

Presence of Islamic philosophy in unpublished writings by the young Fernando Pessoa

Fabrizio Boscaglia*

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.

* Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa – Centro de Filosofia.

Man cannot know either, unless he can worship in some way.

Thomas Carlyle¹

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, 153-9r; 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.² 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-60^r to 61^v] 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

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 *qâf-şâd-râ*, from where the words within the general meaning of abbreviate, confine, bind, restrain – as in the word *al-qaşr*, "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-qaşr al-kabîr*, "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^r; 15A-32^r and 32a^r; 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 Bājjah, Ibn Sīnā, 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*³ in the Western world) for they were also mentioned in Antero de Quental's *Causas da Decadencia dos Povos Peninsulares nos Ultimos Tres Seculos*⁴. 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

³ The original title of this novel is *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳzān* ("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 glorias da Peninsula. A reforma da Escolastica, nos séculos 13.^o e 14.^o, pela renovação do aristotelismo, foi obra quasi exclusiva das escolas arabes e judaicas 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 philosophia 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 man 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.

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 atraves 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, 15³-12^r and 13^r; 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

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 library⁸.

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-Ghazzālī (BNP/E3, 93-95r; 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 has 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"⁹, 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"¹⁰. 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

⁸ 'Umar Khayyām 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 *Rubaiyat*, the works *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* (CFP, 8-296) and *Omar Khayyám The Poet* (CFP, 8-662 MN), are not considered here as works on Islamic philosophy.

⁹ BNP/E3, 20-11r; cf. Pessoa, 1966: 13 (text dated "[1910?]" by the editors).

¹⁰ "E eu sou poeta e pensador!" (BNP/E3, 61B-70r; Pessoa, 2006: 208, (text dated 11-12-1933).

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”.¹¹

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 Khayyām (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*¹² dated 1st of June of 1935, with a text entitled “In Maghreb”¹³ 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^r; 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,¹⁴ entitled “Ominous prophecies of an Arab”.¹⁵ 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 cometemos, expulsando da península 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 “The first chapter of the unpublished book *Granada and Córdoba*” (“Primeiro capítulo do livro inédito *Granada e Córdoba*”) 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”¹⁶ to what Ernest Herrman was telling him about an encounter he (Herrman) had had in Casablanca (Morocco) with a “mysterious prophet”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 *trunk*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.¹⁹

¹⁶ “Fernando Pessoa, escutando com enorme atenção” (Domingues, 1931: 8; BNP/E3, 135C-8 and 9).

¹⁷ “Um misterioso profeta” (Domingues, 1931: 8; BNP/E3, 135C-8 and 9).

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 Luís de Montalvor and other poets, editors, literary critics and friends associated with the magazine *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).

¹⁹ Regarding the Arabic and Islamic presence in Fernando Pessoa, cf. Boscaglia, 2013, 2012a, 2012b.

Critical Text²⁰

I. FRAGMENTS OF A PHILOSOPHICAL NARRATIVE ON ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

1 [26A-60^r to 61^v] [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 [60^v] 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 I⁷, 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

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 it¹² hath¹³ the infinity of the universe.

[61^r] "I could say many things – many truths – that would make thee restless and sad, for untruths have little power¹⁴ 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 come¹⁵ that ever men had, or can have; in¹⁶ 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 thou¹⁷ hast¹⁸ not heard before, or that thou¹⁹ hast²⁰ 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.

[61^v] "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."²¹

2 [27¹⁸ A³-10^r] [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 [15A-32^r and 32a^r] [c. 1906]

["]The lines which are traced within this circle from¹ one part of the circumference² on to another³, 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.

[32a^r] [“]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^r]

[c. 1906]

[“]Consider the space that this circumference incloses. This is eternity, infinity, for, to them that move within, it is¹ 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 ways² (even if only in circles) and move in it without cease. Oh, for the explanation thereof.[“]

5 [15A-33^v]

[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 on¹ 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 –² in truth TIME – therefore³ findest it eternal, for the straight line may be broken & twisted into angles & may⁴ move about in this circle for ever. Yet is it all in a limit. Yet is eternity diff[eren]t from time[.] As a circumference⁵ from a right line. Dost⁶ thou understand me?[“]

II. LISTS OF BOOKS

6 [15³-13^r and 15³-12^r] [c. 1906]

Weber²¹ contains all – except Hindoo, Arab & Jewish Systems.
Science is philosophy in power; ph[ilosophy] is sc[ience] in act.

—
Sources: Patristic Philosophy: polemical writings of the Fathers of the Church; especially “Lógos protreptikòs pròs “Ellēnas”, “Pedagogue” & “Stromates” of Clement of Alexandria, “Principles” & “Anti-Celsus” of Origen, “Apologeticus” of Tertullian, the “Institutiones Divinae” of Lactantius¹, “The City of God” & “Confessions”, of St. Augustin.

—
Scholastic: Scot Erigen: “De Divisione² Naturae”, “Monologium”, “Proslogium” of St. Anselm. Abelard: [12^r] “Theology”, “Ethics”, “Dialectics”. P[eter] Lombard: “Sentences”. Averroës “Commentary”. St. Thomas: “Summa³ Th[eologiae]”. “Quaestiones” of Duns Scot & Occam. Roger Bacon “Opus Major”. Works of Raymond Lully. Historic Works of Ritter, Cousin, Haureau.

Renascence. □

7 [93-95] [c. 1906]

*Dionysius*¹: “De Divinis Nominibus.”
“Theologia Mystica.”

Justinus: “Exhortatio ad Graecos.”

Athenagoras: “Legatio pro Christianis.”

Irenaeus: “Adversus Haereses.”

Tertullianus: “Apologetica.”

Clementis Alex[andrini]: “Stromates.”

Origen: “Periarchon.”

*St Augustinus*²: “Confessiones.”
“De civitate Dei³.”

²¹ The lists of authors and titles presented by Pessoa in 15³-13^r and 15³-12^r had been copied by the young Pessoa from an edition of Alfred Weber’s *Histoire de la Philosophie Européenne* (1892: 8; 1898: 9-10).

- [95^r] Scot Erigenes: "De naturae divisione."
Al-Gazali: "Destruction of Philosophers."
Henri de Gand: "Quodlibeta"

*Renascence.*⁴

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-3^r] [c. 1906]

Books Wanted.

- Descartes: "Discours sur la Méthode."
"Oeuvres" (Charpentier).

Koran: □

Talmud: □

Bossuet: Oeuvres. (Charpentier).

Fénelon: Ouvres Philos[ophiques] (Charpentier).

Leibnitz: □

Genetic notes²²1 [26A-60^r to 61^v]

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^v there is a text, handwritten with great care (see Annex 1). On the lower part of the page 26A-61^v 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<o>/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<s>/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^v – 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.º 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-61^v – 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 [27¹⁸ A³-10^r]Materials: *a fragment of a leaf of graph paper, taken from a notebook, handwritten in black ink.*3 [15A-32^r and 32a^r]

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-61^v (Annex to text nº1). On the upper part of 15A-32^r, 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-33^r]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\

5 [15A-33^v]

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 Palrador, which dates probably later than 1905. The published text is on the lower half of 33^v.*

Genetic notes

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

6 [15³-13^r and 15³-12^r]

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\ctantius
- 2 [↑ De] Divisionae
- 3 S<o>/u\mma

Annex [15³-12^v – ms.]

Sources

Thales: Aristotle, "Metaphysics." I. 3.

Anaximander: □

Anaximenes: □

—

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

V. Cousin: "Xenophane, Fondateur de l'École de l'Élée." (Nouveaux Frag.^s Phil.^s)

Mullach: "Frag.^{ta} Philosophiae Graecae." I. p. 101 et seq.

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

Water to Thales, Air to An.^{nes} is all at one substratum, motion force <e>/&\ fatum or law of movement.

7 [93-95^r]

Materials: *a fragment of a leaf of graph paper, handwritten in black ink.*

Genetic notes

- 1 <Dion> [↓ *Dionysius*]
- 2 <s>/S\ t *Augustinus*
- 3 <d>/D\ ei
- 4 *Rena<ssa>/sce \nce.*

8 [93A-3^r]

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-3^r 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-3^r – ms.]

Para explicar esta acceitação universal da idéia 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).
- FIGUEIREDO, Antero de (1935). "No Magrebe", in *Bandarra – Semanário da Vida Portuguesa*, 12, ano 1, 1 de Junho de 1935, p. 3 (BNP/E3, 135C-18^o).

II. Fernando Pessoa's Books

- PESSOA, Fernando (2012). *Ibéria – Introdução a um Imperialismo Futuro*. Edição de Jerónimo Pizarro e Pablo Javier Pérez López. Posfácios de Humberto Brito e Antonio Sáez Delgado. Lisboa: Ática [Babel].
- ____ (2011). *Sebastianismo e Quinto Império*. Edição, introdução e notas de Jorge Uribe e Pedro Sepúlveda. Lisboa: Ática [Babel].
- ____ (2009a). *Cadernos*. Edição de Jerónimo Pizarro. Edição Crítica de Fernando Pessoa, Série Maior, vol. XI, Tomo I. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (2009b). *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*. Edição de Jerónimo Pizarro. Edição Crítica de Fernando Pessoa, Série Maior, vol. X. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (2008). *Rubaiyat*. Edição de Maria Aliete Galhoz. Edição Crítica de Fernando Pessoa, Série Maior, vol. I. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (2006). *Poesia 1931-1933*. Edição Maria Parreira da Silva, Ana Maria Freitas, Madalena Dine. Edição original Assírio & Alvim. Lisboa: Planeta DeAgostini.
- ____ (2002). *Obras de António Mora*. Edição de Luís Filipe B. Teixeira. Edição crítica de Fernando Pessoa, Série Maior, vol. VI. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- ____ (1968). *Textos Filosóficos de Fernando Pessoa*. Estabelecidos e prefaciados por António de Pina Coelho. Obras Completas de Fernando Pessoa. 2 Vols. Lisboa: Ática.
- ____ (1966). *Páginas Íntimas e de Auto-Interpretação*. Textos estabelecidos e prefaciados por Georg Rudolf Lind e Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Lisboa: Ática.

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

- ALIGHIERI, Dante (1915). *The Vision of Dante Alighieri or Hell, Purgatory and Paradise*. Translated by Henry Francis Cary. With an introduction and notes by Edmund G. Gardner, 5th ed. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited; New York: E. P. Dutton. "Everyman's library edited by E. Rhys; Poetry and the drama" (CFP 8-139).
- BENN, Alfred William (1912). *History of Modern Philosophy*. London: Watts & Co. (CFP 1-174 MFC).
- CARLYLE, Thomas (1903). *Sartor Resartus; On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History; Past and present*, London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd (CFP, 8-89).
- KHAYYÁM, Omar (1910). *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*. The astronomer poet of Persia rendered into English verse by Edward Fitzgerald. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz. "Collection of British and American Authors, n.º 4231" (CFP, 8-296).
- WEIR, Thomas Hunter (1926). *Omar Khayyám The Poet*. London: John Murray. "The Wisdom of the East Series" (CFP, 8-662 MN).

IV. Other

- BOSCAGLIA, Fabrizio (2013). «Notas sobre a presença arábico-islâmica na *Ibéria* de Fernando Pessoa», in *Nova Águia - Revista de Cultura para o século XXI*, n.º 11, pp. 123-129.
- ____ (2012a). *Considerações sobre a Presença do Elemento Arábico-islâmico no Sensacionismo e no Neopaganismo de Fernando Pessoa*. Vale d'Infante: Al-Barzakh.
- ____ (2012b). "Fernando Pessoa leitor de Theodor Nöldeke. Notas sobre a recepção do elemento arábico-islâmico em Pessoa", in *Pessoa Plural: a Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.º 1, Spring, pp. 163-186
[http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/pessoaplural/Issue1/PDF/I1A04.pdf].
- BOSCAGLIA, Fabrizio, PÉREZ LÓPEZ, Pablo Javier (2013). "Iberismo e 'arabismo' in Fernando Pessoa", in *Eurasia - Rivista di Studi Geopolitici*, n.º XXIX, pp. 243-253.
- FERRARI, Patricio (2012). "Meter and Rhythm in the Poetry of Fernando Pessoa". Ph.D. dissertation presented to the Department of Linguistics, Universidade de Lisboa.
- FORTES, Agostinho José (1904). *O Hellenismo ou Persistencia da cultura hellenica através da civilização*. Dissertação apresentada ao concurso para professor de cadeira de historia antiga, medieval e moderna do Curso Superior de Letras. Lisboa: Typographia Casa Portuguesa Papelaria.
- NASR, Seyyed Hossein (2006). *Islamic Philosophy from its Origin to the Present – Philosophy in the Land of Prophecy*. New York: State University.
- PINA COELHO, António de (1971). *Os Fundamentos Filosóficos da Obra de Fernando Pessoa*. 2 Vols. Lisboa: Verbo.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, DIX, Steffen (2008). "Introduction", in *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 24, n.º 2, pp. 6-12.
- PIZARRO, Jerónimo, FERRARI, Patricio e CARDIELLO, Antonio (2010). *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa – Fernando Pessoa's Private Library*. Lisboa: D. Quixote. "Acervo Casa Fernando Pessoa / House of Fernando Pessoa's Collection", vol. I.
- QUENTAL, Antero de (2008). *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares nos últimos três séculos*. Prefácio de Eduardo Lourenço. Lisboa: Tinta da China.
- ____ (1871). *Causas da Decadencia dos Povos Peninsulares nos ultimos tres seculos*. Discurso pronunciado na noite de 27 de Maio na sala do Casino Lisbonense. Porto: Typographia Commercial. "Conferencias Democraticas".
- VALLET, Pierre (1897). *Histoire de la Philosophie*. Cinquième édition, revue et augmentée. Paris: A. Roger et F. Chernoviz.
- WEBER, Alfred (1898). *History of Philosophy*. Authorized Translation by Frank Thilly. From the fifth French edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- ____ (1892). *Histoire de la Philosophie Européenne*. Cinquième édition revue et augmentée. Paris: Fischbacher.

26A-60

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 night, 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. He had sat thus long, when the need arose for conversation, when a topic of interest seemed to appear with the moment, ~~at~~ synchronous with the need, and involved ~~into~~ in it. I broke the silence in curiosity:

"Al-Cossar," said I to the Arab, "men say thou art roused in the deep ~~the~~ 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 Hagia, whom thou honour most well. Purchase the

Fig. 1. BNP/E3, 26A-60'

thoughts of him can come from thee 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 pines and the odour of the grass and of the flowers.

"Speak to me, as thou wilt, of the ancient thinkers of Arabia; strange must be ~~these~~ ^{their} lore.

I too am not ignorant of the philosophy of ye, Al-Kindi, the philosopher by name, Al-Farabi, Ibn-Badja of Saragosa, Ibn-Sina, who wrote of medicine, Ibn-Thofail, Al-Gazali, who findeth no truth in the words of thinker and of sage and Ibn-Rushd, whom we call Averroes,

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 she, seeing that I, Al-Cosar, said no word, descended to a question direct: "What knowest thou of life?"

"Child, thou askest well in thy intention, but ~~not~~ ^{thou knowest} than well in thy expectation. Beasts communicate with each other, ^{and} speak ^{and} what they wish, understand each other. It is man's alone to have such thoughts as words can fiddle not with their fiddle, ^{even though} ~~which~~ ^{it} ~~has~~ ^{has} the imprint of the universe.

Fig. 2. BNP/E3, 26A-60v

26A-61

"I could say many things - many truths - that would make thee restless and sad, for untruths have little ^{power} 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} that ever men had, or can have, in 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 ~~you~~ ^{thou} hast not heard before ^{or that thou} hast not read? In the heart of the savage lies the germ of Idealism, of Transcendentalism - names at whose meaning I guess, for I know well what thoughts they conceal.

Fig. 3. BNP/E3, 26A-61'

38

N.º 32 - Aviso da partida de um navio

Alexandria, 13 de Março de 1906

M.º Sr. Bernard

Paris

Am.º 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

"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." "Ay God alone exists, not in the way we mean, not the way we conceive."

Sometimes professors of universities of Europe

for I had 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 known theirs long before?

Fig. 4. BNP/E3, 26A-61v

27¹⁸ A³-10

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.

Fig. 5. BNP/E3, 27¹⁸ A³-10^r

15A - 32

Some running into one another, & continuing in one

The lines which are traced within this circle from one ~~end~~ ^{part of the circumference} to the other, 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 these particularities & diversities of these lines, the particularities & diversities of human lives. This comparison can extend unto infinity; everything in human lives is here in these lines.

"All systems of philosophy lie herein. Observe it well."

Fig. 6. BNP/E3, 15A-32r

15A-32a

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 Bab, "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 that is whatsoever there-within + there-out, are unreal, untrue."

Fig. 7. BNP/E3, 15A-32a'

~~#10~~ 15A-33

 Consider the space that this
 circumference encloses. This
 is eternity, infinity, for, to ^{them}
 that move within it is ~~in-~~
~~finite~~ without bound nor end.
 Yet, as ^{they} see it, 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.

Fig. 8. BNP/E3, 15A-33r

R. A D O R . PREÇO: 60 RS.
 Proprietarios: F. Pessoa e M.N. de Freitas.
 Escriptório da Redacção:
 Rua de S. Bento, 98, 2º Andar, esquerdo.
 Preço, avulso: 60 RS.
 BI-MENSAL.

This number space is about a year earlier
 it. For them might own it is slightly
 less but he & the reason it + more or
 it - slightly + he end to it. Yet the
 space is limited. This actual is by way of
 itself. Meaning it will be because of
 him for a slight bit less + in little TIME.
 They find it - about, for the 1st bit - but by
 to look + think it - after ^{the} person about 20 to
 end for ever. Yet is it all in a little
 yet is strong - all to for the 1st bit -
 enough for a yet - but. Then that - that
 understood me?

Fig. 9.1. BNP/E3, 15A-33v

This inner space is eternal - as men conceive
 it. For them way to cross it - is straight
 line: look here & there - cross it & move on
 it straight & no end to it. Yet this
 space is limited. It is eternal in the way of
 stillness. Meaning it with the measure of
 human life - a straight line here - is built TIME.
 Stillness is eternal, for the straight line is
 to look & trust it as a ^{way} ~~way~~ ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{know} ~~know~~ ^{what} ~~what~~ ^{is} ~~is~~
 made for ever. Yet is it all as a line
 Yet is eternally different for time has no
 circumference for a right line. ~~Does not this~~
 understand me?

Fig. 9.2. BNP/E3, 15A-33v

15³-13

Weber contains all - except Hindu, Arab + Jewish
 Systems.

Science is philosophy in power; ph. is sc. in act.

Sources: Patristic Philosophy: polemical writings
 of the Fathers of the Church; especially "Logos pro-
 treptikos pros 'Ellenas", "Pedagogue" + "Stromates"
 of Clement of Alexandria, "Principles" + "Anti-Celsus"
 of Origen, "Apologétique" of Tertullian, the "Insti-
 tutum Divinae" of Lactantius, "The City
 of God" + "Confessions"; of St. Augustine.

Scholastic: Scotus Eriksen "De Divisione Naturae";
 "Monologium"; "Prologium" of St. Anselm. Abellard.

Fig. 10. BNP/E3, 15³-13^r

"Theology," "Ethics," "Dialectics": ^{15³ 12^r} Lombard:
 "Sentences": Averroes' "Commentary": St.
 Thomas: "Summa Th.": "Dicaestimes" of Duns
 Scot & Occam. Roger Bacon "Opus Majus";
 works of Raymond Lully. Historic works
 of Ritter, Cunniff, Haureau.
Renaissance.

Fig. 11. BNP/E3, 15³-12^r

Thales: ^{since} Aristotle, *Metaphysics*. I. 3.
Anaximander:
Anaximenes:

Xenophanes: Aristotle (?) *De Xenophane, Lemone et sapia*:
 V. Cousin: *Xenophane, Fondateur de l'École d'Élée*. (Nouveaux Frag. Phil.)
 Mullach: *Fragm. Philosophiae graecae*. I. p. 101 et seq.

We find in the phib. the embryo of all fables
 of nature afterwards attempted.

Water to Thales, Air to An^{ax} is all at one
 substratum, nature free of fatum or law
 & movement.

Fig. 12. BNP/E3, 15³-12^v

~~Haym~~
Thomassin : "De Divinis Nominibus".
 "Theologia Mystica".

Iustinus, "Exhortatio ad Graecos".

Athenagoras: "Legatio pro Christianis".

Irenaeus: "Adversus Haereses".

Tertullianus: "Apologetica".

Clementis Alex: "Stromates".

Origen: "Periarchon".

S. Augustinus: "Confessiones".
 "De civitate Dei".

Fig. 13. BNP/E3, 93-95v

Scot-Eriugenes: "De naturae divisione"⁹³⁻⁹⁵

Al-Gazali: "Destruction of Philosophers"

Henri de Gand: "Quodlibeta"

Renascence
Platonic School:
Bruno: "De immenso et innumerabilibus"
"De infinito."
Aristotelian School:
Pomponat: "Opera".
Cesalpino d'Arzozzo: "Quaestiones peripateticae".
Vicini: "Dialogi".
Campanella: "City of the Sun".

Fig. 14. BNP/E3, 93-95r

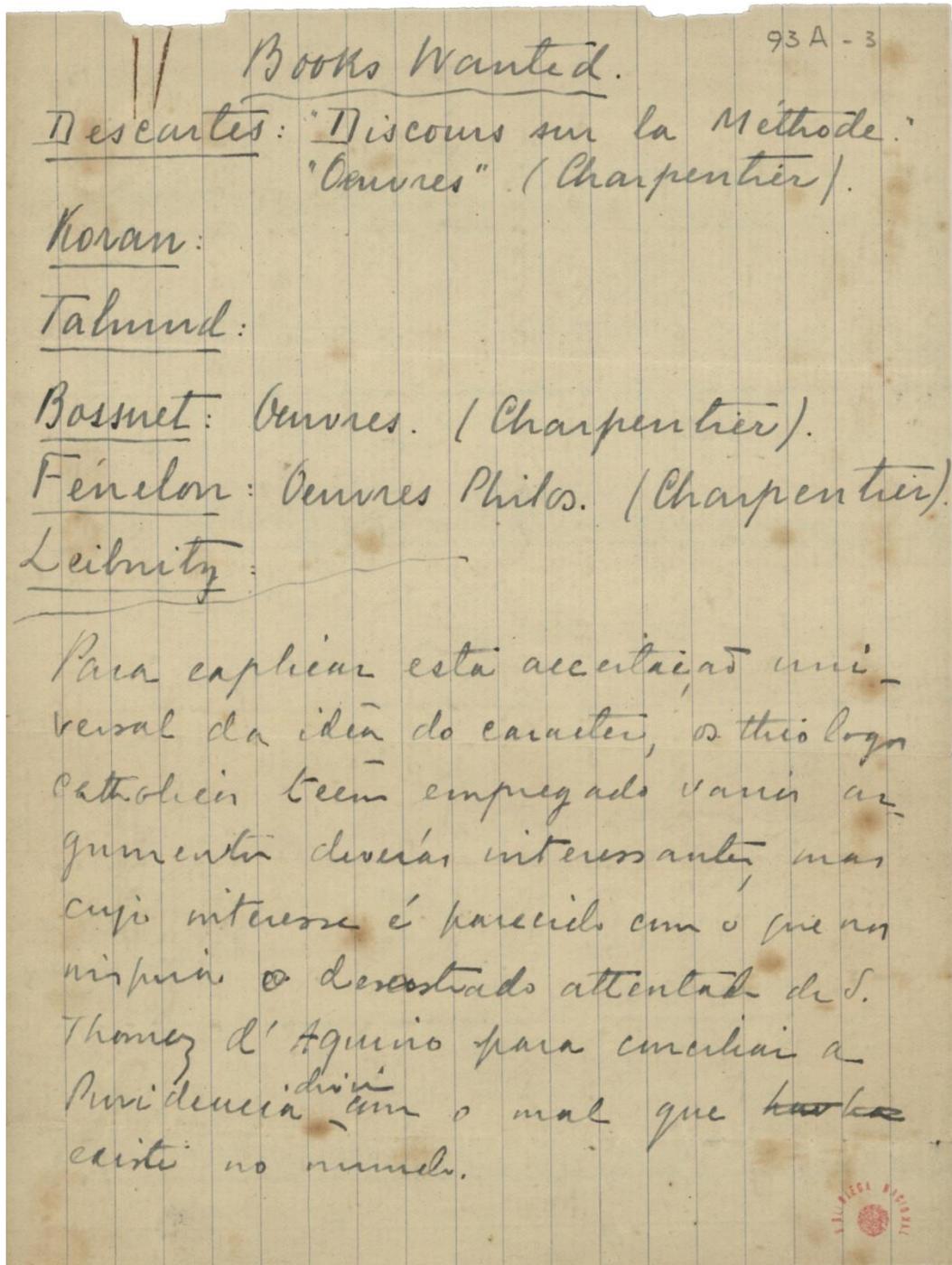


Fig. 15. BNP/E3, 93A-3r



Fig. 17.2. BNP/E3, 135C-8 and 9
 Reporter X – Semanaria das grandes reportagens, 4th of April of 1931, pp. 8 and 9

reporterX

Os "ardinas" ... por dentro e através do mundo Profecias fatídicas de um árabe

(Continuação da pag. 11)

O «ardina» parisiense usa da viveza característica da raça, para aumentar o seu comércio. Por exemplo. Como se sabe, as horas de saída dos jornais coincidem com as das entradas ou saídas do trabalho, do almoço ou do jantar, e por isso mesmo as bichas nos *guichets* do *Metro* são intermináveis. Perdem-se 10, 15, 20 minutos para se comprar bilhete. Os vendedores de gazetas fixos nas estações do *Metro* compram os *tiquets* em grande quantidade e estacionam à entrada das portas. Os apressados podem comprar-lhes os bilhetes, sem aumento de preço, mas a condição latente desse favor é comprar-lhes também um jornal. E dessa forma vendem 10, 20, 30 vezes mais a sua mercadoria...

Tago Zeitung... Tempo... Berlim! Os jornais alemães da manhã saem às 11 horas. É esta, pelo menos, a edição mais procurada. A esta hora estacam às esquinas das principais ruas de todos os bairros da capital alemã grandes *café-ins*, logo cercados pelos vendedores. Mas os alemães são práticos, metódicos, calmos. Não correm. Vestem bem. Alguns usam uniforme. Pegam num exemplar da gazeta que vendem e fazem com ele uma espécie de chapéu, atado com um cordel à cabeça, de forma que, sobre a testa, se leia, bem claro, o cabeçalho. Os vendedores alemães não têm anecdotas! São anti-prussianos! São uns comerciantes como quaisquer outros...

Dos vendedores dos Estados Unidos conheço apenas uma história — a história de Mark Brenette, fundador da *Chicago Tribune* e, quando morreu, proprietário dos 112 maiores diários dos Estados Unidos. Brenette começou como vendedor de jornais. Aos 10 anos entrou como «ardina» da «*Chicago Times*», que começara então e que tinha que lutar contra um adversário poderoso, «*The Star*». «*The Star*» tirava 2 milhões e «*Chicago Times*» não chegava a 100.000. O garoto apaixonou-se pela luta dos 2 diários e acabou por chamar a atenção do seu director. Este fez a avaliação de que na área de Brenette, «*Chicago Times*» multiplicava a diário os compradores enquanto que «*The Star*» os perdia. «É muito simples — explicou Brenette. — Eu ando com um pausinho terminado com um gancho, da minha invenção. Quando chego à porta dos leitores de «*The Star*», retiro, graças ao meu pai, o exemplar que lá deixaram, e ponho a substituir a nossa gazeta. O freguês que é assinante do outro jornal vendo que não o recebe e habituando-se à leitura do nosso acaba por desistir de «*The Star*» e por assinar o nosso». Como prémio do seu *truc* o director empregou-o nos escritórios do diário onde ele trepou até chefe de redacção, lugar que abandonou para fundar «*Chicago Tribune*». Eis uma lição para os nossos «ardinas»: o maior e o mais rico jornalista da América — começou, como eles, a vender jornais...

Os mais curiosos de todos, graças à sua organização, aos seus processos e à vida que levam, são os de Londres. O vendedor de jornais da grande capital não é um garoto, um pelintra: é um comerciante que mantém estreitas relações com as direcções das gazetas. O londrino não assina jornais: tem o seu vendedor. Cada vendedor tem a sua clientela. E as empresas, que sabem disso, entendem-se com ele para todos os detalhes do seu negócio. Por exemplo: raro é o jornal de Londres que não ofereça permanentes vantagens aos seus leitores. A concorrência é grande, e chega-se a uma luta feroz. *Daily Mail* oferece apólices de seguros; o *Daily Mirror* distribui canetas; outro rifa automóveis, outros, ainda, uma viagem ou um palácio. Quem é o intermediário entre os jornais e o leitor? O «ardina». Este é que conhece os fregueses de todos os dias. Se o freguês lhe compra o mesmo jornal 10, 20, 30 dias segui-

dos, conforme o estabelecido — ao final do prazo dá-lhe uma senha com o número para a lotaria — senhas essas que a empresa lhe fornece em quantidade, absolutamente confiada na sua honradez e inteligência comerciais.

Os «ardinas» lisboetas não serão tão elegantes como os alemães nem tão ricos como os ingleses — mas são dos mais trabalhadores e inteligentes de todos. Garotos de 5 e 6 anos que se esforçam e lutam pela vida como homens feitos! O que eles correm por essas ruas, as distâncias que andam numa verígem, as escadas que trepam! E que percentagem de tuberculosos! Mas os que têm arcabouço para essa batalha — resistem, robustecem e triunfam; os outros — ficam pelo caminho e são muitas dezenas todos os anos!

Assistir, aos sábados, à venda do *Reporter X* é um espectáculo curioso e por vezes comovedor. Uma semana surgiu um «ardina» novo. Vendeu os bolsos: tinha o suficiente para 3 exemplares. Pouco depois, reapareceu a pedir-lhes 10, e depois 15, 20... A última vez que entrou na casa da venda — perto das 8 horas da noite — comprou 200, e já levava 300... Outro exemplo curioso é o de um minúsculo «ardina», tão pequeno, que mal se via... Seis anos, se tanto, mas seis anos enfiados. Uma volta de ave que não sabe cantar... Muito tímido... estendeu-nos a moxita com 3 tostões. Era tudo quanto tinha e pedia para que lhe fiassemos o resto... para um exemplar do *Reporter X*... O chefe da venda sorriu-se e em vez de um abriu-lhe crédito... de cinco. «Nunca mais o vêem, profetizou um novato nessas coisas». E errou. E gente honrada, os «ardinas». Quando, entre eles, surge um novato suspeito, vigiam-no e expulsam-no, à menor falcatrua. Honrados, vivos e inteligentes. Quantos ditos de espírito! Há anos, estávamos, o diplomata ilustre que é Veiga Simões, o grande caricaturista Jorge Barradas e eu, abançados a uma mesa do terraço do «Martinho», quando o «Martinho» tinha terraço. Veiga Simões mostrava-nos uma série de «fotos» de uma *Kodak* de amador; e por detrás de nós, um «ardina», de mãos nos bolsos, sobraçando jornais, apregoando-os, seguira com curiosidade a nossa conversa e ia vendo as «fotos» que passavam pelas nossas mãos, e súbito, entre vários retratos surgiu o do próprio Veiga Simões, enroupado com a farda diplomática, debruada a oiro, o espadim, e o chapéu tracejado de arminho... O «ardina» arregala os olhos negros, compara, pasmado, a «foto» do retratado, e afastando-se, crispa o rosto e exclama, sinceramente enojado:

— *Al que o garfo é ministro!*
Outro detalhe magnífico da intuição agudíssima dos «ardinas» é o da própria compra dos jornais. Alguns nem lêr sabem. Chegam à casa da venda. Pedem um exemplar, dos primeiros que saem da máquina, abrem-no (muitas vezes de cabeçalho para baixo...) e envolvendo-o num só olhar, ordenam, sem hesitação: «Hoje quero cem exemplares mais...» ou então: «Hoje abata-me quarenta exemplares». E é infalível: Se eles abatem — é porque o jornal tem menos interesse e vende-se menos; se eles aumentam... é porque vem «notícia» sensacional e vai haver boa venda... Como o adivinham? Como o sentem — se nem sequer sabem ler — aqueles que não o sabem? Mistério — ou antes: espírito...

Os «ardinas» lisboetas possuem já a sua associação de classe, que é das mais inteligentemente dirigidas e das mais respeitadas no meio operário. O «Reporter X», dedicando-lhes hoje este artigo, presta-lhes não só uma homenagem justa como lhes agradece o muito que ao seu entusiasmo e ao seu esforço deve o nosso triunfo invulgar.

R. X.

MARIO DOMINGUES

(Continuação da pag. 9)

soa — vêm a recair em 1990, ou seja precisamente na altura do futuro terramoto de Lisboa. É natural, portanto, que a erupção de um vulcão em Sintra seja produto da mesma revolução cósmica que dará origem ao terramoto.

— Mas outras previsões, embora de menor vulto, fez Abd-el-Ram sobre Portugal — prosseguiu o estrangeiro. — Algumas delas são bem curiosas. Uma prevê para dentro de quarenta anos a derrocada do túnel do Rossio, outra a queda da estátua de D. Pedro IV, outra ainda, o afundamento, antes do próximo terramoto, de uma rua da Baixa que assenta sobre a velha cidade romana; outra prevê, para época não muito distante, uma furiosa invasão do Atlântico por alturas da Povoia do Varzim, e ainda outra, que me lembre, é a queda do elevador de Santa Justa.

AS GRANDES ALTERAÇÕES CÓSMICAS NO GLOBO TERRESTRE

— Agora — disse o alemão — para ficarem com uma melhor noção da enorme ciência de previsão desse árabe estuando, vou evocar alguns dos grandes cataclismos mundiais que ele prevê para uma época mais longínqua que se perde para lá do horizonte nublado de todas as profecias: «Um novo dilúvio de fogo, e não de água, cobrirá a terra de lés a lés. O Mediterrâneo transformar-se-á num lago fechado rodeado de terra por todos os lados. As ilhas do Atlântico que laideiam parte da Europa e da África submergirão como por encanto; a velha Albion irá repousar no fundo das águas; toda a parte leste do continente africano desaparecerá, formando-se um novo continente com uma larga faixa de terra constituída pelo norte de África ligado ao sul de Portugal, continente que se prolongará através do Oceano Atlântico, ao centro do qual ressuscitará uma grande parte da Atlântida. No Oriente, as ilhas do Japão serão devoradas pelas águas, o Mar Vermelho deixará de existir e, em seu lugar, aparecerá um grande deserto que ligará a Arábia e a Índia à costa Oriental da África.

Tive nessa noite um dos pesadelos mais alitivos da minha vida. Sonhei que sob a minha casa um vulcão estalara, arremessando-me a alturas incomensuráveis de onde tornei a cair para acordar e mal-dizer as profecias de Abd-el-Ram, inspirador de Abd-el-Krim e amigo de Ernest Hermann que Fernando Pessoa me apresentara nessa tarde melancólica de inverno.

Fig. 18. BNP/E3, 135C-14

Reporter X – Semanário das grandes reportagens, 4th of April of 1931, p. 14

4 THE PHILOSOPHICAL RENAISSANCE

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

18

The Vision

[Canto V

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 tost 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

ture A.D.), the chief founder of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy which held sway until the advent of Copernicus in the sixteenth century. Hippocrates (d. circa 377 B.C.) and Galen (d. 200 A.D.) are the two most famous physicians of antiquity. Avicenna (d. 1037) and Averroës (d. circa 1200) were Arabian physicians and commentators on Aristotle; it was through a Latin translation of the work of Averroës, who was known as the Commentator by excellence, that the philosophy of Aristotle first gained its supremacy in the Middle Ages.

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

Fig. 20. CFP 8-139

Alighieri, *The Vision of Dante Alighieri or Hell, Purgatory and Paradise* (1915), p. 18