

Fernando Pessoa and Islam: an introductory overview with a critical edition of twelve documents

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Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Islam, al-Andalus, 'Umar Ḥayyām (Omar Khayyām), *Rubaiyat*, Islamic Philosophy, al-Mu'tamid, Orientalism, Sufism, the Literary Estate and Private Library of Fernando Pessoa.

Abstract

This paper introduces the presence of Islam and Islamic culture in the work of Fernando Pessoa. It consists of a chronological and textual overview of these themes in the author's writing and intellectual course. Focusing primarily on Pessoa's literary estate and private library, this paper points out and presents Pessoa's interests in Islam, Islamic Philosophy, Arabic literature, Omar Khayyām and al-Andalus. A hermeneutical, cultural and bio-bibliographical framework is proposed and further research possibilities are suggested. The paper is followed by a publication of twelve texts from the author's literary estate concerning these themes.

Palavras chaves

Fernando Pessoa, Islão, al-Andalus, 'Umar Ḥayyām (Omar Khayyām), *Rubaiyat*, Filosofia islâmica, al-Mu'tamid, Orientalismo, Sufismo, Espólio e Biblioteca particular de Fernando Pessoa.

Resumo

São aqui introduzidos os temas do Islão e da cultura islâmica em Fernando Pessoa, através de uma síntese panorâmica, subdividida pelas fases cronológicas e textuais em que estes tópicos emergem na escrita e no percurso intelectual do autor. Ao dar-se atenção ao diálogo entre espólio e biblioteca particular de Pessoa, pretende-se sobretudo destacar e apresentar o interesse do escritor e pensador português por Islão, filosofia islâmica, literatura árabe, Omar Khayyām e al-Andalus. Um enquadramento hermenêutico, histórico-cultural e biobibliográfico é proposto, juntamente com outras possíveis pistas de investigação. São publicados, em anexo, doze textos do espólio do autor sobre estes temas.

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"God is great and all things are in His hand;
Both our good and our evil are His good;
Our life we cannot will nor understand,
But He knows all and all is as He would."

Fernando Pessoa¹

I. Islam in Pessoa studies

The first section of this paper focuses on earlier works by other authors explicitly and primarily concerned with the study of some aspects of Islam and Islamic culture in the work of Fernando Pessoa.² This section also mentions authors that addressed certain aspects of Islamic culture in Pessoa's work as a secondary focus of their research.³

It might be said that the first text to point out and explicitly address Pessoa's interest in the Islamic world was published during his lifetime. This text is a feature article called "Profecias fatídicas de um árabe" [*Fatidic Prophecies of an Arab*]⁴ by the Portuguese writer Mário Domingues, published in Portugal, in the *Reporter X* newspaper on May 4th 1931. In this paper I will introduce and fully transcribe Domingues' article from a copy of the newspaper that Pessoa himself kept. It is important to note that Pessoa published four texts (two under his own name) in which his interest in the Islamic world and culture is visible: a sonnet about the Muslim King Boabdil (1460-1527) in the *Centauro* magazine in 1916; three quatrains under the title "Rubaiyat" in the *Contemporanea* magazine in 1926; and two articles about the Arab-Andalusian poet al-Mu'tamid (1040-1095), in the newspaper *O "Noticias" Illustrado* in 1928, which were signed with the initials A. F. G. of Pessoa's friend Augusto Ferreira Gomes. Apart from these four texts, to which I will return later in this paper, almost all of Pessoa's writings about Islam and Islamic culture were left unpublished at the time of his death in 1935. Some of these texts have been published during the past decades and can now be found among the several editions of Pessoa's works.

In 1968, António de Pina Coelho mentioned Arab philosophers as authors read by Pessoa during his life (Pina Coelho, in *PESSOA*, 1968: xv). In 1986, José Augusto Seabra presented a conference paper in Arzila, Morocco, which was published ten years later under the title "Fernando Pessoa, Al-Mutamid et le

¹ National Library of Portugal, Estate 3 (BNP/E3), 49A3-6r (cf. *PESSOA*, 2006c: 16). From now on, in this paper, the name of this Estate and the abbreviation BNP/E3 are omitted.

² The research for this paper was supported by research scholarships from the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia [*Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology*] (a Doctoral scholarship) and from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (a scholarship for Foreign Researchers).

³ Having said that, I cannot exclude the possibility that other scattered references might exist.

⁴ English translations in this paper were made by the author of the paper, except when mentioned otherwise.

sébastianisme” [Fernando Pessoa, *al-Mu’tamid and Sebastianism*] (SEABRA, 1996). In that paper, the author discusses, in the context of Pessoa studies, the preliminary version (125-41^r) of one of the aforementioned 1928 articles (“As Causas Longinquas da Homenagem a Al-Motamide” [*The distant causes of the homage to al-Mu’tamid*]; G[omes], 1928a). This version had in the meantime been published by Joel Serrão in *Sobre Portugal* (PESSOA, 1978: 139), which is an anthology of Pessoa’s writings. This preliminary version, published in 1978, was also commented on by Adalberto Alves⁵ in a short review called “Pessoa e os Árabes” [*Pessoa and the Arabs*], which was published in Portugal in *Phala* magazine in 1996. In several of his own works on “Arabic” culture and its influence in Portugal, Adalberto Alves has been quoting and highlighting since 1987, passages from Pessoa’s work that give evidence of Pessoa’s interest in that culture (cf. ALVES, 1987, 2009). One year after the essays by Seabra and Alves were published, Leyla Perrone-Moisés (1997) quoted and commented in an essay two short passages by Pessoa regarding “Arabic” culture. An essay by Elsa R. dos Santos (2005) also mentions Pessoa’s interest in “Arabic” culture.

In 1998, the Brazilian researcher Márcia Manir Miguel Feitosa published a study of comparative literature on Fernando Pessoa and Omar Khayyām,⁶ the only in-depth study on this subject to this date. Focusing on Pessoa’s major interest in the Persian intellectual, Maria Aliete Galhoz published and presented Pessoa’s *Rubaiyat* in several editions of the author’s poetic work (cf. PESSOA, 2008). Other researchers have been studying or commenting on this theme, particularly Alexandrino Severino (1979), Maria Helena Nery Garcez (1990), Marcus Vinícius de Freitas (1997), Arnaldo Saraiva (1996), Patrick Quillier (*in* PESSOA, 2001) and Jerónimo Pizarro (2003 and 2012).

Within the larger context of Portuguese Thought, thinkers such as Agostinho da Silva (1958), Dalila P. da Costa (1987) and Pedro Sinde (2004) have considered Islamic themes as elements for hermeneutics and comparative studies in their works on Pessoa.

II. First references to Islam in Pessoa’s work (1903-1905)

Pessoa’s interest in Islam and Islamic civilization possibly began between 1903 and 1904. At that time he attended the Durban High School in Durban, South Africa, where he lived from 1896 to 1905 in an Anglophone and British Colonial environment. In 1903, Pessoa was awarded the Queen Memorial Prize by the dean of that school, Willfrid H. Nicholas. That prize included Harry Johnston’s work *The*

⁵ I here acknowledge the help of Adalberto Alves, who gave me bibliographical information of some of his publications of which I did not have prior knowledge.

⁶ ‘Umar Ḥayyām (1048-1131). In the paper, a simplified transliteration of this name is used (Omar Khayyām), since it is more familiar to the Anglophone reader.

Nile Quest (1903; CFP,⁷ 9-38), which contained descriptions and images of the Islamic world. At that time, Pessoa intended to purchase a copy of “The Arabian Nights” (the 1865 edition “illustr[at]ed by Dalziel”). He also mentioned, in a list of writing projects, three short narratives of his authorship in English language under the general category of “Arabian tale.” They were entitled “Conscience,” “The Enemies” e “The Arab’s Bounty” (PESSOA, 2009a: 125, 112). These narratives were not found among Pessoa’s literary estate.

In 1904, Pessoa included the imaginary of the Arab world (“Arabian plan”) and the Crusades (“the invading Moor;” “the hated Moor”) in the English poetry of the fictitious author Alexander Search (PESSOA, 1997: 149-151). In these verses, there is a textual element connected to Pessoa’s Sebastianist⁸ *corpus* (“young Sebastian”) and it might be possible to find an echo of the terminology of the Crusades used by Luís de Camões (“malvado Mouro” [*evil Moor*]) in *Os Lusíadas* (CAMÕES, 2000 [1572]: II, 7, 6).

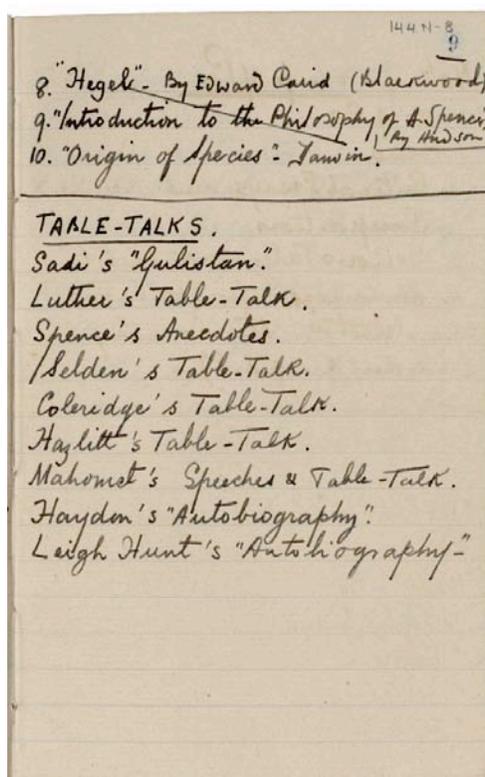


Fig. 1. BNP/E3, 144N-8^r

⁷ Casa Fernando Pessoa (CFP) [Fernando Pessoa House], Fernando Pessoa’s Private Library.

⁸ The term Sebastianism is commonly used in the Portuguese culture to express the conviction or hope that the solution for the country’s political, social, cultural and spiritual problems, that followed the disappearing of the King D. Sebastian in the battle of Ksar el-Kebir (Morocco, 1578), will come with the (real or metaphoric) return of this King to the country. In his return, this King would free the country from the oppression of foreign countries and / or reinstate its ancient prosperity.

Between 1904 and 1905, right before and after his return to Lisbon, Pessoa read and annotated the essays “The hero as a prophet. Mahomet: Islam” by Thomas Carlyle (1903: 39-71; CFP, 8-89) and “Persian poetry” by Ralph Waldo Emerson (1902: 480-487; CFP, 8-172). Pessoa also expressed the will to buy copies of “Mahomet’s Speeches & Table-Talk” as well as of some works by medieval Persian poets, such as Khayyām (cf. FERRARI, 2010) and Sa‘dī (“Gulistan”) (144N-8r; PESSOA, 2009a: 214) (Fig. 1). It is important to point out that during the following decades, Pessoa translated some scattered *ahādīṭ* [accounts] attributed to the Prophet of Islam, and that he also expressed a great interest in Persian poetry, particularly in Khayyām, as I will argue later in this paper.

According to Hubert Dudley Jennings⁹ (1984: 30), Durban and its harbour represented an uncommonly vibrant and cosmopolitan context in which Pessoa showed a great interest. It is therefore reasonable to think that Pessoa was aware of the presence of Durban’s Muslim inhabitants, also because the Durban High School was located very near to the Grey Street Mosque (built in the 1880s).

Regarding Pessoa’s Durban period, it is worth noticing that his nine years in South Africa were interrupted by a period of vacations in Portugal between 1901 and 1902. At that time, Pessoa travelled by steamboat to Lisbon on a trip that included short stops at Lourenço Marques, Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Porto Said and Naples. It seems that the memories of this journey and of the several stops at the harbours of cities inhabited by Muslims and in the Suez Canal, appear in some 1910s poems such as “A Passagem das Horas” [*The Passing of the Hours*] and “Opiario” [*Opiary*], the latter written “No canal de Sués, a bordo” [*Aboard ship in the Suez Canal*] by the heteronym Álvaro de Campos (PESSOA, 2014: 143; 1915: 76). During this journey to Portugal, Pessoa visited Tavira, which is Álvaro de Campos’ birthplace, and where Pessoa spent some time with his family from his father’s side.¹⁰ Tavira is in the Algarve (from the Arab *al-ġarb* [*the west*]), a region which the fictitious author António Mora described in 1916 as “a parte mais arabe do paiz” [*the most Arab part of the country*] (PESSOA, 2009b: 223), for which he meant the

⁹ On H. D. Jennings in the context of Pessoa studies, see the *special issue of Pessoa Plural*, n. ^o 8 (2015), guest edited by Carlos Pittella-Leite.

¹⁰ Looking at Pessoa’s family environment, Calvacanti Filho imagines that the influence of Arabic popular culture on the oral Portuguese tradition was noticeable in the leisure time that Pessoa spent with his relatives in their house in Durban. According to the Brazilian biographer, among the “músicas de sua preferência” [*his favourite music*] there were, “xácaras de origem árabe” [*popular songs of Arabic origin*] (CAVALCANTI FILHO, 2012: 57). It can also be noticed that, before the journey from Lisbon to South Africa, Pessoa used to visit the impressive neo-Arabic building which, since 1892, has characterized the Campo Pequeno bullring (cf. NOGUEIRA, 2005: 35) with his great-uncle Manuel Gualdino da Cunha. According to Richard Zenith (in QUEIRÓS, 2013), Manuel Gualdino da Cunha had a major role in the formation of young Pessoa’s cultural sensitivity. There are references to the neo-Arabic architecture in Lisbon (19th Century) in Pessoa’s literary estate (136-28r; cf. PESSOA, 2012b: 63; and 135C-69a; Fig. 9).

ethnic, psychic-collective and cultural heritage of al-Andalus in Portuguese mentality and culture.

Some of the elements of the adult work of Pessoa on Islam, and which I will now explore in more detail – such as the presence of European Orientalism, the literary imaginary of the Crusades and the heritage of the (Ġarb) al-Andalus in Portugal – were, therefore, directly or indirectly present in the author's biobibliographic course during his childhood and adolescence, which was lived between two continents.

III. Pessoa and Islamic philosophy (1906)

In 1906, some months after returning to Lisbon, Pessoa composed a poem in English called "Mahomet's Coffin" (PESSOA, 2009a: 263)¹¹ which has not yet been found in his literary estate, and he also read Percy Bysshe Shelley's poem "The Revolt of Islam" (PESSOA, 2009a: 219; cf. SHELLEY, 1904; CFP, 8-513: 34-164). In the same year, when he was a student at the Faculty of Letters at the University of Lisbon [*Curso Superior de Letras*], and due to his great interest in religion and philosophy, Pessoa planned to buy a copy of the Koran, as well as works by two medieval Islamic thinkers: Ibn Rušd (Averroes) and al-Ġazzālī (cf. BOSCAGLIA, 2015a: 370-371). However, these three volumes are not to be found in the collection of Pessoa's private library.

In the same period Pessoa wrote excerpts of a philosophical narrative story in English, concerning Islamic philosophy. This story narrates the dialogue between a young man eager to learn and an old Arab man called "Al-Cossar,"¹² to whom the young man asks several philosophical questions (26A-60^r to 61^v; 27¹⁸ A³-10^r; 15A-32^r and 32^a; 15A-33; published in BOSCAGLIA, 2013).

Al-Cossar is introduced as a "poet and thinker" (26A-60^r). Accordingly, it is relevant to note that some of the medieval Islamic philosophers mentioned by Pessoa in this narrative story (26A-60^v; Fig. 3), such as Ibn Ṭufayl, Ibn Bāġġah and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), were also poets/writers. They can be considered to represent part of a tradition of Islamic philosopher-poets, particularly the Iberian-Andalusian tradition. I highlight this element because Pessoa considered himself to be a "poeta e pensador" [*poet and thinker*] (PESSOA, 2004: 184), like Antero de

¹¹ Around 1906, the name "Mahomet" appears in other documents in Pessoa's literary estate (BOSCAGLIA, 2015a: 80, 346-347).

¹² The name Al-Cossar was perhaps invented by Pessoa based in a word of Arab origin whose importance in Portuguese history was already present in the mind of the young Fernando. "Al-Cossar" points to the first part of the place name of Ksar el-Kebir (in Arabic *al-qaṣr al-kabīr*, [*the big castle*]), the name of the Moroccan city where King Sebastian I died/disappeared in 1578 during the "Battle of the Three Kings." The Arabic word *al-qaṣr* [*the palace, the castle*] has a similar consonant structure (and, therefore, pronunciation) with the name of the character of Pessoa's story.

Quental, whom Pessoa considered another “poeta-pensador” (15⁴-49^r; cf. PESSOA, 1993a: 239) and his “precursor” (PESSOA, 1912b: 139). Quental was in fact an admirer of Averroes and Ibn Ṭufayl (QUENTAL, 1871: 10). The dialogue between poetry and philosophy is fundamental in Pessoa’s work, particularly in the beginning of his public activity as writer: “É portanto a philosophia do poeta, e não a do philosopho, que representa a alma da raça a que elle pertence.” [It is therefore, the philosophy of the poet and not of the philosopher that represents the soul of the race to which he belongs.] (PESSOA, 1912a: 190).

A second and important aspect to notice in this story is the fact that the young main character asks Al-Cossar to explain Aristotle’s philosophical thought: “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.” (26A-60^r). The role of Islamic philosophy and civilization in the transmission of Greek philosophy (cf. BURNETT, 2005) and culture in medieval Christian Europe also attracted Pessoa’s attention. Pessoa recognized this role in several moments of his life and work, as shown by documents from his literary estate, as well as from his private library. One example of this interest is an English translation of Dante Alighieri’s *Divina Commedia* (IV, 144), in which Pessoa left a pencil mark by the side of a note in the text. This note was written by Edmund G. Gardner, the editor, and concerned the role of Islamic philosophers in the transmission and interpretation of Aristotle’s work (Fig. 2):

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.

(ALIGHIERI, 1915: 18; CFP, 8-139)

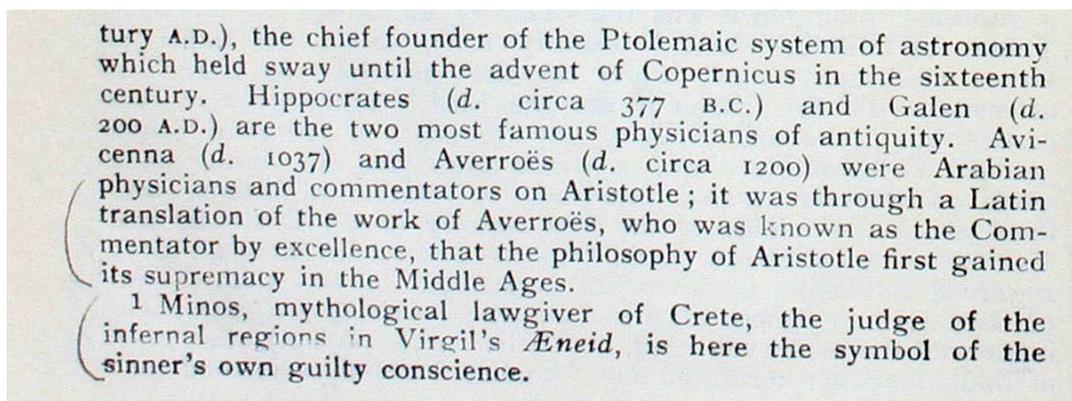


Fig. 2. D. Alighieri, *The Vision of Dante Alighieri or Hell, Purgatory and Paradise* (1915), p. 18 (CFP, 8-139) (detail)

In Pessoa’s work there are several references to the theme of Islamic civilization as keeper, interpreter and transmitter of Greek culture between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Here are two examples: “O primeiro estímulo

resurrecional foi o dos Arabes. Por elles primeiro accordou a barbarie medieval para a existencia profundamente verdadeira da cultura grega, que a havia de despertar da modorra do baixo-christismo que a caracterisava.” [*The first impulse for resurrection came from the Arabs. It was through them that the barbarian medieval first became aware of the true existence of the Greek culture, which would then awaken them from the numbness of the low-Christianity that characterized it.*]; in another text, concerning the scientific aspects of Cultural History, Pessoa mentions “o espirito scientifico grego, que foi missão dos arabes transmitir á Europa” [*the Greek scientific spirit, which was the Arabs’ mission to transmit to Europe*] (PESSOA, 2009b: 197, 227). This cultural and historical element becomes even more relevant in Pessoa’s thought from 1916, when the fictitious author António Mora (a Neopagan philosopher) addresses the Arabic and Islamic heritage – which the author calls “arabismo” [*arabism*], “espirito arabe” [*Arab spirit*] or “elemento arabe” [*Arab element*] (PESSOA, 2009b: 222-227) – of Portuguese Neopaganism. This aesthetic and philosophical neopaganist movement, which Pessoa intended to launch in that period, “Regeitou do arabismo tudo salvo a tradição antiga, que elle incluia. [...] Reservou, do arabismo, só o objectivismo, e com esse [...] formou novamente a alma hellenica na terra.” [*Has rejected everything from the Arabism except the ancient tradition, which it included. [...] It has kept, from Arabism, only the objectivism and with it [...] created anew the Hellenic soul in the world.*] (PESSOA, 2009b: 223).

Returning to Pessoa’s narrative story about Islamic philosophy, we find that it mentions the name of seven Islamic philosophers, whose doctrines the young man of the story wishes to learn through the words of the wise Al-Cossar (Fig. 3):

Al-Kindi, the philosopher by name, Al-Farabi, Ibn-Bâdja of Saragoza, 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.

(26A-60^v)

"Speak to me, an thou wilt, of the ancient thinkers of Arabia; strange must be ~~their~~ ^{the} lore.
I too am not ignorant of the philosophy of ye, Al-Kindi, the philosopher by name, Al-Farabi, Ibn-Bâdja of Saragoza, Ibn-Sina, who wrote of medicine, Ibn-Thofail, Al-Gazali, who findeth no truth in the words of thinker and of sage and Ibn-Roshd, whom we call Averroës,

Fig. 3. BNP/E3, 26A-60^v (detail)

These Islamic thinkers (some from Arabia, others from Persia and Iberia) had been addressed by the French author Pierre Vallet in his *Histoire de la Philosophie* (1897: 170-178), a work that Pessoa (PESSOA, 2009a: 261) brought with himself from Durban to Lisbon in 1905 (FERRARI, 2012: 270). Because these names can be found in the readings and writings of Pessoa, the statement made by António de Pina Coelho that Pessoa “estuda [...] os filósofos árabes” [*studies the Arab philosophers*] (Pina Coelho in PESSOA, 1968: xv) is therefore supported.¹³

I have addressed the theological, metaphysical and ontological significance and implications of this story in an earlier philosophical study (BOSCAGLIA, 2015a: 108-119). One of those implications is about the *ontology of dream*, a fundamental aspect of Pessoa’s thought, which is approached in this story in an interesting attempt to offer an interpretation of the Islamic doctrine of the Unity and Oneness of God [*tawhīd*]: “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 [...].’ [‘]Ay God alone exists, not in the way men mean, not the God men conceive. [‘]” (26A-61^v).

This philosophical narrative reveals the early connection between fundamental themes in Pessoa’s thought (such as the synthesis between philosophy and poetry, the ontology of dream) and elements of Islamic civilization. I will return to this connection later in this paper.

To conclude this section, it is also important to notice that Pessoa used the “designação cómoda e generica” [*generic and comfortable designation*] (cf. SERRÃO, 1984-2000: 166) of *Arabs* to designate Muslims. By doing this, Pessoa was following a common tendency in Portuguese culture. Pessoa used this term, although he knew that, for example, the philosophers he designated as “of Arabia” were not all Arabs, since some of them were Persian and others Iberian (“Ibn-Bâdja of Saragoza”). In order to progress with the present paper, it is important to register the use of this terminology by Pessoa, which through the decades became coherently systematic in his works; and to assume this terminological and conceptual clarification as a methodological and hermeneutical aspect of this study.

IV. Islamic figures and themes in Pessoa’s orthonymic and English poetry (1910-1916)

Around 1908, Pessoa briefly mentioned again the Prophet Muḥammad in his writings on genius and mysticism. These texts directly and indirectly show the author’s readings of the British psychiatrist Henry Maudsley’s work (PESSOA,

¹³ In 1971 (vol. 2: 142), Pina Coelho published a list of books that mentioned Averroes, that Pessoa had copied from a philosophy manual by Alfred Weber (1898: 8). Three years before this publication, Pina Coelho had made the aforementioned statement.

2006a: 295; MAUDSLEY, 1874: 230) as well as of the French scholar Nicolas Perron, author of *Femmes arabes avant et depuis l'islamisme*, of which Pessoa had a copy in his private library (cf. 133L-43^r; BOSCAGLIA, 2015a: 349; PERRON, 1858: 316; CFP, 3-56). It is possible that Pessoa has written the poem "A Nova Huri" [*The New Huri*] (36-2^v; cf. PESSOA, 2006b: 72-73) from reading Perron's work. In this poem from 1910 the poet reinterprets the Islamic theme of the beautiful women of paradise (cf. *Koran*, XXXVII: 48) (*hūr*, *hūrī* in Persian [*women with dark eyes*]) (see Document 1; Fig. 12).

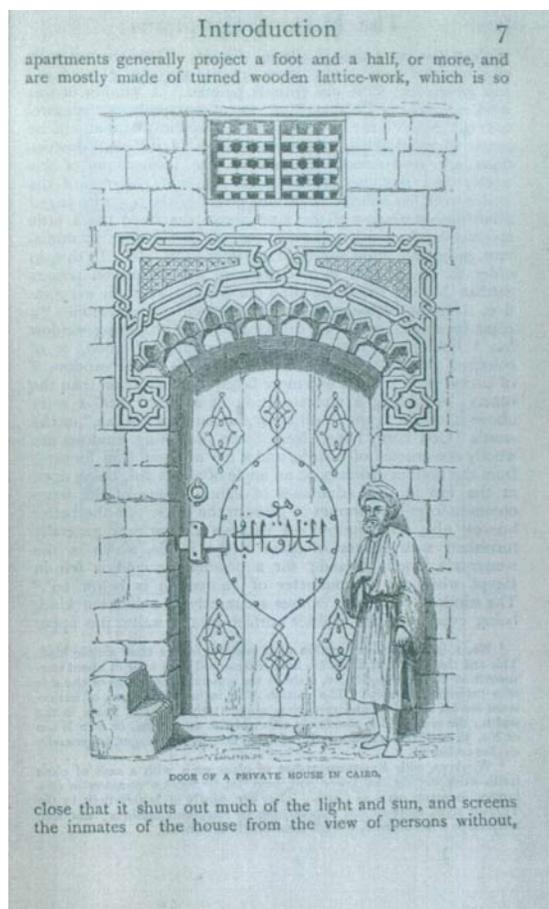


Fig. 4. E. W. Lane, *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* [1908], p.7 (CFP, 3-37)

Between 1912 and 1916, the Arabic imaginary and Islam are represented in several of Pessoa's verses, notes and literary projects (see Documents 3-6; Figs. 14-17). Among these are the orthonymic poems entitled "Suite arabe," "O Deserto," "Dança arabe" [*Arab Suite; The Desert; Arab Dance*], of which only fragments were found (some of these fragments are here published); two poems dedicated to Scheherazade (57A-19a, 58-21^r; cf. PESSOA, 2006e: 77-78; 105), the legendary queen-storyteller of *A Thousand and One Nights*; one poem by Ricardo Reis called "Os jogadores de xadrez" [*The Chess Players*] (51-25; cf. PESSOA, 2006f: 59-62); and a poem which begins as follows: "O meu modo de ser consciente" [*My way of being*]

conscious] (42-8^r; cf. PESSOA, 2006b: 273), in which the Orientalist imaginary of silks and turbans might have been developed from a reading of Edward William Lane's *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* ([1908]; CFP, 3-37). Lane's book is a paradigmatic work of European Orientalism (SAID, 1978: 8), and was read by Pessoa from July 1911 on¹⁴ in an edition enriched by exquisite drawings, with several of them portraying men with turbans (Fig. 4).

"The Arab Sage"¹⁵ (49A3-6^r; cf. PESSOA, 2006c: 16), an English sonnet written in June 10, 1912, must also be mentioned here. In this sonnet, Pessoa represents some of the fundamental aspects of Islamic faith and thought, among them the surrender and submission to God [*islām*], the quiet acceptance of the Divine decree and predestination [*al-qaḍā' wa al-qadar*] and the doctrine of the Unity and Oneness of God [*tawḥīd*] (see Document 2; Fig. 13).

V. A thousand and one *Desassossegos* (1914-1931)

There are other references to the Islamic imaginary in 1914. Some concern the popular imagination and folklore, within the scope of a possible English anthology of Portuguese sayings, such as "Nunca de bom mouro bom cristão. A good Moor never makes a good Christian" (PESSOA, 2010b: 38). Other references present a certain Orientalist and decadent imaginary, namely in the first period of the *Livro do Desassossego* (c. 1913-1920), "Não ter sido Madame de harem! que pena tenho de mim por me não ter acontecido isso!" [*If only I had been the Madame of a harem! What a pity this didn't happen to me!*]¹⁶ (PESSOA, 2013b: 127). Later, around 1918, there is another reference to this type of Orientalism in the *Livro* via a quote by Flaubert (1971 [1856]: 296):

As miserias de um homem que sente o tédio da vida do terraço da sua villa rica são uma cousa; são outra cousa as miserias de quem, como eu, tem que contemplar a paisagem do meu quarto num 4º andar da Baixa, e sem poder esquecer que é ajudante de guarda-livros. "Tout notaire a rêvé des sultanes"...

[*The anguish of a man afflicted by life's tedium on the terrace of his opulent villa is one thing; quite another thing is the anguish of someone like me, who must contemplate the scenery from my fourth-floor rented room in downtown Lisbon, unable to forget that I'm an assistant bookkeeper. "Tout notaire a rêvé des sultanes"...*]¹⁷

(PESSOA, 2013b: 199)

¹⁴ On the second unnumbered page of this volume the following handwritten signature and at can be found: "Fernando Pessôa."; "VII-1911."

¹⁵ Pessoa wanted to send this sonnet to some English critics in 1913 (cf. Dionísio in PESSOA, 1993b: 12).

¹⁶ Richard Zenith's translation (PESSOA, 2002b: § 343).

¹⁷ Zenith's translation (PESSOA, 2002b: Appendix 3).

The connection between eighteenth century French culture and Orientalism (see Documents 7-8; Figs. 18-22), as well as the importance of that culture to Pessoa's reception of Orientalism (cf. BRAGA, 2014 and 2016), are textual elements present in another of his 1914 publishing projects, called "Chronicas Decorativas" [*Decorative Chronicles*].¹⁸ These chronicles are fiction prose writings that mention Islamic culture, particularly the Persian poets Khayyām and Ḥāfiz (cf. BOSCAGLIA, 2016a).

Along the years and decades we may find again the Orientalist-Arabic imaginary in the *Livro*. Apart from a reference to the "paraizo do mahometano" [*mahometan's paradise*] (PESSOA, 2013b: 212) in one of the final texts of the decadent period (c. 1920), the most important references appear in some passages written around 1930. This was at the same time as the writing of Pessoa's *Rubaiyat*, inspired by the reading of Khayyām's work (PESSOA, 2008). In this second and final period of the *Livro* (c. 1929-1934) there is an explicit reference made by the fictitious author Bernardo Soares, dated 1929, to Persian *Rubaiyat*. From the office at the Rua dos Douradores, where he works, the assistant bookkeeper Soares writes:

No proprio registro de um tecido que não sei o que seja se me abrem as portas do Indo e de Samarcanda, e a poesia da Persia, que não é de um logar nem de outro, faz das suas quadras, desrimadas no terceiro verso, um apoio longinquo para o meu desasocego.

[In the very act of entering the name of an unfamiliar cloth, the doors of the Indus and of Samarkand open up, and Persian poetry (which is from yet another place), with its quatrains whose third lines don't rhyme, is a distant anchor for me in my disquiet.]¹⁹

(PESSOA, 1929a: 42; PESSOA, 2013b: 251)

These latter passages of the *Livro* are more explicitly concerned with the aesthetic and philosophical topics of dream and imagination than with the decadent aspect from the first period of the work. In fact, these references to the Arab and Persian imaginary and cultures are particularly related to a line of thought about the ontology of imagination, which I have read in comparison with Henry Corbin's studies about the Creative Imagination [*Imagination Créatrice*] (1958) in the Sufism of the Andalusian mystic Ibn 'Arabī (cf. BOSCAGLIA, 2015a: 305-308). Here follows another excerpt, dated 1929, from the *Livro* which, like the previous quote, was published during Pessoa's lifetime in the *A Revista* magazine:

Ah, quantas vezes meus proprios sonhos se me erguem em cousas, não para me substituirem a realidade, mas para se me confessarem seus pares em eu os não querer, em me surgirem de fóra, como o electrico que dá a volta na curva extrema da rua, ou a voz do apregoador nocturno, de não sei que cousa, que se destaca, toada arabe, como um repuxo subito, da monotonia do entardecer!

¹⁸ A critical edition of Pessoa's *Chronicas Decorativas* is published by me in this issue of *Pessoa Plural*.

¹⁹ Zenith's translation (PESSOA, 2002b: § 5).

*[Ah, how often my own dreams have raised up before me as things, not to replace reality but to declare themselves its equals, in so far as I scorn them and they exist apart from me, like the tram now turning the corner at the end of the street, or like the voice of an evening crier, crying I don't know what but with a sound that stands out – an Arabian chant like the sudden patter of a fountain – against the monotony of the twilight!]*²⁰

(PESSOA, 1929b: 25; PESSOA, 2013b: 231-232)

We can find a later reference to *A Thousand and One Nights* (evoking the Durban period) in a passage from December 20, 1931, concerning the aesthetics and ontology of imagination:

Tenho reparado, muitas vezes, que certas personagens de romance tomam para nós um relevo que nunca poderiam alcançar os que são nossos conhecidos e amigos, os que fallam connosco e nos ouvem na vida visível e real. E isto faz com que sonhe a pergunta se não será tudo neste total de mundo uma série entre-inserta de sonhos e romances, como caixinhas dentro de caixinhas maiores – umas dentro de outras e estas em mais –, sendo tudo uma historia com historias, como as Mil e Uma Noites, decorrendo falsa na noite eterna.

*[I've often noticed that certain fictional characters assume a prominence never attained by the friends and acquaintances who talk and listen to us in visible, real life. And this makes me fantasize about whether everything in the sum total of the world might not be an interconnected series of dreams and novels, like little boxes inside larger boxes that are inside yet larger ones, everything being a story made up of stories, like A Thousand and One Nights, unreally taking place in the never-ending night.]*²¹

(PESSOA, 2013b: 422)

The capital of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, known as Constantinople until the 1930s, is also mentioned in this excerpt from the beginning of that decade, concerning the mystic and onto-theology of imagination:

Que é viajar, e para que serve viajar? Qualquer poente é o poente; não é mister ir vel-o a Constantinopla. [...] As mesmas paisagens, as mesmas casas eu as vi porque as fui, feitas em Deus com a substancia da minha imaginação.

*[What's travel and what good is it? Any sunset is the sunset; one doesn't have to go to Constantinople to see it. [...] I saw every landscape and every house because they were me, made in God from the substance of my imagination.]*²²

(PESSOA, 2013b: 367-368)

In the same period, and concerning the same themes, we can find Persia once again among the imaginary and inner destinations of Soares:

²⁰ Zenith's translation (PESSOA, 2002b: § 3).

²¹ Zenith's translation (PESSOA, 2002b: § 285).

²² Zenith's translation (PESSOA, 2002b: § 138).

Na realidade, o fim do mundo, como o principio, é o nosso conceito do mundo. É em nós que as paisagens teem paisagem. Porisso, se as imagino, as crio; se as crio, são; se são, vejo-as como ás outras. Para que viajar? Em Madrid, em Berlim, na Persia, na China, nos Polos ambos, onde estaria eu senão em mim mesmo, e no typo e genero das minhas sensações? A vida é o que fazemos d'ella. As viagens são os viajantes. O que vemos, não é o que vemos, senão o que somos.

[The end of the world, like the beginning, is in fact our concept of the world. It is in us that the scenery is scenic. If I imagine it, I create it; if I create it, it exists, then I see it like any other scenery. So why travel? In Madrid, Berlin, Persia, China, and at the North or South Pole, where would I be but in myself, and in my particular type of sensations?

Life is what we make of it. Travel is the traveller. What we see isn't what we see but what we are.]²³

(PESSOA, 2013b: 445)

We might also bear in mind that in other moments of these two last excerpts, Pessoa quoted the same passage from Thomas Carlyle's *Sartus Resartus*: "Qualquer estrada, até esta mesma estrada de Entepfuhl, te levará até ao fim do mundo." (PESSOA, 2013b: 445; cf. PESSOA, 2013b: 367) [*Any road, even this Entepfuhl road, will lead you to the end o the world.* (CARLYLE, 1903: 65; CFP, 8-89)] I already mentioned this work from the Scottish intellectual indirectly because it was published in the same volume in which Pessoa, having underlined this quote, also had read and underlined during his adolescence the essay "The hero as a prophet. Mahomet: Islam."

In the final years of his life, we can see that Pessoa kept returning to the initial references of his intellectual journey. Some of them (Khayyām, Carlyle, the *A Thousand and One Nights*) were directly connected to the theme and imaginary of Islam.

VI. *Rubaiyat* and the prose writings on Khayyām (1904-1935)

Omar Khayyām (1048-1131), via the English poet Edward FitzGerald's (1809-1893) literary translation and reinvention of the *Rubaiyat*, is one of the figures with whom Pessoa was most concerned during his life as a reader, thinker and writer. Khayyām's *Rubaiyat*²⁴ (quatrains), translated into English in 1859 by FitzGerald (KHAYYÁM, 1910; CFP, 8-296), is one of the works that Pessoa read, underlined and annotated the most (FERRARI, 2010) (Fig. 5). Pessoa's writing on Khayyām and the latter's presence in his writings are important aspects of his work, in direct dialogue with the *Odes* by Ricardo Reis and with the *Livro do Desassossego* (FEITOSA, 1998).

²³ Zenith's translation (PESSOA, 2002b: § 451).

²⁴ In Arabic, *rubā'īyyāt* is the plural form of *rubā'ī* [*quatrain*], a stanza of four lines of Persian poetry. In the present essay a simplified transliteration of this term is used (*Rubaiyat*), since it is more familiar to the Anglophone reader.

As it is known, FitzGerald's reinvention of Khayyām bears little relation to the historical figure of the poet and philosopher (NASR, 1996: 176; AMINRAZAVI, 2005: 1-17). In spite of having been one of the most notable Islamic philosophers of his time (NASR, 1996: 175-177), Khayyām was denied any affiliation with Islamic philosophical schools by FitzGerald. However, the translator admitted that the poet was a notable scientist and astronomer (*cf.* FitzGerald in KHAYYĀM, 1910: 175-179; CFP, 8-296). Khayyām's Islamic orthodoxy, as well as his predilection for Islamic mysticism (Sufism) (AMINRAZAVI, 2005: 135-136), were obscured and contrasted by the English translator, who presented a version of Khayyām as a skeptical poet and thinker, an epicurean hedonist, opposed to faith, religion and mysticism (*cf.* FitzGerald in KHAYYĀM, 1910: 171-191; CFP, 8-296).

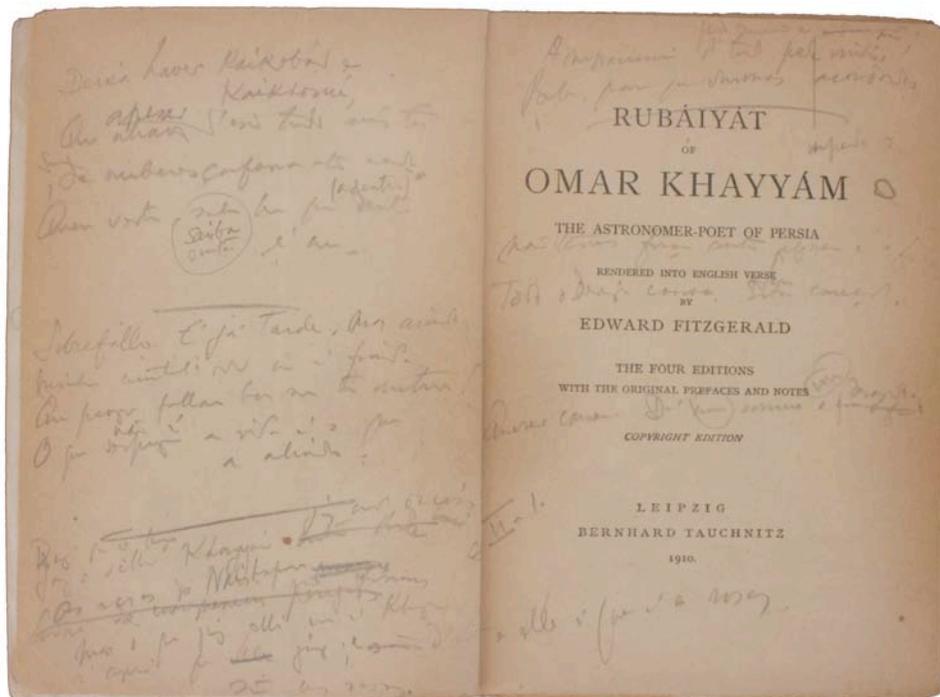


Fig. 5. O. Khayyām, *Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām*, rendered into English verse by E. FitzGerald (CFP, 8-296)

The image of wine, frequent in Persian medieval poetry, and therefore in Khayyām's poetry, was literally interpreted by FitzGerald, giving rise to controversy and critiques from those who were more concerned with the symbolic, mystical and esoteric meanings of *Rubaiyat* (as the Iranian philosopher Nasr; *cf.* NASR, 1996: 175-177). What is certain is that FitzGerald was able to create a very fascinating imaginary – made of roses, wine and muezzins – that attracted generations of readers and writers²⁵ and became a notable and paradigmatic case

²⁵ Many other European and Occidental writers besides Pessoa were interested in Khayyām, including Jorge Luis Borges, T. S. Elliot and Mark Twain, among others.

of Orientalism (SAID, 1978: 53, 193), and a complex philological and authorial adventure in the history of literature.

In fact, FitzGerald translated Khayyām's *Rubaiyat* from manuscripts whose authenticity is questioned and, moreover, without a thorough knowledge of the Persian language (AMINRAZAVI, 2005: 90-98, 208). He also admitted that his translation was not very rigorous: "My Translation will interest you from its *Form*, and also in many respects in its *Detail*: very unilateral as it is. Many Quatrains are mashed together: and something lost, I doubt, of Omar's Simplicity, which is so much a Virtue in him" (FITZGERALD, 1901: 345-346).

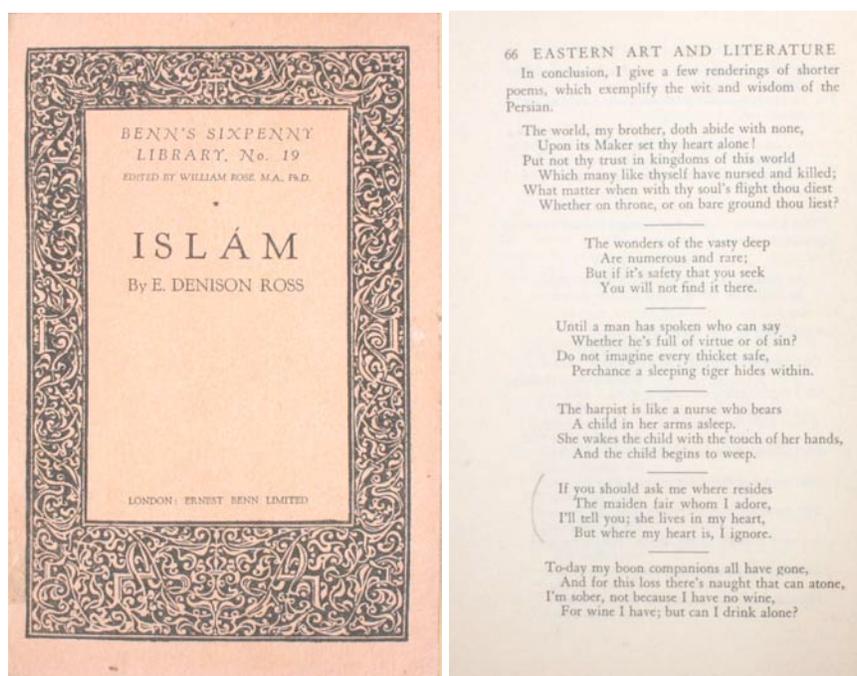
On this subject, Pessoa noted in the half title of his own copy of *Rubáiyât of Omar Khayyâm*: "O[mar] K[hayyam] foi, não o author, mas a inspiração, de Fitzgerald" [*Omar Khayyâm was, not the author, but FitzGerald's inspiration*]. Moreover, when translating some of Khayyām's *Rubaiyat*, Pessoa noted down (PESSOA, 2008: 137): "Traduzi-os, como os traduzira Fitzgerald, com justa e proba improbidade." [*I translated them as FitzGerald had translated them, with joust and honest improbity*]. In fact, the Portuguese author was aware that the figure of Khayyām, as reinvented by FitzGerald, represented more the Victorian poet than the medieval Persian poet and philosopher (Pessoa even mentions "Omar Khayyam, ou Fitzgerald por elle." [*Omar Khayyâm, or FitzGerald in his place*]; PESSOA, 2008: 76). Pessoa, being particularly aware of the fictional dimension of literature and existence, was attracted by the aesthetic, authorial and publishing peculiarities of FitzGerald's work of translation and reinvention (cf. PIZARRO, 2012: 130).

As I previously argued, Pessoa possibly first came into contact with the *Rubaiyat* in Durban, as part of his Anglophone education in the British colonial context of South Africa (FERRARI, 2010; CARDIELLO, 2016). Possibly around 1905, shortly before his return to Lisbon, the young Portuguese writer read and underlined Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay "Persian Poetry," published in *Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (cf. EMERSON, 1902: 480-487; CFP, 8-172). In this essay he read quotes of Khayyām's quatrains, as well as other examples of Persian poetry, such as the verses of 'Aṭṭār and Ḥāfiẓ. It is also known that the Portuguese poet consulted, probably already in Lisbon, the volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that has the entry "Persia" (PIZARRO *et al*, 2011: 152-153). As I mentioned before, Pessoa would later mention Khayyām and Ḥāfiẓ briefly in 1914, in *Chronicas Decorativas* (cf. BOSCAGLIA, 2016a).

In the previous year, 1913, Pessoa had intended to publish a literary anthology in Portugal that included Khayyām's *Rubaiyat* (48-4^r; cf. COSTA AZEVEDO, 1996: 496). Although managing to do it, the Portuguese writer always hoped to publish this work throughout the decades. His project was to publish a Portuguese translation of the poems, accompanied by an essay on the intrinsic philosophy of Khayyām's poetry, as some documents of his literary estate testify (cf. PESSOA, 2008: 75-79, 132-134; PESSOA, 2010a, vol. 2: 536-537).

In the meantime, a Portuguese edition of Khayyām's *Rubaiyat* was published by Joaquim Gomes Monteiro (1893-1950) in 1927. It is unknown if Pessoa read this edition or knew the translator. Although he intently read other translations of the *Rubaiyat*, in particular one by the Scottish Professor Thomas the Hunter Weir (WEIR, 1926; CFP, 8-662 MN), Pessoa was more interested in the famous FitzGerald's translation-rewriting entitled *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*. Pessoa read several editions of this work.²⁶ The one from 1910 (printed after March 1928) is the most annotated, underlined and translated book in Fernando Pessoa's library, which has more than 1300 different titles (FERRARI, 2010: 3).

In order to know in depth Khayyām's work, Pessoa also read, during this time, works on Persian literature by Edward Granville Browne ([1925]; CFP, 8-71) and on Islamic religion, civilization and art by Edward Denison Ross (1928a, 1928b; CFP, 8-482; 9-62) (Figs. 6 & 7).



Figs. 6 & 7. E. D. Ross, *Islam* (1928b) (CFP, 9-62)
E. D. Ross, *Eastern Art and Literature* (1928a) (CFP, 8-482)

However, apart from the interest in the Persian and Muslim worlds, Khayyām is particularly connected with Pessoa's deep knowledge of English literature. Among the references to Victorian literature found in Pessoa's private library there is Gilbert Keith Chesterton's *The Victorian Age in Literature* (1914). In this work, the author dedicates some pages to FitzGerald and his Khayyām, with quotations of

²⁶ Ferrari (2010) notes the presence of Khayyām's *Rubaiyat* translated by Fitzgerald in anthologies by Quiller-Couch (1912; CFP 8-405) and Palgrave ([1926]; CFP, 8-409). These works are also in Pessoa's private library.

quatrains, commentaries on their aesthetics aspects and on the style of the translation and the musicality of the poems. Regarding this last aspect, Pessoa underlined the following commentary by Chesterton: “It is at once a tune that escapes and an inscription that remains” (CHESTERTON, 1914: 193; CFP, 8-110).²⁷

Between 1926 and 1935, the year of his death, Pessoa read Khayyām’s *Rubaiyat* eagerly, translating around forty-two of them into Portuguese, writing philosophical prose works on them and, overall, reinventing himself as an author of *Rubaiyat* in the Portuguese language (PESSOA, 2008). Pessoa wrote at least 172 quatrains in the style of the Persian author, publishing three of them in the literary magazine *Contemporanea* in 1926. Almost all Pessoa’s *Rubaiyat* remained unpublished when he died and there might still be some documents in Pessoa’s literary estate directly related with this publishing project (see Document 11; Fig. 27). As was previously seen, during the same period, in 1929, Pessoa paid homage to Persian Literature and *Rubaiyat* in a passage of the *Livro do Desassossego*, published in *A Revista*.

Pessoa’s *Rubaiyat* constitutes one of the many experiences of depersonalization that characterize his literary career (PIZARRO, 2012). As with the heteronyms, Pessoa invents a persona (a type of apocryphal and Lusophone Khayyām) that has its own literary style and philosophical thought. Pessoa even discusses the convergences and divergences between himself (ortonymic Pessoa) and “Khayyām” as an author he read and reinvented (from FitzGerald’s version):

Omar tinha uma personalidade; eu, feliz ou infelizmente, não tenho nenhuma. Do que sou numa hora na hora seguinte me separo; do que fui num dia no dia seguinte me esqueci. Quem, como Omar, é quem é, vive num só mundo, que é o externo; quem, como eu, não é quem é, vive não só no mundo externo, mas num sucessivo e diverso mundo interno. A sua philosophia, ainda que queira ser a mesma que a de Omar, forçosamente o não poderá ser. Assim, sem que devesas o queira, tenho em mim, como se fossem almas, as philosophias que critique; Omar podia rejeitar a todas, pois lhe eram externas, não as posso eu rejeitar, porque são eu.

[Omar had a personality; I, for better or worse, have none. In an hour I’ll have strayed from what I am at this moment; tomorrow I’ll have forgotten what I am today. Those who are who they are, like Omar, live in just one world, the external one. Those who aren’t who they are, like me, live not only in the external world but also in a diversified, ever-changing inner world. Try as we might, we could never have the same philosophy as Omar’s. I harbour in me, like unwanted souls, the very philosophies I criticize. Omar could reject them all, for they were all external to him, but I can’t reject them, because they’re me.]²⁸

(PESSOA, 2008: 79)

²⁷ In 1952, Jorge Luis Borges quoted the same sentence in the essay “El enigma de Edward FitzGerald,” published in *Otras inquisiciones* in 1952 (BORGES, 1974: 689-690). On Pessoa, Borges and Khayyām, see my previous study (BOSCAGLIA, 2015b).

²⁸ Zenith’s translation (PESSOA, 2002b: § 448).

The philosophical elements of the *Rubaiyat* play an important role in Pessoa's interest on Khayyām. The Portuguese writer planned the publication of a philosophical essay on Khayyām, that was not completed and of which only some fragments exist (cf. PESSOA, 2008: 75-79). The philosophy of the Persian author was interpreted by Pessoa as a combination of pessimism, nihilism, Epicureanism, fatalism, tedium and agnosticism (BOSCAGLIA, 2015a: 269-287). *Chaotic ideal* ("ideal caótico"; PESSOA, 1932a: unnumbered page) was the name that the Portuguese writer gave to the philosophy of the "sabio persa" [*Persian sage*] (PESSOA, 2008: 78), in an essay entitled "António Botto e o Ideal Estético Creador" [*António Botto and the Aesthetic Creative Ideal*], first published as a foreword in António Botto's *Cartas que me foram devolvidas* (1932: unnumbered pages). Although Pessoa was aware that FitzGerald's Khayyām did not represent the authentic thought of the Persian poet (with which Pessoa contacted through other sources, as I previously mentioned), he was, above all, interested in the philosophical elements present in FitzGerald's epicurean, pessimist and contemporary reinvention that offered, from Pessoa's perspective, a Khayyām that was a "Mestre do desconsolo e da desillusão." [*Master of sadness and disillusion.*] (PESSOA, 2008: 77).

In Pessoa's *Rubaiyat*, the presence of Khayyām's mystic-esotericism is reduced to a possible echo, which is possibly derived from readings about Khayyām other than FitzGerald's translation. Along with his interest in Khayyām, Pessoa read works by Sufi mystics and poets, such as Ḥāfiẓ e Rūmī (cf. BROWNE, [1925]; CFP, 8-71). Several names of Sufi poets and thinkers are found in Pessoa's literary estate, including the aforementioned al-Ġazzālī and Ḥāfiẓ. Some titles of works on Sufism that Pessoa wanted to purchase can also be found in his literary estate, although today they are not included in the collection of the author's private library. Some of those works are: "Bústan" and "Gulistán" by Sa'adī; an anthology of poetry by Ḥāfiẓ; "Letters from a Sūfi Teacher" of Baijnath Singh; and "Sufi Message of Spiritual Liberty" by Inayat Khan (Pessoa in PIZARRO *et al*, 2011: 175-177).

The names Ḥāfiẓ and Khayyām also appear in a handwritten note regarding the purchase of works in which Pessoa might have found a connection between the Islamic civilization and the Renaissance period in Europe. Pessoa was deeply interested in this connection, as I already mentioned: "Some work explaining sociologically (for one) the Persian poets Hafiz, Omar etc. Has it not some connection with the Renascence?" (Pessoa in Pizarro *et al*, 2011: 155).²⁹

²⁹ The same document reads: "Letourneau omits (?) all mention of Persia, remember this and get more work on Persian civilization, Is there any connection between these and the Persian poets of the 13th or 14th century Omar, Hafiz, etc. mentioned above?". In Pessoa's private library, there is also a work by Charles Letourneau ([1901]; CFP, 3-39).

Pessoa also purchased *The Rose Immortal*³⁰ by A. Bothwell Gosse (1923; CFP, 1-56), which includes English translations and analysis of several Persian poems and Sufi teachings. He purchased this work around 1923, at the same period he was trying to establish his publishing company Olisipo, where he aimed to publish some “Trad[uções] [de] Poemas Persas” [*Translations of Persian Poems*] (Pessoa in SEPÚLVEDA & URIBE, 2013: 57-79). Pessoa’s intention of publishing Persian and Arabic poems is stated by several other documents in his literary estate, among them a list of editorial projects (PIZARRO *et al.*, 2011: 151). Pessoa translated or annotated into English a sentence by the Persian and Sufi poet Sa’dī: “Property is intended for the comfort of life, not life for the piling up of wealth.” In the same list of quotes, there is also a sentence attributed to the Prophet of Islam: “If I had only two loaves of bread, I would barter one for hyacinths to nourish my soul. – Mohammed.”(MN) (Document 12; Fig. 28).

A Sufi echo can possibly be found in a small number of quatrains among Pessoa’s *Rubaiyat*, in which the agnostic and pessimistic element of the *chaotic ideal* is absent. Moving away from FitzGerald’s influence, a possible Sufi element arises:

São velhas as estrelas, ellas são
Grandes. Velho e pequeno é o coração,
E contém mais do que as estrelas todas,
Sendo, sem espaço, mais que a immensidão.³¹

(PESSOA, 2008: 44)

Some resemblance can be found with traditional Sufi sayings in which God affirms, through Prophet Muḥammad: “Verily the heavens and the earth are unable to encompass Me, and the devoted, soft heart of My faithful servant is able to encompass Me” (*apud* KABBANI, 2004: 217)³²; and “*al-qalb al-mu’min ‘arš Allāh*” [*The heart of the believer is the throne of God*] (*apud* CHEBEL, 2001: 104).³³ It is possible that Pessoa has indirectly received these traditions through the Sufi poetry that he read, particularly in Khayyām’s *Rubaiyat* translated by Weir, in which the theme of the heart as symbolic organ of the mystic union with God arises: “O Heart [...] The Throne of God is thy seat” (WEIR, 1926: 50; CFP, 8-662 MN). It is possible to do a comparative reading of the aforementioned quatrain with Álvaro de Campos’ poetry. As the heteronym, “born” in the Algarve, wrote “E o meu coração é um

³⁰ This title and the theme of the rose in mysticism highlight Pessoa’s interest in Rosicrucianism/Christian Gnosticism. Pessoa also found and signalled references to Islam in a work on Rosicrucianism by Hargrave Jennings ([1907]: 245-254; CFP, 0-12). On Islam and Gnosticism in Pessoa’s work, see BOSCAGLIA, 2015a: 252.

³¹ [*Stars are old, they are | Great. The heart is small and old, | And it contains more than all the stars, | Being, without space, more than immensity.*]

³² Translation from Arabic into English by Kabbani.

³³ In the original: “*qalbou al-mou’minine, ‘archou Allah.*”

pouco maior que o universo inteiro” [*And my heart is a little larger than the entire universe*] (Pessoa, 2014: 299).

VII. *Orpheu's Neorabism (1916)*

The ethnic, cultural and spiritual heritage of the Iberian Peninsula, ruled by the Muslims between 711 and 1492 – the al-Andalus – is one of the main themes of Pessoa’s writings on Islamic civilization. Around 1910, during World War I (1914-1918) and the launch of the *Orpheu* magazine (1915), Pessoa decided to address, in a more systematic and significant way, that heritage in his own work and thought and in Portuguese contemporary culture, particularly in the Modernism of *Orpheu*, of which he was the central figure.

Between 1916 and 1918, Pessoa wrote the majority of his prose works concerning Islam and Islamic civilization. These works were part of Pessoa’s larger projects on Sensationism, Neopaganism (which I discuss in this section) and Iberism (which I discuss in the following section). These prose works were written and included in Pessoa’s orthonymic works as well as in the works of the fictitious author António Mora, a Neopaganist philosopher whose thought about Islam was strongly guided by Pessoa’s reading, particularly in a 1892 work by the German orientalist Theodor Nöldeke called *Sketches from Eastern History* (CFP, 9-54; cf. BOSCAGLIA, 2012).

Around 1916, Pessoa gave Mora the task of writing about the Arab and Islamic heritage in Sensationism and Neopaganism, two cultural and aesthetic movements that Pessoa was developing at that time. During that period, Pessoa was especially trying to establish Sensationism, which was the name of the artistic and philosophical movement connected to the Modernist *Orpheu* magazine (1915), founded by Mário de Sá-Carneiro and Pessoa. Regarding Sensationism, Mora wrote: “[Os sensacionistas têm] a vantagem typica do spirito arabe: a universal curiosidade activa, com que aceitam as influencias de todas as bandas, lhes aprofundam o sentido, lhes reúnem os resultados e finalmente as transformam na substancia do seu proprio spirito.” [*Sensationists have the characteristic advantage of the Arabic spirit: the universal active curiosity with which they accept influences from all places, deepen their meanings, gather their results and, finally, transform them into the substance of their own spirit*]. Accordingly, “O sensacionismo é puramente arabe” [*Sensationism is purely Arab*] and “A essa corrente chamaram os seus membros o “sensacionismo”; se houvessem tido a noção exacta das origens, ter-lhe-hiam dado, antes, o nome de neo-arabismo” [*The members of this movement called it Sensationism, however, if they had the exact notion of its origins, they would have called it Neorabism*] (PESSOA, 2009b: 222).

In this sense, in one of his many fragmentary and sometimes contradictory theoretical postulates, Pessoa stated that the ability of “synthese de nações e de

epochas e de artes” [*synthesizing nations, epochs and arts*], which connotes Sensationism as a “marvellous synthetic movement” (PESSOA, 2009b: 75, 220), was inherited from the Islamic civilization (particularly from the al-Andalus). According to Pessoa, this synthetic ability was the element that was most characteristic of that civilization. Some words, pronounced by José Augusto Seabra, twenty-three years before the publication of those texts, gain a particularly critical relevance for this theoretical framing of Sensationism. In a conference he gave in Morocco about Pessoa in 1986, Seabra argued that the “universalidade indissociável” [*indissociable universality*] of the Islamic civilization (SEABRA, 1996: 213) is a key to understand Pessoa’s interest in the Andalusian poet al-Mu’tamid (who I will mention in a later section).

Aiming to reflect the synthetic dimension of Islamic revelation (Nasr, 1972: 130), Islamic civilization showed during its “Golden Age” the ability to protect, tolerate, integrate, recreate and transmit other cultures and past cultures. This ability is present during the medieval period and particularly in the al-Andalus (*cf.* JEVOLELLA, 2005: 53-54). The aforementioned quotes by Pessoa on this subject might show his debt to the historiography made by the Portuguese historian and thinker Oliveira Martins (1987 [1879]: 110-111).

Furthermore, some descriptions of Arab-Andalusian culture and mentality, as being characterized by the “imaginação poética e o misticismo naturalista” [*poetic imagination and naturalist mysticism*] (OLIVEIRA MARTINS, 1987 [1879]: 94-113) can be found in Oliveira Martins’ work. It is possible that Martins’ description of the Arab mentality, with its Orientalist echo, might also be present in Pessoa/Mora’s psychological-aesthetic theory on Sensationism as Neoarabism:

Nella [na corrente sensacionista] renasce todo o espirito arabe no que directamente arabe, não como transmissor da ideação grega. O entusiasmo de imaginação, a sensualidade intellectual da meditação e do misticismo, o esmiuçamento de sensações e de idéas, taes características revelam a psyche arabe, transportada que seja para o nosso periodo.

[*In Sensationism the Arab spirit is reborn in what it has of strictly Arab and not of its transmission of the Greek ideas. The enthusiasm of imagination, the intellectual sensuality of meditation and mysticism, the detailed analysis of ideas and sensations – these characteristic show the Arab psyche, albeit transported to our own period.*]

(PESSOA, 2009b: 223)

Taking Pessoa’s argument into consideration, references to the Islamic theme and heritage in works by other authors of the *Orpheu* generation thus become relevant to this paper. One of those authors was Almada Negreiros, whose first poem “Rondel do Alentejo,” written in 1913 and published in several later editions, was subtitled by him in 1929 as “uma obra-prima da poesia sensacionista” [*a masterpiece of Sensationist poetry*] (NEGREIROS, 2001: 270). This poem starts with a clear Arabic-Islamic etymological reference to the author’s

name – Almada (from the Arabic, *al-ma'dnah*, [the minaret, the tower, the lighthouse]):³⁴

Em minarête
mâte
bate
leve
verde neve
minuette
de luar.³⁵

(NEGREIROS, 1922: 68)

In a later poem called “Litoral” [*Coast*], dedicated to his friend the painter Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, Almada (2001: 203) evidently cites (“o umbigo de moira” [*the Moorish navel*]) the drawing “Mauresques” [*moorish women*]. This is one of the *XX Dessins* by Souza-Cardoso (1911), the painter who collaborated with the planned but unpublished third edition of *Orpheu* (cf. SOARES, 2014). Another artist close to this group was the composer Ruy Coelho, author of the musical work 6 *Kacides*³⁶ *Mauresques*, possibly composed between 1911 and 1912.

The following verses from the 1910 poem “Fado” by Ângelo de Lima, another poet of *Orpheu*, can also be read as having taken the Arab and Islamic themes into consideration:

Fado – Mistério Improfundo...
Saudade – Sultana Lenda...
Legenda – História do Mundo...
– Fado – Saudade – Legenda!...
[...]
Canto dolente do Harem...³⁷

(LIMA, 2003: 62-63)

In this poem, the orientalist imaginary (the “Harem”) is used not to address the East as the *Other* but to portray elements that are generally considered to be identified specifically with *Portuguese* culture: *Fado* and *Saudade*. *If the aesthetic and literary imaginary is orientalist, the onto-epistemology of the culture and civilization that*

³⁴ It is possible that Almada was addressing the question of his personal, ancestral and family identity (his father was from the Alentejo)

³⁵ [In minaret | matte | taps | light | green snow | minuette | of Moonlight]. This is a tentative translation for the purposes of conveying the general meaning of the poem.

³⁶ The Arab word *qaṣīdah* refers to a kind of Arab poem that can have more than one hundred verses.

³⁷ [Fado – Mystery of Absent Depth... | Saudade – Legend from the Sultans | Legend – History of the World | - Fado – Saudade – Legend! | [...] | Mournful song of the Harem...]. This is a tentative translation for the purposes of conveying the general meaning of the poem.

underlines this work cannot be so easily considered as such. This is, as I argue, a crucial aspect to be taken into consideration for a critical and cultural study of the Islamic theme in the works of Pessoa and these authors. In fact, Orientalism and Neoarabism are mentioned by Lima, in a letter the poet sent in April 8, 1915 to the *Orpheu* magazine, as two distinct aspects. In this letter, Lima mentions the “medieval, sarraceno e, um pouco ainda, Orientalista” [*medieval, Saracen and still somewhat Orientalist*] character of *Orpheu* (apud NOGUEIRA, 2005: 79). Could this letter have driven Pessoa/Mora to write about Sensationism as a form of Neoarabism, some months later (1916)?

Apart from Sensationism, António Mora has also pointed out the Arab heritage in Neopaganism, a movement through which Pessoa wanted to restore and reinstate elements of Ancient Greek culture and mentality into contemporaneity. According to Mora, whereas Sensationism is “puramente arabe” [*purely Arab*], Neopaganism “Reservou, do arabismo, só o objectivismo,³⁸ e com esse, fundindo-o com o paganismo latente no systema catholico, formou novamente a alma hellenica na terra.” [*Has kept, from Arabism, only the objectivism, and with this, uniting it with the latent paganism in the Catholic system, recreating the Hellenic soul on earth*] (PESSOA, 2009b: 223).

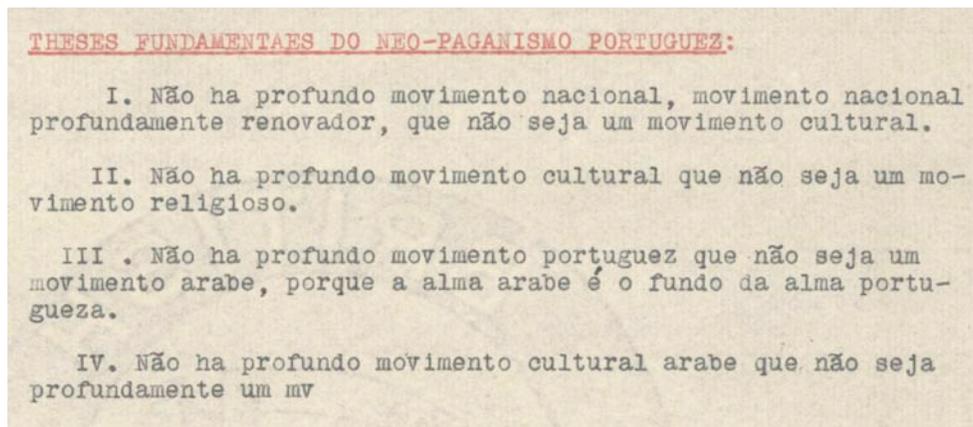


Fig. 8. 48H-23* (detail)

The orthonym Pessoa stated in a writing on Neopaganism possibly from 1918, that: “Não ha profundo movimento portuguez que não seja um movimento arabe, porque a alma arabe é o fundo da alma portugueza.” [*There is no profound Portuguese movement that is not also an Arab movement, because the Arab soul is the background for the Portuguese soul.*] (PESSOA, 2009b: 229) (Fig. 8).

The neopaganist Mora interprets Islamic spirituality, its surrender and submission to God [*islām*] and its acceptance of the Divine decree and

³⁸ The “Arab” mentality is basically defined by Mora as a combination of subjectivism (imagination and mysticism uniquely Arabic) and objectivism (scientism and fatalism via the Greek tradition) (Pessoa, 2009b: 222-227).

predestination [*al-qaḍā' wa al-qadar*] as follows: “Levados assim a um conceito da vontade divina como *fatalidade*, os arabes introduziam no seu monotheismo um elemento de evidente origem objectivista.” [*Thus leading to the concept of the divine will as a fatality, the Arabs introduced in their monotheism an element of evident objectivist origin.*] (PESSOA, 2009b: 225). Being Mora an “objectivist” and fatalist (in the Stoic sense; PESSOA, 2002a: 139-140; 2013c: 35), this “Islamic fatalism” is highlighted and valued by the Neopagan philosopher. Furthermore, and once again, the orientalist aestheticism (the oriental “fatalism”) is interpreted in an onto-epistemology of the *self* and not of the *other*.

To conclude this section, I want to point out that in the same year (1916) that Mora wrote about Neoarabism and Neopaganism, the orthonym Pessoa published a sonnet in the *Centauro* magazine, in which he mentions the figure of Boabdil – the late Muslim King of Granada before the Christian *Reconquista* of the city, and then of the Peninsula, in 1492:

Venho de longe e trago no perfil,
Em fórma nevoenta e afastada,
O perfil de outro ser que desagrada
Ao meu actual recorte humano e vil.

Outr’ora fui talvez, não Boabdil,
Mas o seu mero último olhar, da estrada
Dado ao deixado vulto de Granada,
Recorte frio sob o unido anil...

Hoje sou a saudade imperial
Do que já na distancia de mim vi...
Eu próprio sou aquillo que perdi...

E nesta estrada para Desigual
Florem em esguia gloria marginal
Os girasóes do imperio que morri...³⁹

(PESSOA, 1916: 68)

Following other possible comparative lines of work to be developed, a study of this sonnet could relate it with Floberla Espanca’s 1923 verses dedicated to the last Muslim King of al-Andalus:

Ah! De Boabdil fui lágrima na Espanha!

³⁹ [I come from far away and in my silhouette I bring, | In distant and shadowy form, | The silhouette of another being, unpleasant | To my actual human and vile completion. | I was once maybe not Boabdil, | But just its final gaze, from the road | Given to the abandoned shadow of Granada, | A cold horizon over the joined indigo ... | Today I am the Imperial longing | Of what already in distance from myself I saw... | I myself am what I have lost... | And on this road to Unlikeliness | The Sunflowers of the Empire that I have died | Blossom in slender marginal glory...]

E foi de lá que eu trouxe esta ansia estranha!
Mágua não sei de quê! Saudade louca!⁴⁰

(ESPANCA, 1923: [unnumbered page])

There had also been a poem dedicated to Boabdil, some decades earlier, by the ultra-Romantic poet Soares de Passos:

Para sempre adeus pois, ó Granada!
Adeus, muros, e torres vermelhas,
Que brilhaes como vivas centelhas
Nas verduras de tanto jardim!⁴¹

(SOARES DE PASSOS, 1870: 24)

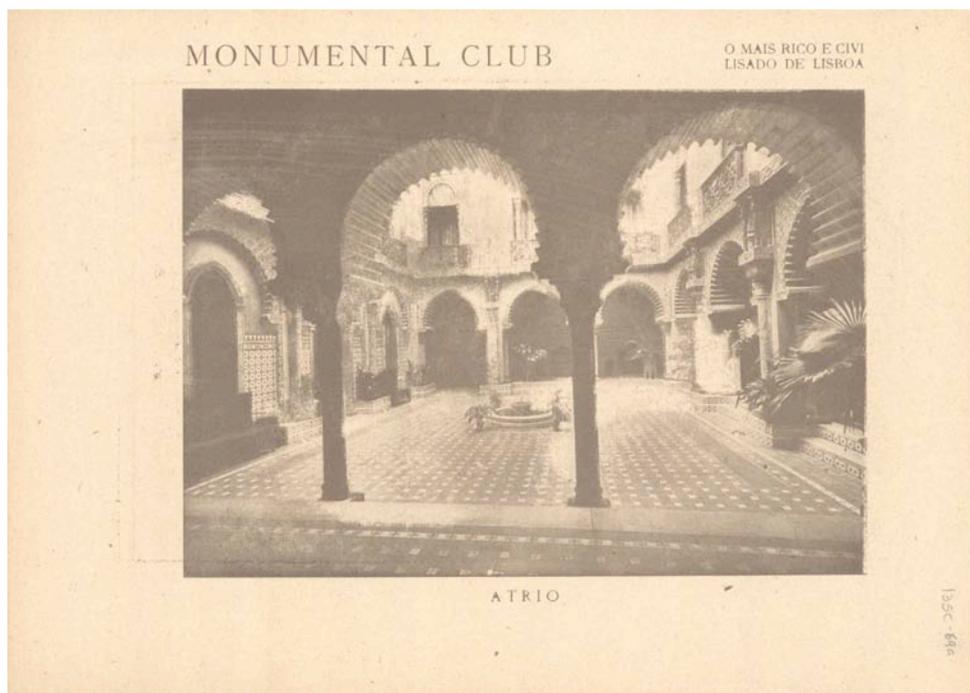


Fig. 9. *Contemporanea*, n. ° 7 (1923),
page of a dossier containing "A scena do odio" by A. Negreiros
(BNP/E3, 135C-69A¹)

VIII. Al-Andalus and Islam in Pessoa's Iberism, Sebastianism and "Fifth Empire" (1915-1934)

According to Pessoa, the presence of Islamic civilization over several centuries in the Iberian Peninsula created a Roman-Arab psychic and cultural background

⁴⁰ [Ah! I was Boabdil's tear in Spain! | And from there I brought this strange desire! | Pain of unknown reason! Crazy longing!]

⁴¹ [Goodbye forever, oh Granada! | Goodbye, walls and red towers, | That glow as burning sparks | In the greens of so many gardens!]

common to the people from the Iberian Peninsula: “Nós, ibericos, somos o cruzamento de duas civilizações – a romana e a arabe.” [We, Iberians, are the encounter of two civilizations – the Roman and the Arab.], “não porque fomos romano-árabes, mas porque o somos ainda.” [not because we were Roman-Arabs, but because we still are.] (PESSOA, 2012a: 72, 45). At this point Pessoa establishes a direct and indirect dialogue with theories and moments in the history of Portuguese thought, to which he is indebted. Other authors had already concerned themselves with the Arabic ethnological and cultural heritage in Portugal, such as Teófilo Braga with his theory of *Moçarabismo* (1871: 25-26), and Teixeira de Pascoaes with *Saudosismo* (1987 [1919]: 51-52; cf. PESSOA, 2012a: 47).

Concerning the history of cultures and the mythic narration of the Portuguese nation, Pessoa also mentions the scientific contribution of the Muslims to the Portuguese and Iberian maritime age of discoveries [*Descobrimientos*]: “O primeiro período da nossa historia comum, de ibericos, [...]. Foi o periodo das descobertas, onde o impulso scientifico, nado da ingerencia arabe, orientou a alma do Infante [D. Henrique].” [The first period of our common history as Iberians [...]. Was the period of the discoveries, in which the scientific impulse, born from the Arab influence, guided the soul of the Infante.]⁴² (PESSOA, 2009b: 226). In another moment, the author states: “Os saracenos – trouxeram a sciencia, que haviam aprendido dos gregos; e que os romanos não tinham aprendido. Os romanos eram empiricos e praticos, não eram speculativos nem iniciadores.” [The Saracens brought the science which they had learned from the Greeks and that the Romans had not learned. The Romans were empiric and practical, they were not speculative nor initiators.] (Pessoa in BOSCAGLIA, 2015a: 359).

Pessoa also mentions several times religious tolerance as another element of Islamic civilization and of al-Andalus, alongside the ethnic and cultural familiarity and preservation of Greek culture. In Pessoa’s Iberist writings (1915-1918), the Islamic civilization of al-Andalus is praised for being religiously tolerant: “[a] 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 à parte.” [Our great Arab tradition – of tolerance and free civilization. It is in the manner in which we are the keepers of the Arab spirit in Europe that we will have a distinct individuality.] (PESSOA, 2012a: 71) (Fig. 10).

It is important to notice that in the Iberian Peninsula, Islam has hallowed long periods of peaceful co-habitation between Jews, Christians and Muslims, according to the Islamic protection and co-habitation pact [*ḍimmah*], offered to the community of followers of other religions (People of the Book [*ahl al-kitāb*]). This co-habitation, especially during the Caliphate of Córdoba (929-1031), promoted

⁴² Infante Henrique of Portugal (1394-1460), son of the Portuguese King John I. Through his administrative direction, he is regarded as the main initiator of the Portuguese *Descobrimientos* [Age of Discoveries].

cultural dialogue and the artistic, scientific and philosophic production in the al-Andalus (cf. JEVOLELLA, 2005: 53-54).

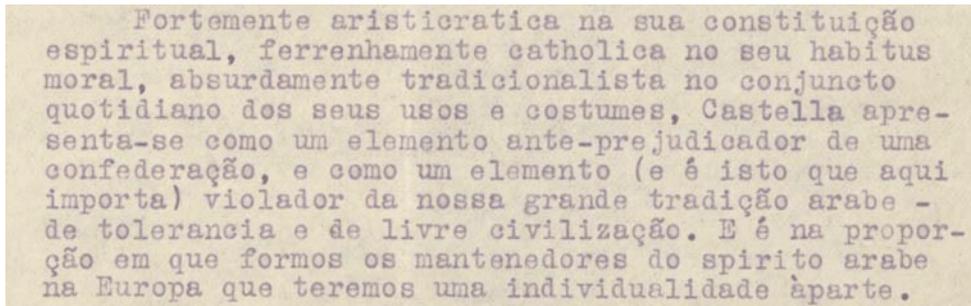


Fig. 10. BNP/E3, 97-13^r (detail)

Islamic revelation possibly interested Pessoa for some of its aspects, especially because it presents itself as the seal and confirmation of previous revelations, which are recognized by Islam in a unique, synthetic and coherent Message (cf. NASR, 1972: 130). In fact, the author's interest in Islam was mainly fostered in a period (1915-1916) in which Pessoa thought and wrote about the topic of Sensationism ("Marvellous synthetic movement") and about "Teosophia" (i. e., The Theosophical Society), which "admite todas as religiões" [*Theosophy accepts all religions*] (Pessoa in SÁ-CARNEIRO, 2015: 503-504) (cf. MOTA, 2016). It was during the translation of a theosophical text that Pessoa came across a reference to tolerance in Islam, particularly in the previously mentioned Islamic mysticism and esotericism termed *Sufism*. This work was translated into Portuguese by Pessoa and published in Lisbon in 1915 and was called *Os Ideaes da Teosophia*. In this book, the English author Annie Besant dedicated a chapter to tolerance and chose a traditional Islamic saying to address this subject. Pessoa translated the passage in question as follows:

A Tolerancia não pretende julgar e criticar os Ideaes de outrem, quer com o fim de lhe dictar as opiniões que elle deva ter, quer com o fim de lhe dar licença para ter as que tem; comprehende e submete-se á verdade de aquelle grande proverbio sufi: "Os caminhos para Deus são tantos como as respirações dos filhos dos homens."

[Tolerance does not aim to judge and criticise other's ideals, either to impose upon him the opinions he should have, or to approve the ones he has. It understands and complies to the truth of that great Sufi saying: "The paths to God are as many as the breaths of the children of man."]⁴³

(BESANT, 1915: 68-69)

In Pessoa's private library there are also some documents that show the author's particular interest in Islamic tolerance. In the work *Espronceda* by Antonio Cortón (1906: 89; CFP, 9-21) for instance, Pessoa made a pencil mark beside the

⁴³ Cf. "the Prophet said: The ways to God are as numerous as the breaths of human beings." (Shaykh Nazim Adil Haqqani *apud* KABBANI, 2005: 82).

following sentence: “[...] los árabes que invadieron la Península en el año 711, ejercían la tolerancia religiosa, hasta el punto de haber dejado á los cristianos, mediante un módico tributo, en absoluta libertad para practicar su religión.” [*the Arabs that invaded the Peninsula in 711, practised religious tolerance, even to the point of giving absolute religious freedom to the Christians, upon payment of a small fee.*].

In another document kept in Pessoa’s literary estate it can be read that Islamic civilization is politically defined by the following characteristics: “a tolerancia, e o aristocratismo arabes.” [*the Arab tolerance and aristocracy*] (Pessoa in BOSCAGLIA, 2015a: 358).

For Pessoa, recognizing the Islamic civilizational role in Iberian and Portuguese history contributes to his idea of the “Fifth Empire,”⁴⁴ inherited from the Portuguese thinker António Vieira (1608-1697) and reinterpreted by Pessoa as a new cultural, spiritual and universal age of civilization (cf. PESSOA, 2011). For Pessoa, this idea concerns the “symbolic” return of King Sebastian I (another nationalist metaphor for the above mentioned new spiritual and cultural epoch of Humanity) (PESSOA, 2011: 156). This idea (and this age) not only integrates the Islamic civilization, but also considers it as a functional vector to the fulfilment of the Fifth Empire itself.

In fact, in a text that Pessoa addresses to “toda a Iberia” [*all Iberia*] and presents himself as a “arauto medium de El-R[ei] D. Sebastião” [*mediunic herald of the King D. Sebastian*], we read that when that King reappears, the “Quinto Imperio” [*the Fifth Empire*] or the “Imperio Final” [*the Final Empire*] will begin, to fulfil the “aspiração colectiva onde se encontra o Mediterraneo e o Atlantico” [*collective aspiration where the Mediterranean and the Atlantic meet*] and to reignite “toda a reminiscencia das passadas civilizações pagãs e arabes” [*all the remembrance of past pagan and Arab civilizations*] (PESSOA, 2012a: 41-42). In fact, although Pessoa considers the “mahometana” [*Mahometan*] religion too “estreita” [*narrow*] for his own universal and syncretic Fifth Empire, the author nonetheless pondered the possibility of that religion becoming the religion of the Fifth Empire itself (PESSOA, 2011: 227-229).

According to these elements, the Muslims are possibly not the “novos infieis” [*new infidels*] that the author mentions in *Mensagem*, a fundamental text for Pessoa’s Sebastianism and idea for the Fifth Empire (PESSOA, 1934: 24.). In this way, the Portuguese national *new myth* (LOURENÇO, 2002: 243-244) loses the idea of the

⁴⁴ The term Fifth Empire is commonly used to mention a messianic and millenarist myth developed by António Vieira, in an interpretation of Daniel 2 (31-45) made in his posthumous work *História do Futuro*. According to Vieira, this Fifth Empire will be a Portuguese and Christian global Empire following the previous four: the Assyrian, the Persian, the Greek and the Roman. Sometimes connected with Sebastianism, the Fifth Empire has been an important theme in the Portuguese literature and thought. In Pessoa’s interpretation of this myth, the succession of the first four empires was: Greek, Roman, Christian, and English/Modern-European (cf. Pessoa in GOMES, 1934; CFP, 8-228).

fight against Islam, which was strongly present in the works of Camões (as I already mentioned) and Vieira (1970 [1659]: 484). Pessoa states: “[D. Sebastião c]ombaterá os “turcos”, mas não são os turcos da Turquia real, mas sim os infieis, □” [*D. Sebastian will fight the Turks, but not the Turks from the real Turkey, and rather the infidels, □*] (PESSOA, 2011: 100). Pessoa uses the language of the Crusades metaphorically stating that the infidels will be, from his perspective, those “forças anti-espirituaes, começando pela Igreja Catholica” [*anti-spiritual forces, with the Catholic Church as chief among them.*] (PESSOA, 2011: 101). Pessoa thinks that these forces would not allow humankind to “sentir superiormente, e de crear Arte, isto é, Literária” [*feel in a higher degree and to create Art, meaning, Literary*]. According to Pessoa, the Fifth Empire would be a future (utopian?) “imperialismo de poetas” [*imperialism of poets*] (125A-13^r; cf. PESSOA, 1978: 240), since it is literature that “obriga” [*forces*] Humankind to “sentir conscientemente, a pensar, a comprehender, a sentir inteligentemente” [*to consciously feel, to think, to understand, to intelligently feel*] (PESSOA, 2011: 98-99).

To conclude this section, it is interesting to think on the possibility of a comparison between Pessoa’s works and the works of other thinkers who have addressed the Islamic presence in al-Andalus. Antero de Quental and Friedrich Nietzsche are two authors that can be read in the scope of such a comparison, as they were even mentioned by Pessoa in several moments throughout his work (BOSCAGLIA, 2016b). In 1871, Antero stated:

Nem posso tambem deixar esquecidos os Mouros e Judeus, porque foram uma das glorias da Peninsula. [...]
 [...] Judeus e Moiros, raças inteligentes, industriosas, a quem a industria e o pensamento peninsulares tanto deveram, e cuja expulsão tem quasi as proporções d’uma calamidade nacional.

[*I cannot leave forgotten the Moors and the Jews because they were one of the glories of the Peninsula. [...] The Moors and the Jews, intelligent and industrious races, to whom the Peninsular thought and will are so indebted, and whose expelling almost has the proportion of a national calamity.*]

(QUENTAL, 1871: 10, 22)

Nietzsche stated, as possibly read by Pessoa in a Portuguese translation of 1916, that:

O christianismo fez-nos perder a herança da cultura antiga, fez-nos perder mais tarde a herança da cultura do islamismo. A maravilhosa civilização arabe de Hespanha, mais proxima em summa dos nossos sentidos e dos nossos gestos do que Roma e Grecia, [...] As cruzadas... pirataria em grande escala, nada mais! [...] Guerra de morte a Roma! Paz e amizade com o Islamismo.

[*Christianity made us lose the inheritance of the ancient culture, made us lose later the inheritance of the Islamic culture. The wonderful Arab civilization of Spain, closer to our senses and our gestures*

than that of Rome and Greek, [...]. The Crusades... nothing but piracy in large scale! [...] War to the death with Rome! Peace and friendship with Islam.]

(NIETZ[S]CHE, 1916: 156-157)

Around 1918, Pessoa wrote the following passage, which I have previously and partly quoted, and which seems to dialogue with Antero's (and Nietzsche's?) words:

[A] 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 à parte. [...]

Vinguemos a derrota que os do Norte infligiram aos arabes nossos maiores. Expiemos o crime que commetemos, expulsando da península os arabes que a civilizaram.

[*Our great Arab tradition – of tolerance and free civilization. It is in the manner in which we are the keepers of the Arab spirit in Europe that we will have a distinct individuality. [...]*

Let us revenge the defeat inflicted by those from the North to our Arab ancestors. Let us redeem the crime we committed when we expelled from the Peninsula the Arabs that civilized it.]

(PESSOA, 2012a: 71, 74)

IX. Neoarabism and Heteronymism: from Al-Mu'tamid to Abd-el-Ram (1928-1931)

The role of the Muslims as “initiators” in the context of the History of Culture can be found in two more articles entitled “O Renascer de um Simbolo: Al-Motamide, o iniciador” and “As Causas Longinquas da Homenagem a Al-Motamide” [*The rebirth of a symbol: al-Mu'tamid, the initiator / The distant causes of the homage to al-Mu'tamid*]. These were probably written by Pessoa and Augusto Ferreira Gomes, having been published in 1928 in the “Noticias” *Illustrado* and signed with the initials “A. F. G.” (G[OMES], 1928a and 1928b; 125-1r; PESSOA, 2011: 27, 295-299) (Fig. 11). These texts concern the figure of the poet and Muslim King Al-Mu'tamid, who was born in Beja (in Ġarb al-Andalus) and became King of Seville during the times of al-Andalus, and who praised the city of Silves (where he lived) in his poems (cf. ALVES, 1996a). There appears to be no doubt that Pessoa personally intervened as author in the production of this material, which is organically part of Pessoa's work (cf. Sepúlveda and Uribe *in* PESSOA, 2011: 383).

In both of these articles Pessoa and Ferreira Gomes write about a project of a homage to Al-Mu'tamid to be organized in the city of Silves and fostered by the Spanish intellectual Blas Infante Pérez (BOSCAGLIA, 2016c). In one of these articles, we may read:

[...] era de esperar que, mais tarde ou mais cedo, houvesse de ser “feita” uma “animação” do espirito arabe, [...]

“A homenagem, claramente pagã, á memória de Al Motamide, wali de Silves, despertará, nos poucos que já estão despertos, a recordação do Grande Acordo de Março de 1914.”

[one would expect that sooner or later, a revival of the Arab spirit would happen. [...] “This clearly pagan homage to the memory of Al-Motamide, the wali of Silves, will awaken, in those few already awakened, the remembrance of the Great Agreement of March 1914.”]

(125-1r; PESSOA, 2011: 297-298)

Note the mention to the “Great Agreement of March 1914,” stipulated between the “Pagan Council” and the “Sebastianist Order.” In these cryptic words, Pessoa is probably speaking about what he himself called “o dia triumphal da minha vida” [*the triumphal day of my life*] – March 8, 1914 – which marks the day in which the heteronyms “appeared” in his work (cf. Sepúlveda and Uribe in PESSOA, 2011: 27, 295-299; SEABRA, 1996). In a famous letter to Adolfo Casais Monteiro in January 13, 1935 (PESSOA, 2013a: 641-653), Pessoa described this “triumphal day” as being a crucial myth-event in his life and as the “geneses dos heterónimos” [*the genesis of the heteronym*].

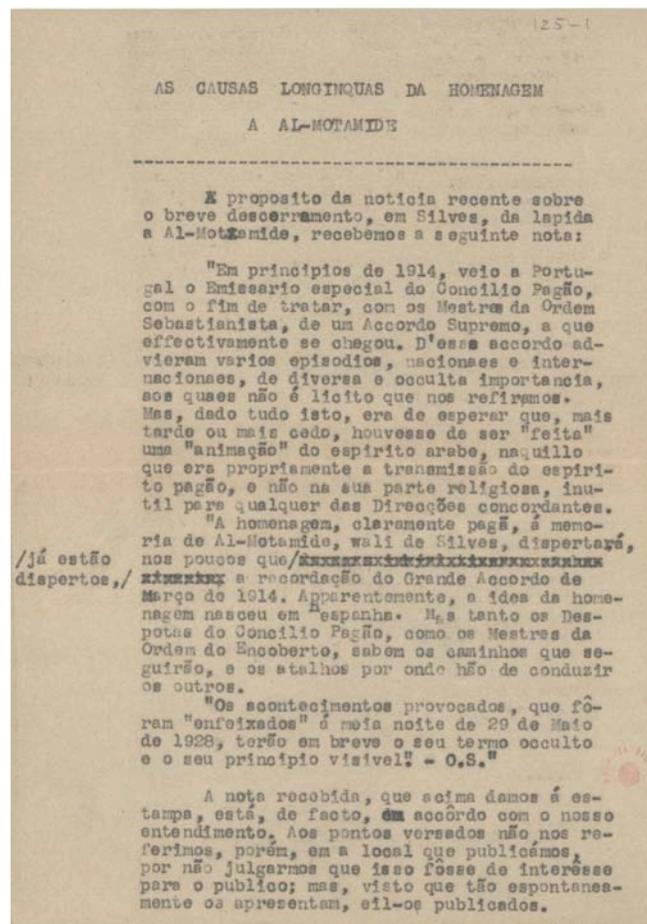


Fig. 11. BNP/E3, 125-1r

In the aforementioned article, Pessoa seems to state that the “triumphal day,” that is, heteronymism, (and therefore, Pessoa’s work itself) was one of the “causas longinquas” [*distant causes*] of the “animação do espírito árabe” [*revival of the Arab spirit*] in Portugal. Accordingly, Pessoa interpreted this revival as an event through which the intention, expressed by Pessoa himself around 1918, of becoming one of the “mantenedores do espírito árabe na Europa” [*keepers of the Arab spirit in Europe*] was realised. The author seems also to state that the homage to the Arab poet was one of the “distant causes” for the future coming of the Fifth Empire as a new cultural and spiritual epoch of Humankind, according to the Sebastianist perspectives: “Al-Motamide pressente qualquer coisa que hoje já se desenha e que está escripto — para quem souber lêr — nas quadras de Bandarra.”⁴⁵ [*Al-Mu’tamid foreseen something that today is taking shape and that is written - to those who can read them - in Bandarra’s quatrains.*] (G[OMES], 1928b). The existence of an occult element of Islamic matrix in Pessoa’s Sebastianism and Fifth Empire can be discussed also by taking into consideration a passage from another of his writings: “Onde aparecerá [D. Sebastião] e quando? Quando não haja águas negras e quando o Sol apareça no Occidente.” [*Where and when will King Sebastian appear? When there won’t be black waters and the Sun will rise from the West*] (PESSOA, 2011: 147). This passage seems to quote and interpret a *ḥadīth* about the Day of Resurrection, from the Prophet Muḥammad “The Hour will not come until the sun rises from the West.” (*apud* KABBANI, 2003: 241)⁴⁶.

Furthermore, Pessoa intentionally leaves open the supposition that the “Arab spirit” had a hidden role in the fundamental event of the construction of his (personal) myth. This event, as we saw, was the “triumphal day” in which the heteronyms Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, and Álvaro de Campos appeared, besides Fernando Pessoa himself as the orthonym. In this sense, the writer implicitly recognizes once again, as I argue, the legacy of al-Andalus on Portuguese culture and in his own work and thought. This legacy is pointed out by stating that the city of Silves “pagará uma dívida” [*will be paying a debt*] with the planned homage to the Muslim King. According to what I have pointed out in the previous sections of this paper, this debt was – in Pessoa’s perspective – a cultural and civilizational one from Europe and the West (the Fourth Empire) to the medieval Islamic civilization.

It is possible to speculate and argue that, amongst the heteronyms, Álvaro de Campos might be the most suitable one to transmit or receive the “Arab spirit” in the “triumphal day” of Pessoa’s “Great Agreement”: Campos was born in

⁴⁵ Gonçalo Annes Bandarra (1500-1556) was a Portuguese messianic poet, whose quatrains called *Trovas* [*popular poems*] are a main reference for Vieira’s and Pessoa’s theories on the Fifth Empire (*cf.* PESSOA, 2011).

⁴⁶ Translation from Arabic into English by Kabbani.

Tavira, “no Algarve – na parte mais arabe do paiz” [*in the Algarve – the most Arab part of the country*] (PESSOA, 2009b: 223); he was a Sensationist – a *Neo-Arabist*, according to António Mora’s theory - who travelled to the Near East (*cf.* Pessoa, 1915); according to the Portuguese philosopher Agostinho da Silva (1958: 64), even Campos’ features “o ligam provavelmente à grande massa mourisca do Algarve” [*probably connect him to the great Muslim mass of the Algarve*].

In the same vein, and as argued by Leyla Perrone-Moisés (1997: 59): “tous les poètes de la ‘coterie’, en tant que poètes ibériques, ont un substrat arabe.” [*all the poets of the “coterie”, as Iberian poets, have an Arabic substrate.*].

There are two other figures among the list of fictitious authors invented and/or reinvented by Pessoa, who did not attain the full statute of heteronyms, but whose names allow us to suppose a literary or fictional connection to Islamic civilization. These are Hadji-Murad, a man who really existed⁴⁷ and that was reinvented by Pessoa as an author of Cabalistic writings; and Efbeedee Pasha, a writer of humorous stories in Scottish dialect, although the last name “Pasha” is clearly from a Turkish-Ottoman origin (*cf.* PESSOA, 2013a: 491-492, 578-588).

The occult, the art of feigning or pretending, and the al-Andalus characterize yet another document found in Pessoa’s literary estate. This document is the article “Profecias fatídicas de um árabe” by Mário Domingues, directly involving Fernando Pessoa, which was published on April 4th 1931, in the magazine *Reporter X* (135C-8_9 and 14).

On a March afternoon in 1931, Pessoa was at the Café Martinho da Arcada in the Praça do Comércio, Lisbon, chatting with a German named Hernst Herrman. This man had said something about an Arab “misterioso profeta” [*mysterious prophet*] whom he had met during a trip to Morocco. According to Herrman, in 1900 the wise Abd-el-Ram had predicted catastrophic events that he believed would happen in Portugal during the distant year of 1990.

As Pessoa listened attentively to these predictions, a third person joined them: it was the writer Mário Domingues (1899-1977) from São Tomé who had made Lisbon his home. A novelist, journalist and director of newspapers, Domingues had some friends in common with Pessoa and they both attended some of the same literary cafes of Lisbon.⁴⁸ As he arrived at the Martinho da Arcada that afternoon, he immediately decided to join Pessoa and Herrman and listen carefully to that strange conversation.

Some weeks went by until, on April 4th, 1931, in the same day in which Pessoa wrote the famous poem “Autopsicografia” [*Autopsychography*] (published in

⁴⁷ Military Caucasian leader (c. 1790-1852) and the protagonist of a posthumous novel by Tolstoy published in 1912.

⁴⁸ The Portuguese writer António Botto, a friend of Pessoa, collaborated in the weekly *Detective*, cofounded by Domingues in 1932 (*cf.* FERREIRA, 1974) I acknowledge José Barreto for giving me this and other important information useful for this present essay.

Presença magazine 1932), Domingues signed and published the article entitled “Profecias fatídicas de um árabe.” This article was a detailed description of the conversation that Pessoa and Herrman had held at the Martinho da Arcada. Pessoa kept the entire number of that newspaper (135C-43 e 3-15), which can be found in his literary estate. The pages and the words dedicated by Domingues to that winter afternoon are here fully republished and transcribed (see Document 9; Figs. 23-25).

As I mentioned before, Pessoa already knew Mário Domingues. Both had authored works that had been considered immoral and that were apprehended and destroyed by the Portuguese authorities. This had happened in 1923, under the initiative of a body of students called *Liga de Acção dos Estudantes de Lisboa* [*Alliance of Action of the Students of Lisbon*] (cf. BARRETO, 2012). Besides this fact, they shared the interest in the detective story genre.

This particular occasion of their encounter was the pretext for Domingues’ homage to Pessoa in the introductory lines of his article. Domingues’ article is also another document that testifies to Pessoa’s interest in Arabic and Islamic questions, which in this particular text are combined with the interest Pessoa had in mystery and the occult.

Since Pessoa spent most of his life inventing literary *personae* and fictions, it might also be reasonable to assume that Mário Domingues’ article about the “mysterious Arab prophet” could have been written in collaboration with Pessoa himself. It also might even be possible that the mysterious Arab called Abd-el-Ram whose “antepassados fôram senhores de uma parte do Algarve” [*ancestors owned a part of Algarve*], whose family members “mantiveram íntimas relações com aquela província portuguesa” [*kept intimate relations with the Portuguese province*] and that “conhece a vossa história como talvez poucos portugueses a conheçam” [*knows your history as maybe few Portuguese now it*], is a literary and ironic fiction orchestrated by Pessoa. An (involuntary?) clue that could make this an even more interesting hypothesis is the fact that Domingues’s article was published on the same day in which Pessoa wrote the verse: “O poeta é um fingidor” [*The poet is a faker*] (PESSOA, 1932b: 9).

Regardless of this possibility, this document, together with the two other documents about al-Mu’tamid, testifies to Pessoa’s will to intervene during a particularly complex political and national(ist)⁴⁹ period in Portugal, by attempting to stress the importance of the role of Islamic civilization to the formation of Portuguese culture (and, consequently, of the Fifth Empire). Concerning this subject, it should be noted that during this period some segments of Portuguese society were resistant to Islam, which was considered by some as a “perigo para as

⁴⁹ After the regicide of 1908 and the implementation of the Republic in 1910, came a long period of institutional, politic and social instability, that lead to the Military Dictatorship (1926-1928), to which followed the National Dictatorship (1928-1933) and finally the fascist Estado Novo (1933-1974).

nossas exigências nacionalizadoras” [*danger to our civilizational demands*] in the context of Portuguese colonialism in Africa (PONCES DE CARVALHO, 1929: 183-184; cf. VAKIL, 2003). It should also be noticed that the aforementioned homage planned by the city of Silves to al-Mu’tamid was cancelled (cf. BOSCAGLIA, 2016c), due to reasons associated with a nationalist and anti-Spanish matrix (INFANTE PÉREZ, 1979: 84). The homage was planned and cancelled in the same year in which Pessoa publicly intervened in the political and national question with his text *O Interregno: Defesa e Justificação da Ditadura Militar em Portugal* (1928).⁵⁰

This question therefore still arises without being answered: could Pessoa, already directly involved as an intellectual in that complex national context, have hidden his signature in the 1928 (and 1931) articles, in order not to engage directly in the controversies and tensions surrounding the Islamic theme?

Final Considerations

The presence of Islam and Islamic civilization in Pessoa’s work is beginning to be more addressed and discussed in Pessoa’s studies. Its importance lies in the interpretation and use of Arabic-Islamic themes made by the author in his project of a *Literature for Civilization*.

Pessoa considered literature to be the main cultural vehicle for furthering Civilization. He felt he had the “terrível e religiosa missão que todo o homem de génio recebe de Deus com o seu génio” [*terrible and religious mission that all man of genius receives from God with his genius*]. In the author’s own words, this mission consisted in having an “uma acção sobre a humanidade, contribuir com todo o poder do meu esforço para a civilização” [*an action over Humankind, to contribute with all the power of my effort to civilization*]. Pessoa felt he was guided by and to the “fim criador-de-civilização de toda a obra artística” [*the purpose of creating civilization of all Art*]. Accordingly, for the author, “creating civilization” is associated with the “alargamento da consciência da humanidade” [*enhancement of the consciousness of Humankind*] which he intended to pursue through his literary work, as can be read in the letter Pessoa wrote to Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues in January 19, 1915. (PESSOA, 2006d: 140-141). For the author, civilization and religion (here comprehensively considered as spirituality) are intimately connected, between themselves and with literature. Therefore, a study of Islam in Pessoa’s work has to be situated within the general framework where literature, religion and cultural-civilizational thought are related.

Pessoa thought, read and wrote about Islam and Islamic civilization during the course of, at least, thirty-two years: from the age of fifteen (in 1903) until the year of his death (in 1935). This interest especially emerged in several moments of

⁵⁰ Pessoa repudiated the contents of this publication in 1935 (PESSOA, 2013a: 655).

his life, particularly in 1906, between 1916 and 1918 and between 1926 and 1935. The author questioned and wrote about the particularities of Islamic religion and philosophy, about the cultures and mentalities of Muslim peoples, about Arabic and Persian literature and poets, and about the role of Islamic civilization in the history, culture and destiny of human civilization – especially concerning Portugal, the Iberian Peninsula and their role in the universal Fifth Empire. Over the years, Pessoa developed a coherent line of thought about Islam and Islamic civilization, expressed in a number of scattered references which, for the most part, were subordinated to his other writing projects.

For Pessoa, Islamic civilization has an important role in the History of Culture, as a *keeper and vehicle* of the philosophical and scientific culture of Ancient Greece in Christian Europe during the Middle Ages. For him, this role was particularly relevant in the Iberian Peninsula and had consequences in the European Renaissance, of which the Portuguese Discoveries were an important expression. Pessoa included and discussed this cultural role of Islamic civilization in several of his literary and philosophical projects, such as Sensationism, Neopaganism, Iberism, Heteronymism, Sebastianism and the theory of Fifth Empire.

Pessoa stated several times that there was a familiarity and even *identity* between the Arab (Arab-Islamic) and the Portuguese (or Iberian) mentalities. The Arab/Muslim is considered, in this line of thought, as partial or completely substantial to the Portuguese or Iberian own self, concerning its culture and psychology. Therefore, this Arab/Muslim is not considered as *The Oriental Other*. Pessoa's onto-epistemology is not fully inscribed in the Orientalist matrix, such as Said (1978: 2-3) describes it, although it presents aspects of the Orientalist aesthetic and terminological representation – with the presence and possible of authors such as FitzGerald, Lane, Nöldeke and perhaps Renan. For instance, concerning the *Islamic religion*, António Mora interprets it as a type of "fatalism" (a characteristic Orientalist element), which nevertheless is not considered by him as an Oriental passivity to be stigmatized, but rather as a favourable heritage of the Greek mentality and thought.

According to Pessoa, the Islamic civilization, particularly in al-Andalus, is connoted with an ability of cultural synthesis and the practice of religious tolerance. Admiring these, as well as the above-mentioned traits of Islamic civilization, Pessoa acclaimed the Islamic past of the Iberian Peninsula, stressing the cultural debt of Portugal (and therefore of Europe, the West and the world) to al-Andalus and Islamic civilization. Pessoa also wished to be, at a certain stage, an inheritor, interpreter and keeper of the Arab-Islamic cultural heritage to contemporary Europe. In addition, Pessoa expressly stated, through Mora, that the Sensationism of *Orpheu* – one of the most important manifestations of Pessoa's work and of Portuguese contemporary culture – had the same characteristics of

Islamic culture, namely its synthetic ability and the central role of imagination in Art and culture, being these characteristics a legacy of al-Andalus. The characterization of the “Arab” mentality as a *dreamer* mentality is a central hermeneutic element in the association, made in several of Pessoa’s texts, between the author’s philosophy of imagination and the Arab / Islamic theme. For the above mentioned reasons, Sensationism is called by Mora *Neorabism*, which I suggest should be the name to be used, in Pessoa Studies, to indicate the author’s project and the author’s way to 1) recognize and reinterpret the Arabic and Islamic legacy in his own work and thought; 2) and, through his own work and thought, to keep and reaffirm this legacy in Portuguese and European cultures.

The presence of an Arab-Islamic psychological and cultural component in the “Portuguese soul” is also reflected in a more indirect, occult and critical way in Pessoa’s *Sebastianism* and idea of the *Fifth Empire*. By reinterpreting these Portuguese myths, by surpassing the literal idea of the fight against Islam which was central in previous interpretations (namely in the one made by Vieira), and by admiring some aspects of Islamic civilization such as religious tolerance and its cultural synthetic character (common to Islamic civilization and to Pessoa’s Fifth Empire), Pessoa enacts a relevant and significant operation in the History of Portuguese Thought. This operation is one of the most penetrating elements of his writings and thought about Islam, full of cultural and critical consequences (including in comparison with the work of Camões). In fact, according to Pessoa’s mythic and civilizational vision, the Arab-Islamic civilization is not seen as an enemy, but it is an *occult and functional element* in the Cultural History of Europe and the West. This element enables, mainly through the protection and transmission of the old Greek culture and mentality (the First Empire) during the Middle Ages (the Third Empire), the formation of European civilization (the Fourth Empire). Thus, for Pessoa, this element also allows the coming of the Fifth Empire as a new universal, cultural and spiritual epoch for Humankind.

However, it is important to mention that Pessoa thinks that the debt of the Fifth Empire towards Islamic civilization is on the psychological and cultural level and not on the religious (i.e., Islamic) level. Furthermore, Pessoa’s Fifth Empire is a Eurocentric and Occidentalising myth, since the imperial succession “officially” includes only Greece, Rome, Christianity and England/Modern Europe, before the Universal Fifth Empire (*cf.* Pessoa in GOMES, 1934; CFP, 8-228). Therefore, Islamic civilization is also implicitly considered by Pessoa as one of the civilizations to be culturally integrated within a new world civilizational paradigm of European and Western matrix, which is partly narrated through the imaginary – although metaphorical – of the Crusade, particularly in *Mensagem*.

Considering Pessoa’s interest in mysticism and esotericism, it seems that Pessoa has not written explicitly about this subject in Islam, although it is possible to find echoes of his readings on Sufism in some of his writings. These echoes are

contextual to his lasting and consistent interest in *Omar Khayyām*, undoubtedly one of the most read and present authors (particularly through Edward Fitzgerald's version) in Pessoa's intellectual journey. Pessoa reinterpreted the philosophy of this Persian author as a thought defined by pessimism and agnosticism, which situated Pessoa's interpretation very far from the authentic Khayyām, and closer to FitzGerald.

In conclusion, this textual overview and proposal of interpretation aims to argue that the Islamic theme should be considered a specific, functional and relevant element to the study of Pessoa's work and thought. In fact, for the above mentioned reasons, this is a relevant theme in the author's literary works, in his writings on aesthetics, in his philosophical texts and in his reflections about the History of Culture.

Critical text

1 [36-2^v] [March 3, 1910]

A Nova Huri.

Para além do silencio das estrellas
Onde nem rareado chega o grito
Da nossa dôr, nessas paragens bellas
D'onde (paragens lúcidas e bellas)
O Absurdo do Real anda proscripto.

Nesse infinito¹ além do infinito²
Que da medida do real constroe
A alma insensata em sonhos,³ que destroe
Na propria corrupção a realidade
Do conhecer □ – n'essas paragens
Com figuras de □ imagens,

Dorme, sorrindo á illusão da vida
Á falsa falsidade do viver
Uma figura extranha e indefinida
Cuja expressão⁴ □ dolorida
Não nos⁵ ensina a crêr nem a descrêr.

Dorme e dentro em⁶ seu seio que não bate
Como batem na terra os corações;
Ha como que uma vida sem remate
Quer de illusões quer de desillusões;

Dorme e não sonha porque só na vida
Se sonha; dorme; e suave e indefinida
Vae longe d'ella a idea de sentir
E nos labios subtis vaga e⁷ perdida
Uma sombra de dôr erra a⁸ sorrir.

A Nova Gai. 5/3/00.

Para além do visível das estrelas
 Onde nem caead cheja o pito
 De um ser, nesses paços liles
 S'ha (paços liles e liles)

O Almoço de Real anda prescripto -
~~Calor de~~
 N'um infinito além do infinito (part)

Que da medida do real custose
 A alma vismente em sul, que destoe
 Na procura aniquila a realida
 So combe - a' nos paços
 Com figura de anias.

Sumo, sumo a' illusão da vida
 A' plena fulridade do viver
 Uma figura estranha e indefinida
 Que ~~esta~~ expressa Almoço
 Não temer a vir nem a desvir:

Sumo e n'um o ser sui que não luta
 Como lutem na terra a encaos;
 Ha como por uma vida sem remate
 Que de illusão para a illusão;

Sumo e não sabe porque si na vida
 E sabe; d'uma e outra e indefinida
 Que he o' elle a idea de sentir
 E nos labios n'um era sentir
 Uma sombra de era era era.

Fig. 12. BNP/E3, 36-2°

2 [49A3-6^r]

[June 10, 1912]

The Arab sage's child lay dead and blue'd
And¹ he bent nearer eyes into² the scroll
His trembling glance scarce read as understood,
But he was master of his own control.

"God is great and all things are in His hand;
Both our good and our evil are His good;
Our life³ we cannot will nor⁴ understand,
But He knows all and all is as He would."

This he thought, back of what he dreaming read,
And the reality of his dead child
Became a corner of vision, something dead
To thought; that scarce his living thinking whiled⁵
From God, whose everyness is everything.
And he read on till morn wrought its brief spring.

49A³-6

The Arab sage's child lay dead and blue'd
 And he bent nearer eyes ^{into} ~~upon~~ the scrawl
 His trembling glance scarce read as understood,
 But he was master of his own control.

"God is great and all things are in His hand;
 Both our good and our evil are His good;
 Our ~~world~~ life we cannot ^{with our} understand,
 But He knows all and all is as He would."

This he thought, loath of what he dreaming read,
 And the reality of his dead child
 Became a corner of vision, something dead
 To thought; that scarce his living ^{the living while he} ~~was the father~~
 From God, whose everness is everything.
 And he read on till morn wrought its brief spring.

10-11-1912

Fernando Pessoa


Fig. 13. BNP/E3, 49A3-6^r

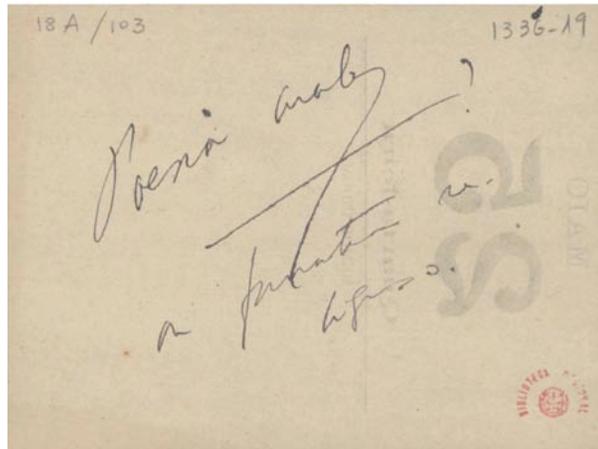
3 [133G-19^r]

[c. 1910]

Poesia arabe

—?

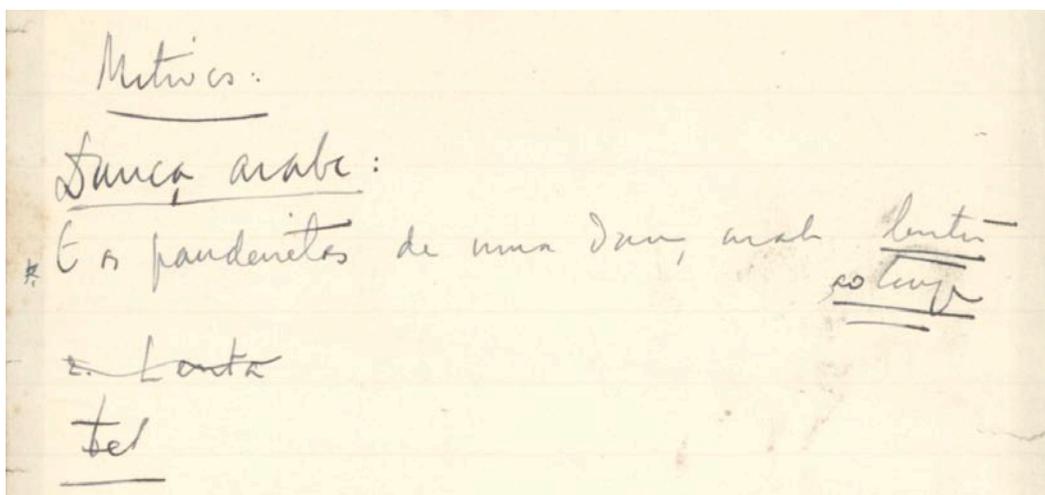
Ou fanatismo religioso.

Fig. 14. BNP/E3, 133G-19^r4 [41-49^r]

[c. 1912-1914]

Metrics:

Dança arabe:

1. E as pandeiretas^a de uma dança arabe *lentas*¹ *ao longe*²Fig. 15. BNP/E3, 41-49^r (pormenor)

^a Cf. "Que pandeiretas o silencio d'este quarto!... | As paredes estão na Andaluzia... | Ha danças sensuaes no brilho fixo da luz..." (PESSOA, 1915b).

5 [65-93^r] [c. 1914]

O Deserto – Suite lyrica.

I. A Caravana

1 – □

2 – Pela¹ arida paz sem estradas
 Longas as hostes vem...
 Arde o céu sobre o silencio que cessa,
 Sua secura o susurro que surge,
 Sem cessa singram, socegradamente² se se succedem
 Longas as hostes vem, pelo³ plaino vem...

Ah as amadas ficaram sob arcos
 Ficaram emquanto⁴ na sêde cerrada
 Da estatica sala sem lado ou lage
 Longas as hostes vem,
 Longe, longe⁵, longas as hostes⁶ vem...
 Numa nuvem nitida, numa nevoa no norte,
 Longas as hostes vem, longas as hostes vem,
 Longe, longe, longe, longas as hostes vem...

Erguem-se altos, hirtos, successivos⁷ os vultos
 Dos camellos, erguem-se
 Corcovas contra o calado céu
 [Corcovas] com carga contra o calado ceu
 Corcovas com gente hirta contra o calado ceu
 Agora mais perto mais dispersa cavalgada
 Longas as hostes têm
 Figuras brancas do⁸ traje, no vulto escuras,
 Longe, longe, longe,
 Longas as hostes vem...

Longas as hostes vem pela planicie indecisa
 Longas, longas, longas, longas,
 Longas as hostes vêm.

Longas mas tão lentas, sempre⁹ tão lentas, tão lentas
 Ha um som de pandeiros perdido no silencio que fazem,
 Longas mas sempre¹⁰, tão lentas, longas as hostes vem.

O areal, o areal...
 Sem fundo areal calido desenrola-se ao¹¹ lado
 Ao longe, sem □ a □ o areal

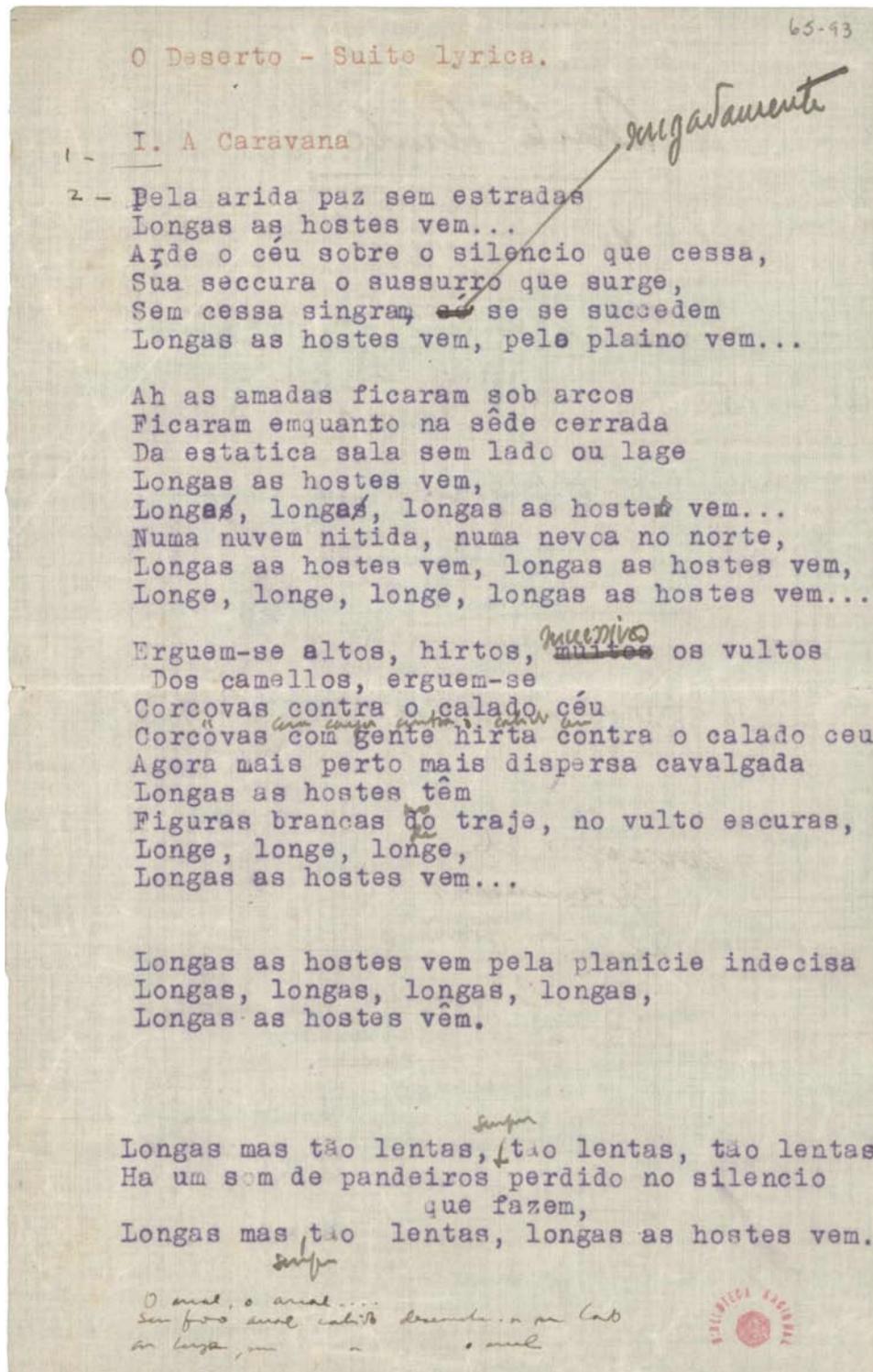


Fig. 16. BNP/E3, 65-93r

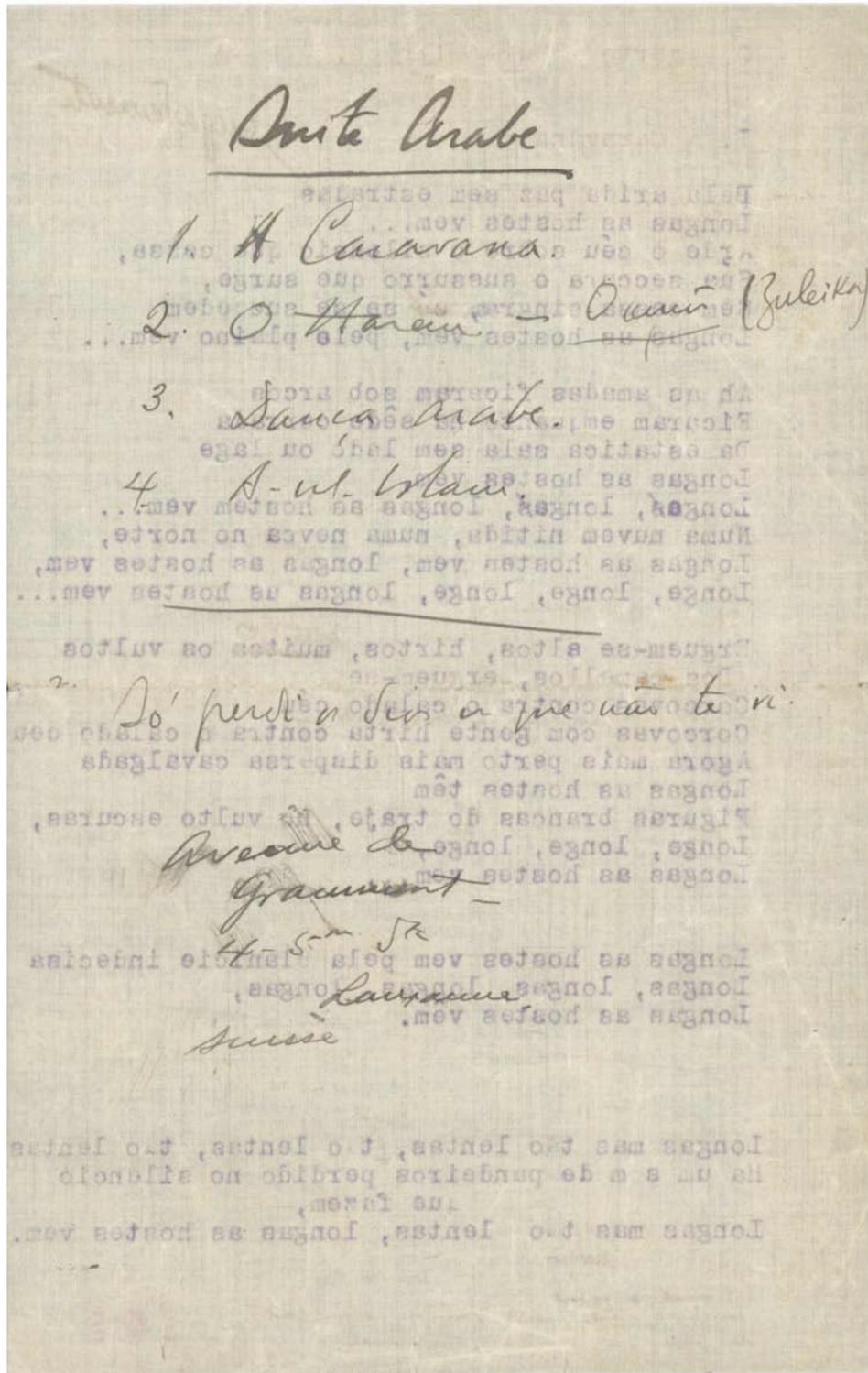


Fig. 17. BNP/E3, 65-93v

6 [65-93^v] [c. 1914]

Suite Arabe

1. A Caravana.
2. O Harem - (Zuleika)¹
3. Dança Arabe.
4. A-ul-Islam

7 [93A-14] [c. 1912]

V[ictor] H[ugo] – Feuilles d'Automne

- I. Ce siècle avait deux ans! –
 IV. Que t'importe, mon cœur, ces –
 V. Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne –
 XXXV – VI – Le soleil s'est couché –

Les Chants du crépuscule

- V – Napoléon II – (?)
 VII – □
 VIII - À Canaris
 XIV – Oh! n'insultez jamais...
 XVI – Le grand homme vaincu – (?)
 XXV – Puisque j'ai mis ma lèvre... (?)
 XXXV – Les autres en tout sens –

to re-examine.

[14^v] *Orientales*

- XXVIII – Les djinns.
 VIII – Chanson de Pirates.

Odes et Ballades.

- Ballades – VI - La Fiancée du Timbalier.
 VIII – Les Deux Archers. – (?)
 XII – Le Pas d'Armes du Roi Jean.
 XIII – La Légende de la nonne.

17/236 93A-14

1^{re} H. - Feuilles d'Automne

I - O siècle avant deux ans! —
 IV - Que t'importe, mon cœur, es —
 V - Et qu'on entret ses la montagne —
 XXXV - VI - de quel s'est com di —

des Chants de l'Épique

V - Napoléon A. - (?)
 VII - A Canaris.
 XIV - Et' n'assemble jamais —
 XVI - de par le monde venue — (?)
 XXV - Que je j'ai mis ma vie — (?)
 XXXV - de, autre en ton jour —

In. eximios

Orientals

XXVIII - Les Djinn.
 VIII - Chanson de l'Épique.

Os et Balloos

Balloos - VI - La France de Timbalier.
 VIII - Le Deux Anciens. - (?)
 XII - Le Sa. à l'Amor de Rio Jan.
 XIII - Le légende de l'île Nomine.

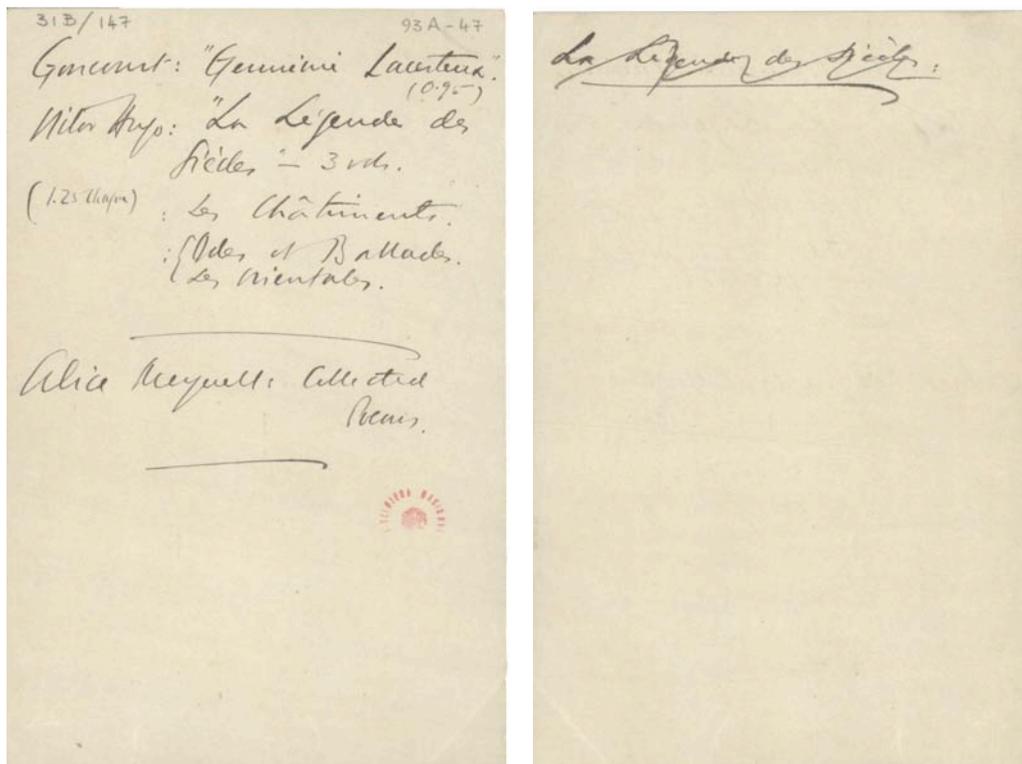
Figs. 18 & 19. BNP/E3, 93A-14

8 [93A-47] [c. 1912]

Goncourt: "Germinie Lacerteux." (0.95)
 Victor Hugo: "La Légende de Siècles" – 3 vols.
 (1,25 chaque): Les Châtiments.
 ; Odes et Ballades.
 { Les Orientales.

Alice Meynell : Collected Poems.

[47^v] <La Légende de Siècles:>



Figs. 20 & 21. BNP/E3, 93A-47

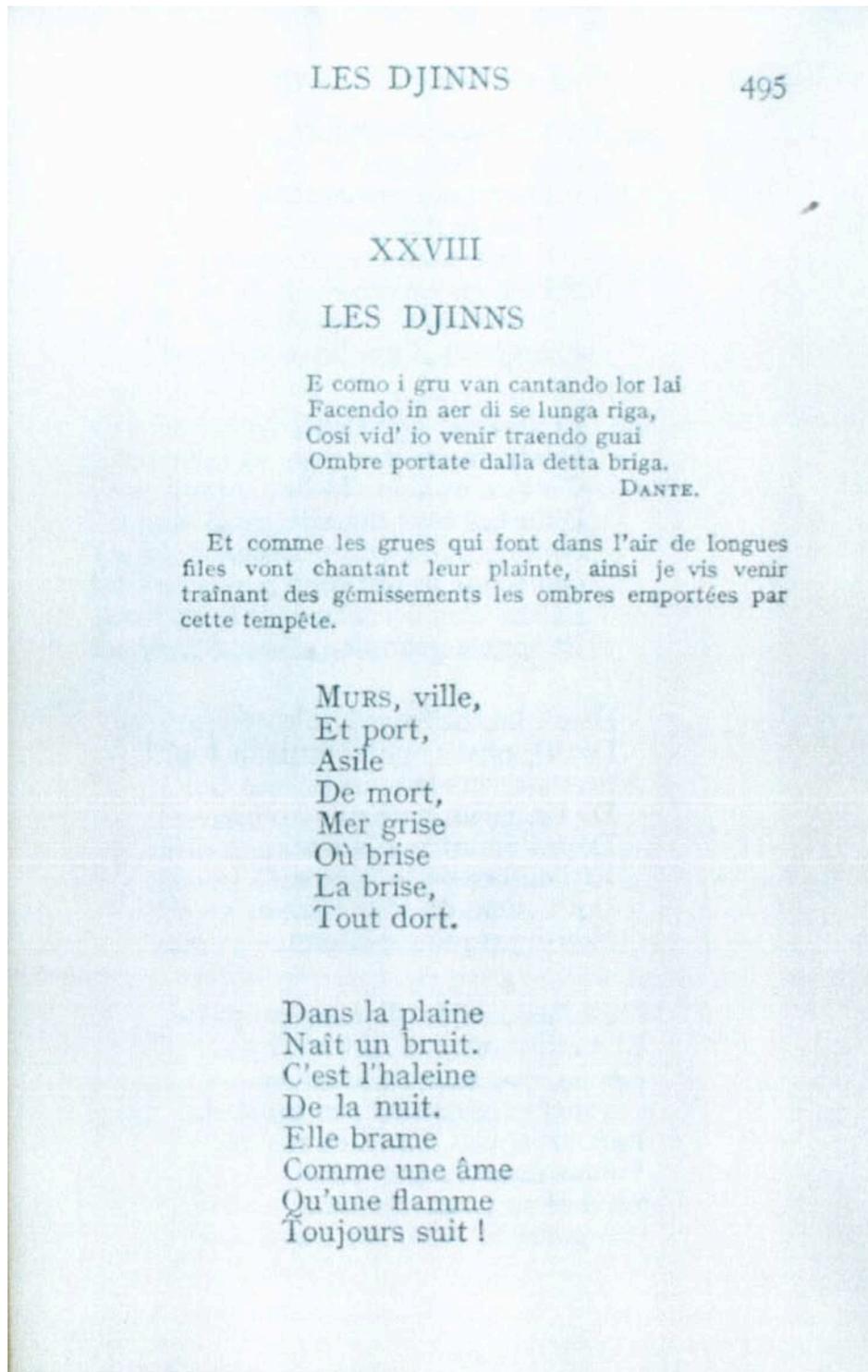


Fig. 22. V. Hugo, *Odes et Ballades ; Les Orientales*, [s. d.], p. 495 (CFP, 8-270)



Fig. 23. BNP/E3, 135C-43^r

Reporter X – *Semanao das grandes reportagens*, n.º 35, April 4, 1931 (cover)

9 [135C-8_9 and 14] [Reporter X, April 4, 1931]

Profecias fatídicas de um árabe

Abd-el-Ram, conselheiro de Abd-el-Krim, o homem que previu o terramoto de Messina, faz previsões sôbre o mundo, em geral, e sôbre o nosso país em especial – O futuro grande terramoto de Lisboa – O Tejo modificará o seu curso – Um grande vulcão em Sintra – A queda da ponte de D. Luís – Desgraça sôbre desgraça – Um dilúvio universal de fogo

Houve um tempo, não muito distante, em que a mocidade literária de Lisboa costumava formar a sua tertúlia, para o cavaco amêno ou para a discussão vibrante de entusiasmo, no antigo café Martinho, a um recanto das arcadas da Praça do Comércio. Porque motivo ali se reüniam aquêles rapazes nunca eu tive ocasião de investigar ao certo. Tenho, porém, a impressão de que queriam aproveitar alguma coisa do que a geração literária anterior – Eça de Queiroz, Fialho de Almeida, Ramalho Ortigão e tantos outros homens ilustres das letras portuguesas – ali deixara de talento, de requinte intelectual flutuando invisível na mesma atmosfêra que nós vieramos respirar.

Dêsse último grupo de literatos que se reunia no café sombrio e discreto, propício ás longas meditações e aos devaneios da fantasia, poucos lá vão ainda e êstes mesmo dispersos por entre a multidão pacata dos empregados de comércio que do meio dia para as duas costumam almoçar.

Eu próprio perdi o treino de endereçar os meus passos para aquêle café. Só em dias excepcionais de vaga melancolia muito íntima, naquêles dias em que uma voz suave e misteriosa nos aconselha um ambiente de solidão, longe do mundo ruído e febricitante das artérias mais concorridas da capital, é que, instintivamente, me encaminho para lá e me deixo ficar no ângulo sombrio da sala a rememorar pequenos nada, pedaços quási esquecidos da vida passada, luminosos farrapos de sonho, enquanto lá fóra a chuva entoa uma ladaínha triste. E rara é a vez que eu por lá apareço que à mesma mesa não venha sentar-se, sorridente e amavel, aquele que foi e ainda é o frequentador mais apaixonado do velho Martinho: Fernando Pessoa, um dos poetas mais talentosos e menos reclamados da geração a que me orgulho de pertencer.

Fernando Pessoa, que foi a alma do movimento do renovação literária dos últimos vinte anos, servido por um admirável espírito critico e voluntariamente enclausurado num circulo de ferrea modéstia que lhe ordena o abandono de tôdo os proveitos que a sua inteligência legitimamente podia conquistar, goza, ali no café tristonho, a volúpia do isolamento. E quando, de raro em raro, um amigo o procura naquela espécie de cenáculo, onde êle sobrevive, um alvoroço de alegria logo se desenha no seu rôsto magro e, para se vingar dos largos silêncios de anos,

conversa, discorre, inventa, recita poemas inéditos, conta novelas estranhas que a sua imaginação constroi e que um pouco de preguiça intelectual o inibe de escrever.

A EVOCAÇÃO DE UM MISTERIOSO PROFETA

Fernando Pessoa preocupa-se demasiado com os problemas do Além. O ocultismo, o espiritismo, a transcendente teosofia, o labirinto complicado da astrologia, a leitura do destino de cada um através do horoscopo, são para êle coisas familiares. No entanto, só em ocasiões de excepcional bôa disposição êle comete a imprudência de sôbre elas dissertar com extraordinário brilho de palavra durante horas e horas.

Uma tarde destas – tarde sombria e chuvosa de despedida de inverno – fui encontrá-lo a um recanto do velho Martinho em entusiástica discussão com um sujeito louro, grave, de lunetas fumadas, sujeito êsse que êle me apresentou em palavras simples:

– Monsieur Ernest Hermann.

Feita esta breve apresentação, talvez para não perderem o fio da conversa, retomaram a atitude em que os fôra encontrar, isto é, o estrangeiro, falando, e Fernando Pessoa, escutando com enorme atenção. Para não interromper, sentei-me e escutei também.

– Era um homem extraordinário aquêle Abd-el-Ram – dizia o estrangeiro, continuando o seu relato em francês para o meu amigo Fernando Pessoa. – Conheci-o por ocasião da minha última visita a Casablanca, no período mais aceso da guerra entre a Espanha e os riffenhos. Esse homem, que era íntimo de Abd-el-Krim, aliava a uma grande cultura árabe um extraordinário conhecimento da mais moderna civilização europeia. O grande chefe riffenho escutava-o como se êle fôsse um verdadeiro oráculo. Dizia-se em Casablanca que êsse árabe de olhar metálico e penetrante previra com uma certeza quási matemática tôdos os triunfos e, por fim, a derrota de Abd-el-Krim. As últimas resoluções de êste fôram tomadas na ausência de Abd-el-Ram. Se o profeta estivesse a seu lado teria evitado que a França se envolvesse no conflito e lhe preparasse a derrota.

«Abd-el-Ram, apesar de vigoroso ainda, deve contar mais de oitenta anos. Êle previu, numa visão quási telepática, o terramoto de Messina, em Italia. Lembro-me de que um jornal italiano, após a grande catástrofe, publicou o seu retrato, acompanhado das suas profecias que datavam de alguns anos antes da desgraça. Nessa mesma reportagem o jornal italiano referiu-se a outras calamidades que haviam de atingir outros países e recordo-me ainda de que um dos de que êle mais se ocupou era precisamente Portugal.»

Os óculos de Fernando Pessoa tiveram scintilações de curiosidade e eu, que estivera escutando a palestra do estrangeiro num interêsse sempre crescente, não

pude reprimir a tempo um gesto de impaciência. Dir-se-ia que Ernest Hermann tinha qualquer coisa de fatídico na sua expressão e que, por um esquisito milagre de sobreposição, o seu rosto claro, os seus cabelos loiros e as suas lunetas fumadas, tinham sido repentinamente substituídas pelo rosto do árabe que êle evocava: bronzeado, narinas frementes, olhar duro que penetrasse no fundo das coisas misteriosas como o bisturi dum médico nas carnes de um doente. A voz de Ernest Hermann tornou-se cava, profunda, e as suas palavras, mais espaçadas e lentas, pareciam ditadas por um sonâmbulo.

– Abd-el-Ram – continuou o alemão – evocava nessa reportagem o terramoto que em 1755 atingira a cidade de Lisboa. E dizia: «Visiono para a grande capital portuguesa uma nova desgraça semelhante àquela que a feriu no tempo do Marquês de Pombal, dentro de um período de nove anos e mais nove vezes nove. Nessa época, felizmente, ainda afastada, Lisboa derruirá de novo; as suas sete colinas ficarão reduzidas a quatro, porque três delas, agitadas por um vendaval subterrâneo, perder-se-ão no Tejo, cujo curso mudará, tomando uma forma mais sinuosa e obrigando uma grande lingua de água a irromper sobre a cidade baixa. Mais para a foz, outra língua de água galgará sôbre a margem esquerda do rio, vindo juntar-se às águas do mar a duas léguas ao sul da sua barra actual». – Ora, esta profecia foi feita no ano de 1900 e, pelas contas de Abd-el-Ram – nove anos e mais nove vezes nove –, virá a ter a sua realização em 1990.

– Podemos dormir descansados – disse eu, descerrando pela primeira vez os lábios depois que chegara ao café.

O alemão sorriu. Fernando Pessoa conservou um ar sério e enigmático que êle por vezes costuma ter quando se fala de coisas tétricas. Aproveitámos aquela pausa para mandar-mos servir os clássicos cafés. Mal sorvemos os primeiros goles logo o alemão se lançou na maré alta das previsões fatídicas do tal árabe misterioso.

O DESTINO DA PONTE DE D. LUÍS

– Mas porque motivo – perguntei eu – êsse árabe se interessa tanto por coisas de Portugal?

– Porque – elucidou Ernest – alguns dos seus antepassados fôram senhores de uma parte do Algarve em séculos idos, e ainda seu pai e seu avô mantiveram íntimas relações com aquela província portuguesa, visitando-a por várias vezes. Êle próprio esteve em Portugal por diversas ocasiões e conhece a vossa história como talvez poucos portugueses a conheçam. Não foi essa apenas a profecia fatídica que êle fez acêrca de Portugal. Recordo-me perfeitamente do que êle disse, por exemplo, acêrca da ponte de D. Luís, na cidade do Porto: «Sete períodos de nove anos não-de passar sôbre esta profecia, na cidade do Porto grande desgraça cairá, despenhando do alto para o fundo do Douro a sua ponte mas importante

com tudo o que nelas se encontre nesse momento. Só a providência de homens atilados, servindo-se dos recursos da sabedoria que o Alto Destino colocará ao seu alcance, poderá evitar tão grande desgraça. Acredito mais na cegueira infalível da Fatalidade do que na prudência dos homens.»

– E’ estupenda essa profecia! – exclamou Fernando Pessoa.

– Repare você – disse o alemão – que tanto esta profecia como a do terramoto estão em harmonia perfeita com as mais modernas investigações científicas. A ponte, que foi construída sob a direcção do célebre engenheiro francês Eiffel, tem uma garantia de duração que não vai além de muitos anos, a não ser que se revista tôdo aquêlo arcaboço metálico de cimento armado e se lhe façam algumas pequenas reparações que lhe permitirão sustentar-se de pé durante tempos infinitos. Quanto ao terramoto, como você sabe, é tudo quanto há de mais provavel, porque Lisboa fica muito próximo de uma grande fenda descoberta pelos sábios, que percorre a terra em linha sinuosa, abrangendo parte do Atlântico, das Republicas Sul-Americanas, galgando através do pacífico até ao Japão e regressando pelo Oriente através da China, parte da Russia e dos Balkans, até à Italia.

«Outra calamidade a que Abd-el-Ram fez referência há-de suceder também bem perto de nós. Diz êle na sua linguagem típica de profeta: «A cinco léguas da velha Olisipo (Lisboa ou cidade de Ulisses) um novo Vesuvio surgirá, dez períodos de nove anos após esta profecia ser lançada aos quatro ventos do Destino. No alto de Sintra o fogo que irromperá das entranhas da terra atingirá grande altura, servindo de atalaia à navegação mais longínqua dos mares que hoje cobrem a lendária Atlantida.»

– Dez períodos de nove anos sôbre a época da profecia – disse Fernando Pessoa¹ vêm a recaír em 1990, ou seja precisamente na altura do futuro terramoto de Lisboa. E’ 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 sôbre 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 sôbre 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 dêsse árabe estupendo, vou evocar alguns dos grandes cataclismos mundiais que êle prevê para uma época mais longínqua que se perde

para lá do horizonte nubloso de tôdas as profecias: «Um novo dilúvio de fôgo, não de água, cobrirá a terra de lés a lés. O Mediterrâneo transformar-se-á num lago fechado rodeado de terra por tôdos os lados. As ilhas do Atlântico que ladeiam parte da Europa e da Africa 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 Africa ligado ao sul de Portugal, continente que se prolongará através do Oceano Atlântico, ao centro do qual ressuscitará uma grande parte da Atlantida. 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 Arabia e a India à costa Oriental de Africa.

Tive nessa noite um dos pesadelos mais aflitivos 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 maldizer as profecias de Abd-el-Krim e amigo de Ernest Hermann que Fernando Pessoa me apresentara nessa tarde melancólica de inverno.

MARIO DOMINGUES



Fig. 24. BNP/E3, 135C-8-9
 Reporter X – Semanario das grandes reportagens, n.º 35, April 4, 1931, pp. 8-9

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 bilhas nos *quaiets* 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 *stignets* 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. E' esta, pelo menos, a edição mais procurada. A esta hora estacam ás esquinas das principais ruas de todos os bairros da capital alemã grandes *camions*, 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 elle 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! Seria anti-prussiano! 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 fôra avisado de que na área de Brenette, «Chicago Times» multiplicava a diário os compradores enquanto que «The Star» os perdia. «E' 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 elle 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 America — 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 pelotina; 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 elle 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 rifá automoveis, 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 confiado na sua honradez e intelligencia comerciais.

Os «ardinas» lisboetas não serão tão elegantes como os alemães nem tão ricos como os ingleses — mas são dos mais trabalhadores e intelligentes de todos. Garotos de 5 e 6 anos que se esforçam e lutam pela vida como homens feitos! O que elles correm por essas ruas, as distâncias que andam numa vertigem, 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. Vasculhou os bolsos: tinha o suficiente para 5 exemplares. Pouco depois, reapareceu a pedir-nos 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 enfezados. Uma vozinha de ave que não sabe cantar... Muito tímido... estendeu-nos a moletta com 3 tostões. Era tudo quanto tinha e pediu 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 elles, surge um novato suspeito, vigiam-no e expulsam-no, à menor falcatrua. Honrados, vivos e intelligentes. Quantos ditos de espirito! Há anos, estavamos, o diplomata illustre que é Veiga Simões, o grande caricaturista Jorge Barradas e eu, abancados a uma mesa do terraço do «Martinho», quando o «Martinho» tinha terraço, Veiga Simões mostrava-nos uma série de «fotos» de uma *Kodak* de amator; e por detrás de nós, um «ardina», de mãos nos bolsos, sobraçando jornais, apregoando-os, seguira com curiosidade a nossa conversa e la 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:

— Ai que o *papo* 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 maquina, 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 — aquêles que não o sabem? Mistério — ou antes: espirito...

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.

(Continuação da pag. 9)

soa — vêm a recair em 1990, ou seja precisamente na altura do futuro terramoto de Lisboa. E' 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. — Alguns das delas são bem curiosas. Uma prevê para dentro de quarenta anos a derrocada do túnel do Rocio, 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 CÔSMICAS NO GLOBO TERRESTRE

— Agora — disse o alemão — para ficarem com uma melhor noção da enorme sciência de previsão desse árabe estupendo, vou evocar alguns dos grandes cataclismos mundiais que elle 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 la deiam parte da Europa e da Africa submergirão como por encanto; a velha Albion irá repousar no fundo das águas; tódá a parte leste do continente africano desaparecerá, formando-se um novo continente com uma larga faixa de terra constituída pelo norte de Africa ligada ao sul de Portugal, continente que se prolongará através do Oceano Atlântico, ao centro do qual ressuscitará uma grande parte da Atlantida. 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 Arabia e a India à costa Oriental da Africa.

.....
Tive nessa noite um dos pesadelos mais allitivos 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.

MÁRIO DOMINGUES

Fig. 25. BNP/E3, 135C-14

Reporter X – Semanario das grandes reportagens, n.º 35, April 4, 1931, p. 14

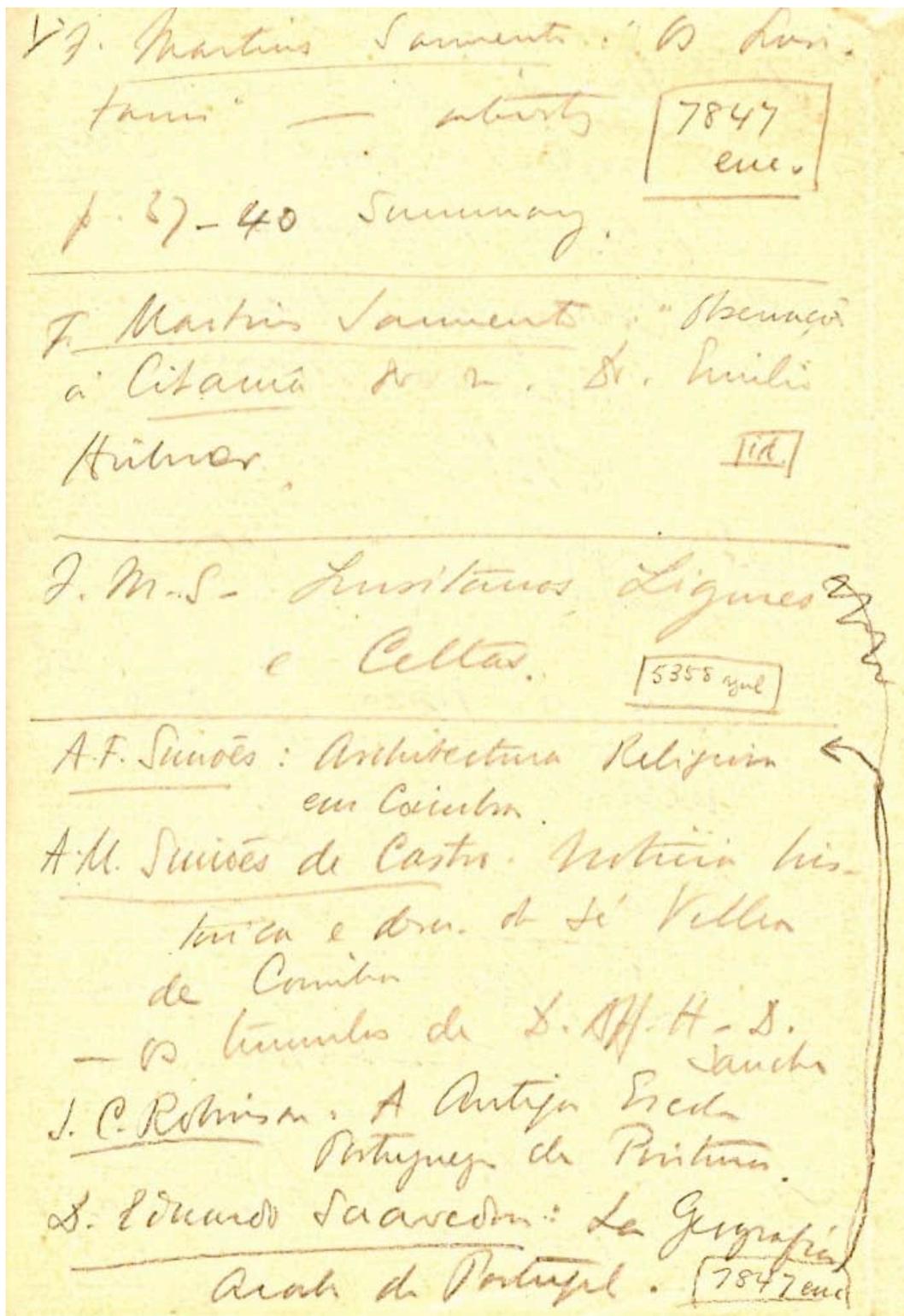


Fig. 26. MN

10 [Manuela Nogueira Estate][n. d.]

F[rancisco] Martins Sarmiento: "Os Lusitanos" – † 7847 enc.
p. 37-40 summary.

F[rancisco] Martins Sarmiento: Observações á Citânia do Sr. Doutor Emilio Hübner.
ib.¹

F[rancisco] M[artins] S[armento] Lusitanos, Ligures e Celtas.
5358 azul²

A[ugusto] F[elipe] Simões: Architectura Religiosa em Coimbra. ←

A[ugusto] M[endes] Simões de Castro: Noticia historica e descr[itiva] da Sé Velha de
Coimbra

– Os tumulos de D[om] Aff[onso] H[enrique] [e de] D[om] Sancho

J[ohn] C[harles] Robinson: A Antiga Escola Portuguesa de Pintura.

D[on] Eduardo Saavedra: La Geografia Arabe de Portugal. 7847 enc[arnado]

11 [46-47^r]

[c. 1930]

Quantos o immoto Fado á mobil vida

A inutil speranza deu, fugaz e tida

Só pela consequencia de a ter nossa,

Mas □

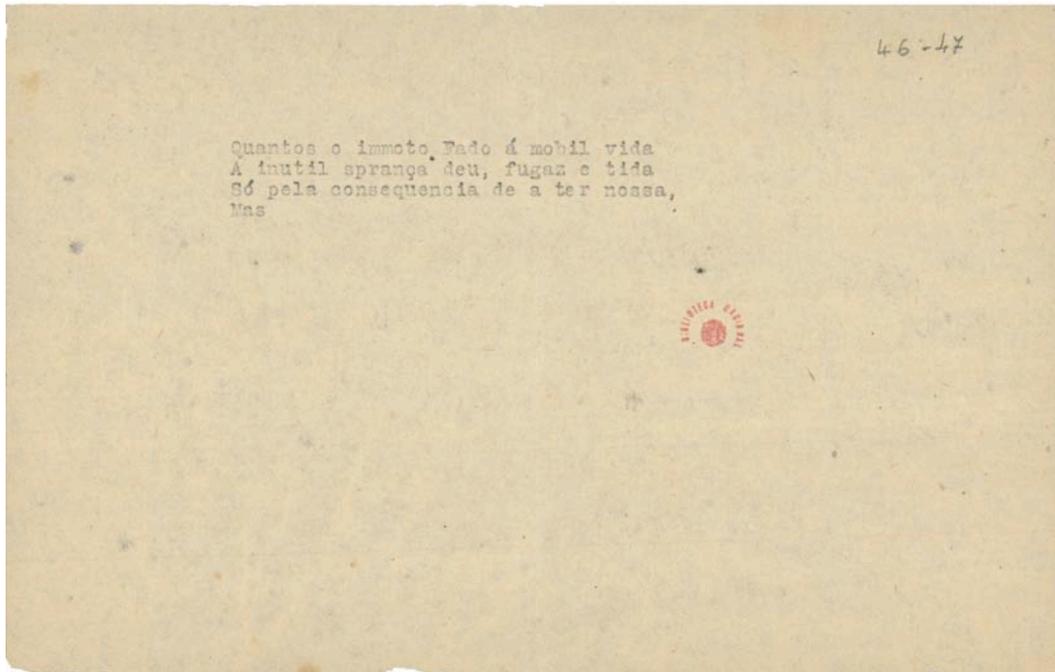


Fig. 27. BNP/E3, 46-47^r

12 [Manuela Nogueira Estate][n. d.]

Property is intended for the comfort of life, not life for the piling up of wealth. – Sa'di.¹

A finished and a perfect thought – what time it takes, how rare it is, and what an immense delight! – Joubert.

If I had only two loaves of bread, I would barter one for hyacinths to nourish my soul. – Mohammed.

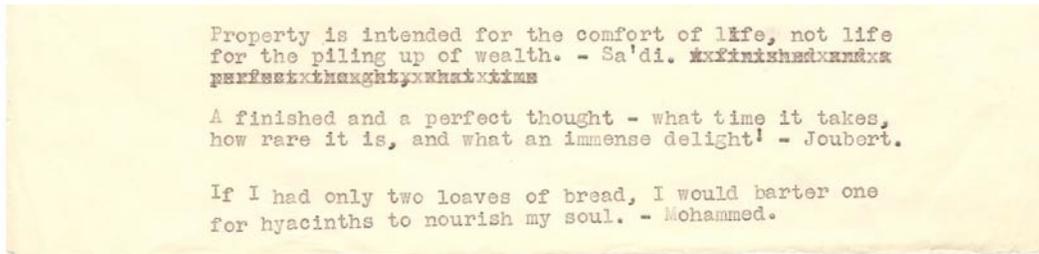


Fig. 28. MN (detail)

Genetic notes^b1 [36-2^v]

The text is in a lined sheet of notebook paper, creased horizontally in the middle, handwritten in black ink, dated of "5/3/10". Published in *Poesia 1902-1914* (PESSOA, 2006b: 72-73). In the cover of the document there is a poem by the fictitious author Vicente Guedes, published in *Eu sou uma Antologia* (PESSOA, 2013a: 336).

NOTES

- 1 Nesse infinito [↑ <Ahi além>]
- 2 infinito [↑ †]
- 3 <□>/em sonhos\,
- 4 [<†>] expressão
- 5 Não [↑ nos] ensina
- 6 sobre o [↑ dentro em]
- 7 erra [↑ vaga e]
- 8 e de [↓ erra a]

2 [49A3-6^r]

The text is in a graph sheet of notebook paper, creased horizontally in the middle, handwritten in black ink, dated "10-VI-1912". Published in *Poesia Inglesa* (PESSOA, 2006c: 16).

NOTES

- 1 [↑ but]
- 2 [↓ upon]
- 3 <†> life
- 4 cannot [↑ will nor]
- 5 <*mind †> [↑ thinking whiled]

3 [133G-19^r]

The text is in the back of a page of diary of Wednesday, May 25th, 1910, handwritten in black ink.

4 [41-49^r]

The text is in a lined sheet of notebook paper, handwritten in black ink. The title "Dança árabe" appears in some lists (cf. 65-93^v; 48E-6^r). See the following document.

NOTES

- 1 *lentas
- 2 2>/1\ . E as pandeiretas de uma dança arabe *lentas ao longe | <2. Lenta> | †

5 [65-93^r]

The text is in a paper sheet, creased horizontally in the middle, partially typed in purple and red ink, partially handwritten in black ink. This is the cover of the following document. Published in *Poesia 1934-1935 e não datada* (PESSOA, 2006g : 296-297).

NOTES

- 1 <p>/P\ela

^b 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.

2 <só>[↑soceadamente]
 3 pel<a>o
 4 emquan<r>/t\o
 5 Long<a>/e\<s>, long<a>/e\<s>
 6 hoste<m>/s\
 7 <muitos>[↑ successivos]
 8 do [↑no ↓de]
 9 [↑sempre]
 10 mas [↓sempre]
 11 *ao

6 [65-93v]

The text is in the back of the previous document, handwritten in black ink. In the lower part of the document there is a subsequent handwritten text (see Annex).

NOTES

1 /O †/ (Zuleika)

ANNEX

2. Só perdi a via em que não te vi.

Avenue de Granmont –

4 - † †

Loussanne,

Suisse

7 & 8 [93A-14] & [93A-47]

Two paper sheets handwritten in pencil. They contain titles of works by Victor Hugo, such as they appear in Fernando Pessoa's private library (CFP, 8-268; 8-269; 8-270: 450 and 495).

9 [135-43r, 8_9 and 14]

Three newspaper pages kept in Pessoa's estate, containing the cover of the newspaper as well as the following news feature: Mário Domingues, "Profecias fatídicas de um árabe", in Reporter X: Semanario das grandes reportagens, n.º 35, 4 de abril de 1931, pp. 8, 9, 14.

NOTES

1 Pes- †(Conclui na pág., 14) [...] [p. 14] (Continuação da pág. 9) soa –

10 [MN]

The text in a sheet creased vertically in the middle, containing in the left side these book titles kept in the Portuguese National Library. In the rest of the sheet, more reading notes are handwritten.

NOTES

1 *ib.

2 *azul

11 [46-47r]

The text is in a paper fragment, typed in black ink. Published in BOSCAGLIA, 2015b: 61.

12 [MN]

The text is in a sheet, typed in black ink. The sheet is part of a set of similar documents, containing a collection of quotes in English (or translated into English) by several authors.

NOTES

1 Sa'di <†>

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