (the fourth and eighth lines of the *octavillas*) are absolutely functional and expressive elements for describing a character that, as in Mozart and in Da Ponte's *Don Giovanni* and its interpretation by Kierkegaard,²¹ lives quickly, from moment to moment, without projecting into the future or remembering the past:

Segundo don Juan Tenorio, a alma fiera e insolente, b irreligioso y valiente, b altanero y reñidor: ć Siempre el insulto en los ojos, d en los labios la ironía, e nada teme y todo fía e de su espada y su valor. ć

(Part I, lines 100-107)

In addition to other rhythmic structures, trochaic rhythms can be identified:

```
nada teme y todo fía
/ U / U / U/U
```

(Part I, line 106)

and peonic ones:

en los lábios la ironía U U / U U U/U

(Part I, line 105)

Pessoa Plural: 10 (0./Fall 2016)

¹⁶ Cf. "The Technique of Scansion" in FUSSELL (1979: 17-29).

¹⁷ Bělič and Hrabák (2000: 43 ss).

¹⁸ "Más usada que ninguna otra estrofa octosilábica en la lírica romántica fue la octavilla aguda [...]. El tipo más general fue el que dejaba sueltos los versos primero y quinto: abbé: cbbé" [More used than any other octosyllabic stanza in the romantic lyric poetry was the acute *octavilla*] (NAVARRO TOMÁS, 1972: 363).

¹⁹ "An octave whose fourth and eight lines rhyme in agudos" (CLARKE, 1952: 349).

²⁰ As Clarke defines: "arte menor. Verse of eight syllables or less." (CLARKE, 1952: 323).

²¹ "[...] his life is the sum of moments that repel each other and don't have any connection between them [...]." (KIERKEGAARD, 1973: 111).

In contrast to the description cited above, the characterization of "innocent and unhappy Elvira" (I, 147) runs in long meters (*arte mayor*, in Spanish metric terminology²²): into eleven-syllable *endecasílabos*, which are low-tone, deep verses. The five stanzas describing Elvira are octaves, in the tradition of the *ottava rima*, called in Spanish *octava real*. I quote the first:

Bella y más pura que el azul del cielo A con dulces ojos lánguidos y hermosos, B donde acaso el amor brilló entre el velo A del pudor que los cubre candorosos; B tímida estrella que refleja al suelo A rayos de luz brillantes y dudosos, B ángel puro de amor que amor inspira, C fue la inocente y desdichada Elvira. C

(Part I, lines 140-147)

An actual stressed rhythm, though less emphatic, and a longer verse without caesura create an impression of calm and gravity, which contrasts with great effect the *octavillas agudas* of Don Félix de Montemar with the stanzas of Dona Elvira de Pastrana. The ethopoeia of Elvira closes the first part of *El estudiante de Salamanca*.

From a metrical point of view, the second part offers no new developments. The third part however does; on several occasions in it tense dialogues are deployed according to the conventions of classical Spanish theater, through which parts of the same verse are distributed to different *dramatis personae*. Consider, for example, lines 148-151 of the second part, in which Don Diego de Pastrana and Don Félix de Montemar engage in a verbal duel while playing cards:

D. Diego Bien, don Félix, cuadra en vos a esa insolencia importuna. b

D. Félix (Al TERCER JUGADOR sin hacer caso de D.DIEGO) Perdisteis.

JUGADOR TERCERO
Sí. La fortuna b
se trocó: tiro y van dos. a

At first glance, this is a sequence of five verses, of which four rhyme and one is loose, unrhymed. In actuality however only four verses should be counted, and they all rhyme with each other: "Perdisteis" and "Sí. La fortuna" are two sections

²² "[Arte mayor] sometimes refers to the hendecasyllable; also, to any verse of nine or more syllables." (CLARKE, 1952: 370).

of the same verse. Although the first (of three syllables) corresponds to Don Félix and the second (of five syllables), to the Third Player, the sum of the two makes an octosyllable, which rhymes with an earlier verse (here, rhyme b, *importuna*: *fortuna*).

The fourth part repeats forms already featured in the first: quatrains of *endecasílabos*, "serventesios" of twelve syllables and caesura, octosyllabic quatrains, romances, and *octavas reales*. An impressive display of short verses (*de arte menor*) is added: hexasyllables, pentasyllables, tetrasyllables, and bisyllables. There is even an attempt to create a monosyllabic line, which is, in the system of Spanish verse, impossible, because, all monosyllabic verses being *agudos* [oxytonic], a syllable is necessarily added, which transforms it into a bisyllable.²³ This is what happens in the impressive death scene of Don Félix de Montemar (Part IV, lines 970-988), which unfortunately Pessoa did not translate:

(4 metrical syllables)	Y vio luego una llama que se inflama y murió; y perdido, oyó el eco de un gemido que expiró.
(3)	Tal, dulce suspire la lira que hirió, en blando concento del viento la voz,
(2)	leve breve
(1)	son.

As Varela Jácome points out, the life of the protagonist vanishes with the descending meter (ESPRONCEDA, 2010: 124, n. 42). Tomas Navarro is more explicit:

²³ "Monosyllabic verse doesn't exist [in Spanish metrics] because its only syllable would necessarily be *aguda* [oxytonic]." (QUILIS, 1969: 46). In Spanish metrics, all oxytonic syllables are perceived as paroxytonic ones, with an extra syllable, cf. QUILIS (1967).

En la escala de *El estudiante de Salamanca*, los versos alargan su medida desde dos a doce sílabas, según se oye el estruendo de la procesión de la muerte, y disminuyen recorriendo paso a paso la misma distancia en sentido descendente a medida que se va apagando la conciencia del protagonista

(NAVARRO TOMÁS, 1973: 393)

[In the scale of *El estudiante de Salamanca*, the verses increase their length from two to twelve syllables, when one hears the clamor of the death procession, and decrease, returning step by step the same distance, downwards, as the conscience of the protagonist fades]

As we have just seen, we cannot ignore the relevance of sound, of the sound pattern of verse, of the metrical, and of the rhythmic aspects of *El estudiante de Salamanca*. In his attempt at translating this poem Pessoa was well aware of this. We shall now examine Pessoa's version of *The Student of Salamanca* and focus primarily on that feature.

It may be noted that in the translation of the first part Pessoa retains Espronceda's original layout: *romance* (lines 1-48), three or four syllable *romancillo* (lines 49-63), *romance* (lines 64-75), twelve-syllable quatrains or *serventesios* (lines 76-99), *octavillas agudas* (lines 100-139), and *octavas reales* or *ottava rima* [octaves] (vv. 140-179). The rhythmic variety of Espronceda's *El estudiante* remains strong in Pessoa's *The Student*.

It should be of interest to study how Pessoa makes his metrical equivalences. Let's start with the *romance*. As I already noted, the Spanish *romance* is made of eight metrical syllable verses with *asonante* [vocalic] rhymes. Rhyme comes only in the even verses. The "romance" of Pessoa consists mainly of eight metrical syllable verses alternating with a few seven syllable ones and with a very few with six metrical syllables. The law of succession of metric tempos (by which immediately successive stressed syllables are avoided) is respected and very marked accentual rhythms are achieved: English tetrameters and trimeters. The tetrameters tend towards trochaic rhythm:

Mark with fearful howls their passing
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 14)

Yieldeth full mysterious soundings
/ U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 17)

The trimeters, to iambic rhythm:

To still and hollow foot-falls U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 10)

Pessoa does not retain assonance, whereby the effect of the changing rhyme in line 41 of *El estudiante de Salamanca* is lost: there the *aguda* rhyme marks the passing of Salamanca to the description of the sound of swords followed by the piercing cry of a dying man, as we have already shown. The text of Espronceda does not insist so much on the sounds of swords as in the dead man's crying (the piercing, repeated "¡ay!" and even the gloomy "o" of the *aguda* rhyme):

Súbito rumor de espadas cruje y un ¡ay! se escuchó, un ay moribundo, un ay que penetra el corazón, que hasta los tuétanos hiela y da al que lo oyó temblor. Un ¡ay! de alguno que al mundo pronuncia el último adiós.

(Part I, lines 41-48)

Pessoa replaces the interjection "¡ay!" with the noun "moan." This variation and the absence of rhyme prevents the retention of Espronceda's effect. However, like all great translators, Pessoa generates a remarkable equivalence, using the alliteration of 's' and 'sh':

Suddenly of sword the dashing Soundeth, and a moan is heard

(Part I, lines 41-42)

This varies with the original of Espronceda, which at this point evokes the whole set of sounds of the swordfight with the sounds 's' and 'r':

Súbito rumor de espadas cruje [...]

(Part I, lines 41-42)

Instead, with the sounds suggested by Pessoa's use of the alliteration of sibilants, there is the slicing of the air by swords and the sharp clash evoked by the word "dashing." The sequence of short verses with which the murderer escapes – as if on tiptoe – has been elegantly transposed into English by Pessoa, using syncopes (more frequent in English poetry than in Spanish) and apocopes: "pass'd" (Part I, line 52), "Cloak'd" (Part I, line 53), "'Gainst" (Part I, line 60). The effect of pauses and rhymes admirably remains, all the more so because it is not identical:

The sound	
Is d one ,	a
A man	
Pass'd on	a
Cloak'd full,	b
And his hat	
Care ful	b
Drew his eyes	
Upon.	a
He glideth	
Close-press'd	
'Gainst the wall	
Of a church,	
And in shadow	
Is gone.	a

(Part I, lines 49-63)

The same thing that was said of the *romance* that opened the composition can be said of the *romance* that comes next (Part I, lines 64-75). Quatrains of twelve-syllable verses whose rhyme scheme Pessoa appropriates follow. The English equivalence is the tetrameter, sometimes of eleven syllables and more often of twelve. Most important here might be to point out that in certain stanzas Pessoa creates an English verse very close to the Spanish *verso compuesto* [compound verse], caesura and rhythms included:

The spirit the boldest // of steel to withstand it U / U U / U // U / U U / U	A
Had shrunk into caution // had stricken with fear U / U U / U // U U / U	В
The fiercest, most cursing // and blasphemous bandit U / U U / U // U / U U / U	A
Had felt with its terror // his lips find a prayer U / U U / U // U / U U / U	В
	(Part I, lines 92-95)

It is true, also, that in the case of the previous quatrain the full delivery of rhyme in lines 92 and 94 ("fear" and "prayer") could collide with the perception of rhythm, prompting a pronunciation clearly diphthongized of "fear" and clearly disyllabic

of "prayer."

Pessoa reproduces Espronceda's *octavillas agudas* (oxytonic or masculine octaves of *arte menor* verses). Unlike the latter, which strictly respects the regularity of octosyllabic verses, Pessoa varies the meter without significant consequences and intermingles seven-syllable verses. The *octosílabos* are made into tetrameters or trimeters. Some of them are trochaic:

Fearing nought, all things referring / U / U / U / U

(Part I, line 106)

Others tend to dactylic rhythm:

Always insult in his glances / U U / U U / U

(Part I, line 104)

Other verses of the *octavilla* lack so marked a rhythm, although almost all follow – faithful to the character of the original *romance* – the law of succession of metric tempos, whereby two (or more) adjacent accents are not allowed within the verses.

It should be noted that the structure of the rhymes, which follows the pattern of the *octavilla*, even in the oxytonic (*agudos*) endings of verses 4 and 8, precisely renders that of the original:

Don Juan Tenorio the Second,	a
A proud and insolent spirit	b
Impious, in courage his merit,	b
Quarrelsome in deed and word,	ć
Always insult in his glances,	d
His lips e'er irony b earing	e
Fearing nough, all things referring	e
To his valour and his sw ord .	ć

(Part I, lines 100-107)

Finally, stanzas describing the unfortunate Elvira respect the English tradition of the *ottava rima*, prescribing pentameters where Spanish tradition prescribes *endecasílabos*. The structure of the rhyme is the same in both traditions (ABABABCC):

Beautiful, purer tan the sky's pure blue	A
With sweet and languid eyes tenderly bright	В
Where haply love hath shone the soft veil through	A
Of modesty that hides their soul's delight	В
A timid star that doth reflect unto	A
The earth brilliant and doubtful rays of light,	В

Love's angel pure, love to inspire unsated C
Such was Elvira innocent, ill-fated. C

(Part I, lines 140-147)

Although the third part of *The Student of Salamanca* has arrived to us very incomplete and the dramatic dialogue displays many gaps, Pessoa's intention to create strict and faithful equivalences is clear. Consider, for example, the sequence that goes from line 105a to line 107a:

```
JUGADOR TERCERO
Yo, la vida. (4)

I my life. (3)

D. Félix
No la quiero (4) a
Mirad si me dais dinero, (8) a
y os la llevais. (4 + 1)

I my life. (3)

That won't do (3) a
Just give me money and you (8) a
May take her. (3)
```

Pessoa's version probably goes to the extreme of what can be achieved in translation: he does not retain the octosyllabic verse that is divided between the characters of the Third Player and Don Félix: "Yo, la vida" (4 metrical syllables) plus "No la quiero" (4 metrical syllables): 8 metrical syllables. Espronceda's broken octosyllables have simply been transformed by Pessoa into short, trisyllabic verses. What is maintained is the structure of the rhyme: two contiguous lines rhyme, as in the text of Espronceda ("quiero: dinero" in Espronceda's and "do: you" in Pessoa's).

The fourth part offers challenges that Pessoa surmounts with elegance. One senses the magnificent translation that *The Student* would have been had it been completed. Pessoa achieves remarkable results. See, for example, the set of short meters of the sequence between lines 693 and 703:

Fúnebre (2)	a	Mournful (2)	a
llanto (2)	b	Singing (2)	b
de amor, (3)	ć	Love-found (2)	ć
óyese (2)	d	Is heard there (3)	d
en tanto (3)	b	Upspringing (3)	b
en son (3)	ć	A sound (2)	ć
flébil, blando (4	4) e	Soft and feeble (4)	e
cual quejido (4)) f	Like a wailing (4)	f
dolorido (4)	f	Unavailing (4)	f
que del alma (4	e) g	That the spirit (4)	g
se arrancó (4)	ć	Hath drowned.	ć

In the passage quoted, not only does the close correspondence of meaning between the Spanish and the English texts strike us, but also the incredible fidelity to the original sound level, especially if one considers not only the strictly metric aspect and the rhymes but also the rhythms. For example, the iambic and anapestic rhythms of lines 693 to 698:

Fúnebre	Mournful
/U	/ U
llanto	Singing
/ U	/ U
[]	[]
en tanto	Upspringing
U / U	U / U

Or the strict trochaic rhythms of lines 699-707,²⁴ as in:

flébil, blando	Soft and feeble
/ U / U	/ U / U

Pessoa's obsession with finding the most exact equivalences extends to retaining apparently minor details, such as maintaining the oxytonic (masculine, agudas) rhymes of the original. Not only does he maintain the layout of the rhymes, but also their character, when in fact he could have found other effective though less precise solutions. For instance, he could have retained the layout of the rhymes alone. Note the translation of lines 942-949:

Y siente un confuso	a	He feels a confused	a
loco devaneo,	b	A wild □ emotion	b
languidez, mareo	b	Calms and deep commotion	b
y angustioso afán:	c	And a bitter woe:	c
y sombras y luces	d	He sees lights and shadows	d
la estancia que gira,	e	The whole mansion reeling	e
y espíritus mira	e	And dim spirits wheeling	e
que vienen y van.	С	Which do come and go.	C

In fact, in Pessoa's text one perceives an desire to deal with the difficulty of rendering the rhythmic pattern. If there are several alternatives, Pessoa will choose the most difficult, which is, at the same time, in his case, the most accurate.

Could it be that Pessoa, reader of Poe's A Philosophy of Composition, would have listened to him and privileged sound over word and meaning²⁵? It is not so, of course, insofar as Pessoa gives a faithful account of sense through sound effects; nevertheless, it is true that the latter occupies a predominant place in his concerns. For example, as we have before us a "work in progress," fatally unfinished, we can

²⁴ The strict rendering of the rhythmic pattern of this sequence would probably imply some metric licenses in Spanish: double-stressed words and the accentuation of unaccented words.

²⁵ "The sound of the *refrain* being thus determined, it became necessary to select a word embodying this sound [...]." (POE, 1902: 664).

identify various stages of writing. Thus, we can discern clearly how Pessoa seems to want to fix the rhymes before completing the whole verse (having first the final word of the line before the others, obviously influences the selection of these). This can be seen in verses 830-833:

And then a □ wearing	Α
Good † through his face with the colour of <i>death</i>	В
His breast bearing	A
□ yet	В

The metric constraint, which is clearly visible in the above, can go so far as to change the meaning of Espronceda's text. We can identify at least one example of this, in lines 710-711, where Pessoa completely changes the meaning of the original in order to replace it with an image not provided by Espronceda but instead with one that allows Pessoa to respect the rhyme pattern:

Música triste,	a	Sad music vague	a
lánguida y vaga	b	Languid in motion	b
que a par lastima	С	Plugging the spirit	C
y el alma halaga;	b	In a deep ocean	b

In Espronceda's text, music at the same time harms and flatters; with two verbs, it expresses an effect on the soul that can be seen as contradictory, but does not require an image to manifest itself. In Pessoa's, however, an image is put forth: music plunges the spirit into a deep ocean. It is an image – the spirit submerged in and connected ("plugging") to the ocean – that demands to be understood metaphorically ("the spirit drowns itself in the deep, connecting itself to an indeterminate zone to the extent that it annuls its being and transforms itself into something indefinite, just as a body immerses and dilutes itself in the sea"). They are, of course, two completely different solutions. Such infidelity in translation in a craftsman as neat as Pessoa could be explained by the need to maintain the original pattern of the rhymes. That is, it is consistent with the translation of the sound level and not with the translation of the meaning level. As Umberto Eco says, every translation is a negotiation (Eco, 2008: 25). In this particular case, we can clearly see what Pessoa's priority was by what he retained and what he set aside.

All in all, this is, as we have seen, a careful and effective appropriation that captures the best effects of the original and proposes elegant equivalences. Without hyperbole, I would include *The Student of Salamanca* in that group of translations that George Steiner calls "a miracle of rare device" (STEINER, 1992: 429).²⁶

²⁶ Steiner includes in this Parnassus G. K. Chesterton's translation of Du Bellay's sonnet *Heureux qui, comme Ulysse*, and Pierre Leyris' translations of G. M. Hopkins' poems (in particular *The Wreck of the "Deutschland"*). (STEINER, 1992: 429).

Considering Pessoa's oeuvre, the English translation of El estudiante de Salamanca emerges as a curious singularity. One could entertain a simple explanation for its genesis: it was the work of Pessoa's English heteronym Alexander Search or the work of the English heteronym Charles James Search, who only undertook translations.²⁷ But the late task lists are definitive: The Student of Salamanca is a translation by Fernando Pessoa. It must then be considered as such. In principle, it does not make much sense to include this translation within the project of the Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres, since that collection was directed to the Portuguese-speaking world and *The Student* is written in English. Nor does it seem plausible that the text could fit in the same group as the English poems of Quental, Botto or Pessoa himself. The fact that news of the translation appears recorded in different moments of the artistic and intellectual biography of Pessoa would seem to indicate Pessoa's special interest in the text. Although Saraiva collected in his book several translations from Spanish to Portuguese of excellent quality, 28 Pessoa believed that it was interesting to undertake only difficult translations and saw "graça nenhuma" in translations of languages as close as Spanish and Portuguese (PESSOA, 1993: 221).29 In other words, Pessoa could have chosen to translate El estudiante de Salamanca just for the pleasure of doing so, for the pleasure of undertaking a "difficult" translation and to prove through it his abilities. Other, perhaps more complex reasons can be imagined, such as the links between reading, translation and creation that are made evident by the nexus between the marginalia of Pessoa's personal library and his archive, his espólio, as advanced by Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro in the entry "Biblioteca" ["Library"] of the Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo Português organized by Fernando Cabral Martins. The entry, in fact, discusses one example of this relation, an example that involves *The Student of Salamanca*:

O Diário de 1906, que se encontra no espólio e foi publicado por Teresa Sobral Cunha em Colóquio / Letras 95, Jan.- Fev. de 1987, e por Richard Zenith, em Escritos autobiográficas, automáticos e de reflexão pessoal (2003) traz ainda outras informações e contextualiza a leitura de Keats, cujo nome se encontra referido entre os dias 8 e 16 de Junho de 1906. Nesse diário lê-se, a 9 de Junho: "Espronceda: El Estudiante de Salamanca"; e a 10: "Keats e Espronceda". Salientámos também o nome de Espronceda, porque ambos surgen asociados e porque cerca dum ano depois, a 9 de Maio de 1907, Pessoa tinha quase concluído a tradução da primeira parte de El Estudiante de Salamanca: "9th May: Almost

²⁷ "Nesta medida, e mesmo que possa parecer-nos paradoxal, actualmente Charles Search é menos lembrado como o ambicioso tradutor do *Book of tasks*, do que como autor de uma carta a uma agência literária de Londres, justificando a ausência do seu irmão Alexander." (PESSOA, 2016: 285).

²⁸ Augusto de Campos doesn't think this way: "devo dizer que as versoes do espanhol pouco acrescentam a obra tradutória de Pessoa" (CAMPOS, 2015: 8). But that opinion could reflect Campos' bias towards one of the versions: Francisco de Quevedo's *Epístola al Conde [Duque] de Olivares*, which he doesn't like in the first place, even in the Spanish original.

²⁹ He even despises Miguel de Unamuno's exhortation to write in Spanish (PESSOA, 2011: 129).

finished 1st part St[udent] of Salamanca'' (Pessoa, Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura, 2006: 623). Estes dados factuais, que permitem datar a leitura de Keats e de Espronceda (e a correspondente tradução), são complementados e iluminados por uma nota que se encontra na margem direita do segundo verso de "The Eve of Saint Mark", poema que também figura em The Poetical Works of John Keats: "All was gloom, and silent all, | Save now and then the still foot-fall": cf. "tácitas pisadas huecas" (Espronceda).

Se, movidos por estas pistas, continuarmos a seguir as "pegadas" de Pessoa, indo do espólio para a biblioteca e da biblioteca para o espólio, descobriremos ainda os fragmentos que ficaram da tradução de *El Estudiante de Salamanca*, para o inglês. Num desses fragmentos, identificado com a cota (BNP / E3, 74A-65), o décimo verso de Espronceda, "tácitas pisadas huecas", é traduzido por Pessoa da seguinte maneira: "To still and hollow foot-falls" (BNP / E3, 74A-65). A leitura de Keats auxilia e informa o labor do poeta-tradutor. A biblioteca torna-se, pois, inseparável do espólio. Talvez por falta desta consciencia a primeira não tem sido tão bem conservada como o segundo.

(FERRARI and PIZARRO, 2008: 87)

[The 1906 Diary, extant in the Pessoa archive and published by Teresa Sobral Cunha in Colóquio/Letras 95, Jan.- Feb. 1987, and by Richard Zenith, in Escritos autobiográficas, automáticos e de reflexão pessoal (2003), reveals still more pieces of information and contextualizes the reading of Keats, whose name is referred to between 8 and 16 June 1906. In the diary, one reads, on June 9th: "Espronceda: El Estudiante de Salamanca"; and on the 10th: "Keats e Espronceda". We should also emphasize Espronceda's name, because both (Espronceda and Keats) are associated and because, about one year later, on 9 May 1907, Pessoa had almost concluded the translation of the first part of El Estudiante de Salamanca: "9th May: Almost finished 1st part St[udent] of Salamanca" (Pessoa, Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura, 2006: 623). These facts, allowing to date the reading of Keats and of Espronceda (and the corresponding translation), are complemented and illuminated by a note on the right margin of the second verse of "The Eve of Saint Mark," a poem that also appears in The Poetical Works of John Keats: "All was gloom, and silent all, | Save now and then the still foot-fall": cf. "tácitas pisadas huecas" (Espronceda).

If, impelled by those clues, we keep following the "footsteps" of Pessoa, going from the archive to the library and from the library back to the archive, we will find out the fragments that remained from Pessoa's English translation of *El Estudiante de Salamanca*. In one of those fragments, with call number BNP/E3, 74A-65, the tenth verse of Espronceda, "tácitas pisadas huecas", is translated by Pessoa as follows: "To still and hollow foot-falls" (BNP/E3, 74A-65). The reading of Keats helps and informs the work of the poet-translator. The library becomes, thus, inseparable from the archive. Perhaps because of a lack of this awareness, the former has not been as well preserved as the latter.]

Another link between the archive and Pessoa's private library can be made if we inspect the marginalia of one book included in it: Antonio Cortón's *Espronceda* (one of the books in Alexander Search's library, ³⁰ as his signature shows). In it, another

³⁰ See "Alexander Search's Library" in SEARCH (2014: 208-217). It should be noted that *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron* and *The Complete Poetical Works Of Shelley* are also part of it. For the complete list of Search's private library see FERRARI (2009).

English Romantic poet appears: Lord Byron. On page 116 of Cortón's book, a vertical line at the left margin of the paragraph marks D. Juan Valera's observation concerning Lord Byron's influence on Espronceda: *Childe Harold*'s song to Inez and *A Jarifa; The Corsair* and the *Canción del pirata;* Julia's letter in *Don Juan* and Elvira's letter in *El estudiante de Salamanca;* the digressions and genialities of *Don Juan* and *El diablo mundo*. Pessoa writes (my reading) next to the vertical line: "Certo."³¹ Cortón's aim, though, is to downplay Byron's influence on Espronceda and to assert Espronceda's originality. Yet the influence is there, as Varela points out. And not only is this bond not ignored by Pessoa, he manifestly acknowledges it when he writes "Certo."

George Monteiro proves how the reading of Browning's works may have constituted an important source for the creation of heteronyms: Browning's aspiration to create "Action in Character rather than Character in Action" seems to be the precedent for the "drama en gente." The relation between Browning and Pessoa is discussed at large by Penteado and Gagliardi in recent works (PENTEADO and GAGLIARDI, 2015: 168 and also FERRARI 2015: 372). This is not an isolated link. It can be verified with other English writers, like Wilde, and, certainly, with Shakespeare. The *Antinous* is strongly tinged by Wilde's decadent sensuality and the *35 Sonnets* are to some extent the result of Pessoa's desire to become an "ultra-Shakespeare." In short, the reading activity of Pessoa manifests itself in his creations. And in his translations as well.

We don't need to add more heteronyms – Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari have counted 136 to date (PESSOA, 2016) – and it is probably an exaggeration to postulate a "panheteronymism" in relation to the translations, in the sense for example that the translated author disappears to become a heteronym. Nevertheless, the truth is that statements such as those of Saraiva, who maintains that the poetic translations of Pessoa appear as original texts³³ and are in no way inferior to the texts that generated them (SARAIVA, 1996: 46) and of de Sena, who states that António Botto translated by Pessoa becomes a heteronym of Pessoa (SENA, 2000: 274)³⁴ make one think that in Pessoa both creation and translation

³¹ Other Pessoan annotations in Cortón's book include the ones next to two fragments of Espronceda's *Pelayo* (pp. 82-83), fragments that strike Pessoa as similar to *El Estudiante de Salamanca* (he writes, in effect, "cfr. Estudiante" near the marked passages).

³² This was noted by the reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* (19 September 1918) who pointed out Pessoa's *35 Sonnets* as "ultra-Shakesperian Shakesperianisms."

³³ Vizcaíno concurs: "Quando lemos *Songs*, depois de termos lido o original em português, não podemos deixar de concluir que Fernando Pessoa acrescenta um pouco mais ao 'emprestar'o seu jeito de escrever, dando a impresão de estarmos a ler um *original* em inglês do próprio Pessoa." [When we read *Songs*, after having read the original in Portuguese, we can only conclude that Fernando Pessoa adds a bit more, 'lending' his manner of writing and giving the impression that we are reading an original text by Pessoa in English] (VIZCAÍNO, 2012: 44)

³⁴ Or a "semi-heterónimo," as Vizcaíno puts it (VIZCAÍNO, 2012: 42).

arise from the same matrix.³⁵ Further, one could posit that this has to do with the "chameleon poet" that Keats foresaw in his correspondence and that Mariana Gray de Castro links with a genealogy that Pessoa shares with Joyce and Eliot (GRAY DE CASTRO, 2015: 155). That is, translation appears as a form of "otherness," of heteronymity in Pessoan terms, as if Alvaro de Campos' Sensacionista dictum "Sentir tudo de todas as maneiras" ["live everything in every way"] inhabited every act of translation.

One could suggest another hypothesis, one that makes the phenomenon of heteronomy—of translation as a heteronymic activity (WIESSE, 2013)—something even more complex, explaining at the same time the singularity of *The Student of Salamanca*: knowing the link between Byron's *Don Juan* and *El estudiante de Salamanca*, Pessoa translated Espronceda while looking to Lord Byron. In acousmatic terms, as Patrick Quillier would like it (QUILLIER, 2002), he produces an echo of Espronceda that seeks to be an echo of Byron. The writer of *The Student of Salamanca*, then, is not Pessoa, or not entirely Pessoa, but an English Espronceda, strange and ghostly Byron-like.



Fig. 2 Notes by Pessoa, including several occurrences of "estudiante." BNP/E3, 49B3-65v.

³⁵ "Não custa admitir que a diversidade heteronímica terá que ver com a actividade do tradutor, não só com a do leitor, que Pessoa foi desde tenra idade" [It's not hard to admit that the heteronymic diversity would have to do with the activity of the translator, not only the reader, which Pessoa had been since an early age] (SARAIVA, 1999: 52).

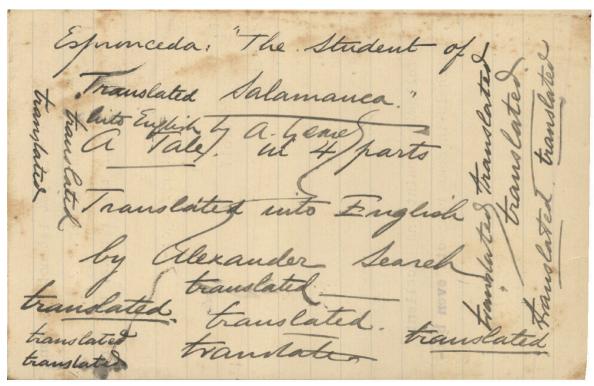


Fig. 3. "The student of Salamanca" translated "by Alexander Search." BNP/E3, 124-54v. Detail.

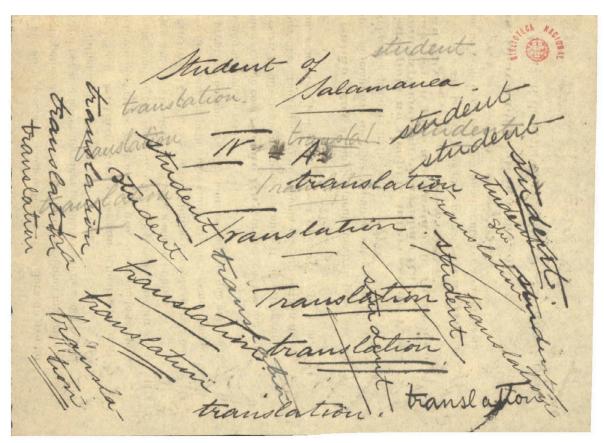


Fig. 4 Notes indicating the translation of "Student of Salamanca" into English. BNP/E3, 133N-10r. Detail.

Bibliography

- BALBÍN, Rafael de (1975). Sistema de rítmica castellana. Madrid: Gredos.
- BĚLIČ, Oldrich (2000). Verso español y verso europeo. Introducción a la teoría del verso español en el contexto europeo. In collaboration with Josef Hrabák. Santafé de Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- CAMPOS, Augusto de (2015) "Uma redescoberta: traduções de Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural*, n°. 7, Onésimo Almeida, Paulo de Medeiros, and Jerónimo Pizarro, editors, Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, Fall, pp. 1-22.
- CLARKE, Dorothy Clotelle (1952). A Chronological Sketch of Castilian Versification Together with a List of its Metric Terms. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- CORTÓN, Antonio (1906). Espronceda. Madrid: Casa Editorial Velásquez. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number, 9-21].
- DOMÍNGUEZ CAPARRÓS, José (1985). Diccionario de métrica española. Madrid: Paraninfo.
- Eco, Umberto (2008). Decir casi lo mismo. Translated by Helena Lozano Miralles. Barcelona: Lumen.
- ESPRONCEDA, José de (2010). *El estudiante de Salamanca*. Edited by Benito Varela Jácome. Madrid: Cátedra. [First published in *Poesías*, Madrid, En la imprenta de Yenes, 1840].
- ____ (1962) . *Obras poéticas I. Poesías y El estudiante de Salamanca*. Edited by J. Moreno Villa. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe (Clásicos Castellanos). [First edition 1840].
- ____ (1876). Obras poéticas de Don José de Espronceda. Precedidas de la biografía del autor y elaboradas con su retrato. Paris: Librería de Garnier Hermanos. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number, 8-175].
- FERRARI, Patricio (2015). "Bridging Archives: Twenty-five Unpublished English Poems by Fernando Pessoa." *Pessoa Plural*, nº 8, Carlos Pittella, guest ed., Brown University, Warwick University, University of Los Andes, Fall, pp. 365-431.
- ____ (2009). "A Biblioteca de Fernando Pessoa na génese dos heterónimos: (Dispersão e catalogação 1935-2008); A arte da leitura (1898-1907)." O Guardador de Papéis, Jerónimo Pizarro, editor. 2nd edition. Lisbon: Texto Editores, pp. 155-218.
- FERRARI, Patricio and Jerónimo Pizarro (2008). "Biblioteca Fernando Pessoa." *Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo*. Edited by Fernando Cabral Martins. Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, pp. 86-88.
- FUSSELL, Paul (1979). Poetic Meter and Poetic Form. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- GARCÍA MONTERO, Luis (2001). Gigante y extraño. Las Rimas de Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer. Barcelona: Tusquets.
- GRAY DE CASTRO, Mariana (2015). "Pessoa and Keats." Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest editors, *Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer*. Dartmouth, Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 164-187.
- KIERKEGAARD, Sören (1973). Los estadios eróticos inmediatos o lo erótico musical. Translated by Javier Armada. Buenos Aires: Aguilar.
- NAVARRO, Tomás (1972). Métrica española. Madrid: Guadarrama.
- (1964). Arte del verso. Mexico: Compañía General de Ediciones.
- PEERS, Edgar Allison (1973). Historia del movimiento romántico español. Madrid: Gredos.
- PENTEADO, Flávio Rodrigo and Caio GAGLIARDI (2015). "The Art of Drama According to Browning and Pessoa." Patricio Ferrari and Jerónimo Pizarro, guest editors, Fernando Pessoa as English Reader and Writer, Dartmouth, Tagus Press at UMass Dartmouth, pp. 164-187.
- PITTELLA Carlos and Jerónimo PIZARRO (2016). *Como Fernando Pessoa pode mudar a sua vida*. Rio de Janeiro: Tinta-da-china Brasil.
- PESSOA, Fernando (2016). *Eu Sou Uma Antologia. 136 Autores Fictícios.* Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Tinta-da-China. Fernando Pessoa "Collection."

- ____ (2014). "A Very Original Dinner." Translated by Diego García Sierra in *Un libro muy original/ A Very Original Book*. Bilingual edition and notes by Natalia Jerez Quintero. Medellín: Tragaluz Lusitania Collection.
- (2013). Iberia. Introducción a un imperialismo futuro. Translation, introduction, and notes by Antonio Sáez Delgado. Philological note by Jerónimo Pizarro. Epilogue by Humberto Brito and Pablo Javier Pérez López. Valencia: Pre-textos.
- ____ (2011) "Apresentação da colecção 'Anthologia.'" Edgar Allan Poe. *Principais Poemas de Edgar Allan Poe*. Introduction by Fernando Pessoa. Translations by Fernando Pessoa and Margarida Vale de Gato. Lisbon: Guimarães, pp.43-44.
- ____ (2010). *Provérbios portugueses*. Compilation and English translation by Fernando Pessoa. Edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Atica.
- ____ (1993). Pessoa inédito. Edited by Teresa Rita Lopes. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- POE, Edgar Allan (1902). *The Choice Works of Edgar Allan Poe. Poems, Stories, Essays*. With an Introduction by Charles Baudelaire. London: Chatto & Windus. [Fernando Pessoa House, call number, 8-442].
- PRADO BELLEI, Sérgio Luiz (1991). "O Corvo tropical de Edgar Allan Poe." Malcolm Coulthard and Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard. *Tradução. Teoría e Prática*. Florianópolis: Editora da UFSC.
- QUENTAL, Antero de (2010). Os sonetos completos de Antero de Quental. With a partial English translation by Fernando Pessoa. Preface by J. P. Oliveira Martins. Note, transcriptinos, and postface by Patricio Ferrari. Lisbon: Guimarães.
- QUILIS, Antonio (1969). Métrica española. Madrid: Alcalá.
- ____ (1967). "La percepción de los versos oxítonos, paroxítonos y proparoxítonos en español." Revista de Filología Española, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Filología, L, pp. 273-286.
- QUILLIER, Patrick (2002). "Pour une acousmatique du signe: éloge du nomadisme de la voix." Hegel: Zur Sprache, Beiträge zur Geschichte des europäischen Sprachdenkens. Bettina Lindorfer and Dirk Naguschewski, editors. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag, pp. 199-213.
- SARAIVA, Arnaldo (1996). Fernando Pessoa. Poeta-Tradutor de Poetas. Os poemas traduzidos e o respectivo original. Oporto: Lello Editores.
- SENA, Jorge de (2000). Fernando Pessoa & Ca. Heterónima. Lisbon: Edicoes 70.
- STEINER, George (1992). After Babel. Aspects of Language and Translation. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.
- VIZCAÍNO, Fernanda Maria Cardoso Pereira (2012). "Canções / Songs: Fernando Pessoa traduz António Botto." Master dissertation. Oporto: Instituto Politécnico do Porto.
- WIESSE-REBAGLIATI, Jorge (2013). "Heteronimia y traducción: dos futuros de Fernando Pessoa." Jorge Wiesse and Jerónimo Pizarro, editors. Los futuros de Fernando Pessoa. Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, pp. 41-46.