

CHALLENGING MODERNISM
FERNANDO PESSOA AND THE BOOK OF DISQUIET



UTRECHT MMXIII

Challenging Modernism
Fernando Pessoa and the Book of Disquiet

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Fernando Pessoa en het Boek der Rusteloosheid

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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For Gerda Houtsma (1931 - 2013)
my grandmother

In loving memory

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Preliminary remarks

First I compiled an archive edition of the *Book of Disquiet* on basis of Pessoa's own manuscripts, mainly because at the time three quite different 'reading editions' of the book existed and no critical edition had been made yet. In my archive edition I established the 'canon' of texts that I would use in the hermeneutical part of the thesis. Although I never intended to establish a critical edition of the book, in the end I have spent the first years of my appointment almost exclusively working on the archive edition. When in 2010 a critical edition of the *Book of Disquiet* was published in Portugal by Imprensa Nacional - Casa Moeda, I included that edition in my own analyses of the manuscripts. For my interpretations of the book I only used the fragments that I myself included in the 'canon', which can be found in the archive edition. When I quote from these fragments in the thesis, however, I decided to quote from the Assírio & Alvim edition (9th edition, 2011). I decided to do so, not because I adopted that specific edition as 'the real' edition, but simply for practical reasons: this was the most recent and repeatedly revised edition of the book and this is the edition that most readers of this thesis will have at hand. The reader can check other readings of the manuscripts of quoted passages fairly easily in the archive edition. In footnotes I give the fragment number and the page number of the text concerned in the edition of Assírio & Alvim like this: (138, 160), meaning: fragment 138, page 160. The fragment numbers of this Portuguese edition correspond to the fragment numbers of the English Penguin edition (with only a few exceptions, indicated in the footnotes). I abbreviated the *Book of Disquiet* simply as *Disquiet*.

I quote all texts in the original language and give in the footnotes a translation in English. If available I used official translations, if not available I included my own improvised translations. I use various abbreviations for primary texts by Pessoa, which I listed in the bibliographical section.

1. Introduction

When opening the Penguin-edition of the *Book of Disquiet* the unprepared reader will immediately be struck by confusion. Next to an introduction, notes and acknowledgements, the table of contents mentions a *Preface by Fernando Pessoa*, *A factless Autobiography* and *A disquiet Anthology*, followed by three appendices. These titles and sections immediately raise several questions: whose autobiography is this? Pessoa's autobiography, or, since it is paradoxically called 'factless', the autobiography of an invented person? And about that anthology: an anthology of what? Autobiographical texts, notes, poems, stories? Browsing through the anthology, the reader finds a collection of short prose texts with titles like *Advice to unhappily married women*, *Imperial legend*, *A letter*, *Lucid Diary* and *Maxims*, thus adding even more literary genres to the book. Flip through the autobiography and you will find no chapters, as usual, but numbers; numbered fragments. Some count a few lines, others a few pages. Read an extract of a random text and you'll see that it, like all other texts, has been written from a first person point of view. Who is this I? Pessoa? No. Go back to the title page of the section *The Book of Disquiet* where is stated: *by Bernardo Soares, assistant bookkeeper in the city of Lisbon*. Do not take the effort of checking out who this person Soares was, because he didn't exist, every introduction, every review of this book will tell you that; he was a 'factless' person invented by Fernando Pessoa.

These are many questions before even having started to read this book.

And now we are only talking of the English Penguin-edition, but in Portugal exist no less than *nine* different *Books of Disquiet*, of which one contains a section of disquiet poetry, another one holds yet another invented figure next to Bernardo Soares as co-author on the cover, and all editions vary in the number of included texts and the order in which they appear. The four available English translations are all differently ordered and consist of different corpuses of texts, thus becoming “new” *Books of Disquiet* as well. Translators in French, German, Spanish, Dutch, Arab, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Finish and many other languages have for their part as well tampered with the sequence and the selection of fragments, with the astonishing result that nearly thirty different editions of this book have appeared worldwide. They have only one common aspect: the title *Book of Disquiet*. That title – the only thing that usually has been left alone by editors and researchers – is the only thing that confirms the reader in his expectations: every edition of this work really looks like a book. Take it in your hands, take a close look at it from all sides and you will agree that this is indeed, unmistakably, a book. But Mill’s *Autobiography* or Rousseau’s *Confessions* are books as well, just as *The Norton anthology of English literature* and even the phonebook are. So what is a book? ‘A set of pages that have been fastened together inside a cover to be read or written in’, answers the *Cambridge dictionary* and although this definition is quite simple and cliché, it shows in all its simplicity exactly where the *Book of Disquiet* differs. When Pessoa died there had not been any fastening inside a cover taken place at all; the *Book of Disquiet* was a collection of loose

manuscripts stored in a trunk in his room. Loose texts that consisted of confessions, letters, diaries, pastorals, prayers and shreds of dreams, but that were however explicitly marked as belonging to a project entitled *Book of Disquiet*. Pessoa struggled for years and years before his early death in 1935 with the question of how to make a physical book out of it. When he died, he left nothing more than a bunch of fragments. Fragments, apparently without interconnections, all with their own individual qualities: they bring their own style, their own characters, their own ideas. They often even contradict ideas ventilated in other fragments and in that way seem to prevent ever forming a coherent whole. As a matter of fact, the thirty worldwide attempts at finding such a whole, show only one thing: the *Book of Disquiet* is its own denial. Just like Magritte's famous painting of a pipe proclaims 'This is not a pipe', the *Book of Disquiet* expresses in its very essence: this is not a book.

How to make a book out of a non-book? That is exactly the question every publisher who wants to publish this work inevitably has to face. He roughly has two options: the first is to publish every single fragment separately, let the readers collect them, shuffle them and reshuffle them so that the possible compositions of the book will be as multiple as the amount of readers. The second option is to offer the *Book of Disquiet* (which I will from now on shorten simply as *Disquiet*) as a 'real' book by making the editor do the shuffling work. I'm not a literary sociologist but I suspect the average reader might not like such wild literary games as shuffling

with pages and holding a personal debate on whether or not to include the more than 500 fragments concerned. No publisher will take the risk of publishing a loose-leaf edition. Most readers probably just want to read Pessoa's *Disquiet*, even when such a book actually does not exist. In bookstores and libraries *Disquiet* can be found as a "real" book. Each of the different editions of this work shows nevertheless the strained relations between the original materials left by Pessoa and the book on the shelf as arranged by editors and publishers. After all, how on earth can one make a book out of a non-book?

In the first part of the thesis I will discuss abundantly the difficulties of editing *Disquiet*. I'll focus on text-genetical issues to determine which manuscripts from Pessoa's legacy belonged to *Disquiet*, how the text was edited in the various available editions and how an archive edition of *Disquiet* could be established. Since *Disquiet* was never published or even revised by Pessoa, the work has been found after his death as a corpus of loose drafts, dispersed among his nearly 30.000 manuscripts. Therefore, a study of the text-genetical aspects of this work was a necessary first step. In the first chapter I'll discuss the textual genetic theory that is relevant for editing Pessoa and the controversial edition Hans Walter Gabler established of Joyce's *Ulysses*. The team of scholars preparing Pessoa's critical editions have been highly influenced by this edition of Joyce's novel. The controversy caused by Gabler's edition of *Ulysses* is similar to the controversy over the critical edition of the collected poems of Álvaro de Cam-

pos and to a lesser extent the various non-critical editions of *Disquiet*. Right after the first publication of *Disquiet* in 1982, edited by Jacinto do Prado Coelho with transcriptions of Maria Aliete Galhoz and Teresa Sobral Cunha, *Disquiet* became a European bestseller with translations in Spain (1984), Germany (1985), Italy (1986), France (1988), The Netherlands (1990) and Great Britain (1991). Each of the translators/editors of these international editions made their own selection of the texts and published them in a different order. Since then, the book has been re-edited in Portugal by various scholars. In 1990-1991 Teresa Sobral Cunha gave the book for publisher Presença a complete metamorphosis with new and improved readings of the handwriting and dozens of previously unpublished manuscripts. A revision of this edition was to be published by Relógio d'Água in 1997, but only the first of the two anticipated volumes came out, due to the renewed copyrights on Pessoa's works. In 2008 Relógio d'Água finally published Cunha's revised edition in one volume, yet again improved, adding various newly discovered texts and withdrawing others. Considering her longtime work on *Disquiet*, it is no exaggeration that Cunha probably is one of the most important scholars on the work. In 1998 Richard Zenith published his edition of the book for publisher Assírio & Alvim, again introducing many different readings of manuscripts and adopting more conservative criteria for the inclusion of fragments. The most recent edition (2011) counts a few hundred differences compared to the first 1998 print. When I started studying *Disquiet* in 2003, no critical edition of the book was available. In 2004-2005 I compiled an archive edition, reproducing

all manuscripts and including diplomatic transcriptions with inclusive apparatus. The main aim for this archive edition was to establish a substantiated canon of fragments that I would use for the hermeneutic part of this thesis. I excluded the fragments published in other editions of which the inclusion was too conjectural and I gave a full account of all different transcriptions in the editions of *Ática* (1982), *Presença* (1990-1991) and *Assírio & Alvim* (3th edition, 2001). I included my archive edition as an appendix in this thesis. In 2010 Jerónimo Pizarro produced the first critical edition of *Disquiet* as part of the series published by Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda (INCM). Pizarro opted for a depuration of the corpus by excluding many fragments and including the transcriptions of *Ática* (1982), *Presença* (1990-1991), *Assírio & Alvim* (1998) and *Relógio d'Água* (2008). He also introduced a few new transcriptions of the manuscripts and offered, as usual for this series of critical editions, an exclusive genetic apparatus. I have updated my archive edition with the new transcriptions and other novelties in the editions of *Relógio d'Água* (2008), *Assírio & Alvim* (2011) and INCM (2010). In the first chapter I'll discuss at length the varying approaches, strengths and weaknesses of the various editions. I also wrote some prologomena for an archive edition of *Disquiet*, which can be found in part I, chapter 2.

In the second part of the thesis I will approach *Disquiet* from a hermeneutic point of view. The main question is to what extent *Disquiet* is a part of European modernist literature. The book was written on and off over

a period of more than twenty years, starting in 1913 and ending in 1935 when Pessoa died. These are more or less the years of ‘high modernism’, in which classics like Proust’s *À la recherche du temps perdu*, Joyce’s *Ulysses* and Du Perron’s *Land van herkomst* were published. At first sight *Disquiet* has a lot in common with these modernist works, but the issue becomes more problematic if we read the book on the level of its fragments: they often expose contradictory or paradoxical views, show different styles and genres and can hardly be shared under the same umbrella. This not only counts for *Disquiet* but for Pessoa’s entire oeuvre.

Finding a stable, paradigmatic element in Pessoa’s works has never been easy. From the forties onwards Jacinto do Prado Coelho tried to point out the aspects of unity in Pessoa’s works and found it in his ontological search.¹ Rudolph Lind tried to classify Pessoa’s poetry by means of, for example, Friedrich’s *Struktur der modernen Lyrik*, Lourenço pointed in *Rei da nossa Baviera* at the heritage of the symbolists in his work, as did Teresa Rita Lopes.² They all looked for a coherent reading of the works of the various heteronyms and found it in Pessoa’s symbolist and/or modernist breeding ground. Lopes’s work is in that respect particularly mentionable. She combined her essayistic goals with first publications of unknown loose notes and (unfinished) texts, choosing an intuitive method that tried to locate each of these texts within the framework of the ‘drama em gente’

1 cf. (Coelho 1963, 24) and Coelho’s introduction to Pessoa PI, xxxiii).

2 Cf. (Lind 1983), (Lourenço 1986), (Lopes 1975).

(‘drama in people’).³ More recent discussions tend to qualify Pessoa as a postmodernist author. Richard Zenith wrote: ‘The norm – for Pessoa – is that no norms exist. (...) This radical, unconditional relativity is the premise that lies at the heart of Postmodernism’ (Zenith 2000, 174). Paulo de Medeiros wrote on *Disquiet*: ‘Misschien is er geen beter voorbeeld van een postmodern boek’⁴ and the editor of Alfred MacAdam’s translation of *Disquiet* wrote: ‘Pessoa is fast becoming an icon of postmodernism, as Kafka was of modernism.’⁵ Eminent Pessoa scholar José Blanco goes even further by stating: ‘Pessoa is the greatest poet of all time. He is the inventor of modernism and postmodernism. (...) But Pessoa was also far ahead of his time. His writing has something of Kafka, of Joyce and of Borges, but it is very difficult to define him. He is an existentialist, a surrealist, a postmodernist. One can find in his work literary phenomena, which appeared much later. His poems are read as easily at the end of the 20th century as they were at its beginning.’⁶ Reading the wide range of essays, studies and comments on Pessoa’s works, it seems as if they easily connect with any current in literary history you’d like.

We cannot, however, disregard the fact that Pessoa wrote and published his texts in the context of a certain literary era, characterized by the af-

3 A term that Pessoa himself used when referring to his heteronym project. I’ll discuss this term later on in the thesis.

4 (Medeiros 2003, 362). Transl.: *There might be no better example of a postmodern book.*

5 Pessoa, Fernando. *Book of Disquiet* (trad. Alfred MacAdam). Boston: Exact Change, 1998.

6 José Blanco in an interview in HAARETZ, 1-6-2006 as read on <http://www.adi-schwartz.com/culture/will-the-real-pessoa/> (consulted on 3-4-2009).

termath of realism and symbolism and the birth of new currents like futurism, cubism and modernism.

We deal with the first decades of the twentieth century in which authors like Proust, Kafka, Joyce, Mann and Nijhoff wrote their masterpieces. It's a period in literary history that is often referred to as 'high modernism'; many bookshelves full of studies on the thematic preoccupations and formal characteristics of these works have been filled. What is important for this thesis is the question to what extent Pessoa's works can be related to these contemporary works. Before focusing on *Disquiet's* place in European literature I will now, by way of introduction, first take a detour along Pessoa's self-created "isms" in the years 1914-1916 and his own understanding of the term 'modernism.'

The publication of the first issue of the magazine *Orpheu* (1915) is often seen as the starting point of Portuguese Modernism. It contained heterogeneous contributions by Pessoa (and Campos), Sá-Carneiro, Almada Negreiros and Luís de Montalvor. Pessoa delivered Campos's more traditional poem *Opiário* (*Opiary*), his futurist-like *Ode Triunfal* (*Triumphal ode*) and his theatre play *O Marinheiro* (*The Mariner*).⁷ Sá-Carneiro delivered his symbolist *Indícios de Ouro* (*Indications of gold*) and *Manicure* (*Mani-*

⁷ In general, *O Marinheiro* is considered to be a play set in the key of symbolism. If one accepts my reading of the play in part II, chapter 4, it should be reconsidered to be an early example of the modernist road that Pessoa would pursue. However, whether the labels I use for the three works he published in *Orpheu* make sense or not; it can't be denied that these were very heterogeneous works.

cure) that can be seen as an avant-garde poem. Almada Negreiros, who would two years later start the magazine *Portugal Futurista* with Pessoa, anticipated his appeal to futurism with *Cena do Ódio* (*Scene of Hate*), but also published his by far more traditional *Frisos* (*Friezes*), comparable to postsymbolist contributions by Montalvor and Guisado. Despite the aesthetic differences of the content, the overall intention of the contributors was to stir up the conservative centre of Portuguese literature. Considering the many violently outraged responses in the press, this goal was achieved. Most of all the explicit sexual content of some of the texts, most notably in contributions of Sá-Carneiro, stirred things up. Later magazines in which many of the same contributors cooperated, do equally show this mixture of tradition and avant-garde: *Centauro* and *Exílio* (both from 1916) emphasized again the postsymbolist and decadent breeding ground of their authors, while *Portugal Futurista* (1917) reached, as the name of the magazine suggests, more out to Italian and French futurism. From 1927 on, a second wave of modernism entered Portuguese literature when the magazine *Presença* (to which Pessoa as well often contributed) was published. The magazine intended to focus on modern arts, both by publishing new poems and prose texts and by critically evaluate contemporary arts. The magazine was much less provocative than *Orpheu* had been, but contributed to a large extent to the critical acceptance of Pessoa's works. With contributors such as Pessoa, José Régio and Miguel Torga, the magazine was as little homogenous as *Orpheu* had been, although we discern in different contributions strong influences of, for example, Freud

and Bergson. *Presença* also introduced important European authors such as Proust, Gide, Joyce and Pirandello. Pessoa himself, like many of his contemporary colleagues who nowadays are called modernists, rarely spoke of ‘modernismo’ as a genre or movement for his writings.⁸ There are only a few small notes or excerpts from letters and other texts in which he uses the word: ‘O termo “modernista”, que por vezes também se aplicou aos artistas de *Orpheu*, não lhes pode também ser aplicado, por isso que não tem significação nenhuma, a não ser para designar — porque assim se designou — a nova escola pragmatista e exegetica dos Evangelhos, nascida a dentro da Igreja Católica, e condenada pelo Papa, por excessivamente tendente a procurar a verdade.’⁹ For Pessoa the term ‘modernism’ did not (yet) have

8 Cf. Fokkema & Ibsch: “Het onderzoek naar de gemeenschappelijke kenmerken van deze schrijvers en hun geestverwanten werd lange tijd geremd door de omstandigheid dat zij zich nooit als internationale beweging hebben gemanifesteerd. Zij misten de impulsiviteit en de eenzijdigheid om zich als de Futuristen of de Surrealisten achter programmatische verklaringen op te stellen. Zij waren te intellectueel om manifesten te produceren en persconferenties te beleggen. Zij konden ook niet gemakkelijk onder één noemer worden bijeengebracht en zijn lange tijd niet als groep herkend.” (Fokkema & Ibsch 10). Do also notice what Van Stralen wrote about Du Perron and ‘modernism’: “Du Perron ziet het modernisme in zijn eigen tijd als een tendens, een vaak onvolwassen neiging tot vernieuwing en experiment in de jaren twintig, waaraan hij zelf ook heeft toegegeven en waarover Du Perron later spreekt als een ‘heilzame ziekte.’” (Van Stralen 1990, 118). Transl.: *The study of the common features of these writers and their sympathizers has for a long time been hampered by the fact that they have never manifested themselves as an international movement. They lacked the impulsiveness and the bias to support programmatic declarations as the Futurists and the Surrealists had done. They were too intellectualistic to produce manifestos and organize press conferences. They could not easily be brought together under one heading and for a long time they haven’t been recognized as a group.* (Fokkema & Ibsch 10). Van Stralen: *Du Perron sees modernism in his own time as a trend, an often immature tendency toward innovation and experiment, in the twenties, to which Du Perron himself also gave in and which he later described as a ‘healing disease’.* (Van Stralen 1990, 118).

9 (Pessoa Inédito 138). ‘nova escola dentro da Igreja Católica’; Pessoa refers to theological opinions expressed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries which are characterized by a break with the past. The term “modernist” appears in Pope Pius X’s

any literary meaning and was certainly not applicable to the texts published in *Orpheu*. There is however a brief, unfinished note, which I believe to be unpublished, in which Pessoa seems to acknowledge the word. It reads: ‘O que vulgarmente se chama, em arte, o modernismo é composto por dois elementos - a emoção contradictoria []’.¹⁰ For the rest, *modernismo* was in no way part of the critical idiom he used in his essays and notes. More in general he spoke many times of ‘modern literature’ or ‘modern art’, as for example in the following note attributed to Ricardo Reis: ‘A moderna literatura é uma lit[eratur]a de masturbadores.’¹¹ This note may be short and provocative, it nevertheless is still interesting because of Pessoa’s/Reis’s observation that Renaissance produced a literature of ‘decadent lovers’, while everything from ‘romanticism until now’ only produced a literature of ‘masturbators.’ Interesting also, because it provocatively addresses the important focus on the subject and self since romanticism, which was to become a complex and ambiguous issue for what we now call modernist literature. In another text Pessoa wrote: ‘Aquilo a que se chama a arte moderna, aquilo que é por enquanto a arte moderna, é apenas o princípio de uma arte — ou, antes, a transição entre os dois estádios da evolução civilizacional. Entre o chamado romantismo e a arte que

1907 encyclical *Pascendi Dominici gregis*. Transl.: *The term “modernism” that occasionally also has been applied to artists of Orpheu, cannot be applied to them, which is why it has no meaning whatsoever, except to describe - because for this it was meant - the new school of pragmatists and exegetes of the Gospels, born within the Catholic Church, and condemned by the Pope because of their excessive determination to seek for the truth.*

10 (E3, [133/40]). Transl.: *What commonly is called modernism in art, is composed of two elements - contradictory emotion []*.

11 (Pessoa PPC, 322). Transl.: *Modern literature is a literature of masturbators.*

vai agora caminhando rapidamente para o seu auge.¹² By the time he wrote this, which is around 1913, he probably still had in mind one of the literary currents that he was inventing as the ‘art rapidly moving towards its peak.’ Pessoa only knew a few of the authors we now consider to be the main representants of modernism. He possessed a copy of the first volume of Proust’s *À la recherche du temps perdu* and probably had read the articles that João Gaspar Simões and José Régio had published on Proust in 1927.¹³ He also owned a copy of Joyce’s *Ulysses*, and this time he left a short note on his reading of that book: ‘A arte de James Joyce, como a de Mallarmé, é a arte fixada no processo de fábrica, no caminho. A mesma sensualidade de *Ulysses* é um sintoma de intermédio. É o delírio onírico, dos psiquiatras, exposto como fim.’¹⁴ His observation of *Ulysses* being a work ‘preoccupied with method, with how it’s made,’ is interesting in relation to my reading of *Disquiet* as a work in progress instead of a codex (cf. Part II, Chapter 1).¹⁵ There is only a brief reference to Ezra Pound, probably

12 Pessoa, F. *Páginas de Estética e de Teoria Literárias*. Lisboa: Ática, 1966. 156. Transl.: *This so-called modern art, i.e. what is modern art for now, is only the beginning of an art - or, rather, the transition between two stages of the evolution of civilization. Between the so-called romanticism and the art that is now moving rapidly towards its peak.*

13 Simões, J.G. “Notas sobre Marcel Proust”. in: *Temas. Coimbra: Edições Presença*, 1929. Régio, J. “Marcel Proust”, in: *Presença*, nr. 5, June 1927. Pessoa refers to Simões’s book in a letter he sent him on June 26, 1929. As for the article in *Presença*: Pessoa was a subscriber of and contributor to the magazine. He never mentioned, to my knowledge, the texts on Proust.

14 (Pessoa EC-Génio 444). Transl.: *The art of James Joyce, like that of Mallarmé, is art preoccupied with method, with how it’s made. Even the sensuality of Ulysses is a symptom of intermediation. It is hallucinatory delirium - the kind treated by psychiatrists - presented as an end in itself.* (Pessoa Prose 222).

15 For a larger discussion on this note on Joyce, cf. (Stoker 2009, 136).

based upon the two issues of *Blast* that Pessoa owned. Pessoa owned a copy of Thomas MacGreevy's 1931 study on T.S. Eliot¹⁶, although he only underlined some phrases in this book and as far as I know otherwise never referred to Eliot's writings. There is one interesting reference to one of his contemporaries: Paul Valéry. Simões wrote an article on the similarities and differences between Pessoa and Valéry in which he stated: '...uma vez que Pessoa não conhecia Valéry (ou, se conhecia, conhecera-o já muito tarde, quando a sua obra estava praticamente elaborada) -, não escondia que o nosso poeta, em muitos dos seus aspectos, superava Paul Valéry.'¹⁷ But Pessoa knew Valéry's work for sure: he refers to having read his poetry in at least two different, to my knowledge unpublished, notes. In the first he writes: 'Acabo de não poder ler 'La jeune Parque' de Paul Valéry. (...) Desejo, porém, para minha tranquilidade mental, analisar essa incompreensão. É o que vou fazer, de Mallarmé para cá, pois o poeta de nossos dias não é mais que a continuação idêntica do célebre simbolista.'¹⁸ The full note indicates that Valéry's roots in symbolism were no recommendation for Pessoa, who writes about a 'lack of understanding.' In the second note

16 MacGreevy, Thomas. *Thomas Stearns Eliot a study*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1931.

17 Simões, J.G. "Marcel Proust, Paul Valéry e a 'Presença'" in: *Colóquio Letras*, n. 4, 1971; 31. Transl.: *Since Pessoa didn't know Valéry (or, if he did, he only got to know him rather late when his oeuvre was already sketched out) - this doesn't conceal that our poet, in many respects, surpassed Paul Valéry.*

18 (E3 [14E²⁷-67/6 and 7]). The full texts have been previously published in Dutch and in Portuguese in (Stoker 2009, 137). Transl.: *I just couldn't read 'La Jeune Parque' of Paul Valéry (...). But still I wish, for my own peace of mind, to analyze this misunderstanding. That's what I'll do, from Mallarmé until now, because the poet of today is nothing more than the identical continuation of the famous symbolist.*

in which he mentions Valéry, he writes about the future decay of the fame of great contemporary authors: ‘Das figuras literarias altamente apreciadas no seu tempo podemos em geral prophetizar um correspondente desapareço da posteridade: diminuem, quando de todo não esquecam. Quando me fallam de Paul Valéry (?) lembro-me sempre de Delille.’¹⁹

The references indicate that Pessoa did take notice of contemporary works by his international colleagues, although he never wrote anything substantial about their writings. Nevertheless, the possibility that European modernism has wielded some kind of influence on Pessoa’s own works, does not have to be completely ruled out.

An attempt to situate *Disquiet* within the course of twentieth century literature should probably begin by focusing on the self-invented literary currents that Pessoa created in the years of *Orpheu*. Scholars often label these movements as Pessoa’s ‘isms’. The first, *paulismo*, was named after his poem *Paúis* (*Quagmires*) and was highly based upon French symbolism and its Portuguese variant *saudosismo*, as Pessoa indicated: ‘o paulismo pertence à corrente cuja primeira manifestação nítida foi o simbolismo.’²⁰

19 (E3 [14¹/30]), previously published in Dutch in (Stoker 2009, 138), the question mark was written by Pessoa. Transl.: *For literary figures highly appreciated in their own time we in general can predict a corresponding contempt in posterity: they fade, if not sink entirely into oblivion. When people speak of Paul Valéry I’m always reminded of Delille.* Delille: Jacques Delille (1738-1813); author of mainly poetical works that were highly appreciated in his time, by Voltaire and Racine among others. After he died, his descriptive poetry soon fell in disgrace.

20 (Pessoa PI 125). Transl.: *Paulismo belongs to a current of which symbolism was the first clear manifestation.*

The second, *interseccionismo*, still elaborated this type of symbolism, but added an important new layer to it: the simultaneity of two separate realities, for example a dreamed and a perceived one. That specific aspect features in many poems and prose texts, even when the movement *interseccionismo* had already faded away. With *atlantismo* Pessoa briefly²¹ tried to link his previous two movements to his ongoing interest in Sebastianism and the idea of a Fifth Empire. The last ‘ism,’ *sensacionismo*, has always been recognized as Pessoa’s most important current, implying a complex and enduring poetics. In a certain way it was a synthesis of the symbolist humus of *paulismo* and the dualism of *interseccionismo*. Baltrusch characterized it as: ‘einer Kunst der Erkenntnisgrundlagen, einer Kunst der bewußten Objektivierung aller Wahrnehmung.’²² Pessoa wrote most of his theoretic texts on *sensacionismo* in the years of *Orpheu*, the magazine he started only a year after the creation of the heteronyms. It can be linked to futurism when it is applied to Campos’s *Ultimatum* or his *Ode Triunfal* (*Triumphal Ode*), but it also contains a layer of classicism, since it according to Pessoa described Reis’s works as well. The literary form of the text was subordinate to the presence of the main feature of the movement; the sensation. Campos’s famous credo ‘sentir tudo de todas as maneiras’ (‘to feel everything in every way’), was an important paradigm of the current. For *Disquiet* the movements are of limited importance. Pessoa filed the

21 Pessoa wrote only a few theoretic reflections on *atlantismo*, cf. (Pessoa EC Ismos 133-140). For a discussion of Pessoa’s atlantism see (Santos 84ff).

22 (Baltrusch 213). Transl.: *An art of the principles of knowledge, an art of the conscious objectification of all perception.*

first *Disquiet*-text he published, *Na floresta do alheamento* (*In the forest of estrangement*), specifically under *interseccionismo*²³. Even after having abandoned this poetics, he still wrote many scenes for *Disquiet* that seem to continue the main ideas of the current. The book as such was never explicitly meant to be the vehicle of one of these movements. What can be learned from Pessoa's preoccupation with the 'isms', despite their specific differences, is the strong roots that each of them has in (French) *fin-de-siècle* movements. This is a legacy we also emphatically notice in many *Disquiet*-texts written in the 1910's. Pessoa: 'The Sensationists are, first of all, Decadents. They are the direct descendants of the Decadent and Symbolist movements. They claim and preach "absolute indifference to humanity, to religion and to fatherland". They do more and go as far sometimes as to assert that aversion.' (Pessoa PI 202). The whole idiom of a dark fate, pessimism, nostalgia, melancholy, tedium and so on perfectly sum up the *fin-de-siècle* literature from which Pessoa's works certainly evolved. Schopenhauer, Wagner and Nietzsche were never far away. It was the time in which exaltation, an esthetic approach of the world and the appraisal of the genius were dominant ingredients of literature. The *fin-de-siècle* author is not particularly at home in a world of mechanization and globalization; as a result he suffers from 'ennui' and 'spleen' and does only experience beauty from the perverse and the subversive, finding a paradigm in Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal*. This *tentatio tristitiae* tempted the modern artist

to retreat in their *paradis artificiels* and fatal melancholy. The main model for this type of artist is undoubtedly Des Esseintes from Huysmans's novel *À Rebours*. He replaces his factual reality with a dreamt one, he is disgusted with the world, being a true esthete, a decadent dandy. We saw the same elements pop up in literary works all across Europe by for example Wilde, Beardsley, Mann and Couperus. There's a lot of it recognizable in writings by Pessoa as well. He had read works by Nietzsche and Baudelaire, he was a lover of Wagner's music and in the first years of his authorship he enthusiastically sympathized with the strongly nostalgic and saudosist magazine *A Águia*. Pessoa was highly influenced by symbolism, both in its meaning of the nineteenth century anti-positivist revival of idealism, as in its quality as literary movement. Wilson: 'Symbolism may be defined as an attempt by carefully studied means - a complicated association of ideas represented by a medley of metaphors to communicate unique feelings.' (Wilson 253). Early poems like *Paúis*, *Hora Absurda* and some texts from *Disquiet* show clear traces of symbolism. From the creation of his heteronyms on, however, Pessoa increasingly distanced himself from these *fin-de-siècle* movements, as he points out in a text on Caieiro: 'A.C. representa uma reacção contra todos os movimentos presentes que têm qualquer coisa de místicos ou de artificiais. O simbolismo, o saudosismo, tanto um como (o) outro são inimigos da obra de A.C.'²⁴ And even the most con-

24 (Pessoa PPC 357). Transl.: *A.C. represents a reaction against all these present movements that have something mystical or artificial. Symbolism, saudosism: both are enemies of the work of A.C.*

servative of his *isms* was, according to himself, already a step ahead of symbolism: ‘O paulismo é um enorme progresso sobre todo o simbolismo e neo-simbolismo de lá fora.’²⁵ (P/I 125). The *isms*, especially *sensacionismo*, turn out to be most of all an attempt of being *new* and *original*, completely in line with the many *isms* popping up in the rest of Europe. With these movements *paulismo*, *sensacionismo*, *atlantismo* and *interseccionismo*, Pessoa tried to catch up with what we now call the historic avant-garde. But, as a matter of fact they never really were that advanced as futurism, cubism and dadaïsm had been. Besides, by the time Pessoa came up with his own literary movements, those international avant-gardism’s had already been widely spread; *paúlismo* bit in the tale of French symbolism, while *Portugal Futurista*, which introduced futurism in Portugal was only published seven years after Marinetti’s famous 1910 *Primo manifesto politico futurista*. Focusing on what Peter Bürger wrote on the status of art in modern societies, we might call Pessoa’s isms avant-garde movements. Bürger’s assertion that all avant-garde movements had the intention of ‘reintegrating art into the practice of life’ (Bürger 22), different from modernism’s plea for the autonomy of art, seems to be corroborated by for example the commotion caused by *Orpheu*: ‘Somos o assunto do dia em Lisboa; sem exagero lho digo,’ Pessoa wrote in a letter to his friend Côrtes-Rodrigues after *Orpheu* had been launched. ‘O escândalo é enorme. Somos apontados na

25 (Pessoa PI 125). Transl.: *Paúlismo is an enormous progress on all symbolism and neo-symbolism out there.*

rua, e toda a gente — mesmo extra-literária — fala no *Orpheu*.²⁶ He seems to mention with some satisfaction the fact that even ‘non-literary’ people discussed *Orpheu*. Fact is that none of Pessoa’s contributions to that first number of *Orpheu* radically broke with their institutional status as art. It has been stated that most of all Sá-Carneiro’s texts caused the commotion, instead of Pessoa’s, and also from a formalist point of view neither *Ode Triunfal*, nor *Opiário* have a particular outreach to the world outside of literature. *O Marinheiro* was a modernist play in the sense that it broke with laws of narrative or drama and by no means a ‘sublation of art in the praxis of life’, as Bürger understood the avantgarde. (Bürger 51). Not any of Pessoa’s *isms* ever came near this approach of avant-garde, and only Almada’s 1917 ‘performances’ in Lisbon probably were as close as they could get. Pessoa understood the avant-garde character of his *isms* most of all as “original”, “new”, literally ahead of everything else: ‘Não ha nada que se lhe compare modernamente.’²⁷ The “newness” was understood in a different way than a break with tradition: ‘it [sensacionismo] does represent, both fundamentally (in its metaphysical substance) and superficially (in its innovations as to expression) a new species of *Weltanschauung*, we have no hesitation in claiming. (...) We descend from three older movements — French “symbolism”, Portuguese transcendentalist pantheism, and the

26 4-4-1915 (Pessoa CORR I, 161). Transl.: *We are the talk of the day in Lisbon. The scandal is enormous. We are pointed out in the street, and everyone - even non-literary people - speaks of Orpheu.*

27 (Pessoa EC Isms 44). Transl.: *Modernly speaking, there is nothing that compares to it.*

jumble of senseless and contradictory things of which futurism, cubism and the like are occasional expressions, though, to be exact, we descend more from the spirit than from the letter of these.' (Pessoa PI 126). It is important to notice that this new *Weltanschaaung* was not merely put in a literary movement that denied or tried to overthrow the currents of the (recent) past; instead it was compiled by elements from both tradition and avant-garde; a synthesis. Pessoa himself makes clear how these currents have been of value for sensationism: 'As to our influences from the modern movement, which embraces cubism and futurism, it is rather owing to the suggestions we received from them than to the substance of their works properly speaking. We have intellectualized their processes. The decomposition of the model they realize (because we have been influenced, not by their literature, if they have anything resembling literature, but by their pictures), we have carried into what we believe to be the proper sphere of that decomposition—not things, but our sensations of things.' (ibid.) The intellectualization of avant-garde processes and the focus on sensation instead of things are elements that do occur in many later texts he wrote. For a life work like *Disquiet* and the issue of periodizing the book, these elements are important. They point at the legacy of Pessoa's formative years and the way in which they survived and were transformed in his later writings. Both the appearance of Pessoa's isms as *Disquiet* at least indicate that his works were always the gathering of various, and sometimes fairly contrasting aesthetic impulses. Jeronimo Pizarro nevertheless writes in his edition of Pessoa's notes on sensacionism: 'Esta atitude genealógica, con-

stante e marcada, foi sempre mais própria do modernismo do que da vanguarda. (...) Situar Pessoa no modernismo, embora tenha tido gestos de aproximação à vanguarda, é, pois, situá-lo no lugar correcto.²⁸ Pizarro's assertion might work for *Disquiet* as well, given the fact that this work was conceived exactly during the years of European high modernism. It wasn't published until the early 1980's and therefore didn't, *couldn't*, have any influence on new literature at the time. Since it was written in the decades of Proust, Joyce, Du Perron, Woolf and others, I explicitly associated *Disquiet* with those major modernist novels, in order to avoid the complexity of situating Pessoa's entire oeuvre, including his poetry and his "isms" within twentieth century history of art as well. Although I often use other modernist novels in my discussion of *Disquiet*, this is not a full comparative study. In order to answer the question to what extent *Disquiet* indeed is a modernist prose work, a comparison with those works that on a certain moment were labelled as 'modernist novels' would be necessary: a wide range of novels varying from Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*, Joyce's *Ulysses*, Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* to Malamud's *The Assistant* and Mann's *Dr. Faustus*. Such comparisons may all in their own way prove to be useful, but at the moment there was still too much preliminary work to do for *Disquiet* itself. When I started writing this thesis an archive edition hadn't been compiled yet, the canon of the *Disquiet*-fragments

28 (Pessoa EC Ismos 14). Transl.: *This genealogical attitude, constant and distinct, was always more characteristic of modernism than of vanguardism. (...) To situate Pessoa in modernism, although he made some approaching moves towards the vanguards, means situating him in the right place.*

hadn't been established and a comparison of the various transcriptions had not yet been made. Furthermore, I tried to formulate a way of reading this book by not only treating it as a modernist prose work, but also by exposing it to postmodernist or poststructuralist approaches. I tried to do justice to the fundamental heterogeneity of the book, by allowing many, diverging readings.

Structure of the thesis

In the first part ('The Book') I'll focus on textual genetic issues of *Disquiet*. I'll give a general introduction to relevant genetic theory in chapter 1 and I'll discuss the case of Gabler's edition of *Ulysses*. In the second chapter I'll discuss the critical editions made of Pessoa's works, most notably the edition of Álvaro de Campos's poems and I plea for the creation of an archive edition of Pessoa's entire legacy. The third chapter discusses the main (reading) editions made of *Disquiet* and the corresponding methods editors used for editing this book. To conclude I'll formulate some prologomena for an archive edition of *Disquiet*, focusing on the writing, the manuscripts, the autograph, the dates on documents, alternative words and phrases and transcriptions. These prologomena correspond to the appendix in which the reader finds my archive edition of this work.

In the first chapter of the second part of the thesis ('Disquiet') I will discuss the hermeneutic implications of fragmentary writing and the difficulties concerning the notion of 'book'. This is needed to outline a type of reading

that does not search for unity and coherence, but that somehow succeeds in respecting the fragmentation and instability of the work. In the second chapter I'll show the consequences of fragmentary writing for the status of (semi-) heteronym Bernardo Soares, stylistic issues and the thematic scope of the texts. I will use the twelve texts that were published by Pessoa himself during his life in various magazines. This will avoid the editorial doubt whether or not exemplary texts were actually meant for the book. In the second chapter I will pursue my reading of *Disquiet* as a series of 'absolute fragments', as presented in the first chapter, and I will show that this particular way of reading isolates the book in Pessoa's heteronymic oeuvre. I'll propose a 'monadology of the self' in order to illustrate in what way *Disquiet* differs radically from any other of the heteronymic works Pessoa produced. I'll furthermore use one of Stanley Cavell's ideas ('hidden literality') to try to reveal some recurrent themes in these fragments. In the third chapter I'll focus on the notion of 'consciousness' in the book and in other modernist works. Pessoa's peculiar way of dealing with consciousness will be shown in the handling of language and time in *Disquiet* and the remarkable presence of 'the city'. I also compare Soares's childhood memories with the way Du Perron presents the memories of his protagonist in *Land van Herkomst*.

The final chapter relates *Disquiet* to *À la recherche du temps perdu* and shows where the first differs from the latter. I'll outline the determining force of imagination in the book, calling it an 'involuntary imagination' to make an analogy to Proust's 'involuntary memory'. By introducing Pessoa's

play *O marinheiro* in my analysis I'll try to point out how Pessoa created his protagonist Bernardo Soares that in many respects is the opposite of the heteronyms. Instead of building an individual like Caeiro, Campos and Reis, the character of Bernardo Soares is a 'negative self' that consists of a void and lives his life without a future or past in the 'now' of the white page.

Part I

The Book



It can't be, but it is. The number of pages in this book is no more or less than infinite. None is the first page, none the last.

Jorge Luis Borges

Chapter 1. Genetic criticism & Pessoa

§1. Introduction: Genetic criticism

The publication of a literary text is in more than one respect the final destination of a writing process. First of all, the publication puts an end to a long process of taking notes, developing plots, inventing characters, phrasing and rephrasing, changing words and moving text blocs. Genetic criticism focuses exactly on this phase of the becoming of a work. It doesn't simply accept the published version of a text as a stable, unproblematic source, but instead views it as unstable, mobile and multi-faceted.

There has always been attention for the creative process of writing and the way texts were delivered on manuscripts. Since the invention of Gutenberg's printing press, texts that originally had been reproduced by hand, slowly found their way into print. Even medieval scholars already had to face manuscripts and deal with all difficulties implied, in transcribing and reproducing for example parts of the bible, or texts from Classical Greece. The scholarly studies of Greek manuscripts of the bible in the 17th and 18th century have become famous (because of all the variants discovered in the Greek New Testament) and in the past few centuries much research has been done on manuscripts by Shakespeare and Goethe, to name only a few. But still, Louis Hay thought it necessary in 1977 to speak of "critique génétique" - a term that he coined - as a "new field of research" (Ferrer 2). Hay made a sharp distinction between traditional philology and genetic criticism, which consisted of the difference between the aim of establishing

a text (philology) and reconstructing a writing process (genetic criticism): 'Genetic analysis (...) confronts us with a text in movement' (Hay 2004, 23). Instead of answering the question what is the "definitive" text, Hay points out that 'constant questioning is the one quality that unites works of genetic criticism' (ibid. 25).

Times were great for this new field of research. Since the end of the nineteenth century manuscripts had been in the centre of attention. In 1885 the Goethe-Schiller Archiv was created in Weimar, Victor Hugo had left all his manuscripts to the French National Library and in 1966 that same library acquired all Heinrich Heine documents, a 'decisive turning point in the history of genetic criticism' (Deppman 7). This renewed attention for manuscripts, combined with a new concept of textuality developed by structuralists and above all poststructuralists in France, created perfect circumstances for genetic criticism to flower. Hay was appointed to study Heine's manuscripts and has put many efforts in genetic critical approaches of various archives since. In 1976 the Centre d'Analyse des Manuscrits (CAM) was founded, which in 1982 became 'Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes' (ITEM), dealing with manuscripts by among others Flaubert, Joyce, Valéry and Sartre. At first sight, Genetic Criticism therefore may seem to be an exclusively French affair. The origin of Hay's field of research is however indebted to at least two major traditions: that of German philology dealing extensively with the legacy of Goethe and that of Anglo-American textual criticism, centered around Shakespeare. (Lernhout 45). The analyses of Goethe's work, resulting in the publication

of the important “Sophienausgabe” or “Weimarer-Ausgabe”¹ between 1887 and 1919, were based upon the then prevailing view of the ‘Fassung letzter Hand’, the view that the last version revised by the author was his last will (Van Hulle 15). A view that differed notably from the Anglo-American situation that considered Shakespeare as its main reference, who had not left any manuscripts at all. For scholars charged with the publication of Shakespeare’s texts, a last version revised by the author simply didn’t exist. The German and Anglo-American traditions therefore represent two different approaches of establishing a publishable text. Because Goethe had published his works in different versions during his life and preserved many manuscripts, genetic editing in Germany produces editions that often focus on reconstructing prepublication stages of the text. In the Anglo-American situation, scholars of Shakespeare cannot rely on manuscripts and only have at their disposal more or less problematic publications of the works. Genetic studies in England and the United States have created a model in which the editor chooses one particular state of the text as copytext and then emends it on the basis of other authoritative stages (Deppman 10). These important traditions represent the establishment of a text by means of a study of manuscript history versus a study of publication history. The French tradition has some overlap with both the German and the Anglo-American situation. It mainly dealt with Old French texts and had developed a “best-text” model, in which the editor

¹ Cf. Mathijsen 22-23, Deppman 10, Van Hulle 15

determines which state of the text is most accurate, whether this be a handwritten or printed text, and uses that text for the edition (Deppman 10). Although all these traditions certainly have incited the development of twentieth century genetic criticism, they certainly are not fully compatible with it. German, French and Anglo-American traditions of scholarly editing all had a teleological program: they tried to establish a printable, “fixed” text. Genetic criticism however is not so much interested in the fixation of texts, but above all in the reconstruction of a process. Claudine Gothot-Mersch contrasted, in a discussion of French genetic editions, the notion of a traditional *critical* edition with the notion of a *genetic* edition: ‘the main aim of critical editions is to establish the text, strictly and purely a text. The genetic edition, on the contrary, challenges that sacralisation of the text finished by the author. For genetics, the “definitive” edition is just a stage in the history of the text, undoubtedly privileged, but still isn’t always to be considered as the last one.’ (Gothot-Mersch 64).

The emphasis on the importance of the genesis of a text can also be traced back to the end of the eighteenth century, when Novalis highlighted the penetration of the ‘secret of its [the text’s] elaboration’ as the key to ‘write the total history of poetry’. Goethe referred to the ‘genetic evolution’ of a text, Baudelaire invited us to go ‘backstage, see the workshop, the laboratory, the internal mechanism’, and Schlegel wrote: ‘One can only claim to have real understanding of a work, or of a thought, when one can reconstitute its becomings and its composition.’ (Hay 2004, 18). But it was surely Poe’s

1846 *The philosophy of composition* (translated by Baudelaire as *La genèse d'un poème*) that echoed most loudly into the twentieth century debate of textual genetics. Poe portrayed poets as craftsmen, skilled workers that constructed a text, instead of describing the conception of poetry in terms of inspirational or organic creation (Deppman 3). 'I have often thought how interesting a magazine paper might be written by any author who would – that is to say, who could – detail, step by step, the processes by which any one of his compositions attained its ultimate point of completion' (Poe 61). The fact that detailed reports of the conception of works of art didn't exist brought him to the conviction that most poets 'would positively shudder at letting the public take a peep behind the scenes' (ibid.). Therefore he decided in the essay on his poem *The Raven* to 'render it manifest that no one point in its composition is referable either to accident or intuition – that the work proceeded step by step, to its completion, with the precision and rigid consequence of a mathematical problem' (ibid. 217). Although of great influence, Poe's essay certainly wasn't some kind of genetic criticism avant-la-lettre. What he actually did was replacing the common myth of 'fine frenzy' or 'ecstatic intuition,' particularly popular among romantics as the source of their writings², by an account of the rational choices, the skills that he used and the step by step chronology of the growth of the poem. Where modern genetic criticism focuses explicitly on manuscripts, drafts, pencils, i.e. all kinds of *physical* evidence of the text's genesis, Poe describes

² cf. Higgins, D. *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity, Politics*. London: Routledge, 2005.

a purely *mental* development (Deppman 6). Besides that, Poe tells us in his retrospective account ‘as much as he wishes’ (Van Hulle 8), having the ability – and only the author has – to reason from the inside.³ Other proofs of the conviction that poetic conception is a form of craftsmanship are to be found with Eliot (the ‘metier of poetry’)⁴ and Valéry (‘the making, as the main thing, and whatever product is constructed as accessory’) (Van Hulle 8, Deppman 6). Literary modernism, that Florence Callu baptized as ‘the golden age of manuscripts’, with many authors preserving their manuscripts, gave an even bigger impulse to genetic criticism. Icons of high modernism seemed to be perfectly aware of the genetic critical starting point of the text as a process, given the many metafictional references to the act of writing: Proust who made the many years preceding the start of his novel exactly into the subject of the novel, Mann who wrote *Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus – Roman eines Romans* after having completed *Doktor Faustus*, Joyce whose *Finnegans Wake* was originally named *Work in Progress*. (Van Hulle 9). Structuralist and poststructuralist notions of the text as “an infinite play of signs”, developed in the 1960s

3 Hans Magnus Enzensberger stated that a textual genesis can be constructed from the inside or the outside: the author is the only one who can attach memories to the stages in the writing process and thus reasons from the inside, the geneticist constructs the genesis from the outside, having a greater distance to pretextual material. Hans Magnus Enzenberger. *Die entstehung eines Gedichts*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1962. Quoted in Van Hulle, 8.

4 In: Eliot, T. S. “Tradition and the Individual Talent”, in: *Critical Theory Since Plato*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971. 761-764.

5 Callu, F. “La transmission des manuscrits.” in: *Les manuscrits des écrivains*. Ed. Anne Cadiot and Christel Haffner. Paris: CNRS/Hachette, 1993. 54-67. Quoted in (Van Hulle 9)

and 1970s in France, finally gave birth to the practice of genetic criticism. (Deppman 2). Although early structuralism still used to approach the text as a closed system, it nevertheless established important pillars of genetic criticism. By dismissing the vision of a fixed structure, poststructuralism finally set off the development of a criticism that emphasized the “openness” of the text, and replaced the previously believed fixed structure by a process of becoming. (cf. Hay 2004, 21). Exemplary for both this new vision of the notion of text in general and the presence of the germs of genetic criticism, was the publication of Francis Ponge’s *La fabrique du pré* in 1971. In that volume of poetry Ponge printed all versions of one single poem in facsimile, thus illustrating that his work was a process instead of a product. (Deppman 6, Van Hulle 3). The institutional back up from institutes like ITEM and the fertile philosophical and scientific climate since the 1960s have equipped genetic criticism with a research program that is ‘contemporaneous with an esthetic of the possible.’ (Deppman 6). It even has created a new kind of reader, that Jean-Michel Rabaté coined a ‘genreader; an ideal genetic reader’. This genreader is not merely a decoder of textual signals, a detached consciousness or an emotional being, but rather a kind of ‘textual agent’ who reads texts ‘in the context of an expanding archive.’ (Deppman 12).

Rabaté comes to his ‘ideal genetic reader’ when dealing with the concept of the ‘ideal reader’ in relation to Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake*. In *The limits of interpretation* Umberto Eco had asserted that the ‘ideal reader’ of *Finnegans Wake* might be described as a deconstructionist reader for whom texts are

inexhaustible and for whom there can only be an ‘infinite series of original re-creations.’ (Rabaté 489). As such, it is impossible to determine which interpretation is the best, but, Eco writes, ‘it is possible to say which ones are wrong.’ (Eco, 148). The principal rule for such determination is to check an interpretation against the text as a coherent whole: ‘any interpretation of a text can be accepted if it is confirmed (...) by another portion of the same text. In this sense the internal textual coherence controls the otherwise uncontrollable drift of the reader.’ (Eco, 149). Eco gives an example of a blatant piece of overinterpretation in Joycean reception, concerning the presence of NKGB-director and Stalinist Beria in the word ‘berial’ in the ‘Ondt and the Gracehoper’-passage of *Finnegans Wake*. Eco shows that any reference to Beria in the word ‘berial’ is unlikely since Joyce wrote the word somewhere between March 1928 and August 1929 and Beria only gained knowledge in the Western world in December 1938. (Eco 150, Rabaté 490). Rabaté uses the example to point at the fact that Eco’s interpretative correction can only be done with knowledge of the writing process of *Finnegans Wake*. A reader that is only familiar with the book’s date of publication (1939) might easily be seduced to link the word ‘berial’ to Beria. Although Rabaté points out that Beria had been publicly around in Russia as early as 1920 (so Joyce actually *could* have come across his name by 1928), a genreader would not find evidence enough to conduct the interpretation of the word in this direction. Instead of turning himself to encyclopaedias and glosses to reach an interpretation of a work, the genreader uses evidence from notebooks, drafts, proofs and letters from

the author's archive. 'The ideal reader is indeed genetic in that (s)he (...) is always becoming, and transforming the text whose intentions are to be ascribed to a whole unstable Archive.' (Rabaté 499).

Rabaté's observations imply a shift from the focus on the intention of the *work* or the *author* to a focus on the intention of the *reader*, i.e. the ideal genetic reader. A genreader does not take for granted the words that he interprets, but instead admits that every single word or phrase he reads is uncertain, unstable and constantly under the threat of being replaced by another, for example because a word had been misread by transcribers, editors or printers. His main interest is the *process* (the writing) instead of the *product* (a single 'final' text) and a genetic edition of a text should reflect this process of becoming. The dossier collects all stages and variants in the process of becoming a text, or texts⁶. It focuses on the 'progressive transformation, an investment of time that the author has devoted to researching documents, writing, correcting and recorrecting, etc.' (De Biasi 2004, 37). The main goal of a genetic edition is not to establish a fixed text – and thus being a teleological enterprise – but to compile a file that describes the genetic development of the text. This can but does not necessarily result in an edition. Klaus Kanzog distinguished in his *Prolegomena zu einer historisch-kritischen Ausgabe der Werke Heinrich*

6 cf. Louis Hay who states that what we are actually confronted with is not 'The Text, but texts.' (Hay, L. "Does 'Text' Exist", in: *Studies in Bibliography* 41 (1988): 64-76, as quoted in Deppman 5).

von Kleists four types of editions: the archive edition, the historical-critical edition, the study edition and the reading edition.⁷ In the archive edition the editor compiles all documentary source material such as manuscripts and authorized print editions, and provides diplomatic transcriptions for them, without rendering critical texts or commenting on them. This type of edition gives the reader access to the full genetic development of a work. A historical-critical edition does provide all variants of a text (not necessarily by reproducing all manuscripts, but most of all by inclusion of a genetic apparatus) and presents an edited text, including commentary and explanations. A study edition constitutes an edited text like the historical-critical edition, but without full length commentary and apparatus, and a reader edition presents the edited text to a general public with a minimum of commentary on the history of the text and explanation. (Mathijssen 58). Although the types of edition that Kanzog distinguishes were derived from the German tradition in scholarly editing, in general they can be applied to international scholarship as well.⁸ In most cases international scholarly editing results in historical-critical editions that nevertheless were not (or cannot be) established following the same theoretical principles. It seems

7 Klaus Kanzog: *Prolegomena zu einer historisch-kritischen Ausgabe der Werke Heinrich von Kleists. Theorie und Praxis einer modernen Klassiker-Edition*. München: Hanser 1970, pp. 15-44. Quoted in: Marcel De Smedt / Edward Vanhoutte: "The Best of Three Worlds: Eclecticism in Editorial Theory. The Electronic Edition of Stijn Streuvels' "De teleurgang van den Waterhoek"" (24. 06. 2002). In: *Sichtungen online*, PURL: <http://purl.org/sichtungen/smedt-m-1a.html> ([25.2.2008]).

8 In many cases archival and/or historical-critical editions are accompanied or followed by study or reading editions that use the results of scholarly editing to establish an edition for a general public. cf. the reading editions in paperback of the Kafka Stroemfeld/Roter Stern editions and the Gabler-edition of *Ulysses*, to name a few.

as if every author demands his or her specific guidelines for the scholarly rendering of historical-critical editions. Before focusing on the situation for Pessoa, I will briefly comment on the theoretical context in which the critical editions of his works were established.

2. Creating a genetic edition

Pierre Marc de Biasi differentiates between ‘horizontal’, ‘vertical’ and ‘transversal’ genetic editions. All three types approach texts from different angles, but all of them focus on the writing process. The horizontal edition reconstructs one particular stage in the writing process (e.g. all manuscripts written in a certain period), vertical editions portray the complete textual history and transversal editions try to present unfinished works left by the author. (Van Hulle 29). De Biasi represents the French *édition génétique*, which demands of genetic editions that they ‘contain reproduction of all genetic documents, bibliographical descriptions, an introduction regarding the location of the manuscripts and the general history of its genesis, comprising letters and other relevant evidence.’ (Van Hulle 29). The first thing a genetic editor should do is compile the dossier of manuscripts. These comprise outlines, sketches, notes, rough drafts, clear copies, a final manuscript, corrections of proofs, etc. These manuscripts are, according to De Biasi, clearly distinct from the text: ‘although they lead to the text, they also keep reminding us that they are prior and external to it.’ (De Biasi 2004, 38). Jean Bellemin-Noël had in 1972 coined the term ‘avant-texte’ to indicate all these kinds of documents.

His book *Le texte et l'avant-texte: Les brouillons d'un poème de Milosz* made a clean break with merely philological enterprises in editing texts until that date, by proposing to study the draft material in new ways. (Deppman 8). All documents preceding the stage in which a work is considered as a text, are of equal value and together create the carriers of its meaning. The term became soon part of the vocabulary of genetic scholars. Bellemin-Noël took the whole parcours of the becoming of an oeuvre as 'the succession of partial and interdependent processes of which the sequence constitutes the image of a total process interpretable as avant-texte.' Establishing an avant-texte implies 'the transformation of an empirical ensemble of documents into a dossier of arranged and significant pieces.' (De Biasi 2000, 29-31). In short, the avant-texte is an interpretable presentation of all pre-published material to facilitate research and the establishment of future editions.⁹ De Biasi distinguished a precompositional, compositional and prepublishing phase in which the avant-texte material could be classified, expanded by the phase of publication and post-publication. Reading notes, plans and schemes belong to the precompositional phase, all different drafts belong to the compositional phase and printing proofs and corrections of proofs belong to the prepublishing phase. (De Biasi 2000, 31). But, as Van Hulle mentions, 'the division in four phases serves as a general guideline, but it may also create too orderly an impression of the average avant-texte, and

9 Hay and others also discern the notion of après-texte to indicate post-published documents that have influence on the process, such as author's notes on or rewritings of certain passages after publication of the text. Cf. (Hay 1996).

obscure the fact that these phases often overlap.’ (Van Hulle 5). In practice, genetic criticism passes through a parcours of (1) constituting the whole dossier, (2) organizing the documents, (3) specifying and classifying, (4) deciphering and transcribing, (5) establishing and publishing an avant-texte. (De Biasi 2004, 44). This practice can result either in a diplomatic edition that gives a transcription of the full dossier, or in a teleological edition that tries to capture the genetic movement sequentially and provides transcriptions of the whole avant-texte leading to the definitive text. (ibidem 62). According to Laurent Jenny a complete genetic dossier should be ‘both horizontal (taking into account a complete stratum of the elaboration of the text, such as we find in Zola’s *Carnets d’enquête*) and vertical (at every moment in the text, producing all the pre-textual strata from the most embryonic to the most complete, such as the “sketches” in the Pléiade edition of *À la recherche du temps perdu*), thereby constituting an “open book” in which the very process of its genesis emerges at the same time that the form becomes fixed.’ (Jenny 19). One can conclude from Jenny’s classifications (using the same terms as De Biasi, but with different definitions), that a work of genetic criticism isn’t only aiming at archival precision and completeness, but as much at broadening the diversity of (hermeneutic) possibilities and a kind of structural ‘opening’ of the work. This ideal genetic edition (that Jenny himself already admits to be materially impossible in print (Jenny 19)), deals with the entire writing process, encompassing both the avant-texte as the (published) text that the reader is familiar with.

The main difference with non-genetic critical editions as they have been constituted for a long time, is the important turn away from stemmatological or genealogical working methods (Mathijsen 23). The aim of 19th century Lachmannian stemmatology was to portray a history of variants and evaluate the validity of each of those variants. During the twentieth century, most notably since the German editions of Wieland (1939) and Hölderlin (1943) by Friedrich Beißner, the mere stemmatological ‘catalogue’ of variants was replaced by a more dynamic apparatus that expressed the inherent chronology, hierarchy and coherence of the system and included variants offered by the study of the author’s drafts and manuscripts (Mathijsen 23).

In Anglo-Saxon textual criticism a similar break with tradition was experienced, mainly driven, as I mentioned earlier, by new methods of the editing of Shakespeare’s works. Because of the absence of his manuscripts, editors were in this case mainly restricted to the study of the various editions of his works that had been printed over the centuries. The by now notorious corruption of many of those editions, caused by deliberate corrections applied by editors, publishers and printers or unconscious flaws in the transformation of manuscript to book, were studied in entirely new ways. These scholars took into account knowledge of early modern printing processes in their search for the corrected copy text. Because of this new and accurate approach of the book in its physical appearance, these scholars were labeled “new bibliographers”, of whom W.W. Greg and R.B. McKerrow were the main pioneers (Mathijsen 24). The tradition

that grew out of new bibliographic studies had much attention for the publication history of works and less for genetic development, but still produced several key editions in textual genetic research.

French, German and Anglo-Saxon traditions all contributed to the development of genetic criticism, but did not provide consensus on international standards for editing texts. Various essays and studies on genetic principals and methods became influential and drew followers, but none of them reached paradigmatic validity. Pierre-Marc de Biasi focused in his influential 1985 essay *Towards a science of literature: manuscript analysis and the genesis of the work* (published as an entry for the *Encyclopaedia Universalis*) on the establishment of an avant-texte and the analysis of its logic of evolution. The essay outlined the development of genetic criticism and discussed its major premises, techniques and methodologies (Deppman 36). According to De Biasi its practice aims at reconstructing 'as exact a prehistory of the text as possible.' (De Biasi 2004, 61). It enables 'studies of genesis – by establishing critical avant-textes of the work' and produces 'clear and ordered transcriptions of genetic documents.' (ibid.). De Biasi's practice of genetic criticism is mainly a heuristic enterprise ('inside the text and next to it') 'that is open to any theoretical reading occasioned by writing in a nascent state' (ibid.), resulting in either a diplomatic or a teleological edition. This focus on the study and revealance of avant-texte material in genetic criticism, matches somehow the development of the discipline in Germany. Siegfried Scheibe, one of the most influential theoreticists in German *editionswissenschaft*, published an important

essay in 1971, entitled *Towards some ground principles of a historical-critical edition*. Scheibe points out the non-hierarchical value of each manuscript or draft-version of a work, and therefore has a similar idea as De Biasi of the text as a dynamic instead of static entity. Inspired by the Goethe-editions that had to deal with the huge amount of manuscripts left by the author, the German genetical criticist almost automatically starts with collecting all documentary sources of an oeuvre. (Mathijssen 59). Scheibe has a clear view on how a genetically studied work should be presented. It consists of a text part that includes the reading text, an apparatus that includes all versions of the work as well as paralipomena and finally a commentary that justifies all choices and can provide the history the text as well as other literary historical information. (ibid). This structured presentation of genetic research had much international following. It permits both to present a reading text of the work and include all versions and avant-texte material, rendered in a genetic apparatus. It should be mentioned that this type of edition, usually addressed as historical-critical edition (after the German *historisch-kritische Ausgabe*), differs from De Biasi's diplomatic edition in the way that it clearly has sought a certain telos in the material, eventually resulting in a reading text. As pointed out, such a telos is not necessarily part of genetic research. Gunter Martens addressed this issue in his important article *Editions and the dynamics of text*, claiming that although an edited text is highly recommendable because of the complex nature of writing processes, the genetic apparatus is the core of an edition. (Van Hulle 17). De Biasi's diplomatic/teleological and Scheibe's historical-

critical edition nevertheless both point out the extreme importance of the avant-texte material and the dynamics of different, equally valuable versions of the text. In that last respect the French and German tradition differs emphatically from the Anglo-Saxon situation.

In the UK and USA the practice of genetic research, methodologically based upon theories of new bibliographers (most of all dealing with 16th and 17th century texts), was mainly focused on the establishment of a text that the author would have desired. Its guidelines in establishing the critical text are therefore most of all the author's intentions. The premise of German and French genetic criticism that each variant of the text is of equal importance is not being practiced in this theory. The "author's last will" is decisive, which in general means that all documents or manuscripts that precede the final clear copy of the author's text are not taken into account (Mathijsen 71). The main aim of this type of research is the establishment of a "best text" and not the reconstruction of the writing process. The development of this copytext theory can be explained from Anglo-Saxon experiences with editing Shakespeare, of whom no manuscripts survived and whose works needed serious revisions after centuries of corrupted (re)prints. The scholarly practice encompasses the comparison of the work's first print and the variants found in later prints, thus reaffirming to a much greater extent than French and German genetic scholarship did, the stemmatological model derived from Lachmann (Lernhout 4). Out of this genealogy of the publication history the scholar tried to discover the intentions of the author. Copytext editions therefore include a reading text, a justification

of all choices made in establishing the copytext, a list of all emendations in the text and an apparatus that contains all variants of words (Mathijsen 74). An important innovation of this copytext theory was realized by Walter Greg, who made, in his famous *Rationale of Copy-Text* (1951), a distinction between ‘substantives’ and ‘accidentals.’ In his view, readings that ‘affect the author’s meaning or the essence of his expression,’ should be treated differently from the ‘accidentals’ such as ‘spelling, punctuation, word-division, and the like, affecting mainly its formal presentation.’ (Greg 22). This is crucial since it approaches the copytext less like a sacrosanct object and moved its theory further away from traditional stemmatology and traditionalist copytext views (Greg 19).

In its essence, however, copytext theory remained focused on a genealogical development. Its principal guideline is a stemma of authorized versions, of which the ‘primary documentary authority’ usually is attributed to the handwritten or typed copy used for the first print.¹⁰ Later corrections by the author of these authorized documents, proofs, or prints, subsequently get a higher authorization, resulting in an eclectic copytext with mixed authority. In all aspects of the Greg-Bowers line of theory, the search for authorial intentions is central.¹¹ The most authoritative text, or a combination of several documents, will be chosen as the copy-text (in

¹⁰ Greg-adept Fredson Bowers for example wrote some guidelines to authorize variants by means of a stemma. (Mathijsen 128).

¹¹ Although this emphasis on authorial intentions was only introduced by Fredson Bowers in his reading of Greg’s theory, as Jerome McGann points out (as quoted in Lernhout 7).

general the first completed text), and only those changes to the manuscript that can be directly attributed to the author will be taken into account (Lernhout 6). It became the leading principle of the Center for Editions of American Authors. But the focus on authorial intentions was subject to sharp criticism as well. Scheibe reasoned that each version of a text represents the author in a certain phase of the writing process, which makes each version suitable to serve as the basis for an edited text (Van Hulle, 19). Secondly, the search for authorial intentions bears the risk of falling into the pitfall of the new criticist revelation of the “intentional fallacy”. G. Thomas Tanselle, academic heir of the Greg-Bowers legacy, refuted this criticism by pointing out that the question of authorial intention is only being asked in relation to what materially has been written and not to the meaning of the text (Mathijssen 128). According to Tanselle ‘a stereotype has arisen (...) in which an Anglo-American approach, characterized by the production of a single “critical” text for each work is contrasted with a continental approach that emphasizes the multiple stages in the textual evolution of works.’ (Tanselle 581, Van Hulle 21). Tanselle probably is right about his observation of the emergence of stereotypes, since several American scholarly editions do offer ample space for variants. Jerome McGann, one of the main American critics of the copy-text tradition, wrote in 1983 that the copy-text theory was developed mainly for texts from before 1650 and that the Greg-Bowers tradition works reasonably well when there is no authorial manuscript. For modern works, of which editors often do have manuscripts, drafts and fair copies at their disposal, authorial intention

is far more complicated in relation to the choice of the copy-text. In these cases, the earliest completed text doesn't necessarily speak for the copytext (Lernhout 7). McGann and other copytext innovators like D.F. McKenzie and Donald Reiman admitted the role of editors, publishers and correctors, to be at least as important as the intentions of the author. The main focus on the will of the author, in their view should be replaced by the view that a text is always part of a network of social relations.¹² These critical voices have brought copytext theory closer to German and French genetic criticism.

§3. The Gabler edition of *Ulysses*

An important event in recent genetic criticism was the 1984 publication of Hans Walter Gabler's edition of *Ulysses*.¹³ No discussion of developments in this field of research goes without mentioning this critical rendition of Joyce's novel. I am obliged to discuss it in this thesis as well, for two reasons. First, because it is an important mark in genetic criticism since it combines European and American ways of editing texts and therefore creates on its own a new model for critical editions. And secondly, members of the *Equipa Pessoa*, responsible for editing critical editions of Pessoa's works, mentioned this edition as an important model for their own research. Before elaborating on *A edição crítica de Fernando Pessoa*, it is therefore

12 McGann in *A critique of modern textual criticism*, as quoted in (Mathijsen 128).

13 *Ulysses. A critical and synoptic edition, prepared by Hans Walter Gabler with Wolfhard Stepp and Clause Melchior*. New York/London, 1984.

necessary to get a clear view of some implications of the *Gabler-Ulysses*. Gabler left the mainstream anglo-saxon tradition of copytext by replacing it by a hybrid form of textual criticism that combines the Anglo-Saxon aim of establishing a copytext as well as the continental aim of showing the genetic development of the text. Gabler acknowledges the first 1922-print of *Ulysses* to be the edition that comes closest to what Joyce had in mind as the public text for his novel. He adds to it: 'Yet it does not present the text of the whole work as he wrote it. (...) The first edition admittedly represents the closest approximation to be found in one document of the work at its ultimate stage of compositional development. Yet, the analysis of the manuscripts, typescripts and proofs reveals just how extensively it presents a non-authoritative text' (1894). Gabler didn't merely want to free the first and later prints of misprints and textual corruption in order to reconstruct a faultless copytext (whether this be the final manuscript of the Greg-Bowers method, or the first printed edition), but aimed at establishing a text that consisted of all existing textual evidence. Gabler attributed an equal amount of authority to all of Joyce's autograph notations, regardless of whether these were found in the drafts or in the final proofs: 'This, it is true, is not assembled in a unified holograph manuscript at a state of development corresponding to the first-edition text. The one comprehensive holograph that exists of *Ulysses*, the Rosenbach Manuscript, represents the work only at the point of culmination of the draft composition of the successive chapters.' (Gabler 1895). This evaluation of the first fair copy as nothing but *a stage* in textual development corresponds to recent French theory in

genetic criticism. Gabler follows the continuation of development beyond its final draft towards 'its ultimate stage of compositional development for book publication' (Gabler 1895) and finds these traces in a sequence of different documents. Unlike French genetic criticism, Gabler still focuses on the establishment of a copytext, in his case not consisting of one single manuscript or fair copy, but of the whole of various authorial documents. The intermingling of various distinctive stages of the writing process resulted in a version of *Ulysses* that actually had never existed before. The edition permits its readers to follow the road along which Joyce wrote, rewrote, replaced and added words, lines, paragraphs and even whole chapters of the book. In that new copytext, or 'basis text' as Gabler tends to call it, the 1922 first edition of *Ulysses* has been included in the historical collation instead of in the synoptic text or apparatus, indicating that the first print has not been privileged at all. Gabler presented *Ulysses* as a 'many layered and highly complex text that carries the dynamics of an extended textual development within it.' (Gabler 1895). Such an edition with extensive attention for the pre-publication phase of the development was only possible because of the availability of sufficient surviving documents, which in general concerns only authors from the late nineteenth century onwards. Joyce, like many a modernist author, kept much of his manuscript material, rewrote endlessly and elaborated on each and every print of his works by adding many corrections to its proofs. Gabler's method therefore couldn't be used as a method for rendering critical editions in general and is especially apt for modern authors.

Gabler had the possibility of assembling all manuscripts belonging to *Ulysses*, reconstruct the chronology of the documents, and integrate all variants into a synoptic presentation of the process. ‘The synopsis places every revisional variant in relation to others as well as in a compositionally invariant context. Details of the autograph inscription - deletions, erasures, insertions and illegible words or letters - are recorded. The diacritics indicating the successive levels of composition rise by symbols (raised carets in a defined order of rotation), letters and numbers.’ (Gabler 1901). This compositional basis text, published on the edition’s left-hand pages, was, in Gabler’s own words, ‘the innovative feature of this edition’ (ibidem). On the right-hand pages one finds the new reading text: ‘Arranged in parallel or near parallel to the synopsis on the left-hand pages, it [the reading text] results as the extrapolations without diacritics of the edition text, i.e. the emended continuous manuscript text at its ultimate level of compositional development.’ (Gabler 1903).

What Gabler tried to do was to present the “author’s last will” on basis of authorial evidence from the archive, instead of relying on the first publication of *Ulysses*. Since there was no final manuscript, Gabler took the final authorial manuscript version of *each segment* of the text. By doing so he worked the other way around compared to what has generally been done: the choice for one authorial document (the most recent fair copy of the manuscript, the first edition or the author’s correction of the proofs) and the critical correction of that text following the distilled author’s intentions. Obvious typos and misprints in previous publications of that

text were to be corrected and authorial emendations of a more recent date were to be added to the critical text or apparatus. For Lawrence's *Women in Love* the editors of the 1987 Cambridge University Press-edition chose to use Lawrence's second typescript (of 1919) as the 'base-text' for their edition, while the 1982 Penguin-edition used the first American publication as its copytext. The *Großen kommentierten Frankfurter Ausgabe* of Thomas Mann's works took the 1924 first print of *Der Zauberberg* as its copytext, while the *Kritische Kafka Ausgabe* of *Der Prozess* renounced Max Brod's posthumous edition and chose for Kafka's own manuscript. Many commercial editions of the Dutch masterpiece *Max Havelaar* by Multatuli reprint the 1860 (highly corrupted) first edition, but Kets-Vree took the last authorized reprint of 1881 as the copytext of her critical edition. The point is to show that where normally the editor chooses one authorial document as basis, Gabler chose various final authorial manuscripts. Since the 1922 first edition of *Ulysses* proved rather unreliable and no complete final authorial manuscript existed, he privileged the final authorial manuscript of every textual segment of the book. He used all materials between the first completed fair copy (the Rosenbach manuscript) and the most recent known corrections made by Joyce on proofs.

Although Gabler has left traditional copytext theory and combined it with textual genetic ideas on critical scholarship, we should emphasize that his *Ulysses* is not a truly genetic edition, since it doesn't give an account of the

complete writing process.¹⁴ The synoptic text only follows those stages of the writing process that postdate the first complete fair copy, the so-called Rosenbach manuscript. Loose notes, outlines, schemata and scribbles for *Ulysses* were left out of the synoptic text. (Lernhout 10). Moreover, Van Hulle mentions that Gabler focuses exclusively on Joyce's private act of writing, leaving out collaborative aspects of the production process as well. Variant readings caused by a non-authorial or collaborative act of transmission are excluded on principle. (Van Hulle 26). Unlike the usual intentions of editors in copytext tradition, Gabler did not want to reconstruct what Joyce 'aimed for as the public text of *Ulysses*' (Gabler 1891), but instead reconstructed 'the work as he wrote it' (ibidem).

The unconventional copytext that resulted from this caused much controversy among Joyceans. Among those explicitly in favor of Gabler's synoptic approach were Joycean Geert Lernhout and non-Joycean scholar Jerome McGann. The latter commented on the edition under the daring title: *Ulysses as a postmodern text*¹⁵, reasoning that Gabler's three volumes

14 Although the term "genetic text" hasn't always been used in an unambiguous way by scholars reacting on Gabler's *Ulysses*, as Van Hulle shows (Van Hulle 28). Tanselle makes a clear distinction between 'genetic' texts and Gabler's 'synoptic' text: "A genetic text aims to show the development of the text or texts present in a single document by providing a running text or texts that indicates cancellations, interlineations and other alterations. Gabler's synoptic text, on the other hand, aims to bring together in a single running text the authorial readings of all relevant documents." (Tanselle, G.T. "historicism and Critical Editing," in: *Studies in Bibliography* 47, 1994: 1-22) (Van Hulle 28)

15 In revising his initial article in *Criticism* (vol. 27.3 (1985)) for a later reprint, he changed the title into *Ulysses as a Postmodern work*. ((vol. 27.3 (1985) McGann, Jerome. *Social values and poetic acts: The historical judgements of the literary work*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press. 1988. On this significant difference between 'text' and 'work' I will comment later on in this thesis.

‘represent a postmodern Ulysses. The concrete formatting of these books, where the synoptic text is given highest priority, is the most dramatic representation of the work’s postmodern textuality.’ (McGann, 297). In general those scholars with sympathy for deconstructionalist and/or poststructuralist approaches welcomed the 1984 *Ulysses* as an exponent of ‘the poststructuralist challenge to Anglo-American editing procedures,’ as Paul Eggert wrote.¹⁶ Among those opposing Gabler’s edition, John Kidd was apparently the most militant opponent, making various harsh attacks (*The scandal of Ulysses*) on it in the *New York Review of Books*.¹⁷ He accused Gabler’s team of consciously trying to replace the commonly known editions of *Ulysses* by a ‘complete new text’ in order to create a renewed copyright on the text that could run for another seventy years from 1984 on. Kidd reasoned that no ‘correction’ whatsoever had taken place (Kidd referred to the title of the 1986 commercial edition of Gabler’s reading text, entitled *Ulysses: the corrected text*). The edition instead resulted in an entirely ‘different version from what Joyce conceived, authorized and saw into print.’ He furthermore accused the Gabler team of not having used original manuscripts for transcribing Joyce’s handwriting, but facsimile’s, photocopies and microfilms (causing, according to Kidd, many errors of transcription in the edition). Kidd thought the apparatus ‘incomplete,’ he asserted that many of the choices made by the editors of the 1984 *Ulysses*

16 As quoted in Lernhout. See for an overview of the reactions on Gabler’s edition of *Ulysses*: Lernhout, p. 11-14, and Van Hulle, p. 26-28.

17 See for John Kidd’s crusade against the Gabler-*Ulysses*: <http://www.nybooks.com/authors/567> (October 21, 2007).

didn't have any ground, he found the edition 'unsupported by historical research' and asserted that it 'records erasures that had never existed and misses even more that do.'¹⁸ A large polemic evolved in the columns of the *New York Book Review* and the *Times Literary Supplement* among prominent editorial scholars. Gabler tried to refute Kidd's criticism and Kidd replied with even longer essays presenting more incriminating material and microscopic analyses of allegedly incorrect or incomplete wordings in the new *Ulysses*. Passing by the polemics on the level of corrections and transcriptions, Kidd's negative response to Gabler was in my opinion mainly prompted by their highly contrasting views on copytext issues. Whereas Gabler searched for a *Ulysses* 'as he [Joyce] wrote it' (Gabler 1891), Kidd wanted a *Ulysses* as 'known to the author and his audience of sixty years.' (Kidd). The Gabler-edition shows that a study of Joyce's final handwritings and proof-corrections resulted in a fairly different *Ulysses* than Kidd and other sceptical readers were willing to accept. Since, on the one hand, it is generally acknowledged that the 1922 first edition (and even many "corrected" editions that had followed it) is highly corrupted by transcribers, typists, amanuenses, note-takers, editors and typographers and on the other hand a final authorial manuscript is absent, the solution of a synoptic text is anything but rejectable. Gabler's edition proofed the traditional Greg-Bowers concept of copytext that roughly puts its faith in one authorial variant of the text as base-text, to be inapplicable to *Ulysses*.

18 In: Kidd, J. "The scandal of *Ulysses*". in: *New York Review of Books*, vol. 35, nr.11, June 30, 1988

Both this choice for a genetically built synoptic text and the polemics it caused, are relevant for our discussion of the critical editions rendered of Pessoa's works, since its editors adopted a similar genetic model for their editions causing a controversy similar to the case of *Ulysses*.

Chapter 2: Critical editions of Pessoa's works

§1. Edição Crítica da obra completa de Fernando Pessoa

The 'Grupo de trabalho para o estudo do espólio e edição da obra completa de Fernando Pessoa' (in short: *Equipa Pessoa*)¹⁹ was appointed by the Portuguese Government in 1988, exactly the year of the centenary of Pessoa's birth. Its mission was: 'conhecer todo o Espólio; aproximar todos os documentos relativos a um texto; ordená-los cronologicamente e estabelecer a génese do texto; encontrar o ponto da intenção final do autor e, em função dela, corrigir as edições correntes (...).'²⁰ (Castro 1988, 18). When Ivo Castro wrote this, a correction of those 'current editions' mainly concerned the editions published by publisher Ática from 1942 onwards. The Ática-series initially included all poetry and prose published by Pessoa during his life, but soon started to draw texts from Pessoa's extended legacy, kept in his surviving sister's home. The task of editing the texts was initiated and mainly executed by Pessoa's friend João Gaspar Simões. These editions led to Pessoa's posthumous fame and established the form in which the works eventually became canonical. But, as Ivo Castro points out, the editors of Ática did not have a complete view of Pessoa's more than 27.000 left manuscripts, they didn't make an inventory of all the documents but instead started to construct poems, especially those long futurist odes

19 Transl: *Team for the study of the legacy and complete works of Fernando Pessoa.*

20 Transl: *to know the complete archives, collect all documents related to a certain text, bring them in chronological order and establish the genesis of the text, find the final intention of the author and, in duty of that intention, correct the current editions.*

left dispersed in the trunk, using merely the available documents and often disobeying instructions in Pessoa's hand. (Castro 1993, 74). In this respect, one can compare these initial publications with the initial publications of Kafka's works by his friend Max Brod. The Brazilian publisher Aguilar published a second important series of publications based upon original examination of the documents, in 1960 and 1962. These anthologies were edited by Maria Aliete Galhoz (who in 1982 edited the princeps edition of *Disquiet* for Ática as well) and Cleonice Berardinelli (who many years later published the first volume of Pessoa's critical editions). These editions gave new readings of the manuscripts and unveiled many previously unpublished texts. They got several reprints and were often used abroad in the sixties and seventies for the first translations of Pessoa's works. During the first fifty years of the copyrights on Pessoa's works (expired in 1985 and re-enforced in 1996) the Ática and Aguilar editors had a monopoly in establishing Pessoa's legacy in printed form. This changed between 1985-1996, when some publishers took advantage of the possibility of making their own editions, but still their editors often followed the transcriptions of manuscripts provided by the main (and in the meantime considered to be canonical) editions of Ática and Aguilar. The main events that broke with the tradition started by Ática, were the inventory in 1969 (and eventual acquisition in 1979) of the Pessoa-archive by the National Library and the critical research of the entire *espólio* done by the Equipa Pessoa from 1988 onwards. These events provided the conditions both for the full knowledge of everything Pessoa had kept in his trunk and for a critical rendition of

the texts as Pessoa had written them. In 1996 a second “equipa” or, perhaps more accurately, a “counter equipa Pessoa” was created by editor Assírio & Alvim, who had acquired the renewed copyrights (valid until 2006) and intended to republish Pessoa’s works for a general public by conducting its own research of the documents, independently of the critical editions. However thorough and valuable these editions published by Assírio & Alvim might be, they obviously lack a critical apparatus in which a description of the documents, the research and the choices of the editors are logged.

When the Equipa Pessoa, headed by Ivo Castro, started its research in 1988 its members immediately encountered various problems. The very first part of its mission (“to get to know the complete archives”) was complicated by the initial work done by the Ática-editors and the inventory of the legacy made in the late sixties and early seventies. The trunk with Pessoa’s documents by that time was still in possession of Pessoa’s sister and the originals could only be consulted at her house. There, a group of students and scholars spent four hours a day cataloguing each and every document. A clear description of their task and the scientific methods they adopted, unfortunately does not exist. Their main organisational principle seems to have been to distinguish everything that already had been published during or after Pessoa’s life, from what was still unpublished. A probable explanation for this method might be found in the rumours that the contents of the legacy might be sold abroad, and the need to estimate the

value of all documents still waiting for publication. (Santos 1988, 200). This team provided catalogue numbers for every manuscript and stocked the documents in folders. For every publication of *Ática's* series of complete works a different folder was opened, in which the manuscripts used for the publication concerned were gathered. The unpublished texts were ordered by thematic principles, assembling together all documents that dealt with political issues, all unpublished poems by 'Ricardo Reis', and so on. The group noticed that many manuscripts used for *Ática*-publications actually were nowhere to be found in the poet's legacy. Many of those texts had never been returned from the publisher's or typographer's offices, where they eventually were retrieved. Certain documents, however, once posthumously published, now seem to be lost forever. This initial catalogization by the *Ática*-group has offered scholars and editors the opportunity to browse through Pessoa's extended legacy and to have a common identification of each document (because of the catalogue-number). On the other hand, the reshuffling destroyed the original order in which Pessoa had left the documents, usually an important guideline for establishing critical editions. Much information on individual texts could, however, still be derived from material and textual evidence, but getting to know the entire archive and establishing the genesis of the texts was, right at the start of the functioning of the *Equipa Pessoa*, a complex task.

Apart from the condition in which the legacy was found, the critical research was furthermore complicated because of the large amount of unpublished

texts, often left by Pessoa in the state of initial drafts without any signs of him having cleaned the texts from doubts and errors. He rarely made a fair copy of the text, which therefore can't simply be used to verify the "author's intentions" in comparison with first prints or reprints. Normally a critical edition, as Luiz Fagundes Duarte, member of the Equipa Pessoa, puts it: 'tem por objecto reconstruir um texto, ou seja, restituir-lhe, na medida do possível, a forma que o autor lhe deu, eliminando ou repondo aquilo que outrem nele introduziu ou dele retirou – advertida ou inadvertidamente –, ao longo do tempo'.²¹ (Duarte 167). The aim of correcting or restoring the texts is only possible for these that had already been published. Pessoa himself had only published *Mensagem*, a few leaflets with his English poems, and several hundred loose poems and prose texts in ephemeral magazines. In some cases the fair copy that Pessoa sent to his publishers is lost, which makes it difficult to restore the form the author gave them. The vast majority of the Pessoa archives had not been published at all, which therefore demanded different criteria. The comparison of the few (fair) copies that Pessoa left and the eventual publication of it before or after his death, results in a list of "variants of tradition" for each document; differences between what has been written by Pessoa and what eventually has been published. A second list is constituted by the variants created by the author himself during the process of writing and rewriting, in many

21 (Duarte 167). Transl.: *[a critical edition] has the aim of reconstructing a text, or better, restore it, as good as possible, in the form the author has given it, eliminating or correcting those elements that were - intentionally or accidentally - introduced or excluded over the years by others.*

cases written between the lines or above the initial word, waiting for a final choice. In case of a published text, the fair copy or first print usually answers the question which of the variants finally was chosen by the author, but in case of unpublished drafts containing these types of variants, no conclusive choice can be made. Because Pessoa's oeuvre in large part hasn't been published or even hasn't been prepared for publication by the author himself, this was the second challenge for the Equipa Pessoa to face in creating critical editions of those works.

The third challenge follows from the previous one. The Equipa also had to edit works that had already been published before. Considering the fact that the first (Ática) editors of those texts didn't have a complete knowledge of the archives and didn't use any scholarly methods to establish their texts, a thorough revision was to be expected. Re-editing the posthumously published texts would almost certainly lead to new renditions of poems that in their initial, albeit imperfect form were already familiar to Pessoa's readers for over fifty years. Public opinion might not be in favour of an edition that alters well-known poems even when the outcome of scholarly research would demand such alteration. The Equipa was well aware of this risk, since Ivo Castro writes in his introductory text presenting the Equipa and its goals, that one of the problems lies in 'não estar a opinião pública predisposta a acolher favoravelmente nem o objecto pouco atraente em que se materializa uma edição crítica, nem a subversão, que esta

implica, dos textos a que se está habituado e que passam a ficar caducos.²²
(Castro 1990, 17).

Castro gives the example of corrected readings of Caeiro's verses. He showed that the 1946 *Ática*-edition of Caeiro's verses (from now on: *Ática*) prepared by Luís de Montalvor contains many 'corrupted' transcriptions of Pessoa's unpublished verses. To mention just a few:

Poderia julgar que o sol / <É Deus,>[alumia,↑]...²³

This sentence in the manuscript indicates that Pessoa substituted the initial wording 'É Deus,' by the wording 'alumia,' written with pencil above the crossed out initial words.²⁴ Montalvor used the original wording 'Poderia julgar que o sol / É Deus,...', Castro, however, followed the author's "last will" and used Pessoa's correction in the Critical Edition (from now on *EC*).²⁵ The same thing occurs with lines 6-7 of poem VI:

E Deus amar-nos á fazendo de nós / Belos [Nós,↑] como as árvores <e os regatos>[são árvores↑]".²⁶

22 Transl.: "*The educated public opinion might not be willing to welcome neither the unattractive object that a critical edition is, nor the subversion, which is inevitable, of texts to which they are accustomed and that now become obsolete.*" (Castro 1990, 17).

23 Cf. legenda of diacritical signs in the appendix. Manuscriptnumber: [145/6r], poem nr. IV of *O guardador de Rebanhos*. Transl.: *It would be able to think the sun / <Is God,>[gives light,↑]...*

24 I am referring to and transcribing the fair copy of the manuscripts of 49 poems of *O Guardador de Rebanhos*, published in facsimile by Ivo Castro (*EC Caeiro*).

25 (Pessoa Caeiro 26), (*EC Caeiro* p. 113). Transl.: "*It would be able to think the sun / Is God, (...)*" (*Ática*) "*It would be able to think the sun / gives light, (...)*" (*EC*).

26 Poem nr. VI of *O guardador de Rebanhos*. Manuscriptnumber: [145/9r]. Transl.: *And God will love us for it, make us / Beautiful [Us,↑] as trees <and brooks>[are trees↑].*

Montalvor printed in *Ática*: ‘E Deus amar-nos-á fazendo de nós / Belos como as árvores e os regatos.’²⁷ Castro in *EC* printed: ‘E Deus amar-nos-á fazendo de nós / Nós como as árvores são árvores.’ (EC Caeiro 117). ‘A existência verdadeiramente real das flores e dos rios’ (poem XXXI) as read in *Ática*, became ‘A existência verdadeiramente verdadeira das flores e dos rios’ in *EC*.²⁸ ‘E a Natureza é bela e antiga’ (Poem XII) in *Ática*, became ‘E a Natureza está aqui mesmo’ in *EC*.²⁹ Another example, abundantly commented by Castro, is the formulation ‘no cimo do outeiro’ or ‘a meio do outeiro’ used by Pessoa/Caeiro to situate the house of the heteronym. Initially, on draft manuscripts, Pessoa writes ‘no cimo’, but later on replaces the location of the house in all cases with ‘a meio do outeiro.’³⁰ Poem VII reads: ‘Que aqui na minha casa no cimo[a meio↑], deste outeiro’, indicating that Pessoa had not crossed out the original formulation.³¹ Since Pessoa himself had never published this poem, no definite answer could be given as to which of the variants represents the author’s final will. *Ática* published ‘no cimo’; *EC* relied on the last emendation of the author, in this case ‘a meio.’ Poem VIII has the same complexities, but this one had been published before. Initially, Pessoa wrote: ‘Elle mora commigo na

27 (Pessoa Caeiro 31), (EC Caeiro 117) Transl.: “*And God will love us for it, make us / Beautiful as trees and brooks*” (*Ática*) “*And God will love us for it, make us / Us, as trees are trees*” (*EC*).

28 This poem was erroneously indicated in (Castro 1988, 151) as poem ‘XXI’. Transl. “*The truly real existence of flowers and rivers*” (*Ática*); “*The truly true existence of flowers and rivers*” (*EC*)

29 (Pessoa Caeiro 41), (EC Caeiro 134) Transl.: “*And nature is beautiful and ancient*” (*Ática*) “*And Nature is right here*” (*EC*).

30 Transl.: “*On top of the hill*” vs. “*Half way up the hill*”

31 Transl.: “*That here in my house on top[halfway up↑], this hill*”

minha casa no cimo[na encosta↑[quasi ao cimo↑]] do outeiro,³² leaving two possible variants for ‘no cimo’. When he published the poem in the magazine *Presença* in 1931, Pessoa changed the formulation once again, writing ‘ao meio’ (‘halfway up’), this time. Because *Ática* usually privileges the version of the poems published by Pessoa in the magazines *Athena* and *Presença*, Montalvor published in this particular case the formulation ‘ao meio’. Another poem, number XXX, had already been published in 1925 in *Athena* and mentions the location of Caieiro’s house as well. It reads: ‘Vivo no cimo d’um outeiro’³³ and was thus published exactly like this by *Ática*. The fair copy of the manuscript, however, reads, consistent with the other poems that give this information: ‘Vivo no cimo[a meio↑] d’um outeiro.’³⁴ Castro rightly concludes that in all three cases the initial wording ‘no cimo’ on the fair copy had been substituted by ‘ao meio’. (Castro 1990, 113). But still, both for *Ática*’s editor Montalvor, as for the EC’s editor Castro, this raises a problem of consistency. *Ática* clearly follows the initial wordings in case of unpublished manuscript, and the printed versions in case of published poems. This method results in ‘no cimo dum outeiro’ in two cases and in one case in ‘ao meio dum outeiro’, leaving the reader with an inconsistency on where Caieiro’s house actually was situated. The method of the EC, always following the author’s “final intention” and generally accepting that a printed document, revised and approved by the author,

32 Transl.: *He lived with me in my house on top[on the slope↑[almost on top↑]] of the hill*

33 Transl.: *I live on top of a hill.*

34 Transl.: *I live on top of[halfway up↑] a hill.*

supersedes all previous manuscript versions,³⁵ in this case isn't satisfactory either. The EC-method implicated that the unpublished poem VII and the published poem VIII both required the printing of 'a meio dum outeiro' and that the published poem XXX required a reproduction of 'no cimo dum outeiro.' Castro was aware of this problem and tried to solve the issue by looking into the options offered by textual genetic scholars.

Fredson Bowers, heir of Walter Greg's copytext theory, defends that one should always choose manuscripted testimonies as copytext, because these are the only sources that don't bear the risk of containing something other than the author's intentions. (cf. Castro 1990, 114). Philip Gaskell represents a different point of view, stating that the final manuscript merely is a phase of the writing process, in which the revision of proofs and the final print are phases more recent and thus more representative of the author's last will. (ibidem / Gaskell 134). Although not making a dogmatic choice for any of those theoretical points of view, Castro preferred in this particular case Gaskell's theory that published versions do reflect the author's intentions best. Castro's critical method of Caetano's poems³⁶ therefore contains a

35 Although some manuscripts indicate the years 1912 (probably postdated in order to create the fiction of Caetano's life) and 1914, an exact date can't be attached to the fair copy of these poems. Considering the fact that they hardly differ from the drafts of the poems, all datable in the beginnings of 1914, Castro concludes that the fair copy probably has been written shortly after. (Castro 1990, 96). In any case it is highly unlikely that the fair copy dates from after the first publication of some of its poems in 1925.

36 Published in 1986 and therefore not yet part of the series of critical editions established by the Equipa Pessoa that started in 1988. A new critical edition, as part of the EC has been announced but has until now (2012) still not appeared. Castro writes: 'the criteria that I adopted demanded me of course to include 'a casa no meio' in poems VII and VIII and 'no cimo' in poem XXX. I don't know if I would do the same today' (Castro 1990, 115)

similar incongruence as the initial Ática-edition, but in different places.³⁷

These examples of the critical research of Alberto Caieiro's poetry, serve to show that finding the author's intentions, establishing the genesis of a text, and correcting the current editions, in short the entire mission of the Equipa Pessoa, is highly complicated. As for the correction of the Ática-editions: for decades readers got familiar with exactly the versions of the poems printed in these editions, whether they withstood the test of criticism or not and no matter what imperfections they showed in relation to the manuscript. Castro suspected the acceptance of the corrected readings in the EC by public and critics to be merely a 'process of familiarization.' (Castro 1988, 151). He writes: 'Uma edição crítica bem sucedida obriga o public a esquecer os versos que sabia de cor e os críticos a reescrever, sobre textos renovados, as suas interpretações.'³⁸ (Castro 1990, 17). With the publication of the very first volume of critically rendered texts, the collected poems of Álvaro de Campos in 1990, the EC didn't succeed in achieving this goal. Quite the

37 Castro gives an explanation of the incongruence in Pessoa's texts by assuming that the 1925 version of poem nr. VII was published before the emendations and additions in the fair copy of the manuscript had been made. This would mean that the fair copy probably dating from 1914 and containing the initial location 'no cimo', had remained unchanged when Pessoa published the poem in 1925. Only after that year Pessoa must have revised his poems and added the variants in the fair copy, i.e. correcting all occurrences of 'no cimo' in 'ao meio'. He then published poem VIII in 1931 including the improved wording 'ao meio de'. (Castro 1990, 116). This reconstruction of the genesis of *O guardador de Rebanhos* would make perfect sense, but the documents nevertheless don't give any evidence on when exactly the texts were written and corrected.

38 Transl.: *A well succeeded critical edition forces the public to forget the verses it already knows by heart and it forces the critics to rewrite, on basis of renovated texts, their interpretations.* (Castro 1990, 17)

contrary: the edition caused enormous controversy, not quite unlike the controversy caused by the Gabler-Ulysses, even resulting in a “counter-edition” established by Pessoa-scholar Teresa Rita Lopes (who wasn’t a member of the Equipa Pessoa). Anno 2013, more than twenty years after both editions were published, we can ascertain that it actually was this counter-edition made by Lopes that has been used as the basis-text for the commercial editions of Assírio & Alvim and for almost all translations of Campos’s verses made ever since worldwide.³⁹

§2 The Campos-controversy: two critical editions of the works of Álvaro de Campos

Like the ambiguities in the Caeiro-case, the polemics between Lopes and the Equipa on the Campos-edition do reveal some of the important theoretical implications of editing Pessoa’s works. The Campos-edition was edited by Cleonice Berardinelli and published as the first volume in de *Série Maior* of the EC in 1990. By the time the Equipa was formed, Berardinelli was already busy compiling her critical edition of Campos’s works and decided to finish it within the frame of the Equipa. In his introductory remarks, Ivo Castro immediately formulated in concise form the aporia

39 Concerning the earlier discussed examples from Caeiro’s poems: of the five examples given from the ‘corrupted’ *Ática*-readings and the ‘corrected’ readings by Ivo Castro, the commercial edition of Caeiro’s poems published by Assírio & Alvim, accepted and reprinted three of Montalvor’s *Ática*-transcriptions and only two of the corrections made by Castro. In the ‘no cimo’/’ao meio’-issue, Assírio & Alvim made in all three cases the exact same choice as Castro had made. Cf. Caeiro, Alberto. *Poesia*. Ed. Fernando Cabral Martins, Richard Zenith. Lisbon: Assírio e Alvim, 2001.

of this first tour de force: ‘Como poderíamos nós oferecer - definitivo e fechado - um texto que, em rigor, o autor não acabou de escrever?’⁴⁰ (Campos-EC 10). He emphasized that no matter what efforts were made to transcribe and compile as careful as possible, ‘a decifração de manuscritos difíceis não decorre de poderes inatos, nem de favores divinos, mas de uma convivência constante e repetida com os problemas, convivência partilhada entre várias pessoas que se entrecruzam.’⁴¹ (EC Campos 10).

Like Castro in his Caieiro-edition, Berardinelli had to compare all published poems (from before or after Pessoa’s death) against the originals in the estate, to formulate criteria upon which certain unpublished texts could or could not be attributed to Álvaro de Campos and transcribe all of those often handwritten notes and fragments of poems. She undertook this with ‘uma atitude científica, objectiva,’ although admitting: ‘nunca pude (nem quis) descartar a professor e ensaísta de literature que vive em mim há longos anos e me faz buscar no poeta o que constitui a essência da sua poesia.’⁴² (EC Campos 45). Berardinelli subdivided her edition in various sections, beginning with *Arco de triumpho*. She found the title and the poems of which this section consists in the various notes that

40 Transl.: *How could we offer – in a definitive and finished form – a text that the author, strictly spoken, didn’t finish writing?*

41 Transl.: *the deciphering of difficult manuscripts doesn’t derive from innate abilities, nor from divine providence, but from a constant and repeated coping with its problems, and the shared efforts made by various collaborating individuals.*

42 Transl.: *“a scientific, objective attitude” / “I never could (nor wanted) to get rid of the professor in literature and essay writer that has been living in me for many years and made me trace in this poet those things that constitute the essence of his poetry.”* (EC Campos 45).

Pessoa had written on his plans with these poems. The project *Arco de triumpho* appears on several lists that were inconclusive about the issue as of which poems exactly belonged to the *Arco* and which not. Berardinelli chose the three sonnets, some individual poems like *Opiário*, *Carnaval*, *A partida*, *Barrow-on-furness* and *Lisbon Revisited* (1923), as well as the large odes *Ode triunfal*, *Dois excertos de odes*, *Ode marítima*, *Saudação a Walt Whitman*, *A passagem das horas* and *Ode marcial*. The other sections of the book are formed by ‘poemas com atribuição e com data, poemas com atribuição e sem data, poemas sem atribuição mas com data, poemas sem atribuição e sem data’ and various appendices.⁴³ (EC Campos 566-573). Furthermore, Berardinelli had to deal with various unfinished fragments of the large odes, most notably *A passagem das horas* and *Saudação a Walt Whitman*, on which Pessoa’s “final intention” was anything but clear. Although a certain subjective judgment lies at the basis of Berardinelli’s reconstruction of these fragmentary odes, the method she used for establishing the critical text is consistent with the criteria formulated by Ivo Castro in his preliminary remarks and is fully documented in the genetic apparatus. Nevertheless, Berardinelli’s attempt to reconstruct the unity of Campos’s odes in the critical edition was one of the main targets of Teresa Rita Lopes’s criticism in her article *A crítica da edição crítica*. (Lopes 1993).⁴⁴ She used the genetic development and subsequent publication of

43 Transl.: *Poems with attribution and dates, Poems with attribution without dates, Poems without attribution but with dates, Poems without attribution and without dates.*

44 Transl.: *The criticism of the critical edition*. Lopes published her criticism in *Colóquio/Letras*, nr. 125/126, 1992 and reprinted it in the front matter of her newly

the Ática-version and the EC-version of *A passagem das horas* as her main example. Ática initially published fifteen typed pages as if they belonged to one single text.⁴⁵ Lopes:

‘Tanto a Ática como a EC quiseram reordenar o poema que Pessoa nunca ordenou – e que, por isso não integrou o *Orpheu III*, para que fora previsto. A Ática utilizou as nove folhas soltas dactilografadas referidas, desfazendo sequências evidentes. Numerou, a lapis vermelho, as oitas folhas para seu governo, não respeito os hiatus do fim dos textos, inverteu a ordem das páginas [70-19] e das folhas ([70-17 deve vir antes de os 70-16]), omitiu passagens, não só o que considerou obscenidades mas também os acrescentos manuscritos que os tipógrafos não entenderam. Eles bem suplicavam, ao lado, no próprio texto “Pedimos para escrever de maneira a ler-se”. Como ninguém escreveu, eles não leram... E não compuseram.’⁴⁶ (Campos-TRL 30)

Berardinelli corrected these omissions in the princeps-edition by Ática, restored the correct order of the erroneously reversed order of the pages in question and corrected the misreadings of the typographers. In addition,

compiled critical edition of Campos’ poetry: Campos, Álvaro de. *Livro de versos. Introdução, transcrição e notas de Teresa Rita Lopes*. Referência/editorial Stampa. Lisboa: 1993. (Campos-TRL). All quotes from the criticism-article come from the last mentioned publication.

45 15 typed pages on 9 documents: [70/13r], [70/13v], [70/14r], [70/15r], [70/15v], [70/16r], [70/16v], [70/17r], [70/17v], [70/18], [70/19r], [70/19v], [70/20], [70/20v],[70/21r]. (Campos-EC 145), (Campos-TRL 26).

46 Transl.: *Both Ática as the EC wanted to put order into a poem that Pessoa never ordered – and that he for this reason didn’t want to include in Orpheu III, as he initially intended. Ática used the mentioned nine loose typed documents, interrupting the evident sequence. It numbered these pages with red pencil for its own use, and didn’t respect the hiatuses at the end of the texts, inverted the sequence of pages ([70/19]) and documents ([70/17] should come before [70/16]), omitted certain passages, not only what it considered to be obscenities but also the handwritten additions that the typographers couldn’t read. They urgently asked, in the margins of the document itself: ‘We ask to write this in a legible manner.’ Because nobody did, they didn’t read... and didn’t print it.* (Campos-TRL 30).

she proposed a new order of the manuscripts altogether and thereby of the narrative of the poem, emphasizing: “Não se poderá saber - a não ser que apareçam outros testemunhos - se esta é a verdade ordenação dos testemunhos. (...) Aqui apresento os critérios que adoptei, consciente de que são discutíveis.”⁴⁷ (Campos-EC 148). In spite of Berardinelli’s confessional relativism, emphasizing that her version is merely her own –sufficiently substantiated- choice⁴⁸, Lopes still couldn’t accept her version:

‘Acontece, porém, que a EC quis escrever, em lugar de Pessoa, o grande poema que ele teria escrito – se o tivesse escrito. Mas que ele não escreveu. Pessoa não criou o grande continente com que sonhou: *A passagem das horas* é um arquipélago com três ilhas muito belas, – os três blocos que localizei – e alguns ilhéus com mais ou menos vida própria. É assim que essa poema-arquipélago tem de ser viajado e conhecido. Cada um desses três primeiros blocos que indiquei tem tanta unidade como certas passagens de *Fausto*, ou do *Livro do desassossego*. Retirar esses fragmentos soltos da argamassa com que a Ática e a EC os ligaram, soube-me a contemplar na mão três grossos diamantes libertos da sua ganga. Assim resplandecem, avulsos e perfeitos.’⁴⁹ (Campos-TRL 31).

47 Transl.: *Nobody will ever know – unless some other testimonial documents should appear – whether this is the true order of the documents. (...) These are merely the criteria I adopted, in full knowledge that they are disputable.*

48 Since this thesis doesn’t directly deal with Campos’ texts, and these examples only serve to clarify the various scholarly methods applicable to editing texts, I won’t discuss the various arguments of Berardinelli and Lopes. Cf. (Campos-EC 142-148) and (Campos-TRL 25-31).

49 Transl.: *The EC, as it happens, wanted to write – substituting Pessoa, – the large poem he would have written – if he had written it. Which he had not. Pessoa didn’t create the great continent that he dreamed of: ‘A passagem das horas’ is an archipelago with three beautiful islands – the three units I identified – and some islands with more or less an existence of their own. This is how this poem-archipelago should be explored and known. Each one of those three units that I identified possesses as much unity as certain passages of ‘Fausto’ or ‘Livro do Desassossego’. Removing these loose fragments from the mortar that Ática and EC used to fixate them, leaves me with three huge diamonds, freed from their mine. This is how they glitter, separate and perfect.* (Campos-TRL 31).

Leaving aside Lopes's metaphorical formulation, the criticism she brings up – and she would follow a similar reasoning in her discussion of the EC-version of *Saudação a Walt Whitman* – is that the EC unites texts that Pessoa had not united, searching for a unity that wasn't provided by the documents themselves. The reproach of publishing a text disguised as a reconstruction of something the author himself had never constructed, echoes to a certain extent the criticism on Gabler's edition of *Ulysses*. Although this context is completely different and we're dealing here with poetry instead of prose, this similar type of criticism (including an amazingly hostile tone) gives us a first clue of the diverging views by the Equipa Pessoa and its critics on the process of establishing critical texts. I will elaborate on those views later on in this section.

The second point of criticism expressed by Teresa Rita Lopes concerned the reproduction of variants. The EC opted for inclusion of both authorial variants as well as variants of tradition in footnotes printed on the same page as the reading text and for the inclusion of substituted words in the genetic apparatus. As we've seen, the EC established its basis text following the "author's last will", and thus integrates the linear and interlinear variants immediately in the critical text and adds the initial wordings in the genetic apparatus. Lopes doesn't quite approve of that method:

'Tudo se complica ainda mais porque as "variantes", como tal conhecidas e consideradas, as do autor (...) não figuram em pé de página, tendo sido automaticamente integradas no texto, substituindo a(s) palavra(s)

da linha corrida que Pessoa pôs em causa mas não recusou porque não riscou. E as palavras substituídas são relegadas para o fim do livro, para o Aparato Genético. O texto do autor acontecido no fluir da linha é assim fruto de uma intervenção cirúrgica: isto é, operado de uma parte do seu corpo inteiro que vemos (os que vêem, os que se vão penosamente informar, no final, no Aparato Genético) substituído pela variante que a EC julgou última (porque Pessoa não se ensaiava nada para apontar, às vezes, três ou quatro variantes!);⁵⁰ (Campos-TRL 23).

Lopes reasons that even if one is prepared to accept the choice of following the author's last will, one should distinguish two types of variants: the ones that Pessoa added during the initial phase of the writing process (that he added between brackets right after the initial wording during the same phase of writing) and the interlineary ones, added on some moment after the initial phase when additions and corrections could only be written above and below the lines, or sometimes in the margins of the page. (TRL- Campos 24). Lopes is right about the EC not distinguishing between these types of variants. Especially for determining as to which of the variants is the last one written, it would have been recommendable to distinguish between the various phases of writing and rewriting. An

50 Transl.: *Everything is complicated even more because the 'variants', usually known and understood as the variants of the author, (...) are not listed in footnotes, but have been included in the running text, substituting the word(s) of the current line that Pessoa questioned but did not reject, since he didn't cross them out. The substituted words have been relegated to the back of the book, to the Genetic Apparatus. The text of the author, taking place in the running line, is here the result of a surgical operation, i.e. executed in parts of its entire body that we find substituted (only those of us who do find them, who are going to inform themselves exhaustively, in the back of the book, in the Genetic Apparatus) by the variant the EC qualified as the most recent one (even though Pessoa didn't hesitate to add, in some cases, even three or four variants!)* (Campos-TRL 23).

interesting example is a sentence from Campos's poem "*Meu pobre amigo, não tenho compaixão que te dar*"⁵¹ on manuscript [71¹/18]. Pessoa wrote in verse number 11:

'Comprehender[Discutir↑][Preocupar-se↑][Querer←]] é ser impotente.'⁵²

The first two variants were given above the word 'Comprehender', the variant 'Querer' was written in the left margin. Berardinelli took the last written variant, in her opinion 'Preocupar-se', and interpreted the addition 'Querer' as the first word of the verse, preceding all variants. The reading of the EC: 'Querer preocupar-se é ser impotente.'⁵³ (Campos-EC 225). The initial wording and the other variant moved to the apparatus. The same verse, edited according to different principles in Lopes's edition reads: 'Comprehender é ser impotente.'⁵⁴ (Campos-TRL 287). Lopes, moreover gives the words 'Discutir' and 'Preocupar-se' as variants for 'Comprehender' and mentions 'Querer' as a possible prefix of the sentence. That word 'Querer' was accompanied on the manuscript by the characteristic "doubt-symbol": an underlining cut in the middle by a little vertical line.⁵⁵ Pessoa used the symbol, as can be understood from

51 Transl.: *Poor friend, there's no compassion in me to give to you.*

52 Transl.: [*To understand*[*Quarrel*↑][*Worry*↑]][*Desire*←]] *is to be impotent.*]

53 Transl.: *Desiring to worry is to be impotent*

54 Transl.: *Understanding is to be impotent*

55 Or, when a few lines or a whole paragraph was subject to doubt, a vertical line alongside the doubted lines, cut in the middle by a little horizontal one. A legenda of diacritical signs is to be found in the introductory notes to the appendix.

his documents, in case of any insecurity about the use of a particular formulation. We see in this example the consequences of both methods in relation to the editing of variants on unpublished manuscripts: the method of the EC forces Berardinelli to adopt the latest variant, in this case including an addition that was possibly to precede each of the variants, although it is clearly marked with the “doubt-sign”.⁵⁶ Lopes’s method, which simply means to reproduce the initial phase of the writing process, avoids these difficulties.

Apart from the criticism on the treatment of fragments and variants – which are the most relevant issues for this thesis – Lopes furthermore criticizes what she sees as disappointing transcriptions of some manuscripts (Campos-TRL 39-42), the dubious inclusion of some poems without clear authorial attribution to Campos (*ibidem* 35-39), the absence of more than seventy texts that Lopes attributed to Campos (*ibidem* 42) and ‘o desejo de surpreender que animou, confessamente, a EC (...)’⁵⁷ (*ibidem* 33). Lopes concludes:

‘É penoso mas é meu dever cívico dizer que a *Edição Crítica dos Poemas de Álvaro de Campos* está imprópria para consumo. E não tanto pelo que lá não está – os tais setenta e tal textos que não encontraram no Espólio – mas, sobretudo, pelo que lá está: os poemas adulterados por assumidos critérios e intenções (colagens, enxertos de variantes no corpo do poema), as leituras e articulações erradas dos versos, as gralhas e

56 It should be stated that Berardinelli mentions the “doubt-symbol” by adding the abbreviation “dubit.” to the word “querer” in the apparatus. (EC Campos 451).

57 Transl.: *the desire to surprise that, confessionally, animated the EC (...)*.

omissões devidas a uma numerosa equipa.⁵⁸ (Lopes-Campos 43).

Shortly after Lopes published her harsh criticism, Cleonice Berardinelli and Ivo Castro defended the choices they made in this particular edition and the general methodological guidelines for the entire critical series in a small booklet, consisting of two essays. Berardinelli sticks to practically all choices she made in her Campos-edition. She takes full responsibility for her choices concerning the ordering of the poems, the thematical grouping of the undated ones, the attribution of anonymous poems to Campos's oeuvre, and the hypothetical reconstruction of the large odes. Berardinelli, fully confessing the uncertain nature of some of her attributions, had already annotated many of the examples that Lopes gave of 'falsely attributed poems' in the EC. She always looked for semantical evidence in the anonymous poems to justify a Campos-attribution: 'enumerações, às anáforas, processos típicos de Campos, a presença do cigarro, da quinta, dos hotéis que habitam os seus poemas (...)'.⁵⁹ (Berardinelli 27). These kinds of indications are nevertheless to a large extent subjective interpretations. The same can be said of Berardinelli's tendency of combining fragments

58 Transl.: *It's tragic but my civil duty to state that the EC of the poetry of Álvaro de Campos is not suitable for consumption. And not because of what isn't in it – those seventy-something texts that they didn't find in the archive – but, above all, because of what actually is in it: the mutilated poems victim of assumed criteria and intentions (collages, the insertion of variants in the body of the poem), the erroneous readings and articulations of the verses, the typos and omissions derived from an unforgivable carelessness concerning an edition with such responsibility, accepted by an extensive team.* (Campos-TRL 43).

59 Transl.: *enumerations, anaphorisms, typical processes for Campos, the presence of the cigarette, the country-seat, the hotels (...).* (Berardinelli 27).

possibly belonging to the same ode. Berardinelli:

‘Eu disse, no caso de *A passagem das horas*, que procurei organizar os papéis seguindo um critério semântico, sempre que me faltava o apoio de indicações seguras, provindas do próprio testemunho. (...) Como cada movimento meu (de esarteamento e/ou colagem) é confessado e justificado, como todos os textos que encontrei estão patentes ao leitor, este tem a possibilidade de aceitar ou rejeitar “os monstros de Frankenstein” que produzi.’⁶⁰ (ibid. 23).

The formulation ‘monsters of Frankenstein’ refers to the metaphor Lopes used to describe Berardinelli’s tendency of combining isolated fragments in one large poem.⁶¹ Berardinelli is convinced that the fragments she combined did indeed belong together, Lopes thinks not. But in certain cases Lopes herself, as Berardinelli points out, can’t avoid combining loose fragments as well.⁶² The same counts for Lopes’s criticism on Berardinelli’s transcriptions: Lopes proposes different readings of many of Pessoa’s hardly legible scribblings, Berardinelli rejects many of them and sticks to her own ones.⁶³ Castro acknowledges that some of Lopes’s readings have improved the ones given in the EC, but also gives examples of transcriptions by Lopes that are less accurate than those made by Berardinelli.⁶⁴ The bottom line is

60 Transl.: *In the case of ‘Passagem das Horas’, I intended to organize the documents according to semantic criteria, whenever the documents itself didn’t provide for secure indications. (...) Since each move I made (isolations and/or collages) have all been confessed and justified and since all of the texts I found are at the reader’s disposal, he has the possibility to accept or reject the ‘monsters of Frankenstein’ that I produced.* (ibid. 23).

61 cf. (Campos-TRL 24-25).

62 Berardinelli 19, Lopes has united the manuscript [70/15], [70/19] and [70/21] into one fragment of *A passagem das Horas*. (Campos-TRL 165-170).

63 cf. (Berardinelli 28-29).

64 cf. (Castro 1993, 88).

that these issues are a matter of subjectivity, taste and interpretation, for which hardly any objective methodology can be developed. ‘Uma edição crítica não é definitiva,’⁶⁵ Ivo Castro wrote in his defence of the critical edition (Castro 1993, 39) and concerning the issues of transcriptions and editorial interventions he certainly is right. But still a certain objectivity can be reached, most of all when it comes to the overall method used in rendering critical texts of Pessoa’s works. Castro is right about the theoretical background of Lopes’s edition: this new edition wasn’t built upon any critical theory, but merely is a carefully established and well-documented reading edition. The choices made by the editors of the EC have at least been underpinned with theoretical considerations; Lopes often relied solely on her literary intuition.⁶⁶

Castro uses the pages of his part of the defence of the EC most of all to illuminate the theoretical fundament supporting the edition of Campos’s poems and the other critical editions in preparation. Lopes’s bottom line critique that the EC ‘wanted to surprise,’ considering the many, and in her view, unnecessary derivations of the way the texts had been published previously, can be traced back to the varying point of view of the Equipa Pessoa and Teresa Rita Lopes concerning the issue of the “Final authorial intention.”⁶⁷ Castro claims:

65 Transl.: *A critical edition isn’t a definitive edition* (Castro 1993, 39).

66 Cf. (Campos-TRL 24): “*Anyone with any experience in literary writing, especially (but not exclusively) of poetry, knows that the variants that Pessoa wrote are suggestions, notes to be considered (or not) during a future editing of the text.*” (my italics).

67 In his article in *Revista da BN*, Castro wrote on the critical versions of

‘Uma edição chama-se crítica quando resulta de uma dúvida metódica em relação às edições existentes (...). Uma edição crítica não tem quaisquer obrigações em relação às edições anteriores; por isso não se pode condenar a edição crítica de Pessoa por romper com tradições criadas pela Ática, como faz TRL [Teresa Rita Lopes] ao invocar a “memória” do texto Ática como critério de recusa do novo texto crítico.’⁶⁸

As we’ve seen earlier, the methods used by the Equipa Pessoa in some cases led to texts that were completely different from the same texts in the previous editions. Similarly, the method used by Gabler in analysing *Ulysses*, resulted in a *Ulysses* that by no means was anything near the version that had been known to the public for many years. The source of the remarkable differences between the editions of the Equipa and Teresa Rita Lopes can, apart from the personal taste and interpretation of the editors, be found in their treatment of the authorial variants. Castro discerns two divergent traditions of critical methodologies: the Lachmanian method usually applied to “old texts” that have survived not through authorial documents but only through posthumous copies. The second one is the critical genetic tradition, only recently developed for editing texts of which

published and unpublished texts: ‘It is even possible that greater discoveries will be made in the already published works than in those still waiting to be published. Rewriting, with variants until now undeservedly ignored, these already well known texts can bring surprises. But it’s too soon to draw that conclusion.’ (Castro 1988, 153). This indicates that the awareness of possible surprises concerning these new renderings of long known poems was already present in the very beginning, as TRL claimed in (Campos-TRL 33).

68 Transl.: *An edition can be called critical when it results from some methodological doubt in regard to existing editions (...). A critical edition has no obligation whatsoever to previous editions; therefore, the EC cannot be blamed for breaking with traditions created by Ática, as TRL did by evoking the “memory” of the Ática-text as some criteria to reject the new critical text.* (Castro 1993, 43).

a copious number of originals has survived. (Castro 1993, 45). Earlier I have already commented on both traditions and I can confine myself now by remarking that I fully agree with Castro that a critical genetic edition is most appropriate in the case of Pessoa. The only problem is that the EC isn't always a critical genetic edition, but in many cases a – genetically emended – version of the Lachmanian copytext-tradition. Let me clarify this.

The Lachmanian method compares the various publications of a text over time to reconstruct the (lost) original as accurately as possible. The genetic method focusses on the manuscripts left by the author and thus breaks with the tradition of previous publications. Usually the latter does include a historical collation, but the main focus is on the writing process, revealed by authorial documents. They give in Poe's words 'a peep behind the scenes', show how the author worked and portray the author as a craftsman. Castro reflects this attitude in his theoretical discussion by considering the author as an agent in the ongoing process of writing, that produces a text that isn't stable and definitive but still subject to changes during or after that process. The Equipa Pessoa takes every stage of writing into account, compares the various testimonial documents and includes the variants of both the author as the tradition in the apparatus. The treatment of those authorial variants is one of the major differences between the Equipa Pessoa and Lopes and one of the causes of their polemics. Castro: 'Comecamos por rejeitar a ideia, que parece ser a de TRL, de que um texto manuscrito é um objecto

fechado, produzido num momento inspirado e, em momentos separados, ornamentado com variantes que nele não entram mas se destinam apenas a ser tomadas em consideração numa eventual reescrita do texto.⁶⁹ The critical genetic theory has shown us that every version of the text (and each variant added by Pessoa on his manuscripts represents a different version) is of equal value. Lopes on the other hand, in expressing her criticism on both the combining of fragments as the Equipa's choice to integrate the most recent variants into the critical text, seems to understand the artist more in *romantic* terms; the writer as an inspired agent that produces a “definitive” or “sacred” text that shouldn't be touched. Lopes:

‘Uma mesma atitude do responsável pela EC – o editor substituir-se ao autor – está na origem destes tratos de que o texto de Pessoa é objecto: o enxerto das variantes (...) e a colagem de fragmentos e retalhos de texto para engendrar um novo texto. E não só fez aquilo que (pretende) o autor faria *se o tivesse feito* mas vai mais longe: faz, por ele, as escolhas que ele *não quis fazer*, as collagens de fragmentos que ele deixou assim mesmo e assim mesmo encarou publicar’ [*italics in original*].⁷⁰

Lopes writes about ‘establishing *the definitive text*’ (Lopes-Campos 22,

69 Transl.: *We start with rejecting the idea, that seems to be the one appealing to TRL, that a manuscript is a closed object, produced on an inspired moment and ornamented, on separate moments, by variants that don't enter the text, but are merely there to be taken into consideration during the eventual rewriting of the text.* (Castro 1993, 71).

70 Transl.: *This same attitude of the person responsible for the EC – the editor substituting the author – results in the kinds of treatments Pessoa's text gets: the insertion of the variants (...) and the collage of fragments and the remnants of texts in order to produce a new text. And he [the leader of the Equipa Pessoa] didn't only execute that which (he pretends) the author would have done but he goes even further: he makes, for him, the choices that he didn't want to make, the collages of fragments that he left as such and as such still faced to publish.* (Campos-TRL 23).

my italics) and elsewhere asserts that the poem written during the first stage of the writing process ‘has a *full body* of its own’ (Lopes-Campos 25, my italics). These formulations indicate that Lopes is convinced of the autonomy and maybe even privilege of what according to critical genetic theory is only one stage in the process. In all those cases the EC chooses to publish the most recent version of each variant, while Lopes prefers the initial writing: ‘transcrever o poema respeitando o corpo inteiro que o Poeta [sic] lhe deu e registrar – à parte, em nota – as *variantes* por ele encaradas, às vezes simultaneamente, outras vezes mais tarde, numa releitura’ [italics in original].⁷¹ The disagreement about the two different methods results in a deadlock, since the choice for the first or the last version is first of all a choice made by the editor. Lopes’s argument that only Pessoa and nobody else can choose whether or not to incorporate the variants he wrote⁷², in order to make her method prevail, doesn’t stand, as Ivo Castro points out: ‘Dizer que CB [Berardinelli] faz “o que Pessoa não quis fazer” não é verdade pelos menos motivos e é abusivo, porque pressupõe que TRL sabe o que o poeta queria fazer.’⁷³ Like Lopes, the Equipa is convinced of the superiority of its own method: ‘A missão do editor de atógrafos não é publicar aquilo

71 Transl.: *to transcribe the poem respecting the whole body that the Poet [sic] has given it and to register – separated in footnotes – the variants that he added, sometimes simultaneously, on the very moment of writing, sometimes later, when re-reading the text.* (Campos-TRL 24).

72 ‘Only Pessoa and nobody else could assess the occurring variants (...). Nobody can do it for him.’ (Campos-TRL 25).

73 Transl.: *Asserting that Berardinelli did what ‘Pessoa didn’t want to do’ is for the same reasons not true and improper, since it presupposes that TRL does know what the author wanted to do.* (Castro 1993, 75).

que o autor poderia ter escrito, mas sim publicar aquilo que ele escreveu em último lugar.⁷⁴ In 1990 Castro had already ascertained ‘publicar o seu derradeiro acto de escrita. Tal como nas disposições testamentárias, a última versão invalida todas as antecedentes.’⁷⁵ The problem is of course, that whether one prefers the initial or the last act of writing for inclusion in the critical text, neither of the two methods can ever claim to represent exactly “what the author intended.” Every version of an unpublished text is of equal importance, including the first and last versions of it. In that respect, the method of the “Final Authorial Intentions” that the EC followed to establish a critical text, gives rise to the problem as to how to find the “last will of the author”, if the author himself didn’t leave many clues on his intentions.

It is remarkable that the Equipa, despite their strong conviction to choose the final authorial intention, has published all kinds of critical editions over the years, except for an edition of the only volume of poetry published and revised by Pessoa himself during his life. A critical edition of *Mensagem* is anno 2013 still *in preparation*. The archive contains drafts from various stages of the writing process; some poems have been published in magazines before ending up in bookform; there exists a final typescript and a copy of

74 Transl.: *The mission of the editor of manuscripts is not to publish what the author would have written, but yet to publish what he has written at the last moment.* (Castro 1993, 82).

75 Transl.: (...) *to publish his ultimate act of writing. Similar to testamentary decrees, the ultimate version invalidates all previous ones.* (Castro 1990, 46).

the first print with alterations and corrections by the author. The availability of this material enables us to reconstruct a full *avant-texte*, contrary to many other texts that only survived in drafts or first revisions.⁷⁶ The genetic critical edition of *Mensagem* and other poems that were published dispersedly by Pessoa himself would have been a good first project for the Equipa Pessoa. The ‘casus’ learns us a lot about how Pessoa worked, what the writing process of *Mensagem* looked like and which choices he made in all those different stages. It could have served as the perfect basis for a series of editions that wanted to establish publications of many unpublished texts on the basis of the “final authorial intention”-principle. In 1995 the EC did include Pessoa’s *English poems* that he had published in a leaflet at his own expense in 1918. The most interesting part is the critical edition of the 35 *sonnets*. Pessoa left two copies of the publication with much elaborated corrections, anticipating a future but never realised reprint of the book. In the 1974 Ática-edition Jorge de Sena published the first print copytext and included all later variants and corrections in footnotes.⁷⁷ The 1993 volume of the EC included Pessoa’s corrections of the first print in the critical text, moving all substituted words to the genetic apparatus. Consistent with the Equipa’s choice for the final authorial intention, editor João Dionísio was

76 For an overview and discussion of the documents relating to *Mensagem*, cf. (Castro 1990, 37-40).

77 On which João Dionísio remarked: ‘Jorge de Sena doesn’t give due weight to the documents Y and Z [which are the 1920-corrections, MS]. For the innovative lessons these documents learn us in relation to document X [the first print, MS] he refers to the apparatus. There one reads them carelessly or partially, or, in most cases, one doesn’t read them at all.’ (EC-Ingleses I, 33)

driven towards the most drastic editorial intervention: he published poem XXVIII as a combination of the poem as it was printed in 1918 and as it was rewritten by Pessoa during a much later phase of revising the poems. On a document dating from 1933⁷⁸ Pessoa rewrote the first eight verses of this sonnet, but didn't proceed with the final six. Pessoa's copy of the first print didn't show any emendations for these six lines either. Editor João Dionísio therefore, opted for a critical text that was composed of the first eight lines of the 1933-version and the final six lines of the 1918-version. This establishment of a composed critical text reminds us both of the "collages" Berardinelli made (and Lopes rejected) of some Campos-fragments, and of the composed critical text of *Ulysses* that Gabler established. Although once again no certainty exists about whether this composition does or does not reflect Pessoa's final intention, the editorial decision to combine the fragments of both phases seems perfectly justifiable in the context of the EC's methodology. (Cf. EC-Ingleses I, 33). The corrections made by Pessoa on two of his copies of the first print, however, form a different case. Two revised copies exist in the archive, both from around 1920. The first (labelled 'Y' in the EC) shows draft corrections and additions that seem to be merged into a second revision ('Z').⁷⁹ In all cases, Dionísio opts for the variants presented in document 'Z'. (EC-Ingleses I, 33). These two documents can give us a clue as to how Pessoa corrected his texts. Richard Zenith points out that 31 poems in document 'Y' show alterations, while

78 Document [49A-7/4]

79 Document 'Y': [98/1] and document 'Z': [98/2].

only 16 of them were actually emended in document ‘Z’. The vast majority of alterations in ‘Y’ was eventually rejected by Pessoa in ‘Z’. (Zenith 1993, 182). Zenith’s point is, that if no document ‘Z’ had existed, the EC would have published all alterations in document ‘Y’:

‘Se o exemplar Z não existisse, é de supor que esta edição dos *Poemas Ingleses*, seguindo o princípio de “última lição não recusada pelo autor”, tivesse incorporado todas as alterações propostas em Y (quando não postas em dúvida ou suplantadas), com um resultado bastante infeliz, e bem longe do que Pessoa teria desejado, como sabemos pelo exemplar Z, que felizmente existe e cujo texto emendado é bem mais parecido com o original do que com o texto alterado segundo as propostas de Y.’⁸⁰

In most cases, editors have at their disposal – if any – emendations similar to document ‘Y’, containing initial corrections, suggestions, possible alternative formulations, etc. The fair copy ‘Z’ shows that these initial alterations can’t simply be identified with the ‘final intention’ of the author.⁸¹ The analysis of this edition of the *English poems* shows that the choice of publishing the “final intention” causes new problems. Castro had

80 Transl.: *If the copy Z did not exist, we assume that this edition of the English Poems, following the principle of “last reading not rejected by the author”, had incorporated all changes proposed in Y (if not questioned or overruled) with a quite unsatisfactory result, and far from what Pessoa would have wished, as we know from the document Z, which fortunately does exist and shows a corrected text that bears much more resemblance to the original than the text revised according to the suggestions in Y.* (Zenith 1995, 182).

81 Besides these issues, there is the difficulty of determining which variant actually is the final one. Dionísio experienced this difficulty in relation to document [16A/47] that presented a version of sonnet XXXIV. Dionísio was able to determine that the document dated from after 1918 (the first print of the sonnets), but didn’t know whether it was written before or after the 1920-corrections. In this particular case Dionísio decided to publish both variants of this sonnet. (EC-Ingleses I, 33).

acknowledged this in analyzing another verse of *Guardador de Rebanhos*, which showed no less than four authorial variants:

É cerrar<correr>[↑]<fechar>[↑]<velar>[↓] as<com>[↓] cortinas⁸²

Consistent with his own methodology, Castro choose the final variant, being in his opinion, ‘velar com’ instead of ‘correr.’ This example shows two problems: the first is that Castro supposed that of these three additions ‘velar com’ was the last variant that Pessoa added. Castro: ‘depois de escrever *velar*, encerrou as apostas. Teria sido, assim das quatro variantes, a única que o autor não dubitou, pelo menos sobre a folha de papel. Escolhendo-a para publicação, reduzimos ao mínimo os riscos de arbitrariedade.’⁸³ First of all, Castro deduces from Pessoa’s usual habit of adding alternatives *above* the initial words that ‘velar com’, being written below the line, therefore had to be the most recent one. Secondly, Castro’s assertion that this finally added variant was ‘the only one that the author didn’t question’, is another supposition that bears at least some similarities with Wimsatt’s and Beardsley’s “intentional fallacy.” Suppositions are purely hypothetical; there is no certainty about them. These suppositions certainly can create a strategy for compiling a critical edition, but they

82 It is closing<letting down>[↑]<shutting down>[↑]<blind>[↓] the<with>[↓] curtains

83 Transl.: *After he wrote ‘velar’, he closed the bets. Of the four variants, this was the only one that the author did not question, at least on paper. Choosing this one for publication minimizes the risk of arbitrariness.* (Castro 1990, 51).

don't exactly support the claim of publishing the final authorial variant. A second objection against the choice of this variant is Pessoa's own choice. In this case we happen to know which of the variants he preferred, since he himself had published this verse in a magazine. The printed version shows that Pessoa finally had chosen for 'correr' and not 'velar com' at all. But, Castro writes, "Isso, de qualquer forma, não retira validade ao nosso procedimento normal em casos de variantes autorais indecidas. É falível, mas baseia-se em critério objectivo e permanente de estabelecer a autoridade de determinada lição."⁸⁴ The method indeed is consistent, but is still in demand of some justification of choosing precisely the *last* variant.⁸⁵ Editorial theory seems to be on Castro's side. He quotes many a theoretician in support of the final authorial intention, among whom Fredson Bowers: "Every reason exists to preserve these classic texts in as close a form as possible to the author's intentions, to the extent that the surviving documents for each individual work permit of such reconstruction." (Bowers 1964, 223)⁸⁶. And G. Thomas Tanselle: "Normally, of course, when there are two authorial readings at a given point and their sequence can be determined, the later one is taken to represent the author's "final

84 Transl.: *This, however, does not take away the validity our normal procedure in cases of undecided authorial variants. It is fallible, but based on fixed objective criteria of establishing authority of a particular reading.* (Castro 1990, 51).

85 We should notice that if Castro had followed the method of TRL (including the first variant in the critical text), this wouldn't have resulted in Pessoa's final version either. It should, however, be stated that in these cases of multiple variants the method of TRL normally eliminates the difficulties of determining which variant is the final one.

86 Castro only quotes a part of the phrase ("as close a form as possible to the authors' intentions"), leaving out the information that Bowers actually is talking about editions of classic texts. Cf. Castro 1993, p. 80-81

intention.”” (Tanselle 1976, 191). It should be noted that Castro is quoting here most of all ‘members’ of the Greg-Bowers-Tanselle line of copytext-theory. In a broader spectrum, opinions are less straightforward. Woesler for example opts for inclusion of the oldest not eliminated variant, while Dorleijn defends inclusion of both in the critical text.⁸⁷ According to Scheibe, the editor should present all versions in their historical context. Since a version represents the author in a certain phase of the writing process, each version can serve as the basis for an edited text.⁸⁸ Hanz Zeller argued in his collection of essays *Texte und Varianten* that the editor is not the executor of the author’s last will and that the will of the author cannot be the leading principle upon which the constitution of the text is based: “the editor’s philological task, here as elsewhere, can only be to interpret extant documents and accompanying circumstances as historic facts. In my opinion he has to deal with the intentions of the author not as an executor, but only as a historian, and he should regard them not as binding directives for editorial decisions, but as historical phenomena.”⁸⁹ Genetic efforts don’t, as we’ve seen before, necessarily aim at the reconstructions of a “final” text, which is why the final authorial intention in a genetic approach is not decisive. In search of the *avant-texte* and the reconstruction

87 All quoted in (Mathijsen 400). Woesler, Winfried. “Theorie und Praxis der Nachlassedition”. In: *Die Nachlassedition/La publication de manuscrits inédits*, 50. Dorleijn, G.J. “Editie-technisch commentaar”. In: J.H. Leopold, *Gedichten uit de nalatenschap [...]*. Dl.1. Amsterdam, 1984, 52. Scheibe, Siegfried, ‘Zu einigen Grundprinzipien einer historisch-kritischen Ausgabe’. In: *Texte und Varianten*, 40.

88 Scheibe, Siegfried, ‘Zu einigen Grundprinzipien einer historisch-kritischen Ausgabe’. In: *Texte und Varianten*, 35. As quoted in (Van Hulle 19).

89 (Zeller 1975, 243) and (Van Hulle 16)

the writing process, all the scholar will find are “the author’s intentions”, to use Bellemin-Noël’s plural. (Van Hulle 34).

The Campos-controversy shows clearly two distinct views on editing texts. Teresa Rita Lopes is quite protective towards the texts as they were published in the Ática- and Aguilar-tradition. Her choice of publishing Pessoa’s initial wordings and the later variants (as Ática had done before her), and her choices concerning collages, transcriptions and attribution to stick as closely to Ática’s previous edition, show that her editorial method has more in common with traditional Anglo-Saxon copytext-theory than genetic criticism. Although she has done much work on finding and transcribing undiscovered manuscripts and compiled groundbreaking editions of Pessoa’s works, in her edition of Campos’s poems she seems to have a tendency towards expanding and correcting the existing editions from the editorial tradition instead of focussing purely on the genesis of texts. The EC has on the contrary an obvious tendency towards genetic criticism. Ivo Castro himself writes: ‘A edição crítica-genética é a mais apropriada ao caso de Pessoa.’⁹⁰ The choice of publishing the last written variants that could only be derived from the manuscripts itself implied in many cases a break with the publication history of texts, the genetic apparatus that located the initial wordings and described the physical appearances of the documents and the location of words, obviously indicate a genetic orientation. But

90 Transl.: *A critical genetic edition is the most appropriate one in case of Pessoa.* (Castro 1993, 43).

still the aim and underlying theory of the EC is highly copytext-based as well. According to Castro ‘É nisto que, principalmente, a crítica textual moderna se distingue da disciplina tradicional: em vez da reconstituição de um original perdido, o seu interesse desloca-se para a selecção do original que servirá de base à edição.’⁹¹ Castro is referring to the Greg-Bowers-Tanselle-line of theory, which indeed aims at the selection of a copytext. Castro cites Bowers: ‘literary critics, historians, general scholars, students of all kinds—these need as authoritative a reconstruction of a full text as the documents allow, not editions of the separate documents.’⁹² And Tanselle who wrote: ‘When a poem, left in manuscript, is posthumously published in the form of an exact transcript, it is being treated like a historical document; when it is published in a clear reading text, it is being treated like a work of literary art. Both forms may have their uses, but only the second can represent (or attempt to represent) the author’s intention.’⁹³ The establishment of a copytext and the search for the final intention of the author are in these views strongly intertwined. This can be recognized in the methodology of the Equipa Pessoa as well. It found itself confronted with many autographs in need of deciphering, identification, organization, in short in Castro’s words:

91 Transl.: *This is, principally, what makes modern textual criticism different from the traditional discipline: instead of reconstructing a lost original, its attention moves to the selection of the original that can serve as the base of an edition.* (Castro 1990, 46).

92 In: Bowers, F. “Remarks on eclectic texts”. in: *Essays in Bibliography, Text and Edition*, 1975, p. 528. As quoted in: (Castro 1993, 78).

93 In: Tanselle, G.T. “The problem of final authorial intention”. In: *Studies in Bibliography*, 29. 1976, p. 205-206. As quoted in: (Castro 1993, 78).

‘com a intenção de determinar aquele ou aqueles que revelam a última intenção do autor, e, por isso, deverão ser escolhidos para base da fixação do texto crítico. Como se sabe, a questão da intenção final levanta inúmeras dúvidas de natureza teórica, mas a nós preocupam mais os aspectos pragmáticos da escolha do texto de base; (...)’⁹⁴

Elsewhere Castro guarantees that ‘esta nova abordagem introduzirá modificações profundas no texto pessoano, mas *mais próximas da verdade desejada pelo poeta*’ [my italics].⁹⁵ This emphasis on the ‘basis text’ and the ‘truth desired by the author’ (very much reminiscent of the formulations used by Lopes in her criticism on the EC), have turned the EC into a highly teleological enterprise. Despite their different methodologies, both Lopes as the Equipa aim at establishing a clear text out of Pessoa’s all but clear manuscripts; they search for the ‘truth desired by the author’ (Castro) and ‘the definitive text’ (Lopes). Neither of the two main Pessoa-editors offers a clear and complete dossier of the *avant-texte* of, in this case, Campos’s poems, but instead delivers a fixed, finished, object in which the various temporal phases of the writing process were consigned to the apparatus and/or footnotes and thus have been dissolved in the critical text. Central to both editions is the reading text and not the apparatus that contains the phases of writing. Clear indications of that emphasis are the absence

94 Transl.: *with the intention to determine those manuscripts that reveal the final intention of the author, and that, therefore, should be chosen as the basis for establishing the critical text. The question of the last intention raises numerous doubts of a theoretical character, but we are more preoccupied with the pragmatic aspects of the choice for a basis text.* (Castro 1990, 35).

95 Transl.: *this new approach will introduce profound modifications in Pessoaan texts, but much closer to the truth desired by the author.* (Castro 1990, 19, my italics).

of physical descriptions of the manuscripts in Lopes's edition and the intention of the Equipa Pessoa to publish a *Série Menor* in which the critical texts were to be reproduced without the genetic apparatus. We've seen that the establishment of a reading text is not a particularly genetic critical approach. Hay wrote that 'the writing is not simply consummated in the written work. Perhaps we should consider the text as a *necessary possibility*, as one manifestation of a process which is always virtually present in the background, a kind of third dimension of the written work.' (Hay 1988, 75). Elsewhere he speaks of 'not The Text, but texts.' (ibid. 73). The polemic clash between Berardinelli and Lopes shows that no claim of having reconstructed the definitive and fixed 'Text' of Pessoa's manuscripts can be made. Castro admitted this⁹⁶ but still came up with editions that intend to establish a clear and most of all readable text, published in both a *Série Maior* as a *Série Menor*, altogether intended for a wide audience. The polemics showed that the EC merely turned out to be one of the possible texts that can be derived from Pessoa's documents. Lopes's edition is another. The princeps edition by Ática can be considered as yet another, although obviously less mature and elaborate. The EC however, with its governmental mandate, its team of various academic scholars and its scientific approach, obviously prevails above other (commercial) initiatives. Ivo Castro addressed the EC several times as 'the official edition.'⁹⁷ With its *Série Maior* (containing the critical

96 Cf. Castro 1993, p. 39, 56 and 69.

97 Cf. Castro 1990, p. 20-22. But Castro relativizes this term immediately: "Esta expressão 'edição oficial', tenho-a usado por falta de nome próprio, mas não é decerto a mais apropriada, como não seriam expressões do tipo 'edição nacional' ou 'edição

apparatus) and its *Série Menor* that was meant for ‘the general reader’ and that according to Castro ‘guaranteed for commercial fortune’ (Castro 1990, 25), the EC initially seemed indeed to provide for a reliable and to a certain extent complete ‘official edition’ of Pessoa’s works. Lopes’s counter-edition, however, challenged that promising perspective right from the start. Not only did she question the methods used by the Equipa Pessoa, but, moreover, it was Lopes’s and not the Equipa’s edition that eventually got nationally and internationally distributed through the editor Assírio & Alvim.⁹⁸ This publisher even created a “counter-equipa”, headed by Teresa Rita Lopes, that from 1996 onwards compiled its own editions. Like the Equipa Pessoa the Assírio-editors developed their research on the basis of original documents, but did not give much space to genetic issues, directly aiming at a wide audience of “general readers”. This might have been the main reason why the Equipa Pessoa gave up its aim to continue the *Série Menor* of which until now only a Campos-edition has found its way into print. Anno 2013, both the series of the Equipa as the series of the Assírio & Alvim-equipa are still running, often dealing with the same manuscripts but with strongly divergent outcomes. The Pessoa-reader has at his or her disposal two different but each by their own means perfectly usable editions of many of Pessoa’s works.

definitiva, cada uma por suas razões.(...) A única autoridade a que aspiram é científica.
98 It should be stated that the version published by Assírio & Alvim in 2005 was fully revised by Lopes.

§3. Archive-edition of Pessoa's works

This situation justifies the question whether the executors of the “official edition” have chosen the best method to publish their texts. Confronted with two equivalent series of (critical) editions of Pessoa's complete works, we still lack an archive- or diplomatic edition. This kind of edition surely is the missing link in the editorial history of Pessoa's works. It should have been created by a scientific team like the *Equipa Pessoa*, and could have been the perfect source for reading editions intended for “general readers”, like the ones published by Assírio & Alvim. Moreover, the archive-edition could have been of use for readers, translators and (international) scholars that want to check published transcriptions against the originals.

An archive edition has several important advantages. First of all, this type of edition publishes all documents, preferably including facsimiles and diplomatic transcriptions. If the *Equipa Pessoa* had chosen for an archive-edition we probably by now, 23 years after its installation, would have had at our disposal a transcribed edition of all of Pessoa's documents, from which complete works and reading texts could have been compiled. It would have reduced the number of editorial interventions: the archive edition prints exactly what the author has written instead of a reconstruction of the final authorial intentions. Parts of poems, left as unfinished fragments are published as fragments without attempts to reconstruct the hypothetically intended poem. Lopes and Berardinelli didn't always agree on whether or not to attribute a specific poem to Campos. In an archive edition this subjective decision wouldn't have to be made; an anonymous poem simply

is an anonymous poem and therefore can be treated and reproduced as such.

The editor of the archive-edition doesn't choose for initial or ultimate authorial variants. He includes *all* variants written above or below the lines into a graphical or diplomatic transcription with inclusive genetic apparatus. As an example, one of the lines from manuscript [71-1/13]⁹⁹ results in the following variants:

EC: As rendas d'aquella camisa que fizeram para me baptizarem?

TRL: As rendas d'aquella camisa que usei para me baptizarem?

TD: As rendas d'aquella camisa que usei <vesti>[↑] <fizeram>[↓]
para me baptizarem?¹⁰⁰

(EC= Edição Crítica, TRL= Teresa Rita Lopes, TD=Diplomatic transcription with inclusive apparatus)

The example points out that the TD immediately shows both variants without making a choice. The archive edition can in no way substitute a reading text or even a critical text, but can as a matter of fact constitute a “basis-edition” that is both as complete and objective as possible. The need for such an edition can be defended furthermore by pointing at the chief rivalries between the Edição Crítica and the editions made by Lopes and

⁹⁹ Manuscript [71-1/13] was published as poem number 41 in (Campos-EC 221) and as poem number 117 in (Campos-TRL 273).

¹⁰⁰ Transl.: *The lacework from that shirt I used<wore>[↑]<they made me>[↓] to baptize me?*

Assírio & Alvim. The differences of transcriptions between the two editions indicate the importance of the availability of facsimiles of the manuscripts, because many of these readings cannot be judged objectively. It certainly is true that each reader can apply for consulting Pessoa's originals in the National Library in Lisbon, but many of them won't be in the position to do so or won't take the effort. Such a widely available reproduction of the manuscripts should preferably be published in digital form. In that way, expensive costs of publishing and distributing facsimiles can be avoided and transcriptions and new insights can be added fairly easily. Berardinelli acknowledges, and her polemics with Teresa Rita Lopes perfectly illustrates it, that 'still much needs to be corrected' in the EC. An ongoing digital archive-edition permits scholars to add such corrections and at the same time permits the inclusion of contrasting results.

Castro asserted that 'no critical edition establishes a definitive text', but the archive edition doesn't have the aim of establishing a text at all. It merely intends to provide all existing information that permits scholars and editors to establish a "possible" texts on the basis of *all* available information. Tanselle asserted that a poem left in manuscript can be published posthumously in the form of an exact transcript and thus be treated like a historical document, or be published in a clear reading text and thus be treated like a work of literary art. The archive edition obviously chooses to present the manuscripts as historical documents, while we have at our disposal various equally valuable editions that 'attempt to represent the author's intention.' (Tanselle 1976, 205).

The urge for an archive-edition becomes even greater since Pessoa's works entered a new period of copyright-free publishing in 2006, meaning that many publishers can profit of it by releasing all kinds of editions. The task of the editor of the digital archive would be to register all various renderings of the documents.

The Portuguese National Library has begun to publish Pessoa-documents from the archive online in digital scans,¹⁰¹ but only a small amount of the in total more than 27.000 documents has been released so far. Only the Caeiro-documents (of which the *Guardador de Rebanhos*-manuscripts had already been published in facsimile by Ivo Castro in 1986), the fair copy of *Mensagem* and fifteen notebooks (even before those had ever gone into print) can be consulted online. Yet again, editors interfered in the publication of the archive, as the digital Caeiro-núcleo shows. The documents haven't been scanned and published in total, but have been thematically organized and only then released. Furthermore, the digital archive of the BN doesn't provide for transcriptions of the manuscripts. A feature of adding diplomatic transcriptions to the originals can highly improve the value of this project and as well represent an interesting new form of publishing Pessoa's legacy. Any horizontal rendering of Pessoa's texts can never do any justice to the way the author worked. Pessoa often wrote texts and notes for various projects on one and the same piece of paper. Critical editions demand editorial interventions

101 <http://purl.pt/1000/1/index.html> (visited July 7, 2011)

to reorder and restructure the way the author actually worked, while “hypertranscriptions” (transcriptions in the form of hypertexts) permit to publish the texts as they were left and at the same time establish temporal, thematical or heteronymical links. Its fundament, however, remains the exact reproduction of *what* was left by the author, *as* the author left it. Its intention is to establish a transparent and complete reproduction of an author’s legacy. Good examples of this type of edition, although in print, are the publications of the Joyce-Archive and the Kafka Stroemfeld/Roter Stern-edition. Gabler described the intention of the Joyce-Archive, which only printed facsimiles of a (large) part of the originals, as follows:

‘(...) making all of James Joyce’s unpublished literary materials multiply available, materials whose originals were held in a variety of libraries and private collections. He [Gavin Borden of Garland Publishing] wanted them reproduced and disseminated worldwide, albeit in a carefully considered limited edition of 250 copies. Anyone around the globe with a feeling for the hand-written, the *manu scriptum*, who could recognise the work-in-progress as enhancing our collective understanding of the work, would be able to look at these materials. In particular critics and scholars would be able to consult them and draw on them.’ (Gabler 2002).

This formulation clearly shows the advantages of such an archive-edition, and he even goes further by asserting that his provocative 1984 edition of *Ulysses* ‘could not have been realised without the *James Joyce Archive*.’ (ibid.) This is an important assertion, since the Equipa Pessoa stood before the task of editing a legacy that even exceeded the number of handwritten documents left by Joyce. Would a critical edition of Pessoa’s works unlike

Joyce's *Ulysses* be possible without the publication of a *Fernando Pessoa Archive*?

As another fine example of archival publishing, I mentioned the Stroemfeld/Roter Stern-edition of Kafka's complete works. This edition reproduces all of Kafka's originals in clear facsimiles, accompanied by diplomatic transcriptions. The editors, Roland Reuß and Peter Staengle chose to represent the transcription in a graphical way, i.e. to "translate" handwritten strike-throughs to typographical strike-throughs, to publish Kafka's interlinear additions as interlineair additions in the transcription, and so on. This graphical mode of transcribing avoids translating all aspects of the handwriting into diacritical signs. They assert:

“Die diplomatische Umschrift, die in der FKA [*Franz Kafka Ausgabe*] die Faksimiles begleitet, kann und will nicht an die Stelle der Handschrift treten. Sie gibt eine Lese- und Entzifferungshilfe. Diplomatisch heißt sie, weil sie sich weigert, zugunsten eines vermeintlich besseren, 'reibungloseren' Lesevorgang Glättungen an der überlieferten Zeugnissen vorzunehmen. Früher mag es seinen begrenzten Sinn gehabt haben, Kafkas schritten durch Glättung zu popularisieren, heute sind solche strategischen Verfahrensweisen nicht mehr zu rechtfertigen. Im konventionellen Sinne eingegriffen wird daher in der Transkription nicht (...)”¹⁰²

102 Transl.: *The diplomatic transcription, printed in the FKA [Franz Kafka Edition, MS] next to the facsimiles, can nor will take in the place of the manuscript. It merely facilitates reading and deciphering. It is diplomatic, because it refuses to apply in favor of a supposedly better, 'frictionless', reading process any polish to the left documents. Onetime it may have had a limited purpose to popularize Kafka's works by means of polishing, today such strategies and practices are no longer justified. Therefore, no interventions in the traditional sense will be made in the transcription.* (Reuß 17).

The editors claim that for a first acquaintance with, and an uncomplicated entry into, Kafka's works without having to pass through an extensive scientific apparatus, the princeps-edition by Max Brod suffices. (Reuß 17). In Pessoa's case the *Ática*-editions (and *Ática*-based editions) suffice for any reader that desires clear and easily accessible publications of Pessoa's main works. Newly established commercial editions, like the ones by Presença, Relógio d'Água and most recently Assírio & Alvim, have added equally accessible and improved prints of the major works.

The urge for an edition that didn't emend or smoothen anything the author has written, is as high as it was for Kafka's works until Stroemfeld/Roter Stern published its 'Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe'.

The fact that no archive-edition of Pessoa's work hasn't been produced yet, doesn't however wipe out the value of existing critical and commercial editions. A full transcription and study of Pessoa's complete works in order to create such an archive edition could have lasted for years or even decades. The good aspect of the EC is that it revealed texts with a certain speed that without the Equipa's extensive attention probably would have reached the public much later or in less adequate editions. Furthermore, if the Equipa had only started to publish critical texts after having transcribed and having made the inventory of the entire legacy, it bore the risk of becoming a 'mammoth-edition' or 'Mausoleum', that instead of serving any literary or scientific goal, became a goal in itself. In that sceptical view, the critical edition is presented as the final resting place of the literary work, or as

Bernhard Zeller has put it: “Wird sie nicht zuweilen zum Staatsbegräbnis im Sarge einer Wissenschaftlichkeit, die dem reinen Selbstzweck zuneigt?” (Mathijssen 62).¹⁰³

In this respect we may call the attention for Pessoa’s work, both in the world of academics as among general readers, a positive side effect of the huge criticism that hit the first publications of the EC. It even resulted in the creation of a “counter-Equipa”, lead by Lopes and connected to Assírio & Alvim.¹⁰⁴ In this light we might conclude that the EC, maybe not because but in spite of its methodology and central aims, actually succeeded in keeping Pessoa’s works alive and ‘trazer à leitura o que estava inédito’¹⁰⁵. The publications of EC offer a ‘peep behind the scenes’ (Castro 1990, 31) of Pessoa’s workshop, instead of becoming the Mausoleum of his works. The choice for establishing a reading text that includes only one of the authorial variants and excludes the apparatus makes the editions accessible for many types of readers. At the same time – and this shows the ambiguity of the genetic critical enterprise – one can wonder whether completeness and specialisation aren’t exactly the essential features of genetic criticism.

103 Zeller’s remark was part of a widely debated assertion that critical editions because of their extensive attention for variants and complex apparatus, lost every contact with general readers and even students. In 1989 Ulrich Ott, director of the Deutschen Literaturarchiv in Marbach, contributed to the debate with his article *Dichterwerkstatt oder Ehrengab?*, published in the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 1989. Cf. (Mathijssen 63).

104 A second, and probably most important reason for the creation of the ‘counter-Equipa’ and the Assírio & Alvim publications was the renewal of the copyrights in 1997. Pessoa’s heirs sold the rights to Assírio & Alvim, which, apart from the Equipa Pessoa, had the exclusive permission to publish texts.

105 Transl.: *to bring to the reader what was unpublished* (Castro 1990, 19).

‘Niemand käme wohl auf die Idee zu fordern, dass eine naturwissenschaftlichen Arbeit, zudem eine Grundlagenarbeit, tatsächlich von jedem beliebigen Leser zu verstehen sein muss,’ Scheibe once wrote.¹⁰⁶ And Martens remarked: ‘Mann kann über die Ansprüche einer historisch-kritischen Ausgabe keine Kompromisse schliessen und einen Text nur “halbhistorisch” oder “halbkritisch” edieren.’¹⁰⁷

Splitting the process of editing into two steps – the one being the publication of a critical archive-edition that allows completeness, in depth study, extensive apparatus and various variants, the other being a reading text, based on these archive editions – could have resulted in an ideal publication of Pessoa’s works. In that ideal situation, the Equipa Pessoa had created the critical archive-editions, on basis of which Assírio & Alvim had created commercial editions. In the actual situation however, the EC chose by means of its methodology to aim at a wide audience and therefore to create critical editions that centralize the reading text, while Assírio & Alvim principally was after establishing commercial editions, for which it, nevertheless, undertook its own critical research.

106 Transl.: *No one would get the idea to order that a study in physics, even a basic work, should be understandable for just any reader.* Scheibe, Siegfried. “Plädoyer für historisch-kritische Editionen”. In: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 1990, 407.

107 Transl.: *One can’t compromise on the claims of a historical-critical edition and edit a text merely ‘half historically’ or ‘half critically’.* Martens, Gunter. ‘Immer noch “Wissenschaft auf Abwegen”?’. In: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 1990, 402.

Chapter 3: Editions of the Book of Disquiet

§1. 1982-2013: editing *Disquiet*

Over the years, no less than four different editions based upon original manuscript study and at least five, differently ordered, editions derived from these four original editions, have appeared from the *Book of Disquiet* since 1982. Before presenting some prologomena for an archive-edition of *Disquiet* and discussing *Disquiet's* writing process, I will comment on the genesis of the available editions first.

By the end of 1985, the year of the commemoration of Pessoa's 50th death anniversary, the copyrights of all of his works moved, in accordance with the European copyrights pact of Berlin, from the author's family and the publisher Ática to which they had committed themselves, into public domain. That shift resulted in an enormous amount of publications by various editors. Some of these publications find their only justification in a pursuit of profit; others really contributed to a better understanding of Pessoa's works, such as the volumes of previously unpublished texts prepared by Teresa Rita Lopes.¹⁰⁸ Whoever wanted, could take out whatever he wanted from the famous trunk and try one's success in bookstores. But also works of Pessoa that had already been printed long before were reprinted by publishers cunningly getting around the juridical restrictions

108 Lopes, T.R. *Pessoa por conhecer*. 2 vol. Editorial Estampa, Lisboa, 1990 and: Lopes, T.R. *Pessoa inédito*. Livros Horizonte, Lisboa, 1993.

of using other publisher's texts. *Disquiet* as well, only printed for the very first time in 1982 by Ática, short before the release of the copyrights, was soon reprinted various times by other publishers. This editor's Garden of Eden came to meet an end when eight years later in 1993 the European Union decided that the author's rights from then on maintained their validity until 70 years after the death of the author. In the case of Pessoa, that meant that the copyrights were re-activated until the beginnings of 2006. All of a sudden Pessoa's heirs could start over again selling the rights of his books to whomever they liked. They chose for Portuguese editor Assírio & Alvim. The Portuguese publisher started to negotiate abroad and found various big foreign publishers interested in buying the exclusive rights of publication. Major publishers like France's Christian Bourget, Spain's Galáxia, Switzerland's Ammann Verlag, De Arbeiderspers in The Netherlands and Brazil's Companhia das Letras jumped at the offer. Existing (inter)national publishing projects had to be cancelled and existing editions were not allowed to be reprinted. From 1998 on, the editions prepared by Assírio & Alvim were the only ones allowed to be sold.¹⁰⁹ This new law permitted Assírio to prepare without much editorial competition a new series of commercially viable and authoritative editions of Pessoa's works. After the first (preliminary) efforts of publisher Ática that had already published Pessoa's works since the early forties, and the morbid growth of all sorts of paraphernalia in the period of copyright

109 An exception was made for the series of 'Edições críticas', commissioned and financed by the government. The prohibition applied to all commercial initiatives.

free years, they had the possibility of realizing a series of publications that offered revised and refined existing texts as well as carefully established unpublished ones. Of course this was a matter of cultural responsibility instead of marketing strategy, a responsibility that Assírio & Alvim amply took. The publisher invested in the above-mentioned editorial team, lead by Teresa Rita Lopes, responsible for doing research on published and unpublished texts and transcribing the unpublished ones. In 1998 the first volume of the Assírio-editions was released: Assírio started off with a re-edition of *Mensagem (Message)*¹¹⁰, followed by a publication of the unknown youth-story *A hora do diabo (The hour of the devil)*, Pessoa's previously unpublished linguistic observations *A lingua Portuguesa (Portuguese language)* and, as the fourth volume in the series, *Livro do Desassossego (Book of Disquiet)*. Richard Zenith, an American scholar and translator of Portuguese and Brazilian literature living in Lisbon, edited *Disquiet*. Zenith had already published an English translation of the book, published by the British Carcanett Press in 1991, and soon translated his new Portuguese edition as well, published as part of the Penguin Classics series. Because of the fortunate monopoly of Assírio & Alvim, this edition was published in many European countries, thus getting the opportunity of really becoming the "definitive" *Disquiet*. It might have reached such authority in the eye of an international audience, in reality this is merely *one of the Disquiets* or

110 Contrary to the EC-series that, as I've reasoned earlier, had every reason to begin their editions with *Mensagem*, since this was one of the few projects Pessoa that himself had published in book form during his life. Cf. p.*

Zenith's Disquiet, since 'it is impossible to avoid subjectivity when editing and publishing such a fragmentary oeuvre as Pessoa's,' to quote Zenith's preface. (Zenith 2002, xxviii). Nevertheless, the edition prepared for and published by Assírio & Alvim was carefully looked after and complies with certain conditions that test its reliability and thoroughness. Firstly, all editorial choices (including or excluding fragments, the way conjectural readings were treated, splitting or joining texts) have been made clear in notes and preface. Secondly, Zenith consulted the original manuscripts and provided for their bibliographic sources. Finally, the fragments were printed as clearly separate texts, identifiable by numbers. These conditions are important for a work of which the source is not a clear copytext, but a chaotic bunch of handwritten and typed sheets. Zenith was clearly aware of the fact that, despite its title, *Disquiet* wasn't a book before it went into print. Zenith:

'What we have here isn't a book, but its subversion and negation: the ingredients for a book whose recipe is to keep sifting, the mutant germ of a book and its weirdly lush ramifications, the rooms and windows to build a book but no floor plan and no floor, a compendium of many potential books and many others already in ruins. What we have in these pages is an anti-literature, a kind of primitive, verbal CAT scan of one man's anguished soul.' (Zenith 2002, ix).

In order to make a book out of the loose fragments, he took all, more than hundred, dated fragments as a skeleton for the remaining (undated) 400 texts that he published interspersed among the dated passages. He collected all short (often untitled) texts in the voluminous section *A factless*

autobiography and the three dozens of texts that Pessoa denominated ‘Large Texts’ in the section *A Disquiet Anthology*. In the back of the book he included short notes, letters and other references to *Disquiet* and annotated each text abundantly.

When Zenith’s edition appeared, the very first transcriptions of the fragments had been published not long before (*Ática*, 1982) and in the sixteen years between the two, no less than five different Portuguese editions of the book had been made. Many of these editions were not based upon a consultation of the original materials but used the first edition of 1982 as “basis-text”. This edition, the “Ur-edition” was transcribed by Maria Aliete Galhoz and Teresa Sobral Cunha and organized by Jacinto do Prado Coelho. The princeps edition was printed in two volumes with numbered fragments organized by means of thematic principles: fragments with similar themes, atmospheres, images or tone were published together. The editor explains:

‘(...) levando o leitor a concentrar a atenção em zonas de relativa homogeneidade (...). Trata-se, claro, dum proposta de leitura apresentada a título pessoal, que de nenhum modo ambiciona ser exclusiva ou se pretende “a melhor”.¹¹¹

Although many of the texts included in the edition by *Ática* show hiatuses caused by the hard to decipher handwritings of Pessoa, it still can be

111 Transl.: *This to enable the reader to focus on relatively homogeneous areas of texts (...) Of course, this is a reading method that I propose on my own behalf and doesn't claim to be “the best”.* Jacinto do Prado Coelho in: Pessoa (1982; *Ática*), p. xxxii

qualified as a thorough and elegant solution for the complex problems inherent to this work: the listing of alternate wordings and phrasings in footnotes, the presence of archival references, the inclusion of editorial information (dates, authorial indications) and a convincing preface and preliminary notes, make it a truly groundbreaking work, useful both for readers as for editors and researchers.

Four years later in 1986, the early beginning of the copyright-free period, no less than three 'new' editions of *Disquiet* were published. Maria Alzira Seixo published a pedagogically useful version in the series of literary works by *Editorial Comunicação*, including essayistic approaches to the work and questions on the text for school pupils.¹¹² She used the *Ática*-edition as the source for this book, therefore presenting the same reading of the texts as *Ática*, but she selected only 200 of the 520 originally included texts, appearing in the same sequence that was used in the *Ática*-edition. António Quadros published two editions, both based upon the readings by *Ática* but being differently ordered. The first of his editions was published in a series of Collected Works by Pessoa, compiled by the publisher Lello & Irmão¹¹³, the other one was published as a pocket book by Europa-América.¹¹⁴ For this pocket, very popular because of its price and

112 Pessoa, F. *Livro do Desassossego de Bernardo Soares*. Apresentação crítica, selecção e sugestões para análise literária de Maria Alzira Seixo, Editorial Comunicação, Lisboa, 1986.

113 Pessoa, F. *Obra Poética e em Prosa*. 3 vol. introd., org. António Quadros e Dalila Pereira da Costa. Lello & Irmão, Lisboa, 1986.

114 Pessoa, F. *Livro do desassossego*. Introd. e org. António Quadros. Publicações Europa-América, Lisboa, 1986

handy size, Quadros made a distinction between texts that Pessoa wrote in the phase right after having debuted (1913) and those dated from the years before his death (1935). In the first volume of the pocket he published all most recent texts, attributed to Bernardo Soares, often dated and stylistically distinguishable. In the second volume he collected all older fragments and ‘Large Texts.’¹¹⁵ His organization for Lello & Irmão, follows the same approach, but has a yet slightly different order.

After these three reorientations of the Ática-edition, Teresa Sobral Cunha, who was one of Ática’s transcribers, decided to prepare a completely new edition for publisher Presença. She revised the transcriptions of the first edition and included many new texts. She found 121 new fragments, explicitly indicated by Pessoa as meant for *Disquiet* (6 fragments in total¹¹⁶), texts with titles that appeared on schemes and plans for *Disquiet* (6 fragments¹¹⁷), texts with explicit textual clues that could justify the inclusion in the book or showing thematic and/or stylistic similarities with other *Disquiet*-fragments. She excluded 3 fragments¹¹⁸ originally published

115 Pessoa (1986; Europa), p. 38-40.

116 Manuscript numbers: [144D²/38], [112/9], [6/3], [6/12], [7/17], [7/21-22]

117 Manuscript numbers: [28/98] (title: *Apotheose do Absurdo*, found on lists on [5/82], [5/85] and [5/25], cf. LdD-Presença p. 35/36-37) [9/23] (title: *Int. Dol.*, found as *Intervallo Doloroso* on a list on [5/82], cf. LdD-Presença p. 37), [94/80] (no title but probably belonging to a text with the title *Nossa senhora do silencio* or *Peristylo*, both found on a list on [5/82], cf. Presença p. 37) [138A/5] (title: *Intervallo*, found as *Intervallo Doloroso* on a list on [5/82], cf. Presença p. 37), [94/87] (title: *Sonho Triangular*, found on lists on [5/84] and [5/85], cf. Presença p. 36/38), [94/3] (title: *Symphonia de uma noite inquieta*, to be discerned on lists on [5/84]).

118 Manuscript numbers: [5/18] (titled *A morte do Príncipe*, obviously belonging to a piece of drama with that title instead of to *Disquiet*), [5/20-22] (no title, but more likely to belong to the drama text *Diálogos no jardim* than to *Disquiet*), [8/10A] (titled *O Pó*, belonging to a story project with the same title).

in the Ática-edition and reorganized the sequence of the texts. The most important aspect of her edition was that she added another heteronymic writer to *Disquiet*. She divided the corpus texts into early and late fragments, like Quadros already had done before her, but she attributed the first volume of her edition, the one with the older texts, to a heteronym called Vicente Guedes, leaving only the second volume for Bernardo Soares. I'll come later to that assumed second author of *Disquiet*, who wrote mainly prose, had the same job as Bernardo Soares and lived only at a stone's throw from his Rua dos Douradores-apartment in downtown Lisbon. The first volume of the Presença-edition was republished in 1997 by Publisher Relógio d'Água, yet again revised and reordered. The publication of the second volume was never published due to the reactivated copyrights that now belonged to Assírio & Alvim. This publisher printed its own already mentioned edition (in one volume), edited by Richard Zenith, in 1998. Zenith revised the existing transcriptions of Ática and Presença, filling in many of the gaps his predecessors left when they couldn't read the handwriting, left out many of the new fragments of the Presença-edition and added 14 new fragments.¹¹⁹ Furthermore he banished the heteronym

119 Manuscript numbers: [11⁴X/18] (short note probably meant for the text titled *Marcha fúnebre para o Rei Luís II da Baviera*), [15¹/73] (thematic preoccupation with “dream”), [112/9] (marked ‘L.do D.’ – short for *Livro do Dessassego*) [114¹/77] (thematic preoccupation with “life as text”), [133C/59] (title *Esthetica da abdicação – Esthetics of abdication*), [133B/39] (short paragraphs on sincerity and opinions), [138A/27] (title *A estalagem da razão – The Reason Inn*, thematic preoccupation with “reason”), [138/61] (possibly belonging to the text *Marcha fúnebre para o Rei Luís II da Baviera*) [138/21] (titled *I. Doloroso*, found as *Intervallo Doloroso- Dolorous Interval* on a list on [5/82], cf. Pessoa (1990; Presença), p. 37), [28/21] (titled *Prefácio – Preface* but not explicitly linked to *Disquiet*, occupation with “being”), [144D²/137] (thematic

Vicente Guedes from the cover of the book and did not undertake an attempt to order the fragments chronologically, but, as we've seen before, built a skeleton of dated texts from the latest phase of the book as a framework for all (older) undated texts. Zenith revised his edition various times; in 2011 Assírio & Alvim published the 9th edition, which in many respects is incomparable to the first 1998 print. Zenith corrected or altered many of the transcriptions and introduced six new fragments, withdrawing others¹²⁰. In the meantime Teresa Sobral Cunha had completed her long awaited edition for *Relógio d'Água* in 2008. Besides including yet again dozens of new texts – all without clear attributions to *Disquiet* – the most remarkable feature of this new edition is Cunha's choice for the 'final authorial intention.' In her 1990 edition she still published Pessoa's first written words (like all other editors of this book), but in the 2008 edition she opted for the inclusion of the alternatives in the bodytext.¹²¹ This resulted in a fairly different basis text than the editorial tradition until then had produced. Furthermore, Cunha stuck to her conviction that Vicente Guedes and Bernardo Soares shared the authorship of the project and again she split the book in two books (although in one volume), both

preoccupation with “reading”, “being” and “multiplication”), [144D²/123] (thematic preoccupation with “human perfectibility”), [144D²/19] (thematic preoccupation with “dreaming”), [94/75] (thematic preoccupation with “self reflection”).

120 He took out the texts 22 [94/75], 237 [94/98], 288 [144D²/123] and inserted what was previously number 123 in 138, number 305 in 251 and number 372 in the appendice, text number A18. Cf. LdD, p. 18. The newly inserted texts have the following cotas: [60A/22], [49A4/3], [133E/3], [49A6/1], [133B61-67] and one text pertaining to the heirs of Pessoa, indicated in my appendix with the cota [revista ler].

121 We should mention that in the incompletely published edition for *Relógio d'Água* in 1997 she already chose for the final authorial intention.

with a different author. Both Zenith (in his 8th edition) and Cunha (in her 2008 edition) took ample space to comment on the differences between their rival editions, which I will discuss in the next paragraph. In 2010 the most recent ‘new’ edition of *Disquiet* was published: the critical edition organized by Jerónimo Pizarro and published by INCM. Like Cunha and all other critical editions in this series Pizarro opted for inclusion of the final authorial intention and gave all initial writings, including crossed out words and other paralipomena in a thorough and abundant apparatus. Pizarro left out 73 texts previously included in other editions,¹²² limiting the corpus when compared to the editions prepared by Cunha and Zenith. The most remarkable new feature of this edition is that it’s the first edition to print the fragments in chronological order. By means of an analysis of paper, watermarks and ink Pizarro tried to deduce the (probable) dates of conception of every manuscript. I’ll comment on the issue of the dates later on, in the paragraph on manuscript dates in chapter 4.

§2. The *Disquiet* Controversy: Zenith vs. Cunha

The publication of the first editions by Cunha and Zenith caused polemics, similar to the controversy concerning the diverging editorial practices of the Equipa Pessoa and Teresa Rita Lopes in the Campos-editions. In 1992 Zenith wrote an article on Cunha’s *Presença*-edition of *Disquiet*, in which

122 He excluded 6 fragments introduced by the 1982 *Ática* edition, 23 fragments from the 1990 *Presença* edition, 11 from the 1997 *Relógio d’Água* edition and 31 from the 2008 *Relógio d’Água* edition. Five of these excluded texts also appeared in the 1998 *Assírio* edition.

he submitted her work to harsh criticism.¹²³ He claimed that the *Presença* edition wasn't properly revised and corrected, which he illustrated with various examples of careless publications of manuscripts. Furthermore, he criticized the absence of the manuscript numbers, which made any verification impossible. Especially for the many previously unpublished fragments, this information is essential. Cunha occasionally gave some information on inks, paper, handwriting, previous readings and so on, but didn't include the location of her sources in the archive. Nor did she indicate whether Pessoa had explicitly labelled the fragments as part of *Disquiet*, which he usually did by using the abbreviation 'L. do D.' Zenith noticed that Pessoa in most cases had not explicitly labelled the new texts found by Cunha, although he admitted that many of them certainly 'smell like *Disquiet*.' Publishing the 'L. do D.' abbreviation is necessary for the reader to know whether Pessoa himself or the editor concerned had selected a certain fragment for the book. His main objection against Cunha's edition was the attribution of the fragments in the first volume of this edition to Vicente Guedes. Zenith reasons that Pessoa had excluded the three Guedes-fragments from the big envelope in which Pessoa had gathered the materials for the book. And besides, in all notes and schemes that Pessoa wrote in the thirties and in all fragments he published during that period, he mentions Soares as the exclusive author of the book. Guedes had certainly been the designated author for some fragments during a certain

123 Zenith, R. "Um novo livro do desassossego?" in: *Colóquio/Letras*, nr.125/126, Fund. Calouste Gulbenkian, 1992.

period in the writing process, but there is no clue at all that Pessoa wanted him to appropriate all fragments written in the 1910's, as Cunha wants her readers to believe. Cunha responded that she wanted to 'restituir a verdade original da autoria bicéfala' which implied 'a redistribuição dos trechos entre o primeiro autor e o segundo autor.'¹²⁴ She claims that her familiarity with the materials permitted her to establish a chronologically arranged version of *Disquiet*, even when no dates appear on the documents. (ibid. 217-18). This chronology is at the basis of Cunha's conviction that the first part of the writing process (1913-1920) was attached to the names of Fernando Pessoa/Vicente Guedes and the other part (1929-1935) to Bernardo Soares. She left out the *cotas* (manuscript numbers) because they 'localizam mecanicamente os textos, muitas vezes até subvertendo a ordem real deles ou parcelando o que frui de unidade' and she only annotated texts 'sempre que me pareceu útil'¹²⁵. She claims that the fragments Zenith included in his English Carcanet-edition had been translated from transcriptions she had established earlier in her Presença-edition of *Disquiet*. Cunha concluded that in spite of his fierce criticism, Zenith did not refrain from using her transcriptions. Zenith, however, wrote that because of the absence of the *cotas* and the 'L. do D.' abbreviation 'o próprio modo de apresentar os fragmentos eliminou à partida qualquer possibilidade de esta edição gozar

124 (Cunha 1993, 217). Transl.: (...) restore the true original double-headed authorship (...). the redistribution of the fragments among the first (...) and the second author.

125 Transl.: (...) they only locate the documents mechanically, often subverting the real sequence of the manuscripts or dispersing those texts that once enjoyed unity' / 'whenever it appeared useful to me' (Cunha 1993, 218).

de autoridade.¹²⁶ Cunha:

‘Pois que será, afinal, aos olhos de Richard Zenith, um texto fiável? Aquele que, mau grado consabidas distorções de leitura e lacunas (algumas delas longas) por resolver, mau grado a dispersão de unidades textuais e a consabida incompletude do seu incompleto corpo, mau grado mesmo a inconformação deste à sua vera autoria, ostente... cotas e (quando os haja) indículos?’¹²⁷

Her strategy, she proclaims, is one that ‘manando a mesma busca, sofrida e incessante, da palavra exacta, mais se aproxima da verdade expressa do Poeta.’¹²⁸

Both Cunha’s as Zenith’s *Disquiet* were reading editions (contrary to the editions of Campos’s poetry that had caused controversy as well), so no criteria of genetic critical theory can be fully applied to them. But yet again, we can distinguish two diverging views upon editing manuscripts. Cunha searched for ‘the truth expressed by the Poet’ (notice the capital she uses to indicate the author). By publishing the book as she did, she claimed to have established a chronology of the fragments, to know Pessoa’s intention in

126 Transl.: *This way of publishing the fragments eliminated from the start any possibility of this edition to get some authority.* (Zenith 1992, 219)

127 Transl.: *What is, in the eyes of Richard Zenith, a faithful text? A text that despite its many distortions and gaps in the transcription (some of them substantial) still to resolve, despite the dispersion of textual units and the known incompleteness of its incomplete whole, even in spite of its need for conformation to its true authorship, nevertheless prints.... the manuscript numbers and (if there are any) the abbreviations [L.do.D.]?* (Cunha 1993, 219)

128 Transl.: (...) *continuing the search, endless and painful, for the right words, closer to the truth expressed by the Poet.* (ibid. 219)

the Guedes/Soares case, to have the ability of judging whether unidentified texts belonged to *Disquiet* or not and to have the ability of creating an ongoing reading text (by separating fragments by paragraph-spaces only and not by numbers as Ática previously had chosen to do). These claims were made without publishing the *cotas*, without giving textual genetic evidence which would justify her chronology and choice of posthumously re-attributing the first part of the book to Guedes and without making explicitly clear what exactly gave her this firm idea as to how the book should look like, given the fact that Pessoa himself hardly left any idea at all of what should become of the book. Without this evidence, the ‘truth expressed by the Poet’ is nothing more than the “truth expressed by the editor”. An interesting fact is that Cunha in her 1990 edition published Pessoa’s initial writings, replaced in her later editions by the final authorial intention: apparently, the “Poet’s truth” had changed drastically over time. Cunha’s strategy is highly teleological: the guiding principle of her work clearly was the element of the “book” in the title instead of the element of “disquiet”. A critical genetic analysis, however, unmistakably shows that the only “telos” that can be discerned in the fragments, is the fragment itself. Each fragment is, paradoxically (and I will come back to the difficulty of fragment, text and work) the only unity present in this project. Each one of them has a beginning and an end, which makes them well defined texts; *Disquiet* as the sum of these fragments, however, lacks both. Cunha’s chronology and her division of the book in two parts, each with its own heteronym, are an attempt to give the book a beginning

and end. Fernando Cabral Martins criticized Cunha's edition for this attempt. 'Dado que é não-orgânico, a sua in-existência textual não permite qualquer projecção de totalidade (...) De facto, é simplesmente impossível, neste caso, qualquer seriação como cronológica. A procura dessa base corresponde a uma aspiração do editor ou a uma hipótese do exegeta, mas não é sustentável pela realidade escrita, que não se deixa vergar a tal ilusão ou a tal teoria.'¹²⁹ He adds: 'A discordância em relação a qualquer edição do *Livro do Desassossego* é inevitável',¹³⁰ which is perfectly proven in essays by Sidónio de Freitas Branco Paes and Gustave Rubim in the same issue of *Colóquio Letras*. They both defend Cunha's editions and highly criticize the one by Zenith for being too limited. Rubim praises Cunha exactly because of the chronological order of the fragments, which he judges to be one of the most 'powerfull principles of sequence' (Rubim 217). Cunha's and Rubim's conviction of giving the fragments a chronological sequence had been backed up before by António Quadros (who had already made a chronologically ordered *Disquiet* even before Cunha did the same)¹³¹ and Georg Rudolf Lind, who had criticized Coelho for mixing up the earliest and the latest fragments: 'O editor, por sua parte, misturou os textos da primeira e da última fase e aumentou, deste modo, a grande confusão

129 Transl.: *Given the fact that it's non-organic, its textual in-existence doesn't permit such projection of totality. (...) In fact, it's simply impossible in this case to establish any chronological sequence. The search for this basis corresponds to an aspiration of the editor or an hypothesis of the scholar, but is not endorsed by what in reality has been written, which can't be molded into a certain illusion or some theory.* (Martins 2000, 221)

130 Transl.: *Disagreement with no matter which edition of the 'Book of Disquiet' is inevitable.* (ibid.)

131 cf. Quadros 1986, p. 25-6

que esta colecção de materiais produz no leitor inocente.¹³² Rubim wrote that ‘o mais que se pode acusar Richard Zenith é de ser extremamente fiel aos mestres pessoanos e às lições transmitidas pela tradição crítica (...)’¹³³ Among those ‘pessoan masters’ we should in this case understand Jacinto do Prado Coelho, who compiled the *princeps* edition of *Disquiet* and opted for a thematical ordering of the fragments, ruling out the possibility of a chronological sequence.¹³⁴ Zenith indeed uses almost the exact words as Coelho to prefer any sequence but a chronological one.¹³⁵ His solution to arrange the fragments, however, is partly driven by chronology. He actually combined the methods used by Coelho and Cunha by including all dated fragments in chronological succession (with exceptions) and attaching the undated ones to the others by focusing on thematic kinship. Zenith admitted that a loose-leaf edition probably would have been the best way to publish them and let the reader do the shuffling work. By publishing all manuscript numbers, the “LdD-abbreviation”, the dates and alternatives in endnotes, Zenith gave full account of the subjective choices that he made. Sidónio de Freitas Branco Paes did, nevertheless, have fierce criticism on this edition. Zenith had published the dates of the dated fragments, but he didn’t indicate to which phase of the writing process each of the undated

132 Transl.: *The editor, for his part, mixes texts of the first and the last phase and thereby makes the confusion that this collection already produces in the innocent reader, even bigger.* (Lind 1983, p.22)

133 Transl.: *The worse one can accuse Richard Zenith of is to be extremely faithful to the Pessoa Masters and to the lessons that the critical tradition has taught him(...).* (Rubim 218).

134 cf. Coelho 1982, p. XXXI-XXXII.

135 cf. Zenith 1998, p. 33

inserted fragments belonged. Alternating the dated (often written in the last phase of the writing process) and the undated fragments (often from the earliest phase), created the effect of the oldest fragments being some sort of flash-backs, which according to Paes gave ‘a sugestão picante de um efeito pós-moderno de conjugação estilística’.¹³⁶ He qualified Zenith’s organization of the book as ‘arbitrary’ and ‘limited’, preferring Cunha’s chronological and more abundant organization. Paes preferred an edition that offers a large scope, as large as possible, of fragments that belong or could belong to *Disquiet*, which Cunha has done. Paes pointed out that although Zenith wanted to limit himself to the inclusion of fragments that do have some indication of belonging to *Disquiet*, he nevertheless included fragments without a clear attribution to it. (Paes 201).¹³⁷ The criteria Zenith adopted for inclusion of such fragments were in the view of Paes too vague, he disliked Zenith’s choice of including variants, dates and the LdD-abbreviation in endnotes, instead of publishing them on the same page as the texts, something which Cunha did in her 1997 Relógio-edition.¹³⁸ As I noted before, she furthermore chose the final over the first variants to include in the body text, a method that she used again in her 2008 edition. In her most recent edition Cunha abundantly commented on the rivalry with Zenith, claiming that he had infringed on her ‘intellectual rights’

136 Transl.: (...) *thrilling suggestion of the postmodernist effect of mixing styles.* (Paes 208).

137 Here it should be noticed that Zenith in 2006 compiled another edition for Assirio & Alvim that only contained fragments explicitly marked by Pessoa with the LdD-sign. (Pessoa LdD 2006)

138 In Cunha’s 2008 edition the notes moved to the back of the book.

by using her transcriptions for his 1992 English translation and his 1998 Portuguese edition. She criticized Richard Zenith for attributing the book only to Bernardo Soares, although Zenith in his preface seems to accept the profile Cunha made of Vicente Guedes; she rejected Zenith's choice to print the dates Pessoa wrote on the manuscripts in endnotes and to collect the 'large texts' in a separate section of the book. 'A edição de Richard Zenith encontra-se hoje difundida por acasos de conjuntura, sem que nenhuma instância tenha zelado pela salvaguarda da sua fidedignidade, embora esteja em causa um património que já largamente excede as fronteiras naturais.'¹³⁹

In the front matter of the 8th edition of his book Zenith referred to Cunha's edition as well. He pointed at Cunha's tendency to combine various loose fragments in one text, printing crossed-out words in notes and even in the body text without any indications that they were crossed-out by the author and the inclusion of the dozens of new texts that only conjecturally can be linked to *Disquiet* (Zenith 2009, 40-41).

To sum up: we can discern two 'schools' of editing *Disquiet*. The one being the chronologically ordered, teleological project of Cunha (backed up by Lind, Quadros, Sena, Pizarro, Rubim and Paes) and the other being the thematically (or at the most partly chronologically) ordered, fragmentary project of Zenith (backed up by Coelho and Martins). All editions vary

139 (Cunha 2008, 37). Transl.: *The edition by Richard Zenith has nowadays been spread for circumstantial reasons, without any institution taking care of its reliability, although what is at stake here is patrimony that already exceeded the national borders.*

in the number and the sequence of fragments, the transcriptions of manuscripts and the heteronymic authorship.

§3. Discovering *Disquiet*: 1935-1982

When Maria Aliete Galhoz and Teresa Sobral Cunha worked in the late seventies and early eighties on the *princeps* edition of *Disquiet*, the plan of publishing the book had been launched long before; as early as 1960. Pessoa had published 12 fragments from *Disquiet* before his death, in ephemeral magazines. One more fragment was published in 1938, three years after Pessoa died, but otherwise no trace of the book can be found until 1960. By that time, Maria Aliete Galhoz included these thirteen already published *Disquiet* texts in her Brazilian anthology of Pessoa's poetry¹⁴⁰ and added some unpublished material she had come across in Pessoa's trunk. The vast majority of the texts, however, were still waiting to be published and nobody could have predicted the eventual size of the whole project. In the same year, one of the most important editors of publisher Ática, Jorge de Sena (1919-1978), then busy compiling an edition of the *Poemas Ingleses* (*English Poems*), had come across a large amount of unpublished *Disquiet* texts and asked in a letter to his publisher: 'E o Livro do Desassossego? Que é feito dele?'¹⁴¹ (Saraiva 41). Four months later he made a proposal:

140 Pessoa, F. *Obra poética*. Ed. Maria Aliete Galhoz. Aguilar, Rio de Janeiro, 1960.

141 Transl.: *And the Book of Disquiet? What has been done of it?* In: Saraiva, Arnaldo. "Para a história do estudo de Jorge de Sena sobre o Livro do Desassossego e para a história da publicação do Livro do Desassossego", in: 'Persona', no. 3, julho 1979, Centro de Estudos Pessoaanos, Porto, 1979. All following quotes of letters by Sena come from this source.

‘Venho falar-lhe de um projecto que já tinha sido mencionado na nossa correspondência, mas que começa agora a tornar-se urgente: a publicação do livro do ‘Desassossego’ de Bernardo Soares. Julgo saber que estaria disposto a encarregar-se de preparar a publicação deste livro, fazendo-o possivelmente anteceder de uma introdução.’¹⁴² (ibid.)

He asked Ática to make photocopies of the originals that were in the possession of Pessoa’s family and, since he lived in Brazil at the time, to send them to him. He adds:

‘Seria por isso necessário um trabalho prévio de compilação desses elementos, pois que o próprio texto do livro não parece estar definitivamente estabelecido em todos os seus elementos.’¹⁴³ (ibid.).

Here Sena mentions an important matter: the absence of a fair copy. Apparently he had already noticed the fragmentary character of the texts during his editorial work with the originals in Pessoa’s trunk. In the same letter he recommended Maria Aliete Galhoz as the person to be put in charge of the gathering of all originals belonging to *Disquiet*.

‘Em qualquer caso a responsabilidade principal da obra seria, o que me parece ser importante por não ser de pôr de parte a ideia de que a publicação do livro, a forma como for feito, a forma como for composto, o original, etc., venham dar lugar a controvérsias.’¹⁴⁴ (ibid.).

142 Transl.: *I come to speak of a project that was already mentioned in our correspondence but that by now is beginning to become urgent: the publication of the Book of ‘Disquiet’ of Bernardo Soares. I indicate that I would be at your disposal to take responsibility for the preparation of the publication and possibly preface it.*

143 Transl.: *Because of this, some preliminary work to compile these elements would be necessary, since the text of the book itself seems not to be definitively laid down with all its elements.*

144 Transl.: *Anyway, the main responsibility of the work would be, and this seems*

The editor was interested and without having signed any contracts yet, the first move was made: Maria Aliete Galhoz wrote to Sena in the month of May 1960, that she would start consulting the manuscripts immediately and send them to Sena before the end of June. But everything turned out to be more difficult than expected. The publisher let Sena know that Galhoz would not send the manuscripts before the end of the year but eventually Sena received the first package of manuscripts only in January 1962, one and a half years later than expected. And then Sena sighed at first sight of the material:

‘Tudo é fragmentário, embora do maior interesse: tudo é de data incerta ou de ordenação incerta; grande parte dos originais é de leitura difícilima. (...) as responsabilidades e dificuldades são tão grandes, que só os desonestos ou os loucos (à conta destes últimos pertencemos eu e a D. Aliete) se arriscariam a fazê-la...’¹⁴⁵ (ibid. 42).

Nevertheless he agreed to a proposal of Ática to hand in the typescript of the book, ready for publication, before January 1964, altogether less than two years later. In September and November 1963 Ática asked Sena about the progress and Sena answered on December 4th:

‘Calculei mal, quando julguei que tal trabalho podia ser feito em curto prazo (cerca de um ano) (...). Não creio possível a conclusão de uma

important to me to not put aside, the idea that the publication of the book, the way in which it will be done, the way in which it will be composed, the originals, etc. will give rise to controversy.

145 Transl.: *All is fragmentary, although of major interest; all is of uncertain date or of uncertain order; a large amount of originals is of difficult legibility. (...) the responsibilities and difficulties are so big that only dishonest persons or lunatics (and Miss Aliete and I belong to this last category) will dare to do it (...).*

edição que nos não envergonhe, antes de Junho do próximo ano.’
ibid.43).¹⁴⁶

They agreed on a new date: June 1964.

In the meantime, Pessoa was the central figure of a bibliographical exposition on his works in Porto. In 1963, José Augusto Seabra organized this exposition on the basis of only a small part of Pessoa’s legacy, in bookshop and gallery *Divulgação*.¹⁴⁷ One of the conditions of Seabra’s agreement with the Pessoa-family was the prohibition of any reproduction of documents exhibited, but already on the first day of the exhibition one of the organizers discovered someone diligently copying unpublished texts belonging to *Disquiet* into a notebook. This person was Pedro Veiga, lawyer in Porto and “literary pirate” who published under the pseudonym of “Petrus” small-scale editions of young Portuguese authors that he considered to be interesting. The organizers had to remove him under protest, but could not prevent the publication of a by now fairly rare edition titled ‘*Book of Disquiet – selected pages*’ in 1964. No unpublished texts could be included in the publication, but Petrus united many of the by then published texts to compile his *Disquiet*. The book contained ten out of the twelve texts that Pessoa already published during his life,¹⁴⁸

146 Transl.: *I miscalculated when I thought that such work could be done in a short period of time (about a year) (...) I don’t think it’s possible to conclude an edition that wouldn’t be a shame on us, before the end of next year.*

147 Source: Leite, Pedro Jorge de Oliveira Pereira. *Mercadores de letras - Rumos e estratégias dos editores e livreiros na divulgação cultural durante o Estado Novo (1933 – 1974)*. Tese de mestrado. Faculdade de Letras, Lisboa, 1998.

148 Two fragments that Pessoa published in *A revista* and *Revolução* in 1932 are missing.

expanded by fragments posthumously published by Maria Aliete Galhoz in the Brazilian anthology, two letters (addressed to friends Armando Cortês Rodrigues and Mário de Sá-Carneiro) and texts (also coming from Galhoz' edition) by Vicente Guedes, Bernardo Soares and the Baron of Teive. Petrus had the impression that these three authors or actually four, counting Fernando Pessoa among them, were all contributors to the book: '(...) neste banquete aparecem como interlocutores quatro personagens que viveram no palco dramático da sua alma, incluindo sua próprio pessoa.'¹⁴⁹ One should not forget that by that time hardly anything was known on these heteronyms or pseudonyms. Petrus adds:

‘O que seria deste *Livro do Desassossêgo*, se Fernando Pessoa o tivesse realmente concluído, depurado e oferecido ao mundo e o que representaria na exteriorização do seu pensamento? – Abrangendo como abrange tão largo período da sua vida literária, que páginas de contemplação, de interiorização e de reflexão sobre os problemas do mundo, não haveria nele? – Às suas confissões, às íntimas notações do seu sofrimento de homem, aos sonhos e decepções de Artista, quantas páginas de devaneio ou de convívio real com o mundo não haveria a juntar!’¹⁵⁰

It is interesting that Petrus, although knowing only a small part of the

149 Transl.: (...) at this banquet four characters appear as speakers, who lived on the theatre stage of his soul, including his own person. (Petrus 95)

150 Transl.: What would have become of this Book of Disquiet, if Pessoa himself had actually finished, corrected and published it, and what would it have represented in the manifestation of his thinking? – Covering such a large part of his literary life, how many pages of contemplation, interiorization and reflection on the problems of the world, wouldn't be in it? – How many pages of daydreams or real contact with the world couldn't be added to his confessions, his intimate notes on human suffering and to the dreams and deceptions of the Artist? (Petrus 93)

fragments, yet emphasizes the incompleteness and the strength that this aspect generates. He also pointed at some of the key themes of the book such as the dominant dichotomy of dream ('devaneio', 'sonhos') and reality ('convívio real com o mundo').

'Evocaremos apenas o *Diário Íntimo* de Amiel e *Os Cadernos de Malte Laurids Brigge* de Rainer Maria Rilke. Com estas obras se aparenta o *Livro do Desassossêgo*, o *Livro Incompleto* de Fernando Pessoa, onde (...) se surpreende, vago, o perfil literário duma Alma errante, na sua trágica peregrinação de fala-só, através das inquietações, sonhos e calvários da existência.'¹⁵¹

Because of this publication, Pessoa's family increased the pressure on Sena to finish the complete edition of *Disquiet*, but Sena simply didn't succeed in completing it. In July 1964 he writes:

'Quero chamar a sua atenção para o que foi o original que eu recebi e tenho estudado - 200 fragmentos dactilografados em cópia feita ou mandada fazer por Maria Aliete, sem os números do catálogo de fragmentos; e 278 fotografias de manuscritos, muitas das quais dos versos das folhinhas (sem identificação nenhuma), que chegaram todas como um baralho de cartas. Para iniciar-se a decifração, e resultante escolha, destes fragmentos, necessário foi resolver, primeiro, o 'puzzle' de um baralho de 278 cartas sem nenhum naipe guiador... Mais de metade é indecifrável na totalidade, e, sendo-o, é inaproveitável por excessivamente fragmentário - além de não haver certeza alguma de que, quer no dactilografado, quer no fotografado, muitas coisas sejam ou

151 Transl.: *We only bring to mind the 'Intimate Diary' of Amiel and 'The notenooks of Laurids Malte Brigge' by Rilke into mind. These are the works close to the 'Book of Disquiet', the Incomplete Book of Fernando Pessoa, in which we are surprised by the vague literary profile of a wandering soul, in its tragic pilgrimage of soliloquy, through the anxieties, dreams and Calvary of existence. (Petrus 94)*

possam ser Livro do Desassossego.¹⁵²

Sena describes here exactly the difficulties generated by this work and the state in which it was found. It was, in his words, ‘a pack of cards’ ‘without colors’, ‘a puzzle’ that needs to be resolved. Sena speaks frequently of ‘o original’, referring to a complete copy that needs to be prepared for publication and ‘fragmentos’, the individual texts that form the copy. The loose fragments on the one hand and a publishable whole on the other seem to be two extremes that do not show any possible conciliation. Not surprisingly, the preparation of *Disquiet* suffered more and more delay since Sena kept exceeding the time limit. He did write in the same period a by now famous introduction to the book, that, especially for the time in which it was written, contains a wealth of information. In the same month however, Sena was startled again by a letter from Lisbon, in which scholar Georg Rudolf Lind sent the news that another 100 handwritten pages, marked with the abbreviation ‘L. do D. were found. More and more editorial tasks of Sena, who in the meantime had moved to the United States, were given to other editors and because of the lingering process

152 Transl.: *I want to draw your attention to what was the original that I received and have studied – 200 fragments typed out in duplicate done or asked to do by Maria Aliete, without the catalogue numbers; and 278 photos of manuscripts, many written on the back of scraps of paper (without any identification), that came all as a pack of cards. To begin with the transcriptions, and the resulting choices, of these fragments, it was necessary to resolve, first of all, the puzzle of a pack of 278 cards without any guiding color... More than half of them is completely indecipherable, and being so, is unusable because of excessive fragmentation – apart from not having any certainty if things, whether among the typed ones, or among the photographed ones, are or could be part of the ‘Book of Disquiet’.*

of transcription and ordering, this could happen to *Disquiet* as well. Sena was furious. He wrote to Maria Aliete Galhoz that he felt that his work was ‘sabotaged’, that he was to ‘withdraw’ himself definitely from the project since: ‘não é possível trabalhar-se a sério, responsabilmente, assim.’¹⁵³ (ibid. 44). But in 1967 he kept receiving new fragments of the book, some written by hand in pencil and therefore very hard to decipher. Galhoz wrote to Sena that she only wanted to transcribe these texts if he really needed them. But Sena wanted to read them all and waited until Galhoz would send him the transcribed texts. In 1968, however, the magazine *Ocidente* published texts belonging to *Disquiet* and Lind and Coelho announced they would publish some more unrevealed texts. In 1969 Jorge de Sena resigned from his editorial activities. In a letter he wrote: ‘Há que compreender-se que não é possível fazer-se honestamente uma edição, quando são outros quem “decide” o que será LD ou não (...)’ (ibid. 45).¹⁵⁴ Ática replied that they would pass on the organization of the book to a different editor. The preface that Sena had already written was published posthumously in his book *Fernando Pessoa e C.^a Heteronímica* still compiled by himself in the last few months before his death in 1979.

153 Transl.: *it is not possible to work seriously, responsibly, like this.*

154 Transl.: *One has to comprehend that there is no way of making an honest edition, if others decide what is belonging to the BD and what is not.*

Chapter 4. Prologomena for an archive edition the Book of Disquiet

Now that we've mapped the publication history of *Disquiet* in the 75 years after Pessoa's death, we've come to the years in which the book was actually written: 1913-1935. In order to reconstruct the genesis of the book, I took a genetic critical approach that resulted in the appendix, containing all manuscripts. As part of this thesis, I considered it essential to compile an archive-edition that collects all relevant manuscripts, add diplomatic transcriptions to them and list the different transcriptions and editorial choices of the main editions. In order to do so I followed the general directions that De Biasi indicated for compiling genetic critical (archive) editions.¹⁵⁵ I have consulted all manuscripts mentioned by the various editions as belonging to *Disquiet*, as well as a good deal of the Pessoa archive, notably the notebooks, to constitute the full dossier of available manuscripts. I have consulted the originals in the Lisbon National Library and took reproductions with me to Utrecht. I identified all authorized fragments, plans, schemes, letters and texts possibly belonging to *Disquiet*.

1. Materials and sequence, transcription, historical collation

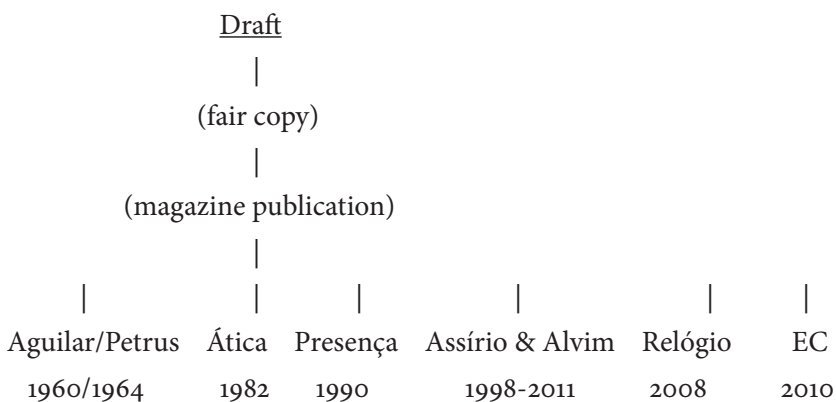
Contrary to, for example, manuscripts of novels, there is no possible teleological order for this book, which is why I have simply maintained

155 cf. the first chapter of this thesis and (Biasi, 2000)

the order given to the manuscripts by the scholars that numbered the documents in the 1960's and only classified the manuscript on basis of their category (drafts with 'LdD' sign, conjectural fragments, paralipomena). The manuscripts in the Pessoa archives have been gathered together by genre or subject, like many archives of large public libraries tend to do. This numbering does not provide a classification, but rather a formal identification of the dossier's elements. In addition to this document-identification, I included for all documents the page numbers or fragment numbers of the five original printed editions of *Disquiet* (which are five different ways of ordering the manuscripts teleologically). For each document I described the physical appearance; type of paper, colours of ink, etc. This results in a material description of the corpus.

Stemma of *Disquiet*:

Fragments:



The schematical stemma applies to most fragments of *Disquiet*, beginning with a rough draft and ending with publication in one of the posthumous editions. In almost all cases, the genesis of the fragments is fairly simple. Only in a very few number of cases Pessoa left a fair copy and in even less cases exists a previous publication. In general he only left a rough draft that contained one or more layers of authorial variants and corrections.

Transcriptions

As for the transcriptions, I tried to reduce conjectural readings as much as possible. Since in most cases there is no final version of the rough drafts of *Disquiet* and the fact that most fragments have been transcribed already by four more than competent transcribers, I have limited myself to transcribe all handwriting (and typoscript) that is undoubtedly clear and left passages with difficulties intentionally open. In those cases I provide all (sometimes varying) transcriptions of the four transcribers.

‘The only interest of a transcription is to accompany a facsimile in order to facilitate deciphering,’ Claudine Gothot Mersch asserted (Mersch 69). For the transcriptions I use an inclusive apparatus, meaning that all diacritical signs have been included in the diplomatic transcriptions. The inclusive apparatus gives the reader a full view of the texts and the authorial adaptations. Although the EC didn’t use it, using an inclusive apparatus is fairly common for transcriptions of prose texts, especially for texts with a relatively simple apparatus. (Mathijsen 53). In the case of Pessoa we often only have one draft at our disposal, with corrections and additions made

during or right after the writing process. If the basis text is a manuscript and the intended readers of the edition consist of academics, the American Committee on Scholarly Editions (CSE) recommends in its statement an inclusive apparatus.¹⁵⁶ I intentionally worked with diacritical signs instead of graphical representations of the documents. The diplomatic transcription doesn't aim at giving a mimetical representation of the documents, but is merely a tool for deciphering the handwriting. Besides, it shows all additions and corrections Pessoa made on the document itself without many editorial interventions. Using diacritical signs instead of a typographical imitation of the documents, gives in my opinion more possibilities of expressing doubts and insecurities in transcribing what has been written. Moreover, a purely mimetic representation can never be fully achieved. The Kafka Stroemfeld/ Roter Stern edition, which does include a mimetic transcription, admits that for example in case of Kafka's 'umlaut', which because of the speed of his writing often results in a single stroke of the pen, in mimetic transcription needs to be "translated" into a typographically current umlaut. (Reuß 18). In the transcription the diacritical signs indicate all characteristics of Pessoa's writing as visible on the documents itself, without editorial intervention. We deal with five main variants that have been indicated in the transcription with the following diacritical signs:

156 Statement of editorial principles and procedures. Rev. Ed. New York, 1972, p. 7. As quoted in (Matthijsen 308)

Deletions: { } (*word crossed out*)

Substitutions: < >/ \ (<*substituted*>/*substitution*\)

Additions: < >[↑] (<*added word*> *written in the margin or between the lines. The arrow indicates the location of the addition*)

Permutations: | [↔] | (|*word 1* [↔] *word 2*| *the author has indicated that the first and the second word need to change place.*)

Open spaces: □ (*space left blank by the author, probably to fill it in on a later occasion*)

The transcription furthermore presents all writing exactly as it was given on the documents, i.e. spelling, capitals, interpunction, abbreviations and contractions are given in the way Pessoa used them. I use the term “variant” for alternative words written on the documents or for a second or third version or fair copy written by Pessoa for a certain text. I use the term “reading” for a transcription of words or phrases by editors.

In the transcription I identify the different layers of correction by including numbers in superscript to those words or parts of texts that were added later. Each document at least consists of a “ground layer”, the text written down during the first phase of the writing process. Immediate corrections and additions, the so called “Sofortkorrekturen”, corrections that were made during the first phase of the writing process, written with the *same* ink as the text itself, have not been indicated explicitly. Since they are fairly common, the reader can recognize them because of their inclusion in the diplomatic transcription. Additional correction layers, in general

identifiable because of the *different* types of ink have been indicated. If different types of ink have been used, I have included a description of the inks in the description of materials.

Historical collation

The third element of each entry in the edition is an overview of the historical collation. As Biasi remarked: ‘Nothing prevents the same avant-texte from becoming multiply reconstructed.’ (Biasi 2004, 42). This obviously happened to *Disquiet*. I identified all differences between the first four transcriptions (published by Ática, Presença, Assírio & Alvim and Imprensa Nacional-Casa Moeda), concerning readings and editorial solutions for difficulties in the handwriting or typescript. The words or phrases that have been differently edited by various editors are listed and correspond to the line numbers of the transcribed text. The apparatus of different readings is selective: I neglected different readings of interpunction, except if these differences influence the meaning of a text.

§2. The writing: textual development

After having compiled this archive-dossier of the documents and having established a diplomatic transcription and historical collation, we can now turn to the most important phase of the genesis of *Disquiet*: its period of conception.

The posthumous history of *Disquiet* is relatively stirring, when compared to

the history of the book during the life of its author. Only twelve fragments were published in magazines, eleven of which in the last six years of his life, but one as early as 1913. This large time span causes notorious difficulties, because, to paraphrase editor Petrus: how many themes and styles does such a lifework generate? A lot, and if such bulky lifework is encountered in a trunk, with hardly any hints of its author on how to read, let alone publish it, we find an explanation for all different editions that came and still come to the market. When Fernando Pessoa died, he left us a labyrinth of texts, of which *Disquiet* is a small labyrinth within,¹⁵⁷ but there is some controversy on the way in which he actually left these 27.543 documents. Nowadays, almost all his writings are stored in Lisbon's National Library,¹⁵⁸ where the documents can be found in dustproof folders, ordered on subject. In the catalogue one finds headings like '*Odes of Ricardo Reis – edition Ática*', in which one finds all poems by Reis published in the *Ática*-publication concerned (1946). Originally, editor Maria Aliete Galhoz recalls¹⁵⁹, the manuscripts were found in envelopes, of which some were quite sizable and had annotations written on the outside, such as 'BAD' or 'VERY OLD THINGS'. These annotations contained useful information on Pessoa's evaluation of the documents in the envelopes. When a team

157 Or a 'trunk within a trunk' as Teresa Rita Lopes described *Disquiet*: Lopes, T.R. *Pessoa por conhecer*. 2 vol. Editorial Estampa, Lisboa, 1990. p. 142

158 In June of 2008 the heirs of Pessoa announced the auction of an additional number of documents, including a large correspondence between Pessoa and the British magician Aleister Crowley. These documents have been sold to various buyers, but scans have been included in the Pessoa-archive in Lisbon.

159 In an interview with the author on June 26th 2002. Cf. (Stoker 29-33) and (Castro 1993, 48)

of scholars in the late sixties began cataloging, they neglected Pessoa's own indications, got rid of most of the old envelopes (including all useful notes) and reshuffled the contents of the trunk radically. As a somewhat sour salute to Pessoa's envelopes, they called all library folders in which they put the manuscripts 'envelopes', so that one finds Reis's poems in the library catalogue headed under 'envelope 51'. Galhoz remembers as well a big envelope, labeled 'L. do D', the sign Pessoa often used to mark texts for *Disquiet*. When she consulted the trunk in the late fifties and early sixties for her academic thesis on the modernist review *Orpheu*, and even later for the Brazilian anthology she compiled on Pessoa, she witnessed a big envelope, filled with texts for *Disquiet*. She took out a few to include in the Brazilian anthology and later on started working frequently with these manuscripts when cooperating with Jorge de Sena. This was all *before* the cataloguing of the legacy during the late sixties and early seventies. Galhoz got serious health problems and was unable to work for a few years. During those years the manuscripts were ordered and reordered, shuffled and reshuffled. Pessoa's manuscripts, seemingly as varied and extensive as the national library itself, were thematically pigeonholed. When Galhoz returned on the scene, there was no trace left of the big envelope filled with texts for *Disquiet*. Instead, the first five envelopes of the in total more than 140 new envelopes of the library-inventory were denominated *Manuscritos do Livro do Desassossego* (*Manuscripts for the Book of Disquiet*), expanded by four more envelopes with manuscripts of the book that had been found elsewhere in the trunk. Galhoz declared

that these first five envelopes nowadays hold the contents of the original one. There is no evidence however that these first five envelopes contain exactly what Pessoa initially had put in that big envelope. Next to texts for *Disquiet* they also contain manuscripts for completely different literary projects, such as the texts marked ‘Teive’ referring to the heteronym Barão de Teive, fragments of the plays *A morte do príncipe* (*The death of the prince*) and *Diálogo no jardim do palácio* (*Dialogue in the garden of the palace*) and shards of essays on Omar Khayyam.¹⁶⁰ Whether these texts have been included by Pessoa to make them part of *Disquiet* or whether the scholars erroneously have inserted them when they catalogued the whole lot, cannot be discerned. And where did the cataloguing scholars find the manuscripts of those other four envelopes? We have got no certainty at all, except that this was the way in which Galhoz, Cunha, Zenith and Pizarro encountered *Disquiet* when they prepared their editions.

The most intriguing question is of course: did Pessoa himself write about the (contents of the) big envelope? Did he give any clues on how to collect the manuscripts and to publish them, clues that could serve as the will many editors and publishers pretend to execute? “Estou começando – lentamente, porque não é coisa que possa fazer-se com rapidez – a classificar e rever os meus papéis; isto com o fim de publicar, para fins do

160 Texts for Barão de Teive (5/11, 1/7-11), a fragment of the plays *A morte do príncipe*|*The death of the prince* (5/18) and *Diálogo no jardim do palácio*|*Dialogue in the garden of the palace* (5/20-22) fragments of essays on Omar Khayyam (1/2, 1/5).

ano em que estamos, um ou dois livros,¹⁶¹ Pessoa wrote to his friend João Gaspar Simões in 1932, about three years before his death.

‘Primitivamente, era minha intenção começar as minhas publicações por três livros, na ordem seguinte: (1) *Portugal*, que é um livro pequeno de poemas (tem 41 ao todo), de que o *Mar Português* (*Contemporânea* 4) é a segunda parte; (2) *Livro do Desassossego* (Bernardo Soares, mas subsidiariamente, pois que o B. S. não é um heterónimo, mas uma personalidade literária); (3) *Poemas Completos de Alberto Caeiro* (com o prefácio de Ricardo Reis, e, em posfácio, as *Notas para a Recordação* do Álvaro de Campos). Mais tarde, no outro ano, seguiria, só ou com qualquer livro, *Cancioneiro* (ou outro título igualmente inexpressivo), onde reuniria (em Livros I a III ou I a V) vários dos muitos poemas soltos que tenho, e que são por natureza inclassificáveis salvo de essa maneira inexpressiva.¹⁶²

When he wrote this, Pessoa had published only the two compilations of *English poems*, a few political pamphlets and he had established some literary reviews, all at his own means. Besides this, some 300 poems

161 Transl.: *I'm beginning – slowly, as it's not something that can be done quickly – to organize and revise my writings, so that I can publish one or two books at the end of the year.* (Pessoa CORR II, 269)

162 in: Pessoa, F. *Correspondência 1923-1935*. Assírio & Alvim. Lisboa, 1999, p. 269-270. Transl.: “My original idea was to begin the publication of my works with three books, in the following order: 1. *Portugal*, a small book of poems (41 in all) whose second part is ‘Portuguese Sea’ (published in *Contemporânea* 4); 2. *The book of Disquiet* (by Bernardo Soares, but only secondarily, since B.S. is not a heteronym, but a literary personality); 3. *Complete Poems of Alberto Caeiro* (with a preface by Ricardo Reis and, at the end of the volume, Álvaro de Campos’s *Notes for the memory of My Master Caeiro*). A year after the publication of these books, I planned to bring out, either by itself or with another volume, *Songbook* (or some other equally impressive title), which would have included (in Books I-III or I-V) a number of my many miscellaneous poems, which are too diverse to be classified except in that inexpressive way.” Pessoa, F. *The selected prose of Fernando Pessoa*. ed. and transl. by Richard Zenith. Grove Press Books. New York, 2001.

and 100 prose texts appeared in magazines, weeklies or newspapers.¹⁶³ Although he had no shortage of material or plans, he never got one of his works published by a publisher. Until in 1934, about a year before his death, the compilation *Mensagem* (*Message*) came out, the ‘small book of poems’ to which he referred in the letter to Simões. Eventually titled *Message* instead of *Portugal* and counting 44 instead of 41 poems, this praise song of the Portuguese nation and culture (2nd prize winner in a competition set up by the National Office of Propaganda), was the only book on the above mentioned list that actually came out. The two other works of poetry he mentioned, Caeiro’s poems and the *Songbook*, never got beyond the planning stage, although already dispersedly published in magazines. On *Disquiet*, Pessoa wrote further in the same letter: ‘Sucede, porém, que o Livro do Desassossego tem muita coisa que equilibrar e rever, não podendo eu calcular, decentemente, que me leve menos de um ano a fazê-lo.’¹⁶⁴ A year would turn out to be far too optimistic, since the book never got published or even prepared for publication during his life, and as we’ve seen would occupy editors for almost half a century after his death. Only twelve texts of the book found their way to magazines, all in the three years preceding the letter to Simões, except for one: *Na floresta do alheamento* (*In the forest of Estrangement*) was published in 1913. This symbolist prose full of mystic imagery, dream atmospheres, metaphysical

163 Stoker 2009, 26

164 Transl.: *But there is much to be revised and restructured in the Book of Disquiet, and I can't honestly expect that it will take me less than a year to do the job.* (Pessoa CORR II, 269)

sighs, esoteric ideas and decadentism, was announced as ‘From the *Book of Disquiet* – in preparation.’ It was published under Pessoa’s own name, in the magazine *A Águia* and fitted excellently in the post-symbolist program of that review. Pessoa never abandoned the post-symbolist way of writing literature, but soon discovered new and in retrospect more decisive ways. The creation of the three main heteronyms, by Pessoa described as ‘the triumphal day of my life’ situated in 1914, gave an unprecedented boost to his creativity. From then on he wrote harsh free verse under the name of countryman Alberto Caeiro, futurist poems as naval engineer Álvaro de Campos and classical odes as doctor Ricardo Reis. He continued writing poetry under his own name as well and worked a lot on his prose texts for *Disquiet*, all still with a strong post symbolist pitch. In October 1914 he wrote to Armando Cortes-Rodrigues:

‘O que principalmente tenho feito é sociologia e desassossego. Você percebe que a última palavra diz respeito ao “livro” do mesmo; de facto tenho elaborado várias páginas daquela produção doentia. A obra vai pois complexamente e tortuosamente avançando.’¹⁶⁵

What is interesting about this extract is that Pessoa put the word “book” in quotation marks. Did he recognize already that this book was not a book (and maybe was never going to be one)? Or was this sarcasm about the fact that such a ‘pathological production’ was not worthy of the predicate

165 (Pessoa CORR I, 213). Transl.: *What I’ve mainly written is sociology and disquiet. The last word, as you’ll have guessed, refers to the “book” of the same name. I have, in fact written a number of pages for that pathological production, which thus continues to go complexly and tortuously forward.* (LdD Penguin 473).

“book”? The work in progress had just begun and Pessoa did have some ideas on how the book eventually should look like. We have several lists at our disposal that show Pessoa’s ideas of *Disquiet* in these early years of conception. The oldest is a list that shows seven titles:

- ‘L. do D.
1. Peristilo
 2. Bailado 13 trechos
 3. O ultimo Cysne
 4. Tecedeira
 5. Encantamento
 6. Apotheose (Epiphania) do Absurdo (ou da Mentira)
 7. Antemanhã.

Fim.¹⁶⁶

Theories exist that the first references to the notion of ‘disquiet’ already appeared on a manuscript that dates back to 1910, but there is no proof for that whatsoever.¹⁶⁷ There is a different manuscript of a poem written on the

166 (E3 [5/25]), printed in Pessoa (LdD-Ática 2, 4) and (LdD-Presença I, 35).

Transl.:

[*B. o. D.*

1. *Peristyle*
 2. *Ballet* *13 fragments*
 3. *The Last Swan*
 4. *Weaver*
 5. *Enchantment*
 6. *Apotheosis (Epiphany) of the Absurd (or of the lie)*
 7. *Break of Day*
- End.]*

167 Jorge Nemésio found the note ‘desassocego’ on a manuscript (37/26) that contained a short hardly legible text with a title according to Nemésio legible as ‘Rumor.’

20th of January of 1913, where Pessoa wrote in the margin: ‘The title Disquiet, probably the first datable reference to *Disquiet*.¹⁶⁸ The above mentioned list was the first of various schemes of ideas for *Disquiet* that Pessoa wrote in these years, dating from about may 1913, as manuscript evidence shows.¹⁶⁹ Five of the seven titles on this list were never found and that is mainly to blame on Pessoa’s habit to put titles on lists and schemes even before having written the corresponding texts. Only *Peristyle* and *Apotheosis of the Absurd* were encountered among his papers.¹⁷⁰ Remarkable for its absence is the story *In the forest of estrangement*, the first published text that was openly attributed to *Disquiet* but only published in *July* 1913, one month after the supposed date of this list. When exactly the story was written is unknown, since a draft or handwritten version, nor any other trace of the text, was ever found. The first evidence for this text was Pessoa reference to it in a letter dated July 29 of that year. Pessoa asks Álvaro Pinto, editor of A

Below the text was written: ‘subtítulo de Ruínas: Desassocego.’ Although there is no date discernable on the manuscript, Nemésio dated it on basis of a text dated 21-8-1910 to which the title *Rumor* according to him referred (Nemésio 29/ Stoker 163). Sena had doubts about the date, but adopted the reading by Nemesio (Sena 198). Galhoz did not. She didn’t read ‘Rumor’ but ‘Ruínas’ as the title of the text, and emphasized that even when ‘Ruínas’ could be dated in 1910, the possibly later added subtitle could originally be from years later. (Galhoz 1982, xxvii).

168 Manuscriptnumber 16/22, included in appendix. cf. Nemésio (1958) p. 71, Sena (1982) p. 199, Galhoz (1982) p. XXVII, Zenith (in: Selected Prose) p. 265. Sena mentions on p. 198/199 that Nemésio situated the first *Disquiet* plans in 1912 and so does Quadros p. II:14.

169 On the paper on which the list was written, one finds the beginning of a text as well, that continues on a second paper and on this second paper one finds the draft of a poem, dated 15-V-1913.

170 *Peristyle* – *Ática* fr. 246-250, *Presença*: I: 67-73, A&A: p. 471-474, Penguin: p. 444-446. *Apotheosis of the Absurd* – *Ática*: -, *Presença*: I: p. 190-191, A&A/Penguin: fr. 371-372; also a *poem* with the title *O último cysne* was found.

Águia about his evaluation of three texts he had sent him earlier: ‘Em todo o caso, penso sempre se desgradará aí qualquer das três coisas remetidas. O meu amigo sabe que nada mais estimo do que absoluta franqueza nestes assuntos. O *Na Floresta do Alheamento* será ultra-excessivo, em matéria de requinte, para que achem prudente que *A Águia* o insira? Diga-mo francamente.’¹⁷¹ We understand from this letter that *In the forest...* had been sent to Pinto at least some days before July 29. In a letter from July 10 Pessoa wrote to Pinto: ‘(...) só tive tempo para acabar de passar a limpo aquela minha prosa que hoje deve ter recebido.’¹⁷² Considering the fact that *In the forrest* was the only text published in *A Águia* during these months, it would make perfect sense if the text Pessoa mentions was indeed *In the forest*. Lists from a later date do for that matter explicitly feature the story as part of *Disquiet* and mention other titles that were found later among Pessoa’s papers: *A voyage I never made*, *Rainy landscape*, *Our lady of silence* and *In praise of sterile women*. The lists show that Pessoa originally planned to fill his book with texts that were quite long and still had titles. Most of the titles that appear on the lists were, however, found in a fragmentary state, on which he confessed already in 1914 to Cortes-Rodrigues:

‘Nem lhe mando outras pequenas coisas que tenho escrito nestes

171 Transl.: *In any case, I’m continuously wondering whether one of these three things might have pleased you. You know that I don’t appreciate nothing more than complete honesty in these matters. Maybe ‘In the forrest of Estrangement’ is ultra-excessive, in terms of refinement, too daring to publish it in A Águia? Be frank about it.* (Pessoa CORR I, 97-98). This letter was sent on July 29, *A Águia* (including *Na Floresta...*) was published in August 1913.

172 Transl. *I only had time to type that prose-piece of mine that you should have received today.* (Pessoa CORR I, 96).

dias. Não são muito dignas de serem mandadas, umas; outras estão incompletas; o resto tem sido quebrados e desconexos pedaços do *Livro do Desassossego*.¹⁷³

The confession supports the presumption of Pessoa's inability to finish things and create coherence, which he admitted again in a famous passage from a letter to Cortes-Rodrigues: 'O meu estado de espírito obriga-me agora a trabalhar bastante sem querer, no *Livro do Desassossego*. Mas tudo fragmentos, fragmentos, fragmentos.'¹⁷⁴

Around 1915 the style of his *Disquiet* texts changed: the few explicitly dated fragments of this period¹⁷⁵ have a distinctly different tone and voice than the earlier texts. The attention shifts from the ethereal spheres and symbolical landscapes to the human mind, the style moves from decadent and inflated to clear and rational. We see in these few texts the germ of the type of text that from now on would dominate *Disquiet*. Around this time, one notices the name Vicente Guedes pop up various times linked to *Disquiet* on manuscripts and lists of Pessoa's plans.¹⁷⁶ This Guedes wasn't actually "born" for *Disquiet*: his name was linked to various other projects in the trunk, such as the stories *Muito Longe (Very Far)* (no date) and *O Asceta (The Ascetic)* (no date), a diary-fragment from 1914 (by no means

173 Transl. (...) *Nor am I sending you any of the other little things I've written in recent days. Some of them aren't worth sending; others are incomplete; the rest are broken, disconnected pieces of the 'Book of Disquiet.'* (Pessoa CORR I, 124).

174 Transl. *My state of mind compels me to work hard, against my will, on the 'Book of Disquiet'. But it's all fragments, fragments, fragments.* (ibid. 132)

175 Manuscript numbers: [144D²/135] (A&A 333) dated 18-7-1916, [5/31-32] (A&A 429) dated 18-9-1917 and [9/5] (A&A p. 466) dated 8-10-1919.

176 Zenith mentions that he was created in 1909. Cf. (Cunha 1990, 11)

resembling any fragment of *Disquiet*) and a list of plans to make Guedes the translator of works by Aeschylus, Byron and Shelley.¹⁷⁷ When exactly he got the authorship of *Disquiet* is unknown; Quadros and Zenith situate the change of authorship in ‘1915, or maybe even 1914’¹⁷⁸, Cunha can’t give any date at all. His name already pops up on various documents stemming from the period 1915-1920¹⁷⁹, thereby becoming the heteronym attributed to this early phase of the writing process. A manuscript marked ‘L. do D.’ and written on paper that Pessoa used since 1918 contains the following note:

Epígrafe ao Diário:

Guedes (Vicente), empregado do comércio, Rua dos Retroseiros, 17.4,
Anuário Comercial de Portugal.¹⁸⁰

The notion “diary” indicates that Pessoa wanted to make Guedes author of a diary that, according to the text preceding the aforementioned epigraph, is in many ways similar to the *Disquiet*-fragments of the thirties. None of the manuscripts of the book that show Guedes’s name, however, have dates

177 *Muito Longe*: [27²²L⁵/1-2], *O Asceta*: [27²⁰V³/1], *Diário* [14C/8], List of plans: published in (Lopes 1990, 229).

178 cf. Zenith in: (Martins 2008, 415) and (Quadros 1986, 27). Both base their claim on an editorial list of Pessoa for his project ‘Ficções do interlúdio’, that attributes *Disquiet* to Guedes and stems from 1914 or 1915. The list mentions the year of the death of Alberto Caeiro (1915), which makes it probably that the list stems from 1915 or later. There is, however, a possibility that Pessoa already in 1914 “scheduled” Caeiro’s death in 1915. Cf. (Cunha 1990, 13) and (Cunha 2008, 15).

179 Cf. Lists on documents [48B/11], [5/83], [20/71]. Guedes name features also as author of *Disquiet* in the essay ‘Aspectos’ (probably from 1920), in which Pessoa introduced his heteronyms. Sena calls Guedes a pré-Ricardo Reis (Sena 236 and 199).

180 [7/17], (LdD Assírio, AP1, Translation Richard Zenith in: Pessoa, F (2001; Penguin), p. 466

and thus we can't be sure about when exactly his authorship started and how long it lasted. A plan Pessoa made for publishing his books, which was probably written somewhere in 1915, reads: '*Book of Disquiet - Written by Vicente Guedes, published by Fernando Pessoa*'.¹⁸¹ It is therefore highly probable that Guedes's authorship started around 1915 and ended in or around 1920.¹⁸² In the years between 1920 and 1929 no clear trace can be found of *Disquiet*. New fragments only start to appear in 1929, published in a magazine and attributed to yet another office clerk (like Guedes) named Bernardo Soares. When Pessoa actually took the decision to have Soares replace or join Guedes, is unknown. Usually his entrance is situated somewhere at the end of the twenties, right before the first publication in which his name was mentioned.¹⁸³ Besides the later author of *Disquiet*,

181 *Disquiet* appears on this manuscript as part of a series of (publishing) projects. The first project was called 'Na casa de saude de Cascais.' (*In the institution of Cascais*), including texts of heteronym António Mora and poems of Alberto Caeiro and Ricardo Reis. The second project (or book) mentioned on the list was called 'Vida e obras do engenheiro Álvaro de Campos' (*Life and works of engineer Álvaro de Campos*). The third project was '*Livro do Desassossego, escrito por Vicente Guedes, publicado por Fernando Pessoa*'. ("*Book of Disquiet*", *written by Vicente Guedes, published by Fernando Pessoa*'). (cf. Lopes 1990, 192) A book or at least a story with the title *In the institution of Cascais* (Cascais is a seaside resort nearby Lisbon) was an old idea of Pessoa, probably coming from 1907-1910. The fact that the three heteronymic poets are already listed here, indicates that it stems from after March 1914. After 1915 no reference to the institution was found anymore and therefore it is generally accepted that the list was written somewhere in 1915 (Cf. Coelho 1982, iii).

182 In 1938 a fragment of *Disquiet* (titled *Diário Lúcido*|*Lucid Diary*) was published posthumously in the Portuguese review *Mensagem*, with the subtitle: 'escrito por Vicente Guedes, publicado por Fernando Pessoa.'

183 (Coelho 1982, viii-ix); (Zenith 1998, 23), (Cunha 1990, 19). Teresa Rita Lopes claims that the figure of Bernardo Soares comes from the early tens (Lopes 1990, 138). She documents her claim with a list of plans for a project or book called 'Rua dos Douradores' attributed to Bernardo Soares. This book was to include both the 'Large Texts' meant for *Disquiet* (such as *In the forrest ...*) as well as poems as *Chuva Obliqua* (*Slanting rain*) and *Passos da cruz* (*Stations of the cross*) stemming both from

Soares was also the author of stories, as a list with various titles attributed to him tells us: *História amorosa de um homem de génio* (*A loving history of a genius man*), *Um doido* (*A lunatic*) and *Marcos Alves* are some of his intriguing titles.¹⁸⁴ Especially that last mentioned story is interesting since it appears as well on a list of works by Guedes. Richard Zenith put forward the possibility that Soares not only took over Guedes's work on *Disquiet* but also entirely replaced him. Pessoa made clear on a different manuscript that Guedes had died: 'O grande e consciencioso Vicente Guedes que a morte ceifou'.¹⁸⁵ From now on, Bernardo Soares was the only heteronym responsible for the book. Under his authorship the book took a different turn: he rejected the symbolist style of the early years (although not completely¹⁸⁶) as well as the highly rational, sometimes chilly, style of Guedes and replaced them with a subtle combination of introspective observations written in a clear but yet poetic style. An important clue that Pessoa left behind about his plans with Soares was a note on the scope of his authorship:

'A organização do livro deve basear-se numa escolha, rígida quanto possível, dos trechos variadamente existentes, adaptando, porém, os mais

1913. Lopes concludes that Soares therefore already existed in the early tens, ignoring the much likelier possibility that the Douradores-project came into being much later (most probably in the twenties) than the poems. To my knowledge the name 'Bernardo Soares' appeared for the first time in 1920, as the author of stories. *Disquiet*, however, is not yet on this list. (Stoker, 167). Cf. note 177.

184 [114G/29] The list is printed in: (Pessoa LdD-Ática, xxxviii)

185 Transl.: *The great and conscientious Vicente Guedes that death took away from us*. (Lopes 1990, 115)

186 A text dated 22-3-1929, for example, still has a clearly symbolist tone. (LdD-Assírio 58)

antigos, que falhem à psicologia de Bernardo Soares, tal como agora surge, a essa vera psicologia. À parte isso, há que fazer uma revisão geral do próprio estilo, sem que ele perca, na expressão íntima, o devaneio e o desconexo lógico que o caracterizam.’

Há que estudar o caso de que se devem inserir trechos grandes, classificáveis sob títulos grandiosos, como a *Marcha Fúnebre do Rei Luís Segundo da Baviera*, ou a *Sinfonia de uma Noite Inquieta*. Há a hipótese de deixar como está o trecho da *Marcha Fúnebre*, e há a hipótese de transferir para outro livro, em que ficassem os Grandes Trechos juntos.¹⁸⁷

The note shows that Soares not only became the author of newly emerged texts characterized by ‘that true psychology’, but also of ‘the older ones’, by which Pessoa probably meant the texts coming from the “pre-Soarean” era (1913-1920). That is something he never wrote on Vicente Guedes. The latter did not explicitly inherit the fragments of the earliest phase of the book. The revisions of the style that he had in mind – in such a way that the old fragments would fit more into Soares’s style, but maintain their ‘dreaminess and logical disjointedness’ – are irretrievable; there are only few indications that he ever started them.¹⁸⁸ The second paragraph of

187 (Pessoa LdD-Assírio, 505) Transl.: *The organization of the book should be based upon a highly rigorous selection from among the various kinds of texts written, adapting the older ones – which lack the psychology of Bernardo Soares – to that true psychology as it has now emerged. In addition, an overall revision of the style needs to be made, but without giving up the dreaminess and the logical disjointedness of its intimate expression. It must also be decided whether to include the large texts with grandiose titles, such as the ‘Funeral March for Ludwig II, King of Bavaria’ or ‘Symphony of the Restless Night’. The ‘Funeral March’ could be left as it is, or it could be made part of another book, one that would gather together all the Large Texts.* Translated by Richard Zenith in: (Pessoa LdD-Penguin, 471).

188 There exists a short passage called ‘Floresta’, which was probably written in 30’s and might have been an attempt to revise *Na floresta do alheamento*. (Pessoa LdD-

the note leaves two possibilities of what to do with the large texts with ‘grandiose titles’: integrate them in the rest or publish them as a separate book, the first being done by the editors of *Ática* and *Presença*, the second by the editor of Assírio & Alvim (that has published them not as a separate book but as a separate section called *A Disquiet Anthology*). This is an important note, not only because it gives us a clue on Pessoa’s plans with the book, but it also indicates its future key features: the Soaresean scenes as the core of the book, the important aspect of the ‘logical disjointedness’ and the strength of combining texts of the earliest and the latest phases of its conception.

The two *Disquiet* texts published in 1929, the first ones since *In the forrest of estrangement*, are exemplary of this last phase: downtown Lisbon, the office and the apartment as *locus acti* described with a clear and rational but still poetic tone are typical for Soares. They appeared in two issues of a review simply called *A revista* (*The Review*) distributed by publisher *Solução* and led by an old acquaintance of Pessoa’s, José Pacheco.¹⁸⁹ The text was headed ‘Fragment of the *Book of Disquiet*, composed by Bernardo Soares, office clerk in Lisbon city’, but signed ‘FERNANDO PESSOA.’ Pessoa used to refer to Soares as a ‘semi-heteronym’: ‘porque, não sendo a personalidade a minha, é, não diferente da minha, mas simples mutilação dela.’¹⁹⁰ Yet I don’t think that Soares being a ‘semi-heteronym’ is the main

Assírio, 211).

189 José Pacheco was the ex-director of the avant-garde magazine *Contemporânea* to which Pessoa regularly contributed in the second half of the 1910’s.

190 Transl.: (...) *because his personality, although not my own, doesn’t differ from*

reason for publishing the *Disquiet* fragments with both Soares as his own name. By that time, Pessoa had already given up the illusion to publish his works entirely hiding himself behind the masks of the heteronyms. To João Gaspar Simões he confided: ‘Não sei se alguma vez lhe disse que os heterónimos (segundo a última intenção que formei a respeito deles) devem ser por mim publicados sob o meu próprio nome (já é tarde, e portanto absurdo, para o disfarce absoluto).’¹⁹¹ Nearly twenty years had gone by since the start of his heteronym-project but in spite of Pessoa’s big plans with the heteronyms, their works never got out of the small literary circle of the Lisbon Chiado. Everybody there knew already full well about the *A Brasileira*-regular with his many alter egos. That made it ‘too late, and hence absurd, to pretend they’re completely independent.’ After the first two new *Disquiet* publications, the important literary magazine *Presença*, based in Coimbra and since 1927 one of the first intensive promoters of Pessoa’s works, published two new fragments as well. In 1930 and 1932, again with Soares presented as compiler and Pessoa as writer (and the first curiously enough not published as a fragment from ‘the’ but from ‘a’ *Book of Disquiet*). Both texts were typically Soares: introspective

my own but is a mere mutilation of it. In a letter to Adolfo Casais-Monteiro – 13 January 1935. In: (Pessoa CORR II, 346).

191 Transl.: *I don’t know if I’ve ever told you that the heteronyms (according to my final will on the matter) should be published by me under my own name (it’s too late, and hence absurd, to pretend they’re completely independent).* (Pessoa CORR II, 270). ‘(...) according to my final will on the matter’: in earlier days, most of all in the years around the conception of the three major heteronyms Caeiro, Campos and Reis in 1914, he did seem to have the intention to entirely externalize his heteronyms. In Pessoa’s own 1924 magazine *Athena* he published a vast selection of the works of his three heteronyms, completely under their own name.

with a clear but sensitive style. More magazines were interested in pages from *Disquiet* and in the years '31 and '32 another seven fragments were published, five of them in the cultural review *Descobrimento*. In November '31 Pessoa was clearly busy preparing the texts for the magazine: 'Hoje e amanhã são para mim dois dias de máquina a escrever: (...) tenho que passar a limpo vários trechos do ajudante de guarda-livros para a revista *Descobrimento*',¹⁹² he wrote to *Presença*-editor and friend João Gaspar Simões aiming at the five texts of *Disquiet* that were to be published in the third issue of the magazine. In the same letter he promised Simões as well a few texts for *Presença*: 'A colaboração, que tenciono enviar-lhe na terça-feira, é um trecho do guarda-livros, de índole diferente dos que escolhi para o *Descobrimento* (...)'¹⁹³ The text of *Disquiet* was published in *Presença* at the end of the year and is indeed a somewhat different text: it is more like an essay, in which Soares comments on characterizations of Man (by, among others, Rousseau, Carlyle and Haeckel). But it still had the same impressionistic tone as the *Descobrimientos*-fragments. In the last paragraph of the *Presença*-fragment he had written: 'A lua, grande e de um branco branco' ('The large and whitely white moon'), and wrote as an elucidation to Simões: 'A lua, no parágrafo final do guarda-livros, é de facto de "um branco branco", o que v. compreenderia, mas indico para

192 1-11-1931. Transl.: *Today and tomorrow are two typewriter-days for me: (...) I have to copy out various fragments of the assistant bookkeeper for the magazine 'Descobrimento'*. (Pessoa CORR II, 241).

193 1-11-1931. Transl.: *The contribution, that I will send to you on Tuesday, will be a text of the bookkeeper, though of different nature as what I've chosen for Descobrimento (...)*. (ibid. 242).

que o tipógrafo não me julgue dactilograficamente repetente.¹⁹⁴ Simões responded a week later by thanking Pessoa for ‘o trecho admirável de Bernardo Soares,¹⁹⁵ but did not publish it in the next edition of *Presença*. A month later he let Pessoa know: ‘Fiquei um bocado zangado consigo por ver que dá colaboração mais abundante para o *Descobrimento...*’¹⁹⁶ Pessoa: ‘Não faz mal não ter vindo na *Presença* 33 o trecho do guarda-livros ou o soneto do Álvaro de Campos; ainda bem que veio a tradução do *Hino a Pã*. (...) E porquê zangar-se comigo por ter dado ao *Descobrimento* colaboração extensa? Estou pronto a dá-la de igual extensão à *Presença*.’¹⁹⁷ Pessoa emphasized that he just didn’t want to fill the space of young poets who, according to him, should have *Presença*’s full attention. Simões published the “bookkeeper-fragment” eventually in issue 34. Both *Descobrimento* as *Presença* wanted more work by Pessoa and coincidentally both asked him for an article on Goethe. Pessoa replied to Simões of *Presença*:

‘(...) não posso fazer dois artigos sobre o assunto, e para o *Descobrimento* estava prometido. Entro assim em meandros explicativos um pouco ridículos porque não quero que vocês se melindrem comigo de qualquer

194 3-11-1931. Transl.: *The moon in the last paragraph of the bookkeeper, is in fact a “whitely white” one, what you will understand, but what I remark for the typographer who shouldn’t suspect me of having repeated myself while typing.* (Pessoa CORR II, 243).

195 11-11-1931. Transl.: *the admirable fragment of Bernardo Soares.* (ibid. 420).

196 10-12-1931.: *I was a bit mad at you when I saw that you gave a more abundant contribution to Descobrimento...* (ibid. 421).

197 11-12-1931. Transl.: *It doesn’t mind that the fragment of the bookkeeper and Campos’s sonnet didn’t make it into Presença issue 33; I was glad already that I saw the translation of Hymn for Pan. (...) Why being mad at me because of having given an extensive contribution to Descobrimento? I’m willing to give the same amount to Presença.* (ibid. 248). The poem *Hino de Pã* by Master Therion, a pseudonym of the British magician Aleister Crowley, translated by Pessoa and published, in issue 33 of *Presença*.

maneira. Demais a mais, depreendo que as relações entre a *Presença* e o *Descobrimento* são vagamente de uma cordialidade à Bernardino.¹⁹⁸

It illustrates Pessoa's reputation and maybe even popularity among these magazines, caused in these years not in the last place by his eleven Soares-publications. After June of '32, however, still more than three years to go until his death, no fragments of *Disquiet* have appeared anymore, although he kept writing on the book. The reason why Pessoa didn't want to publish more fragments, or why editors of reviews didn't want to print them, is not known. Fact is that of the nearly thirty thousand manuscripts that were hidden in his trunk on the day of his death, at least a thousand of them belonged, seem to belong or would be posthumously judged as belonging, to *Disquiet*.

§3. The autograph

Pessoa left *Disquiet* as a pile of manuscripts; some abandoned in the stage of the rough sketch, others obviously more elaborated and only twelve prepared for publication. He left us only a few sketches of the 'floor plan', as Richard Zenith remarked: a few notes Pessoa scrawled in the margin of a text on what to do with it, but most of the time in terms of doubt. At the top of a fragment he wrote for example: '(inclui Na Floresta do

198 25-5-1932. Transl.: *I can't do two articles on the subject, and I have already promised Descobrimento to do it. I came here along all these somewhat ridiculous explicative bends, because I don't want you to feel hurt by me in no way. More and more, I see that the relations between Presença and Descobrimentos are vaguely those of cordiality towards good old Bernardo.* (ibid. 266).

Alheamento?)’ and on another manuscript: ‘escrito intervalarmente e muito para emendar’.¹⁹⁹ Then there are a few longer notes, of which I have already quoted the one above on the adaptation of older fragments to the ‘new psychology of Bernardo Soares’ and the passages in letters in which he gave some clues on his plans with *Disquiet*. Furthermore he had made a first selection of texts, found in the first five folders of the archives, but over the years many more fragments of *Disquiet* came from all corners of his trunk. The best way of determining which fragments of the legacy do belong to *Disquiet*, is by first dividing all fragments explicitly marked with the ‘L. do D.’ or similar abbreviation from all not or differently marked fragments. We’ve got nearly 300 fragments that were marked explicitly ‘L. do D.’ in envelopes 1-5, 77 in envelopes 6-9 and another 13 found elsewhere in the legacy. It is absolutely certain that Pessoa destined these fragments for *Disquiet*, at least on one particular moment in the writing process. More than a hundred fragments in the first five envelopes are not or differently marked, added by another 46 in envelopes 6-9. Some of those “non-L.do D.” fragments have titles that appeared on lists and schemes, which give them credit to be included in the book. This specific amount of texts creates the frame of the book: I took the explicitly marked fragments, wherever they were found, and made them into the canon of the book. A second section of texts, with less convincing evidence of their place in *Disquiet*,

199 The first quotation is on manuscript number [7/17]. Transl.: (*Include in the Forest of Estrangement?*); the other on [2/48]. Transl.: *Written with many interruptions and much to be revised.*

consists of five manuscripts on which Pessoa expressed doubt about their attribution ('A. de C (?) ou L. do D. (ou outra coisa qualquer)')²⁰⁰ and those texts that were found in envelopes 1-5 but were not explicitly marked 'L. do D.' (Archive Edition, section 2). Finally, the unmarked fragments from the other envelopes in the legacy were collected in a separate section. The editors of *Presença* and Assírio & Alvim have added various unmarked fragments from all kinds of envelopes in the trunk that, according to them, 'smelled like' *Disquiet*. I didn't attach those to the corpus of *Disquiet* (instead, I included them –if found in the Archives²⁰¹– in section 'B' of the Archive Edition). Lists and schemes have also been included.

Among the canon-fragments one finds all kind of texts, including a few poems.²⁰² They deserve special attention, since they bring up the question whether Pessoa wanted Soares to be a poet as well. See the next fragment of a list of plans with Soares:

Bernardo Soares

Rua dos Douradores

Os trechos vários (Sinfonia de uma Noite Inquieta, Marcha Fúnebre, Na Floresta do Alheamento)

Experiências de Ultra-Sensação:

1. Chuva Oblíqua
2. Passos da Cruz

200 [1/1]. Transl.: *A. De C (?) or B. Of D. (or something else altogether)*.

201 Teresa Sobral Cunha did not publish her sources, wich made it impossible to localize all the texts she published in Pessoa's archive.

202 6 poems to be precise, on manuscript numbers [5/26], [5/59], [9/5], [9/6] and [9/8], all marked 'L. do D.'

3. Os poemas de absorção musical que incluem Rio entre Sonhos
4. Vários outros poemas que representam iguais experiências (Distinguir «em congruência com a esfinge» — se valer a pena conservá-lo — do «Em horas inda louras» meu)

Soares não é poeta. Na sua poesia é imperfeito e sem a continuidade que tem na prosa; os seus versos são o lixo da sua prosa, aparas do que escreve a valer.²⁰³

The ‘various fragments’ mentioned in the note are obviously the long titled texts from the earliest phase of the conception of *Disquiet*. But at this time, Pessoa apparently had the idea to accommodate the ‘Ultra-sensationist’ poems, contemporary to the first *Disquiet* fragments under Soares’ authorship as well. *Slanting Rain* and *Stations of the Cross* had even already been published (in 1915 and 1916) orthonymically, e.g. under Pessoa’s own name. Together with the six poems among the *Disquiet* papers, they could form a relevant section of poetry that would add certainly a new dimension

203 [144G/29], published in (Pessoa LdD-Ática, xxxix). Transl.:

Bernardo Soares

Rua dos Douradores

The various fragments (Symphony of a restless night, Funeral March, In the Forest of Estrangement)

Ultra-sensationist experiences

Slanting Rain

Stations of the Cross

The poems of musical absorption that include ‘River between dreams’

Various other poems that represent equal experiences (Make a distinction between my ‘in correspondence with the sphinx’ – if it’s worth keeping it – and ‘In still blond hours’)

Soares is not a poet. In his poetry he falls short; it isn’t sustained like his prose. His poems are the refuse of his prose, the sawdust of his first-rate work.

to the book.²⁰⁴ But, as the last paragraph of the note already reveals, Pessoa did not think much of Soares's poetical qualities. He soon reconsidered this plan therefore with the following statement:

‘Nota para as edições próprias.
(e aproveitável para o Prefácio)

Reunir, mais tarde, em um livro separado, os poemas vários que havia errada intenção de incluir no Livro do Desassossego; este livro, deve ter um título mais ou menos equivalente a dizer que contém lixo ou intervalo, ou qualquer palavra de igual afastamento.

Este livro poderá, aliás, formar parte de um definitivo de refugos, e ser o armazém publicado do impublicável que pode sobreviver como exemplo triste. Está um pouco no caso dos versos incompletos do lírico morto cedo, ou das cartas do grande escritor, mas aqui o que se fixa é não só inferior senão que é diferente, e nesta diferença consiste a razão de publicar-se pois não poderia consistir em a de se não dever publicar.²⁰⁵

The message is clear: no poems in *Disquiet*; the book would be limited

204 Richard Zenith gives on p. xxii of the Penguin edition his own views on Pessoa's motives of making Soares a poet as well.

205 [9/12] Pessoa LdD-Assírio, 504. Transl.:
*Note concerning the actual editions
(and which can be used in the preface)*

Collect later on, in a separate book, the various poems I had mistakenly thought to include in the Book of Disquiet; this book of poems should have a title indicating that it contains something like refuse or marginalia – something suggestive of detachment.

The book, furthermore, could make part of a definitive collection of dregs, the published depository of the unpublishable – allowed to survive as a sad example. It would be somewhat analogous to a book of unfinished poems by a poet who died young, or the letters of a great writer. But the book I have in mind would include material that is not only inferior but also different, and it is this difference that would justify its publication, which obviously couldn't be justified by the fact it shouldn't be published. (LdD Penguin 471).

to Soares prose. The edition of *Ática* nevertheless printed the six poems found among Soares's papers in the appendix: 'Na verdade, trata-se de "poemas" um tanto informes, de poeta incipiente ou de incerta vocação; mas, publicados aqui, em apêndice, em cumprimento do propósito (definitivo?) de Fernando Pessoa, não só o *Livro* se completa como ao leitor se facultam novas possibilidades para o jogo aliciante, interminável, numa leitura intertextual das personagens do "drama em gente".'²⁰⁶ Cunha and Zenith decided to expel the poetry from their editions.

The corpus contains other editorial indications that reveal something of the nature of the fragments concerned or Pessoa's ideas on the book in general. Some manuscripts reveal important information on the sequence of fragments: 'L. do. D. (trecho inicial)' ('B. of D. (first fragment)') was written at the top of a page from 1930 [4/38]. The fragment is a fine summary and explanation of the extreme abdication that Soares frequently preaches in the book and therefore could as well serve as the first text. Only the edition of Assírio & Alvim made this fragment the beginning of the book. There is another one [5/36] that bears a slightly different mark: "L. do D. 1st article" (partly in English). It is a typed fragment, clearly created in the book's last phase, with sharp criticism on the positivism of previous generations. The indication '1st article' remains somewhat mysterious: the

206 Transl.: *Actually, these are somewhat raw 'poems' of an imature or insecure poet; but, here published in the appendix, as the fulfillment of Fernando Pessoa's (definitive?) proposal, they do not only complete the Book, but as well give the reader new possibilities for the exciting, never-ending game of an intertextual reading of the characters within the 'drama in people'. Pessoa LdD-Ática, II-268).*

tone of the fragment indeed vaguely reminds of an essay, but everyone who is familiar with the Pessoa style of reasoning in texts that were clearly meant to be essays (such as his debut articles on a New Portuguese Poetry), knows that this particular fragment of *Disquiet* is completely different. It might be the case that Pessoa at some point wanted to make a section with articles on various subjects in *Disquiet*, but it is clear that he absolutely maintained the impressionistic, personal style of writing and reasoning of Bernardo Soares. On another manuscript one reads: ‘L. do D. (chapter on indifference or something like that)’ (again in English) [7/20], and on yet another:

‘L. do D
Uma secção intitulada: Paciências
(inclui *Na Floresta do Alheamento?*)’²⁰⁷

The note is very interesting since it not only contains another title of a possible section that Pessoa might have wanted to include in the book, but it also mentions the very first fragment of *Disquiet*. The back of the same manuscript shows a text that is indeed entitled *Paciências* and tells about nostalgic childhood memories of card playing aunts. It seems to have nothing in common with the dark forest of symbols. Richard Zenith writes: ‘Perhaps this was conceived as a mere port of entry to the section that would be exercises in daydreamy prose such as *Estrangement*, written

207 [7/17]. (Pessoa LdD-Assírio, 322). Transl.:

B. of D.

A section entitled: Games of Solitaire
(include *In the forest of estrangement?*)

by Pessoa for the same reason we play cards: to pass the time.’ (Zenith 2001, xviii). This same manuscript contains the aforementioned epigraph of Vicente Guedes, which indicates that Pessoa made attempts of rejoining the early symbolic texts and the newly written diary ones. Always doubting and always in progress, he wrote on another manuscript [4/10]: ‘(a alternção de trechos assim com os maiores?)’²⁰⁸, maybe suggesting that he considered mixing the long texts mainly written in the 1910’s with the often shorter new ones of the 1930’s. Ática followed this suggestion.

Moreover, on five fragments Pessoa put the indication ‘prefácio’ (or an abbreviation): the first text tells about the meeting with Guedes, two texts introduce Bernardo Soares (although his name is not mentioned once), the fourth discusses christianity, romanticism and paganism. The last one is a short note on dreaming and acting that as well received the predicate ‘preface’, and could actually serve as a guideline (if he had any) of the author of *Disquiet*: ‘Resulta que, como detesto ambos, não escolho nenhum; mas, como hei-de, em certa ocasião, ou sonhar ou agir, misturo uma coisa com outra.’²⁰⁹ Besides several initial texts, a closing fragment was also found: ‘L. do Desassocego – Fim (ultimo trecho)’ (*B.of Disquietude* –

208 Transl.: (*Alternate fragments like these with the longer ones?*)

209 Resp. [6/3], [6/1], [7/21], [7/16], [5/29] (Pessoa LdD-Assírio, 491, 39, 40, 85, 47). The Ática edition did not include the fragments [6/3] and [7/21], and published only [6/1] at the beginning. Presença included three of them at the beginning of its first volume ([6/1], [6/3], [7/21]) and two of them at the beginning of the second volume ([5/29], [7/16]). Assírio & Alvim published [6/1] and [7/21] as a preface at the beginning of the edition, included the preface on Guedes [6/3] in the appendix and published the other among the other fragments.

Transl.: *Detesting both, I choose neither, but since I must on occasion either dream or act, I mix the two things together.* (Pessoa LdD-Assírio, 47)

End (Final fragment)'), by all editors recognized as the final part of a text called *Peristyle*.²¹⁰

§4. Dates

Only four fragments written in the first period of the writing process (1913-1920) have dates, while 113 fragments of the second phase (1929-1934) have dates. On the basis of stylistic differences one can more or less make a distinction between texts from the first and the second phase. Most of the time, that is, because some fragments may seem to have been written in the 1910's because of their symbolist atmospheres and sonorous tone but actually come from the 1930's. Such is the matter with manuscript [2/22] that resembles the oldest fragments, but is dated 28/11/1932. And then, we have already seen that some texts of Guedes, mostly written in the second half of the 1910's sometimes bear close resemblance to the things Soares wrote almost fifteen years later. This makes a definitive chronological sequence of the fragments almost impossible. In the 2010 critical edition, Jerónimo Pizarro nevertheless tried to put a date on all texts. He identified many types of paper, watermarks and other characteristics of the documents to situate them in time. This seems to result in a fairly reliable chronology of the manuscripts. Although he admits that this chronology is a 'proposta como

²¹⁰ [9/40] published in (Pessoa LdD-Assírio, 474), (Pessoa LdD-Presença I, 72). Assírio and Presença indeed published the fragment as the last paragraphs of *Peristyle*, but in (Pessoa LdD-Ática, 277) the fragments is followed by a short paragraph belonging to the same text (fragment 250).

hipótese de trabalho (toda edição é uma hipótese de trabalho)²¹¹, the table with manuscripts and their (supposed) dates shows its weakness in one glimp: Pizarro was able to put a hypothetical date to only 27 of the undated fragments and to determine in 22 cases that a text was written at least before or after a certain date. In 312 cases the date is purely hypothetical: because many texts dated by Pessoa in 1931 were written on paper with the watermark 'Grahams Bond Registered,' Pizarro concluded that all undated texts written on this paper must have been written in 1931. This is at most *highly probable*, but offers no certainties for the establishment of a basis text. Because seven fragments dated in 1930 were written on the back of copies of Pessoa's pamphlet *Sobre um manifesto de estudantes*, Pizarro concluded that 8 other undated texts written on the back of this pamphlet were dated in 1930 as well. Very likely indeed, but *Sobre um manifesto de estudantes* was printed in 1923, which provides us with the only certainty that the texts were written *after 1923*. If 70% of the fragments that Pizarro included in his version of the book actually were conjecturally dated, there is no solid ground for choosing chronology as the guiding principle of the basis text.

§5 Variants: alternative words and phrasings

About half of the manuscripts belonging to the canon were handwritten and half of them were typed. The impressionistic fragments from the

211 (Pizarro 2010, 517). Transl.: *a proposal for a working hypothesis (each edition is a working hypothesis)*.

first period were often handwritten and most disorderly, Soares's often typed diary fragments were more neat, but even these contain additions, substitutions, alternate wordings and corrections. The manuscripts in the canon contain over 400 alternate words or phrasings, resulting in a staggering total of well over 700 after inclusion of the 300 alternates on the manuscripts in other sections of the facsimile. '(...) there is much to be revised and restructured,' Pessoa acknowledged in his letter to Simões, but after having seen its manuscripts, this appears to be a blunt understatement: pen strokes indicate the insertion of sentences written in the margin, paragraphs were disorderly placed all over the page and sometimes up to three alternative wordings were written between the lines. As we've seen in the discussion of the Campos-controversy, especially these alternatives cause difficulties: after all, which one should we choose? Most of the editors have maintained the original word and moved the alternative(s) to foot- or endnotes. Making your own pick out of the given alternatives is tempting but because of the occasionally big differences between originals and alternatives, a risky affair: 'saiba eu tirar *a alma* de novos versos' or 'saiba eu tirar *a corola esquecida* de novos versos' [9/40]? 'e eu morrerei em *mim a tua* vida' or 'e eu morrerei em *ti a minha* vida' [9/31]? 'um homem *com* dor de dentes' or 'um homem *não com* dor de dentes' [1/25]? 'Ouvir *Deus*' or 'Ouvir *as horas*' [9/26]?²¹²

212 Transl.: [9/40] 'May I extract the *soul* of new verses' or 'the *forgotten crown* of new verses'; [9/31] 'And I will die *my* life in *you*' or 'And I will die *your* life in *me*'; [1/25] 'a man *with* a tootache' or '(...)to that of a man *without* a tootache'; [9/26] 'Let us hear *God*' or 'Let us hear *the hours*.'

Among the papers of *Disquiet* one finds a few draft versions of fragments that were copied out, maybe as a preparation for publication.²¹³ Like all other fragments the drafts are full of corrections and alternatives in contrast with the copies. They show us which choices Pessoa made while editing these drafts. First, the edited texts often contain corrections that were not yet indicated on the draft, and second, the majority of alternatives or corrections written between the lines or in the margin of the oldest version usually is included in the definitive text. In the nine manuscripts indicated in footnote 213, I found 46 corrections and/or alternatives, of which 37 have been adopted in the edited copies, and 9 have been ignored. It proves that most of the time Pessoa himself chose the alternative at the expense of the original words used. I, however, also found 28 corrections that were “new”, that is to say: not yet made on the drafts. This means that Pessoa, if he had been the one who edited his own texts, often would have found new formulations to correct his drafts. Still, given the fact that he adopted so many of his alternative wordings in the copies, there is a good case for inclusion of the alternatives in the body of the text and the original wordings in footnotes.

In many cases the alternatives were mere synonyms of the original words (‘O ar é de um amarelo escondido<oculto>[↑]’ [5/62]), had a mere grammatical character (‘à substancia de que o nosso espirito era <é>[↑] feito!’ [5/69]), or specified a certain formulation (‘para o fundo

213 [1/79], [1/88], [3/85], [4/3], [4/5], [4/8], [4/14], [4/17], [5/14]: look at these ms-numbers in appendix 1 for comparisons with corresponding typed copies.

na rua<calçada>[↑] [5/34]’).²¹⁴ They certainly do reveal something on the way Pessoa worked. Look for example at a small alternative phrasing as the next one: ‘O peso de sentir! O peso de ter *que/de* sentir!’ [3/48].²¹⁵ The only reason imaginable why Pessoa did add this minor variation – maybe besides being incurably indecisive – can only be a poetic one: the use of ‘de’ in the second sentence (instead of ‘que’) forms, because of the repetition of the previous sentence, a sort of slightly changed mirror-image. It’s only the word ‘ter’ that makes the second sentence differ from the first, and as such emphasizes the subtle change. The sentence ‘(...) pelas horas fora, o chiar da chuva baixou’ [5/34]²¹⁶ (underlinements by Pessoa), indicates that he was concerned with the poetic quality, in this case with the sound of his prose. The repetitive sounds of the ‘ch’-sound in Portuguese, are a nice auditive illustration of this text which is completely preoccupied with sounds. For the sentence ‘Na verdade e no erro, no gozo e no mal-estar, sê o teu’, he gave the alternative ‘Na verdade e no erro, no dor e no bem-estar, sê o teu’²¹⁷, maybe because the second variant forms a nice chiasm with the first part of the sentence. Some words or notions keep popping up in the lists of alternatives, clearly lacking a fixed meaning for Pessoa, such as ‘soul’: ‘passando-o para a nossa alma<pensamento>[↑]’ [4/83]; ‘ao colo da minha alma<ternura>[↓]’ [94/75]; ‘como as nossas almas (como as nossas

214 Transl.: [5/62] The air is of a hidden<occult>[↑] yellow; [5/69] the substance of which our spirit was<is>[↑] made; [5/34] at the far end of the street <pavement>[↑].

215 Transl.: *The burden to feel! The burden of having to/having to feel!*

216 Transl.: [5/34] *Hour after hour, the patter of the rain rained down.*

217 Transl.: [5/5] ‘Right or wrong, *in joy* and *in discomfort*, be your own self’ and ‘Right or wrong, *in pain* and *in pleasure*, be your own self’.

idéas <d'elles) (como o nosso olhar)>[↓]' [94/93]; 'um não poder respirar com a alma<sentirmo-nos>[↑]' [3/13]; 'Reformar é não ter emenda possível <alma para ser>[↓]' [2/33].²¹⁸ In one of the cases an alternative even sheds a new light on a notion:

'Toda a história pregressa dessa cidade voa em torno à lâmpada do meu sonho como uma borboleta apenas ouvida na penumbra do<a>[↑] quarto<alcova>[↑]<salla>[↓]<alcova<(alma)>[↑] que a escuta>[→]'.²¹⁹

The interesting thing about this alternative is the fact that 'soul' here is given as an explanation for 'alcove', a word that is very important in the long text *In the forest of Estrangement*. In that story the alcove of the protagonist's room is the entrance to a spherical world of dreams that conflicts with the alcove from daily reality. The alternative in the quoted text could support the hypothesis that the alcove is a metaphor for the protagonist's soul.

There are hundreds of other, less significant alternatives, which are nevertheless very curious and sometimes entertaining: 'Passeio como um caixeiro liberto' alternates with 'Passeio como um caixeiro liberto sem mulher'[3/7]; 'os credulos de Mahomet' alternates with 'os credulos

218 Transl.: [4/83] place him in our soul/<thinking>[↑]; [94/75] the bosom of my soul<tenderness>[↓]; [94/93] the things we dream have, like our souls(like our ideas <of them) (like our view)>[↓]; [3/13] a shortness of breath in our soul <feeling ourselves>[↑]; [2/33] To reform is to be beyond repair < to lack the soul to be >[↓]

219 Transl.: *The entire history of this city circles around the light bulb of my dream like a scarcely audible moth in the penumbra of my room <alcove>[↑]<chamber>[↓]<alcove<(soul)>[↑] that listens>[→].*

de Christo' [5/15]. And in the next sentence: 'Quantos<E quantos>[↑] Verlaines <Horacios>[↑] fui!' [2/21], Soares seems to pretend as if the two millenniums between these authors in no way require a clear choice between the two.²²⁰ The alternatives, given their sometimes antithetical or at least paradoxical meanings, have an air of arbitrariness. The message they spread among their readers is one of "anything goes". Nothing is certain, not even the words that are telling you that.

§6. Transcriptions

Not only these 700 alternatives for words or phrases make this text unstable and uncertain, giving the impression that everything is replaceable, but also his handwriting contributes to the uncertainties. First of all, Pessoa used a symbol to express his own doubt concerning a certain word or phrase: he underlined words and then put in the middle a little vertical line. Sometimes this symbol even was used for a few sentences or a whole paragraph; then put in the margin as a longer vertical line covering the sentences concerned, added by a little horizontal line. The vertical variant looks like this: †. Often words with alternatives or corrections had a doubt-symbol as well, but many times only the †-sign appears on the manuscript without any corrections or alternatives present. Pessoa probably wanted to revise those lines at a later moment. The editions published by Ática,

220 Transl.: [3/7] I walk like a *liberated shop assistant* / I walk like a *shop assistant without a wife*.; [5/15] The credulous of *Mohammed* / The credulous of *Christ*; [2/21] How many *Verlaines/Horaces* I've been!

Presença and INCM included the sign by putting the marked words between slashes ('/ ... /').²²¹ Assírio & Alvim did not indicate the authorial doubt.

When it comes to the handwriting we can at least state that it is quite illegible, given the fact that even trained transcribers still haven't succeeded in deciphering all of it. There exist many differences between the main four readings of handwritten words and phrases. I counted over 500 differences between the five editions, without counting the differences in punctuation. First we may discern the differences concerning order. I don't mean the order of fragments, which, as I've discussed earlier, is the rule rather than the exception, but the order of paragraphs within one fragment. In cases of highly disorderly fragments, paragraphs are written in all directions, on the front and on the back of a piece of paper, spread over the entire page, connected with arrows or pen strokes or without giving any clue on how to read them at all. It might happen that in these cases editors have different opinions on how to read the text. Manuscript [1/78] is an example of such chaos. It shows lines, pen strokes, paragraphs here and there, even the †-sign, put along the left margin of a paragraph, in this way casting doubt on the entire text on the back of the manuscript. On the front one reads at the top of the page the following sentence that can be considered to be the first paragraph: 'Alastra ante meus olhos saudosos a cidade incerta e silente.'²²² Notice that these lines were marked with the †-sign. A second

221 In the 2008 Relógio-edition of *Disquiet*, Teresa Sobral Cunha did not indicate the doubted passages anymore.

222 [1/78]. Transl. *The silent, hazy city spreads out before my wistful eyes.*

paragraph follows, in which two alternatives are written between the lines (line 6 and 7), a pen stroke makes clear that a short sentence written below the paragraph needs to be inserted somewhere in line 8, the word 'vejo' in line 10 was underlined with the | -sign and another pen stroke refers to a word below the paragraph that has to substitute a crossed out word in line 13. The text continues in the left corner at the bottom of the page (paragraph 3) and moves on to the left margin in which the fourth paragraph was penned. In the left upper corner one can discern the words 'Durmo ou desperto?' (*Am I asleep or awake?*). On the back, finally, one finds a quite straightforward paragraph, written from the top to the bottom, without alternatives, strokes or corrections, except for the | -sign in the margin, indicating that Pessoa wasn't quite sure on this one.

The Ática-edition opens with the first sentence of the front of the manuscript, follows the described route along all paragraphs and ends on the back. The alternative was neatly included in a note, the addition was added and the | -words were put between slashes. The Presença-edition, however, starts with the paragraph one on the back and then goes on with the front, while Assírio & Alvim returns to the original order by starting on the front and proceeding to the back. Something strange happened with the paragraph in the left margin: both Ática as Presença have interpreted the word 'Durmo' as the beginning of this paragraph and the word 'Disperto' as an alternative for 'durmo'. In their editions the fourth paragraph therefore begins as follows: 'Durmo e nem brisa, nem

gente interrompe o que não penso.’²²³ In Assírio & Alvim, however, the words ‘Durmo e Disperto?’ were interpreted as a small sentence (it has after all a quotation mark) and were stuck to the end of the paragraph as closing question (probably reasoning that Pessoa didn’t have any space left in the margin and went on writing in the upper left corner). Here the first sentence reads: ‘Nem brisa, nem gente interrompe o que não penso.’²²⁴ What automatically follows is that the end of the paragraph is different as well. In *Ática* and *Presença* the end reads only: ‘Ouço a minha respiração’ (‘I hear my breathing’), but the paragraph in Assírio ended with: ‘Durmo e Disperto?’ (‘Am I asleep or awake?’).²²⁵ The paragraph on the back was transcribed quite homogenously, except for the last sentence. *Ática*: ‘o privilegio de deveres cedidos, e, na ultima curva do parque avoengo, o outro sonho [?] como um roseiral.’²²⁶ *Presença* has corrected the reading of the word ‘sonho’ (which the editor of *Ática* printed with a question mark as a sign of conjectural reading): “o privilégio de deveres cedidos, e, na última curva do parque avoengo, o outro século como um roseiral.”²²⁷ Assírio & Alvim and INCM have adopted this improvement.

223 Transl.: *I am asleep and no breeze, no person interrupts what I’m not thinking.* (Pessoa LdD-*Ática* I, 157) / (LdD-*Presença* I, 202).

224 Transl.: *No breeze, no person interrupts what I’m not thinking.* (LdD-Assírio, 417)

225 (LdD EC) accepted the reading of Assírio & Alvim. In the 8th print of the Assírio & Alvim-edition, Zenith put a comma behind *Durmo*: ‘*Durmo, ou desperto?*’. Pizarro did not print the comma.

226 Transl.: *the privilege of abandoned duties, and – around the last bend in the ancestral park – that other dream [?] like a rose garden.* (LdD-*Ática*, 158).

227 Transl.: *the privilege of abandoned duties, and – around the last bend in the ancestral park – that other century like a rose garden.* (LdD-*Presença* I, 202).

As the short analysis of this manuscript shows, there can be many elements in which the five available editions differ. Not only the sequence of fragments, but also the sequence of paragraphs within the fragments, the choice of alternatives and varying transcriptions can make the same fragment in three editions fairly different. It is clear that the interpretation of fragments will be affected by the way they were presented, especially in the case of different transcriptions. At the same time: the various transcriptions will improve our comprehension of the fragments because a new transcription often corrects its predecessor(s). Presença has improved the initial transcription of the manuscripts of *Disquiet* remarkably:

‘Penso às vezes no bello que seria poder, [...] os meus sonhos’ [4/85], transcribed Ática, not succeeding in deciphering what would be so wonderful. Presença: ‘Penso às vezes no belo que seria poder, unificando os meus sonhos’, thereby providing important insight into the theme of (unifying) the dreams in *Disquiet*. ‘Sinto me materia morta, *calix* na chuva’ [5/2] transcribed Ática. Presença: ‘sinto me, matéria morta, caído na chuva.’²²⁸

Some fragments in the first edition of *Disquiet* were a bit puzzling:

‘[...] Tenho uma grande indiferença pela obra d’elle. Já o vi... Nunca pude admirar um poeta que me foi possível ver.’²²⁹

228 Transl.: [4/85] Ática: *Sometimes I muse about how wonderful it would be, [...] my dreams.* Presença: *Sometimes I muse about how wonderful it would be, string together my dreams.* Assírio & Alvim and INCM adopted the Presença transcription.

[5/2] Ática: *I feel like dead matter, a glass in the rain.* Presença: *I feel like dead matter, fallen in the rain.* Assírio & Alvim and INCM adopted the Presença transcription.

229 [5/41] Transl.: [...] *I feel a big indifference towards his work. I have seen him already... I never succeeded in admiring a poet that I was able to see.* This fragment was initially included in the Assírio & Alvim edition, as *Apontamento 17*, but was excluded

Who was he talking about? The '[...]' indicates that the editors of *Ática* didn't succeed in deciphering the name. Presença did: Guerra Junqueiro (1850-1923), author of initially revolutionary and later lyrical poetry, and on many occasions praised by Pessoa. Another mystery was the next sentence: 'Amei, como Shelley, [...] antes que o tempo fosse' [4/20].²³⁰ Who did he love? This time Assírio & Alvim found the name: Antígona, the heroin of Sophocles's tragedy, on whom Shelley wrote (and Pessoa is referring to this): "Some of us have, in a prior existence, been in love with an Antigone, and that makes us find no full content in any mortal tie."²³¹ There is another one that is cleared up in Assírio & Alvim. 'ele diz que sobre ele desceu o fruto do espírito como sendo "a consciência da consciência"', both *Ática* as Presença transcribed. Assírio & Alvim corrected the phrase: 'ele diz que Scherer lhe descreveu o fruto do espírito como sendo, "a consciência da consciência".²³² Schérer was a French critic and friend of Henry-Frédéric Amiel of whom Pessoa was a great admirer and to whose works he alludes various times in *Disquiet*.

Sometimes the full transcription of a sentence only slowly came into being after three editors had rack their brains over that:

in the 8th edition. INCM did not include this fragment, but cites it in an appendix (LdD EC 680).

230 [4/20] Transl.: *I loved, like Shelley, [...] before time was.*

231 The transcription can only be found in Pessoa(1998; Assírio), p. 517 – from the fourth edition on. INCM adopted this transcription, Relógio d'Água 2008 did not.

232 [5/46] Transl. *Ática/Presença: When I came to the passage where he says that the fruit of the mind came over him as 'the consciousness of consciousness'(...). Assírio & Alvim: When I came to the passage where he says that Scherer described the fruit of the mind as 'the consciousness of consciousness'(...)* INCM adopted this transcription, Relógio d'Água 2008 did not.

Ática: “Como está [...]” commenta estatisticamente.’

Presença: “Como está só me lembra [...]” comenta estatisticamente.’

Assírio & Alvim: “Como está só me lembra de uma,” comenta estatisticamente.’²³³

In other cases the most recent edition corrected previous readings, which sometimes already became popular quotations: ‘Sou a cena *viva* onde passam vários actores representando várias peças’ (Ática/Presença), turns out to be according to Assírio & Alvim: ‘Sou a cena *nua* onde passam vários actores representando várias peças.’ Teresa Rita Lopes transcribed this sentence as: ‘Sou a cena *única* onde passam vários actores...’²³⁴ In these kinds of phrases the differences between transcriptions affect meaning and interpretation. Some misreadings touch the essence of the book. ‘De resto eu não sonho, eu não vivo, *salvo* a vida real,’ [9/46] one reads in Ática and Presença. In Assírio & Alvim, however: ‘De resto eu não sonho, eu não vivo; *sonho* a vida real.’²³⁵

In Presença one reads about Vicente Guedes: ‘Nunca encontrei alma, de

233 [3/30] Transl.: Ática: ‘Like this [...]’, he statistically remarked. Presença: ‘Like this, I can only remember [...]’, he statistically remarked. Assírio & Alvim: ‘Like this, I can only remember one other’, he statistically remarked. INCM adopted the Assírio & Alvim-transcription.

234 [5/74] Transl.: ‘I am the *lively* stage where various actors act out various plays’ (Ática/Presença). I am the *empty* stage where various actors act out various plays. (Assírio & Alvim). I am the *unique* stage where various actors act out various plays. In: (Pessoa Notas 13). INCM adopted the transcription of Assírio & Alvim, Relógio d’Água 2008 stuck to the original Ática transcription.

235 Transl.: [9/46] And I don’t dream, I don’t live, *except for* real life (Ática/ Presença), And I don’t dream, I don’t live, *I dream* real life (Assírio & Alvim). INCM adopted the Assírio & Alvim-transcription.

quem *posuísse* tanto’ [6/3]. Assírio & Alvim: ‘Nunca encontrei alma, de quem *pasmasse* tanto.’²³⁶ Ática: ‘as linhas pérfidas de uma prosa impura de ser ouvida’ [9/40], became in Presença: ‘as linhas pérfidas de uma prosa virgem de ser ouvida.’²³⁷

Another interesting example of how a passage can change when transcribed by various persons is the following passage, first in the version by Ática and Presença:

‘Uns governam o mundo, outros são o mundo. Entre um milionário americano, com bens na Inglaterra, ou Suíça, e o chefe socialista da aldeia - não há diferença de qualidade mas apenas de quantidade.’ [1/64].

This is the version in Assírio & Alvim:

‘Uns governam o mundo, outros são o mundo. Entre um milionário americano, um César ou Napoleão, ou Lenine, e o chefe socialista da aldeia - não há diferença de qualidade mas apenas de quantidade.’²³⁸

The handwriting on this particular manuscript is so unclear that out of

236 [6/3]. Transl.: I’ve never known another soul that *possessed* me more. (Ática/ Presença). I’ve never known another soul that *startled* me more. (Assírio & Alvim). INCM adopted the Assírio & Alvim-transcription.

237 [9/40]. Transl.: *the perfidious lines of a prose impure to human ears!* (Ática) *the perfidious lines of a prose still virgin to human ears!* (Presença). Assírio & Alvim and INCM adopted this reading.

238 [1/64] Transl.: Some govern the world, others are the world. Between an American millionaire, *with credits in England or Switzerland* and the Socialist leader of a small town, there’s a difference in quantity but not in quality.’ (Ática/Presença). Some govern the world, others are the world. Between an American millionaire, *a Caesar or Napoleon, or Lenin*, and the Socialist leader of a small town, there’s a difference in quantity but not in quality. (Assírio & Alvim). INCM adopted this transcription. Relógio d’Água 2008 did not adopt this transcription.

the English and Swiss credits of an American millionaire easily a Caesar, Napoleon and Lenin can be made. In terms of transcriptions the critical edition published by INCM did not attribute much to what already had been corrected in previous editions by Relógio d'Água and Assírio & Alvim. What's more: the critical apparatus of a critical edition is supposed to log all differences with previous transcriptions. This apparatus is incomplete. The archive edition and the inclusive apparatus that I prepared for this thesis contains over 250 references that were not included in the critical edition. I indicated them with an asterisk.

Conclusion

Disquiet presents us with a series of fragments, published *tant bien que mal* on the basis of an autograph that gives rise to many questions and doubts. Any edition of *Disquiet* faces us with various levels of insecurity. First the insecurity concerning the book as a whole: which fragments do belong to it, which guidelines should be used to determine the canon, and, if we have succeeded in doing that, in what order should the fragments be presented? Secondly, the insecurities on the level of the fragments themselves: in what sequence should paragraphs be published? And what if fragments attributed to *Disquiet* were at the same time attributed to one or more other projects? Finally, the level of words and phrases: what should we do with the many alternatives written in brackets or between the lines? Which ones should be published? And how to transcribe hardly legible handwritings of words or phrases?

We've seen that Pessoa marked a great deal of the fragments he wrote for this book, with the abbreviation 'L. do D.'. These marked fragments can perfectly serve as the canon of this book because Pessoa at one point in the writing process destined them to be for *Disquiet*. This can't be said of those unmarked texts (depending on which edition one uses), even those that belonged to the so called Big Envelope that Pessoa supposedly had stuffed with texts for *Disquiet*. Since the envelope has been lost and the relocation of the manuscripts in the late sixties by a group of academics was carelessly done, the unmarked manuscripts don't have the same probability of belonging to *Disquiet* as the marked ones. The canon, now consisting of all marked fragments, can be added by texts with titles that appeared on lists and schemes that outlined *Disquiet*.

The sequence in which the fragments should be presented remains problematic, since Pessoa did not leave many clues on that matter. The best way of approach is to read the texts at random. The autograph however contains a few notes or remarks that reveal some of Pessoa's ideas on publishing *Disquiet*. They show his trouble in deciding whether or not to include poetry, his struggle with the order and selection of fragments and his doubts concerning the attribution of fragments. And then we found the many alternatives: we have reasons to choose for the alternative wordings and phrasings and add the originals in footnotes. In case of the few fragments that Pessoa himself had corrected, he often chose for the alternative words that he added between the lines or in the margins of the draft. Since we know from other texts (and here I recall the polemics

between the editors of Campos's poetry) that Pessoa predominantly preferred his original wordings, no decisive evidence can be drawn. In my transcriptions I avoided a choice and presented all alternatives in diacritical signs.

The alternatives give us a clue on how Pessoa worked: we can distinguish stylistically/poetically and thematically inspired alternatives. Especially those words that contain thematically inspired alternatives give the impression that on a semantic level "anything goes". On the level of the physical manuscripts, i.e. the hardly legible handwriting, one might be on the verge of despair and draw the same conclusion: anything goes, what you want to read is what you read. The handwriting gives rise to very divergent transcriptions. Each editor, thus unconsciously expressing perfectly the never-ending disquiet that Pessoa had laid down consciously in the themes of his writing, read many words or parts of phrases completely differently than his or her colleagues.

All these genetic characteristics nowadays make part of interpretations of the book. In the second part of this thesis I will focus on frequently returning themes and motives, and respond to the question to what extent the "anything goes"-impression, stemming from the state in which the manuscripts were found, are present in the ideas expressed by Bernardo Soares. In many, many fragments, all kinds of styles and various characters, Pessoa seemed to try to capture the soul of a restless man in a book. A book it never came to be. It is a collage of fragments, an *in media res* closed down work in progress, a never ending story of writing and rewriting, vision and

revision. With all its uncertainties, many alternative ways of reading, let alone the many ways of understanding its fragments, the *Book of Disquiet* exposes itself at the same time as its own denial as well as its outspoken self-realization.

Part II

Disquiet



Es zerfiel mir alles in Teile, die Teile wieder in Teile, und nichts mehr ließ sich mit einem Begriff umspannen.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal

Chapter 1

Work, Text, Fragment? The crisis of the book.

§1. Livro: fragment and codex

Genetic criticism showed that *Disquiet* was left by Pessoa as a bunch of loose fragments, a never ended work in progress, a kaleidoscope of literary fiction, solely held together by the ominous title of this project: ‘Book of Disquiet.’ In nearly every ‘trecho’ of *Disquiet* Pessoa leaves no doubt about the fictive nature of the project: this wasn’t purely a ‘journal intime’, this is a narrative is starred by the fictive protagonist Bernardo Soares, located in the Rua dos Douradores (where Pessoa himself never worked nor lived) and the many pages of the ‘autobiografia sem factos’ (‘autobiography without facts’) that he produced, all had the covering title ‘Book of Disquiet.’ If we want to pursue any hermeneutic path for this work, we first need to clarify the significance of that title.

There are actually two notions of “book” at stake. The first notion describes the book as an artefact that contains texts and embraces them between covers. Numerous editors and publishers have given material dimensions to Pessoa’s fiction, in such a way that the ‘book’ finally became a book, readable for audiences. The other one is the notion of ‘book’ that features in the title Pessoa chose for these texts. This notion doesn’t refer to any artefact at all. This book has as a matter of fact never been realized, nor by

Pessoa, nor by his editors. It exists only in this title, or, at most, only as an idea. These two notions of 'book' correspond to the binary opposition of 'text' versus 'work.' Text in this respect refers to a manuscript, the physical document left by Pessoa, whereas work refers to what we (readers, critics, scholars) make of these texts by calling it a work of art: 'Literary works do not exist on paper or in sounds. Whatever concept of authorship one subscribes to, the act of reading or listening to receive a message from the past entails the effort to discover, through the text (or texts) one is presented with, the work that lies behind.' (Tanselle 1989, 18). Peter Schillingburg claimed that the material text is not identical with, but merely a representation of the work (Van Hulle 42). Jerome McGann understood the text as 'a material event or set of events, a point in time (or a moment in space) where certain communicative interchanges are being practiced' and the work as 'a series of specific "texts", a series of specific arts of production, and the entire process which both of these series constitute.' (McGann 1985, 52). A clear example of the opposition, given by Van Hulle, is Richard Bentley's statement that no matter how many changes, variants and corrections were found over the years for the Greek New Testament (i.e. in the *texts*), the 'essential nature and meaning' of the Bible remained unchanged: 'We recognize the Bible when we see it, and we know at least in essential what it means.' (Van Hulle 38). The genetic critical study of *Disquiet* showed that many issues of ordering, transcribing and the choice for variants remain quite uncertain and to a large extent dependent on the subjective choice of the editor. That is something quite different from

what Aristotle formulated as the ‘*ergon*’ (work), from which the European notion of ‘work’ originated, by claiming that ‘hier ist nichts wegzunehmen und nichts hinzufügen.’¹ I collected some 500 textual differences between the five editions of *Disquiet*, which means that words or sentences on every single page differ from the same passage in (one of) the other publications. And still all five editions claim to be the *Book of Disquiet*. We are able to buy and read one of the three editions and formulate opinions on it, in other words: we seem to know what it means. *Disquiet* exists as a material book through textual scholarship, but the book is a work of art irrespectively of the editor that has compiled the book and the edition we choose to read. Genetic criticism therefore forces us to distinguish clearly between the series of texts that was used to publish *Disquiet* as a material artefact and the work of art with the title *Book of Disquiet*. *Disquiet*, like many other modern works of art, moved away from the classic notion of the work as “monumental”, “stable” and “finished” to a notion that is better described with adjectives like “unstable”, “fluid”, “open” and “unfinished.” The avant-texte shows that any effort to permanently fix the text, which for centuries had been the main aim of textual scholarship, is in this case doomed to fail: although every word in *Disquiet* that you read was, at least to the conviction of its various editors, written by Pessoa, who even gave the predicate ‘book’ to it, the book in the form we’re reading it actually never existed prior to its publication. This opposition between the elements that permit editors to

¹ Cf. Aristoteles. *Nikomachische ethik*. Übers. und kommentiert von Franz Dirlmeier. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1991, 8, 1050a21f.

publish this book as a book and the literary work that it became, remains of importance in every single hermeneutic statement that we make. One of the fragments shows a significant correction: 'A minha obra é a minha cobardia' ('My work is my cowardice'), Pessoa initially typed.² He later crossed out the words 'A minha obra' ('My work') and replaced it with 'Este livro' ('This book'); not the *work* but the *book* is at stake.

For such a multistranded and changing book, it is important to consider the manuscripts. They are not merely the origin of a reading text, but actually show the core of a work like *Disquiet*. They are not *the sources for Disquiet*, they *are Disquiet*. Pessoa's practice of writing on loose papers, notes, pages in notebooks or old envelopes, adding interlinear corrections, assigning with various heteronymical names, and especially his tendency to not finish and publish his works, does oppose each attribute that the notion "book" implies. For centuries the majority of readers and textual scholars took for granted that books were linear, bounded and fixed. And still nowadays, in times of hypertext, blogs and flash-effects, these classic attributes dominate the book market, even in case of a work that actually denied them. In spite of its complicated nature, Pessoa's works never really led to a conflict with the traditional notion of the book as artefact, mainly because the commercial market isn't open yet for many other forms of books. Apart from being a material realization of a 'non-book', as Richard Zenith has labelled it, *Disquiet* also is a reflection on editing and publishing

2 (E3 [1/14]). (LdD Assirio 152, 174).

fragmentary literature. It shows all elements of the process of *becoming* instead of *being* a book.

Next to this opposition between the work in progress and the work as a complete 'ergon,' I want to point out that there is another way of approaching *Disquiet*, this time without ending up with the conclusion of it being a 'non-book.' Genetic criticism has not only shown us that Pessoa's texts never reached completion, it showed as well that the progress and infinite movement was continuously driven, maybe hope against hope, by Pessoa's determined ambition of writing this book. I am not so much interested in speculating about the author's intentions, as in pointing out that, even though the posthumous publications were the responsibility of the editors, the whole idea of writing this literary monstrum, of course, was Pessoa's. A book like *Páginas íntimas e de auto-interpretação*, a famous and important title on Pessoa's bibliography, was entirely the idea of editors and publishers. They took all kinds of texts that fitted the idea of intimate writing, compiled them in a book and came up with this title for it. From this perspective *Páginas íntimas...* is more of a 'non-book' than *Disquiet* is. Considering the fact that Pessoa nurtured *Disquiet* (unlike many other projects) a great part of his life, and kept guiding the project into new directions, whether this be the invention of a new heteronymic author for it or the application of an amalgam of literary forms, we could also claim that this book was to become, and maybe in all its elusiveness *has* become, a true book and maybe even a *too-much-of-a-book*. We should bring Mallarmé's *Le Livre* into remembrance here, his Grand Oeuvre, a

book that at the same time was all encompassing and never realised nor realizable. On the Mallarmean issue, I quote Daniel Moutote:

“Il est deux modèles du Livre: le volumen et le codex. Le premier, global et duratif, est par excellence le modèle du Livre Saint: la Bible. Il déroule l’histoire total de l’Alliance et le prêtre le déroule devant le peuple de Dieu. Le second est le modèle de l’infolio: il analyse tout ce qui se détaille dans l’existence humaine et autorise un classement par la numérotation de ses éléments. Mallarmé a vu en lui le modèle du livre moderne, propre à la manifestation et, par la combinatoire qu’il permet de ses feuillets, à la transmission vive et particulière des instants de l’acte poétique.”³

The difficulties concerning Mallarmé’s (and Pessoa’s) use of the notion ‘book’ arises from these two different concepts, similar to the binary opposition of artefact versus work that we have discussed earlier. (Buescu 2003, 48). The volumen, in Moutote’s analysis attached to the Holy Book that with its attributed pretensions of being comprehensive, sustainable and divine, set a paradigm that we can apply to what we nowadays could call “the classic work”. The other one, being comprehensive as well but by zooming in on everything that in detail occurs in human existence and permitting classifications, numbered lists, let’s say encyclopaedic features,

3 Transl.: *There are two models of the Book: the ‘volumen’ and the ‘codex’. The first, comprehensive and durative, is the model par excellence of the Holy Book: the Bible. He unrolls the whole history of the Alliance and the priest unrolls it before the people of God. The second is the model of the ‘Infolio’: it analyzes everything that is present in human existence and allows a classification by the numbering of its elements. Mallarmé saw in this the model of the modern book, inherent to its manifestation, and, because it allows a combination of its pages, to a living and particular transmission of the moments of poetic creation.* Moutote, Daniel. *Maîtres Livres de Notre Temps. Postérité du ‘Livre’ de Mallarmé.* Paris: Corti, 1988; 9. As quoted in (Buescu 2003, 48)

has, like Mallarmé's utopian modern book, much more in common with *Disquiet* than the volumen. The opposition also reminds one of Deleuze's distinction between the Logos and the Anti-Logos. In his essay *Proust and Signs* Deleuze understands Logos – and I paraphrase – as the thought of the dominant Western philosophical tradition, that presumes a Whole to which the separate parts belong and that presumes a universal truth in need of deciphering. In Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu* Deleuze recognizes most of all an Anti-Logos; there exists no absolute truth that the protagonist is bound to discover and there is no whole that can be formed out of the various parts. The only thing that does exist is an infinite amount of signs that can be subject to attempts of interpretation, explanation, development, deciphering and translation (Deleuze, 105ff). The codex can in my opinion be associated with this way of describing human existence along the principles of an Anti-Logos that tries to capture the infinite variety of signs and in which the only truth turns out to be *the search* for truth. We see the attributes of the codex clearly mirrored in *Disquiet*: 'What we have is a haunting mosaic of dreams, psychological notations, autobiographical vignettes, shards of literary theory and criticism and maxims. "Letter not to Post", an "Aesthetics of Indifference", "A Factless Autobiography" and manuals of welcomed failure,' as George Steiner once tried to sum up the scope of Pessoa's fiction (Steiner 1). If this sounds rather rich for a 'non-book' it is exactly because *Disquiet* shouldn't only be understood as that unrealizable "Work", but also as a writing that in its inconclusiveness and elusiveness reaches for the ultimate encyclopaedic ambition of the codex.

There was only one way to achieve this ambition, which can be found in *Disquiet's* fragmentary nature, as Steiner concluded: 'The fragmentary, the incomplete is of the essence of Pessoa's spirit.' Similarly, Deleuze claimed that the fragment works for describing the Anti-Logos when 'there is no other part that corresponds to it, no totality into which it can enter, no unity from which it is torn and to which it can be restored.' (Deleuze 112). If there is no totality and no other fragment that surrounds the fragment, what actually is left around it? A blank space, is the only possible answer. Focusing on Pessoa's fragmentary writing, we should therefore not only look at the many texts that he wrote for the book, but importantly also at the things *he didn't write*. A major aspect of fragmentary writing is exactly the white space around the text, as the self-evident white space between the lemmas of an encyclopaedia that after all can't ever be collided together by any narrative or any superimposed totality. There simply is no unifying force, like there seems to be one in case of the volumen. The codex therefore remains fragmentary, hesitant, tentative and multiple. As Helena Buescu remarked:

'De toute façon, ce geste en direction de l'encyclopédie (...) est aussi solidaire du "vide", du "rien" qui hante les réflexions de Flaubert et Mallarmé – et encore de ce point de vue-la *O Livro do Desassossego* nous fournit une forme paradigmatique, car nous ne pourrions jamais y voir autre chose que l'hésitation constitutive de tout projet hors-mesure humaine.

(...) les éditions suivantes de *O Livro do Desassossego* n'ont fait que mettre

en lumière le caractère fondamentalement instable et précaire du statut textuel de ce “livre”, dont la publication en tant que volumen (objet devenu traditionnel) ne fait que rendre moins visible (mais non moins valable) son comportement de codex – car il s’agit bien là d’un ensemble de fiches dont le regroupement est d’un côté nécessaire et, d’un autre, impossible à prendre de forme fixe – on ne pourra jamais lire ce texte “comme ci” il était un livre linéairement fabriqué, avec des rapports et des liens d’antécédence et de causalité: car justement il n’y en a pas, et il ne peut y pas en avoir.⁴

The reading of *Disquiet* that Buescu, in my opinion, here proposes is one of a fragmentary nature, focusing on the many blank spaces, the incompleteness and non-linearity, *without* necessarily drawing the conclusion that this is a “non-book.” Mallarmé spoke of *Le Livre* as ‘architectural et prémédité’, indicating that the writing wasn’t the product of some romantic type of divine inspiration, ending up by coincidence in the fragmentary form that it did. The texts of *Le Livre* were ‘prémédité’; some rational action preceded the writing, still having, in all its separate pieces some form of architecture and composition (cf. Buescu 2003, 54/55). The fact that the book was never completed – and as a matter of fact survived as a fascinating but almost

4 (Buescu 2003, 51/53). Transl.: *Anyway, this gesture towards the encyclopedia (...) is also attached to “the void”, “the nothing” that haunts the reflections of Flaubert and Mallarmé - and from this point of view, Disquiet provides us with a paradigmatic form, because we can’t ever see it as anything other than the fundamental hesitation that every superhumanly large project has. (...) The consecutive editions of Disquiet have done nothing but reveal the fundamentally unstable and preliminary nature of the textual status of this “book”, of which the publication as volumen (traditional object) has made its capacity as codex less visible (but not less valuable) - since this indeed is a quantity of texts that on the one hand needs to be rearranged and, on the other hand, refuses to take any fixed form. One can’t ever read this text “as if” it was a linearly fabricated book, with connections and links to history and causality; precisely because this isn’t and can’t ever be in it.*

entirely unwritten project – was inherent in the intentions of the project: ‘un livre ne commence ni ne finit; tout au plus fait-il semblant,’ Mallarmé famously wrote.⁵ Likewise, *Disquiet* was never completed, although Pessoa did a remarkably more extensive attempt. While Mallarmé’s *Le Livre* was left as a purely hypothetical realisation, Pessoa’s *Livro* with its hundreds of fragments became an utopian one (Buescu 2003, 58). Pessoa: ‘Sabemos bem que toda a obra tem que ser imperfeita.’⁶

What then is the status of the Fragment (for once intentionally written with a capital) as written by Pessoa? I agree with Paulo de Medeiros that we should read *Disquiet* ‘as absolute fragment, that is, as a project that can never be complete because completion would negate its principle.’ (Medeiros 2008, 166). Let’s assume that *Disquiet* most and foremost can be understood as a series of texts, as genetic criticism treats it. Many editors and critics indeed tend to call them ‘fragments’, but Pessoa himself spoke of ‘trechos’, which in a way might be more accurate than the first notion. A fragment normally can be understood as a part of a whole that is now lost, or in any case broken. Pieces of shattered glass, for example, or shards of an antique vase, dug up from an archaeological site that only preserved one piece of what once was a *complete* vase. Think as well of shards of ancient Greek poems, written by Sappho or Pindar, that originally were

5 Transl.: (...) *a book neither begins nor ends: at most, it pretends to.* Mallarmé, Stéphane. “Notes en vue du Livre.” In: Mallarmé, S. *Oeuvres Complètes I*. Paris: Gallimard, 1998. 547-625.

6 (LdD 1, 52). Transl.: *We’re well aware that every creative work is imperfect.*

part of bigger, completed texts but that nowadays can only be read as the only survived witnesses of a long lost whole. None of this is the case with the ‘fragments’ of *Disquiet*; large part of the canon consists of texts that in itself are rather complete. Medeiros’s notion of the ‘absolute fragment’ was inspired by the famous and probably most defining text on fragmentarism, written by Phillipe Lacoue-Labarthe and Jean-Luc Nancy, as included in their study *The literary absolute*. They situate the origins of the fragment understood in these terms, in the era of German romanticism and especially that of the Jena School and Friedrich Schlegel. The analogy of Pessoa’s fragments and Schlegel’s writings, was also pointed out by Maria Irene Ramalho Santos in *Atlantic Poets*: ‘Pessoa’s book of fragments is the modernist crowning of that other poetic adventure initiated by the first romantics, particularly as regards the *Athenäum* romantics’ conception of the lyric as endless becoming (Werden).’ (Santos 2003, 259). The first important distinction they make is the use of the notion of the fragment in philological and hermeneutical terms. It became customary in editorial scholarship to posthumously publish Schlegel’s unpublished texts and refer to them as ‘fragments.’ The same has happened to Pessoa’s *inéditos*, that, incomplete as they were found, automatically were labelled ‘fragments’ as well. Lacoue-Labarthe & Nancy label this form of the philological use of the fragment as ‘ruins’: ‘this interpretation conjoins the function of the ‘monument’ and of ‘evocation’; what is thereby both remembered as lost and presented in a sort of sketch (or blueprint) is always the living unity of a great individuality, author or work.’ (Lacoue-Labarthe 42). Lacoue-

Labarthe & Nancy distinguish a second form of philological use, closely related to the 'ruin', which is the fragment as a 'literary term', as in reference to essays in the style of Montaigne: 'The fragment designates a presentation that does not pretend to be exhaustive and that corresponds to the no doubt properly modern idea that the incomplete can, and even must, be published (or to the idea that what is published is never complete).' (ibid.). These philological and literary uses of the notion of fragment, always imply that the fragment should always be seen relative to some kind of historical or potential totality. The authors claim that Schlegel's fragments, however, should be understood in an absolute way:

'But fragment 206⁷ must be read in its entirety: "A fragment, like a small work of art, has to be entirely isolated from the surrounding world and be complete in itself like a hedgehog." Thus, the detachment or isolation of fragmentation is understood to correspond exactly to completion and totality.' (ibidem 43).

To get things clear: fragment 206, as quoted here *in its entirety*, was written by Schlegel. Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy reason that exactly the characteristics of the romantic fragment ('detachment', 'isolation') form the very essence of them being (in a non-traditional way) complete, similarly to my earlier reading of Mallarmé's concept of *Le Livre* when understood as codex instead of as volumen. The bottom-line of Schlegel's romantic theory is that literature is always in progress and never fixed: 'Die

7 Fragment 206 of the magazine *Atheneum*, a literary journal edited by Schlegel and his brother from 1798 to 1800 that served as a mouthpiece for the romantic movement.

romantische Dichtart ist noch im Werden; ja das ist ihr eigentliches Wesen, daß sie ewig nur werden, nie vollendet sein kann.⁸ A logical literary form to give expression to this permanent state of becoming instead of being was one that in an absolute way rejected the finalized and solid work. As Ernst Behler remarked: ‘Completion and totality in any realizable fashion are questioned by a type of writing that, from the outset, rejects any type of closure and postpones it to an unrealizable future.’ (Behler 153). In the quoted *Athenaeum* fragment 206 Schlegel used the metaphor of the hedgehog to visualize his portrayal of the fragment that is both ‘isolated from the outside world’ as ‘complete in itself’, ‘like a small work of art.’ That strange image recalls Schopenhauer’s 1851 parable known as ‘the hedgehog dilemma.’⁹ In this parable a group of hedgehogs huddle together to share warmth during cold winter weather, experience the result that they can’t come close since they can’t avoid hurting each other with their sharp spines. Ultimately they have to sacrifice warmth for comfort. Transposing these features of the hedgehog to the literary fragment, we can state that it always, even when the need for making up a whole is compelling, remains separate and detached. Having written his text some time before

8 Transl.: *Romantic poetry is still in a process of becoming; this indeed is its very essence, that it is eternally evolving, never completed.* Schlegel, Friedrich. *Kritische Schriften und Fragmente* Studienausgabe bd. 2. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1998. 114-115.

9 Schopenhauer, Arthur. *Parerga und Paralipomena*, Volume II, Chapter XXXI, Section 396. The parable wasn’t only reworked by Derrida, who I quote hereafter, but also by Freud in his 1921 essay *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. Both Schopenhauer’s as Freud’s use of the parable comment on individuation of the subject in relation to society. I will limit my use of this parable as far as it is applicable to the status of the fragment, to maintain the link with Schlegel.

Schopenhauer came up with his hedgehogs, Schlegel surely didn't allude to this story when writing his fragment in *Athenaeum* on romantic literary theory. But probably Derrida did apply the parable to the literary when he wrote his small essay *Che cosé la poesia?*. There he writes that poems are like hedgehogs thrown in the middle of the road: 'Rolled up in a ball, prickly with spines, vulnerable and dangerous, calculating and ill-adapted (because it makes itself into a ball, sensing the danger on the autoroute, it exposes itself to an accident).' (Derrida 231). Derrida reasons that because of the highly individual self-defence system (the fact that it closes on itself), the hedgehog turns out to be extremely vulnerable in trying to link the two sides of the road by crossing it. The same can be said of the fragment. If it tries to join totality and completion, it will push off the others with its spines or it will, in trying to defend itself, lose all of its own strength and power when it is in ball-mode. In his other lifelong (and equally fragmentary) literary project *Fausto*, Pessoa writes: 'Junta os fragmentos da jarra divina / E a jarra não fazem' (Pessoa *Fausto*, 44).¹⁰ Here Pessoa clearly distinguishes the fragment as ruin from the fragment as literary absolute. The absolute fragment is inevitably appointed to itself and impossibly transferable to any whole in which all fragments participate. At the same time, each fragment recalls that impossible whole, as Pessoa writes somewhere else in *Fausto*: 'O mundo / Encerra um sonho como realidade / E em cada seu

¹⁰ Transl.: *Put together all the fragments of a vase / and what they make is not the vase.*

fragmento — não me entendes — / Vive todo.¹¹ Let's return to Lacoue-Labarthe & Nancy:

‘Fragmentary totality, in keeping with what should be called the logic of the hedgehog, cannot be situated in any single point: it is simultaneously in the whole and in each part. Each fragment stands for itself and for that from which it is detached.(...) Totality is the fragment itself in its completed individuality. It is thus identically the plural totality of fragments, which does not make up a whole (in, say, a mathematical mode) but replicates the whole, the fragmentary itself, in each fragment.’ (Lacoue-Labarthe/Nancy 44).

The theory of the (romantic) fragment offers us an appropriate method of approaching *Disquiet*. Seen as an absolute fragment, each entry in the book stands for itself and simultaneously for the whole from which it is detached and to which it at the same time can never truly belong. ‘Up to a certain point, the formula employed by Friedrich Schlegel for the Ideas may be applied to all the Fragments: each one “indicates [deuten] the center”’, Lacoue-Labarthe & Nancy wrote (43-44). In case of Pessoa’s *Livro* the centre that Schlegel mentions was ‘disquiet.’

§2. Desassossego: complete work and complete silence

If each and every fragment of *Disquiet* indeed ‘replicates the whole’, we should find that ‘whole’ or ‘centre’ in the other notion included in the title: ‘desassossego.’ That word can obviously refer to an existential,

¹¹ Transl.: *The world / encloses a dream as reality / And in each of its fragments – I don't understand how – I live them all.* (Pessoa Fausto, 61)

epistemological or even ontological doubt, troubling the narrator. I'll surely come across some of those interpretations later on in this thesis, but first of all we should notice that the word perfectly alludes to Pessoa's own writing habits. These habits have caused the fragmentary work we nowadays know from the various diverging editions, but they might as well have been *the result* of the dominant key-notion 'desassossego'. This book differs from, for example, the collected poems of Álvaro de Campos, since an edition of *Disquiet* can not only be seen as the reconstruction of a ruin, but as a collage of absolute fragments as well. Fragmentary writing is in this case both a challenge for editors of the project as for hermeneutics. I therefore want to return briefly to the genetic issues in order to trace Pessoa's further preoccupations with fragment, book and text.

Almost every project Pessoa started, went 'complexly and tortuously forward', as he wrote to Casais Monteiro in 1914 on *Disquiet*, and was often left unfinished. 'Always with the intention of revising and assembling the variously handwritten and typed passages, but never with the courage or patience to take up the task, Pessoa kept adding material, and the parameters of the already unwieldy work kept expanding,' Richard Zenith wrote in his introduction (Zenith 2001, xv). Pessoa was 'forever indecisive' (ibid.). Remember Pessoa's famous sighing on his progress of writing *Disquiet*: 'O meu estado de espírito obriga-me agora a trabalhar bastante, sem querer, no *Livro do Desassossego*. Mas tudo fragmentos, fragmentos,

fragmentos.¹² In this letter from 1914 he seems to use the notion of the fragment in the meaning of the part of a totality that he failed to accomplish. So yes, initially Pessoa's texts for *Disquiet* might have been unintentionally left as unfinished fragments, still having the desire to build a coherent whole out of them. It is this perspective that permits editors to make an attempt to reconstruct the lost whole, trying to link texts and to bridge the empty spots. But even in this scenario there are complications. When she criticized the collages produced by the Equipa Pessoa of the fragments Pessoa left of *Passagem das horas*, Teresa Rita Lopes writes:

‘Mas Pessoa não compôs esse todo que previu. Foi escrevendo textos, que até situava (...) nesse todo planeado mas não realizado. É preciso entender, antes de mais, que o poeta assumiu essa sua tendência para apenas realizar fragmentos das obras que mentalmente arquitetava. Assim num esquema (que o EC cita) do livro de Campos *Arco de Triumpho*, prevê publicar sob forma de “fragmentos” uma das suas “grandes odes” dos primeiros tempos, longa e entrecortadamente regida: *A Partida (Fragmentos)*. E não esqueçamos que em 1914 compõe e até envia aos amigos a chamada *Ode á Noite*, afinal intitulada *Dois exertos de Odes (Fins de Duas Odes, naturalmente)*(...).’¹³

12 Transl. *My state of mind compels me to work hard, against my will, on the ‘Book of Disquiet’. But it’s all fragments, fragments, fragments.* (Pessoa CORR I, 132).

13 Transl.: *But Pessoa didn’t write this whole that he predicted. He was writing texts that he even gave a place within this whole that he planned to write but never realized. We must understand, first of all, that Pessoa admitted his tendency to only realize fragments of a work that he had mentally constructed. As such, on a scheme (that the EC quotes) of Campos’s ‘Arch of Triumph’, he planned to publish in the form of ‘fragments’ one of his, enduringly and intermittently written, “grandes odes” of the early days: ‘The Departure (fragments).’ And let us not forget that he in 1914 wrote and even sent to his friends the ‘Ode to the Night’, eventually titled ‘Two excerpts of Odes (ends of two odes, naturally) (...).* (TRL-Campos 27).

Lopes here underlines that although we in many cases are confronted with fragments in the meaning of parts of ‘ruins’, Pessoa in other cases apparently had chosen to leave the fragments as they were: the unfinished fragment was cut loose from the ‘works he mentally constructed’ and got a meaning of its own. As we’ve already seen in part I, the characteristics of genetic presentation (the unfinished, the process, the becoming of texts) can have aesthetic value in itself. Joyce initially entitled *Finnegans Wake* ‘Work in Progress’ and Ponge published every single stage of a poem with the title *La fabrique du pré*, echoing Valéry’s statement that ‘creating a poem is itself a poem.’¹⁴ Pound called some sections of his *Cantos* ‘A draft of the cantos 17-27’, suggesting that those drafts were waiting to be replaced by finished texts. The last section of the cycle however was published, still during the author’s life, with the title *Drafts and Fragments of Cantos 110-116*. Examples of Pessoa explicitly labelling texts as fragments and/or his intentions to publish the texts as such are abundant. Besides the examples of Campos that Lopes already mentioned, Pessoa entitled a series of English poems in a notebook dating from (probably) 1903, *Fragments*. (Pessoa Cadernos, p.114). Alexander Search wrote a poem called *Fragment of delirium* (Pessoa Search, 90), a poem written in 1920 was called *Poema incompleto* (Pessoa Poesia II, 102) and yet another poem got the title *Fragmentos de um livro* (Pessoa Poesia III, 521). His project *Na casa de saúde de Cascais* contained next to four sections with clear titles also one section labelled *Fragmentos*:

14 Cf.: Valéry, Paul. *Cahiers* 8:578. As quoted in (Deppman 6)

‘Na Casa de Saúde de Cascais

inclui:— 1) Introdução, entrevista com António Mora

2) Alberto Caeiro

3) Ricardo Reis

4) Prolegómenos de António Mora

5) Fragmentos¹⁵

In some of his plans for publishing Alberto Caeiro’s *Guardador de rebanhos*, we find a section explicitly labelled ‘fragmentos não revistos’ or ‘outros poemas e fragmentos.’¹⁶ In Pessoa’s heteronymic fiction, Ricardo Reis acted as the editor of the posthumous publication of Caeiro’s poems. He remarked: ‘A obra do Mestre compõe-se, além destes que formam o seu único livro inteiro, de “outros poemas e fragmentos”.’¹⁷ Heteronym Thomas Crosse, who was to translate Caeiro’s poems into English, wrote on the section with fragmentary work:

‘The Keeper of Sheep is both a series of solitary [?] poems and a philosophical [...]; hence its strength, its unity and its power. The later poems, even allowing for the fact that they are mere fragments, are weak even in form, in comparison with that great achievement. Exception must be made for the two love poems. But thereafter his tone suffers. It

15 (LdD-Ática, I: p. 3). *Transl.: In the institution of Cascais*

Contains:

1. *Introduction, interview with António Mora*

2. *Alberto Caeiro*

3. *Ricardo Reis*

4. *Prologomena of António Mora*

5. *Fragments*

16 *Transl.: not revised fragments / other poems and fragments.*

17 *Transl. The work of the Master consists, apart from these poems that form his only complete book, of ‘other poems and fragments’.* The other two sections consisted of the more elaborated cycles *O guardador de rebanhos* (*The keeper of sheep*) and *O pastor amoroso* (*The shepherd in love*). (Pessoa PPC, 382).

does not become garrulous or, properly speaking, weak. But it loses its intellectual keenness, it becomes uncertain, even tentative. Each fragment must to have cost him an effort to write, and he seems to have been tired of things to write it.' (Pessoa, PPC, 388)

The interesting aspect of this note is the fact that Pessoa here clearly distinguishes between the fully elaborated cycle *O guardador de rebanhos* and the section with fragments. The “complete” poems have ‘strength’, ‘unity’ and ‘power’, whereas the fragments are ‘uncertain, even tentative.’ In a note written in Portuguese, Pessoa repeats this observation:

‘Depois, com a vinda da doença, a perfeita lucilação imaginativa ou sensível se apaga, e temos, nos poemas fragmentários finais do livro, em certo ponto ainda a continuação do aprofundamento, pela evolução do espírito do poeta, em outros pontos uma turbacão da obra, pela doença final, real como as minhas mãos, a que, com mágoa minha que chorei em lágrimas, o grande poeta sucumbiu.’¹⁸

This combination of ‘continuação do aprofundamento’ and ‘turbacão’ of the work and the earlier qualifications of the fragments as ‘tentative’ and ‘uncertain’, was however no reason at all for Pessoa to not publish the poems. By treating Caieiro’s unfinished texts as the left fragments of a deceased author, Pessoa turns the uncertainty and confusion into intended

18 Transl.: Pessoa, Fernando. *Poemas Completos de Alberto Caieiro*. (Recolha, transcrição e notas de Teresa Sobral Cunha). Lisboa: Presença, 1994, 242. Transl.: *Then, after he became ill, the perfection of his imaginative or sensitive lucidness fades. At one point in his fragmentary poems in the back of the book the deepening still continues, because of the evolution of the poet’s spirit, but at other points we see a disturbance of his work, because of the lethal illness, real as my hands, to which the great poet, mourned by me with pain and tears, succumbed.*

aspects of the text. The titles referring to the texts as fragments indicate at least a strong preoccupation with the fragmentary, the uncertain and the unfinished, which became a significant premise for the texts of *Disquiet*:

‘Sabemos bem que toda a obra tem que ser imperfeita, e que a menos segura das nossas contemplações estéticas será a daquilo que escrevemos. Mas imperfeito é tudo, nem há poente tão belo que o não pudesse ser mais, ou brisa leve que nos dê sono que não pudesse dar-nos um sono mais calmo ainda.’¹⁹

And elsewhere: ‘Toda a acção é incompleta e imperfeita. O poema que eu sonho não tem falhas senão quando tento realizá-lo.’²⁰ Pessoa’s attitude towards the incomplete and fragmentary is ambiguous. On the one hand he seems to deliberately take refuge in the fragmentary, since it is the only possible way of being able to express his desassossego: ‘Este livro é um só estado de alma, analisado de todos os lados, percorrido em todas as direcções. (...) Caleidoscópio de fragmentadas sequências.’²¹ The incomplete and fragmentary is the very aim of the book: ‘E eu que digo isto - por que escrevo eu este livro? Porque o reconheço imperfeito.’²² On the other hand he seems to suffer from his inability to complete things and create a perfect

19 (LdD 1, 52). Transl.: *We’re well aware that every creative work is imperfect and that our most dubious aesthetic contemplation will be the one whose object is what we write. But everything is imperfect. There’s no sunset so lovely it couldn’t be yet lovelier, no gentle breeze bringing us sleep that couldn’t bring a yet sounder sleep.* (LdD-Penguin, 1, 12)

20 (LdD 322, 309). Transl.: *Every action is incomplete and flawed. The poem I dream has no flaws until I try to realize it.* (LdD-Penguin, 322, 12)

21 (LdD p. 443). Transl.: *This book is a single state of soul, analysed from all sides, investigated in all directions.(...) Kaleidoscope of fragmented sequences.....* (LdD-Penguin, 451)

22 (LdD 330, 315). Transl.: *And I who am saying all this – why am I writing this book? Because I realize it’s imperfect.* (LdD-Penguin, 330, 278).

whole, as he admits elsewhere in *Disquiet*:

‘Poder construir, erguer um Todo, compor uma coisa que seja como um corpo humano, com perfeita correspondência nas suas partes, e com uma vida, uma vida de unidade e congruência, unificando a dispersão de feítios das suas partes!’²³

The literary work as complete as a human body is an apt metaphor for Pessoa, who continuously created the lives of imagined persons, his heteronyms, although the one thing they lack is exactly a (physical) body. And yet he kept on writing their lives, maybe against reason. Writing on *Disquiet* is equally inspired by the desire for completion and the awareness of being fundamentally exposed to the fragmentary:

‘Fazer qualquer coisa completa, inteira, seja boa ou seja má - e, se nunca é inteiramente boa, muitas vezes não é inteiramente má -, sim, fazer uma coisa completa causa-me, talvez, mais inveja do que outro qualquer sentimento. É como um filho: é imperfeita como todo o ente humano, mas é nossa como os filhos são.

E eu, cujo espírito de crítica própria me não permite senão que veja os defeitos, as falhas, eu, que não ousa escrever mais que trechos, bocados, excertos do inexistente, eu mesmo, no pouco que escrevo, sou imperfeito também. Mais valera, pois, ou a obra completa, ainda que má, que em todo o caso é obra; ou a ausência de palavras, o silêncio inteiro da alma

23 (LdD 289, 286). Transl.: *Ah, to be able to construct a complete Whole, to compose something that would be like a human body, with perfect harmony among all its parts, and with a life, a life of unity and congruency, uniting the scattered traits of its various parts!* (LdD-Penguin, 289, 248).

que se reconhece incapaz de agir.²⁴

The 'complete' work can only be written *tant bien que mal*, with the 'silêncio inteiro' as the only decent alternative. *Disquiet* is exactly between the two extremes of the complete work and the complete silence and fragmentary writing seems to be the only possible way of expressing the impossible. The form of paradox and contradiction, one of the key-characteristics of *Disquiet*, is inherent to the fragmentary work: the pieces cannot cohere – otherwise they would make up a whole. The main argument Pessoa gives for this impossibility to achieve completeness seems to be the boundless performativity of the dream (in which his literary works originate) and the limited possibilities of his practice as a writer: 'Só temos a certeza de escrever mal, quando escrevemos; a única obra grande e perfeita é aquela que nunca se sonhe realizar.'²⁵ This dichotomy of the synthetic powers of the dream and the fragmented nature of reality resembles one of the dichotomies between literary symbolism and modernism. The experience of the void and splintered reality of many modernists opposes the

24 (LdD 85, 120). Transl.: *The creation of something complete and whole, be it good or bad – and if it's never entirely good, it's very often not all bad – yes, the creation of something complete seems to stir in me above all a feeling of envy. A completed thing is like a child; although imperfect like everything human, it belongs to us like our own children. And I, whose self-critical spirit allows me only to see my lapses and defects, I, who dare write only passages, fragments, excerpts of the non-existent, I myself – in the little that I write – am also imperfect.*

Better either the complete work, which is in any case a work, even if it's bad, or the absence of words, the unbroken silence of the soul that knows it is incapable of acting. (LdD-Penguin, 85, 82).

25 (LdD 289, 285). Transl.: *All we can be certain of when we write is that we write badly; the only great and perfect works are the ones we never dream of realizing.* (LdD-Penguin, 289, 248).

symbolist belief in a transcendental unity (Van Stralen 1990, 14). We see this dichotomy reflected in the fragments of *Disquiet*: the texts written in the first period of the writing process – although certainly showing traces of doubt towards the possibility of completeness – are most of all attempts to express a dreamed reality. This is not only evident from the thematic preoccupation of those texts, but also from the formal characteristics: the texts are in general much longer than the Soaresean diary-entries and Pessoa gave many of them a title. In a note he once called them ‘trechos grandes, classificáveis sob títulos grandiosos.’²⁶ In case of texts like *Peristilo*, *Nossa senhora do silêncio* and *Viagem nunca feita* the genetic dossier shows clearly Pessoa’s ambition to let the texts grow into larger projects²⁷, an ambition he gave up when writing the later texts. The unbridgeable gap between the dreamed and written work might be one reason for the fragmentary nature of the book and the disquiet that it expresses, another might be the fragmentary nature of reality itself. Especially when authorship moved to heteronym Soares (and to a less extent to Guedes) and when downtown Lisbon became the main subject of Soares’s perceptions, everyday reality seemed to be impossible to render in a coherent and ‘grandiose’ text.

‘Nasci em um tempo em que a maioria dos jovens haviam perdido a crença em Deus, pela mesma razão que os seus maiores a haviam tido - sem saber porquê. E então, porque o espírito humano tende

26 (LdD p. 509). Transl.: *the large texts with grandiose titles* (LdD-Penguin, p. 472).

27 These texts consist of several passages, as fragments within the fragments, which were written on several documents.

naturalmente para criticar porque sente, e não porque pensa, a maioria desses jovens escolheu a Humanidade para sucedâneo de Deus. Pertencço, porém, àquela espécie de homens que estão sempre na margem daquilo a que pertencem, nem vêem só a multidão de que são, senão também os grandes espaços que há ao lado. Por isso nem abandonei Deus tão amplamente como eles, nem aceitei nunca a Humanidade. (...)

Assim, não sabendo crer em Deus, e não podendo crer numa soma de animais, fiquei, como outros da orla das gentes, naquela distância de tudo a que comumente se chama a Decadência. A Decadência é a perda total da inconsciência; porque a inconsciência é o fundamento da vida. O coração, se pudesse pensar, pararia.²⁸

I quoted an abundant part of this fragment that Pessoa himself labelled 'trecho inicial' (*first text*), since it contains some key-issues concerning Soares's attitude towards reality. Here Soares is situated, after the Death of God and not accepting humanity as his substitute, 'on the fringe of what he belongs to.' He calls his tendency of keeping 'a distance from things' and 'the total loss of unconsciousness' 'decadence.' This positioning could have been a fundament of Soares's fragmentarism as well. Oscar Wilde supposedly wrote: 'Classicism is the subordination of the parts to the

28 (LdD 1, 51). *I was born in a time when the majority of young people had lost faith in God, for the same reason their elders had had it – without knowing why. And since the human spirit naturally tends to make judgements based on feeling instead of reason, most of these young people chose Humanity to replace God. I, however, am the sort of person who is always on the fringe of what he belongs to, seeing not only the multitude he's a part of but also the wide-open spaces around it. That's why I didn't give up God as completely as they did, and I never accepted Humanity. I reasoned that God, while improbable, might exist, in which case he should be worshipped; whereas Humanity, being a mere biological idea and signifying nothing more than the animal species we belong to, was no more deserving of worship than any other animal species. The cult of Humanity, with its rites of Freedom and Equality, always struck me as a revival of those ancient cults in which gods were like animals or had animal heads.* (LdD-Penguin, 1, 11).

whole; decadence is the subordination of the whole to the parts.²⁹ In case of Pessoa, as we've seen in the discussion of the absolute fragment, there is no hierarchy of whole and parts but most of all an impossible whole, paradoxically replicated in all of the fragments. He described himself as 'seeing not only the multitude he's part of, but also the wide-open spaces around it,' which can also be said of the way fragments function in *Disquiet*. Instead of being part of a whole, they refer to the 'multitude' they belong to, but, equally important, also to the 'wide-open spaces around it.' His writings are 'devoid of any desire to move anyone else's will or to mould anyone's understanding,' which he only produces 'to keep busy.' The specific form this occupational therapy gets, has according to the same text to do with the fact that 'our sensations are the only reality we have for certain' and that 'everything is imperfect.' There is for Soares no realist coda that can be used to describe reality, nor is there, by the time he wrote this in March 1930, sufficient belief left in symbolist transcendentalism. Reality could only partially be expressed, exclusively by means of highly subjective impressions. This introductory confession lines up with contemporary ideas that flourished among modernist authors of the unsettling epistemological doubt, the inherently split, unstable, never completely knowable constitution of the human mind, inspiring Christina Froula to state that 'the violent history of the twentieth century came to include the poem rather than the other way around, shattering the poet's

29 As quoted in: Chamberlin, J. Edward. *Ripe was the drowsy hour: the age of Oscar Wilde*. New York: Seabury Press, 1977. 95.

residual and illusory hopes of an aesthetic perfection bound up with an ideology of social and ethical perfectibility, and rechanneling the poem's formal energies from the early drive toward a coherent totality of thought and form to an open-ended "record of struggle". (Froula 166). This 'record of struggle' is in this book called 'desassossego', which Soares described in 'o meu livro de impressões sem nexo' and 'nestas impressões sem nexo, nem desejo de nexo'.³⁰ As Pessoa confessed in a letter to João de Lebre e Lima in 1914:

‘esse livro chama-se Livro do Desassossego, por causa da inquietação e incerteza que é a sua nota predominante. No trecho publicado [*Na floresta do alheamento*] isso nota-se. O que é em aparência um mero sonho, ou entressonho, narrado, é - sente-se logo que se lê, e deve, se realizei bem, sentir-se através de toda a leitura - uma confissão sonhada da inutilidade e dolorosa fúria estéril de sonhar.’³¹

His fragmentary writing at the same time creates and results from the disquietude that is impossible (and useless) to grasp and describe fully: ‘Passeava de um lado ao outro do quarto e sonhava alto coisas sem nexo nem possibilidade - (...) E neste devaneio sem grandeza nem calma, neste atardar sem esperança nem fim, gastavam meus passos a manhã

30 (LdD 442, 397) and (LdD 12, 60). Transl.: (...) *my book of random impressions*. (LdD-Penguin, 442, 363) (...) *these random impressions, and with no desire to be other than random*. (LdD-Penguin, 442, 20)

31 (LdD p. 506). Transl.: *The book is called The Book of Disquiet, since restlessness and uncertainty are the dominant note. This is evident in the one published passage [In the forest of estrangement]. What is apparently the narration of a mere dream, or daydream, is actually - and the reader feels this at the outset and should, if I've been successful, feel it throughout his entire reading - a dreamed confession of the painful, sterile rage and utter uselessness of dreaming*. (LdD-Penguin, 472).

livre e as minhas palavras altas, ditas baixo, soavam múltiplas no claustro do meu simples isolamento.³² This ‘devaneio’ (‘reverie’) and dreaming or writing things ‘sem nexo’ (‘incoherent’) denies the possibility of linearity and attributes an important role to the white or empty space (‘the wide-open spaces around it’). This permits the reader to follow innumerable paths through the text. One of the dangers of the whites between the fragments is the urge for attributing meaning to those spaces, which might hide an underlying arrangement of the fragments. They, however, form an arrangement that doesn’t compose its elements, but merely *juxtaposes* them, they are ‘un vide saturé de vide’, to quote Blanchot. (Van Dijk 93). The texts in *Disquiet* are a juxtaposition of absolute fragments that do not require nor permit any composition to complete the reading experience of the work. Instead of a linear structure in which the whites function as some sort of meaningful |”glue” to produce unity, Pessoa spoke of a ‘desconexo logico’ (‘logical disjointedness’). (Pessoa LdD, p. 509).

§3. The virtual library

The book, being merely the logical disjointedness of random impressions of a highly fragmented perception, becomes in this way more like a storage case, a repository, a box. It impossibly realizes what Pessoa, considering

32 (LdD 29, 70). Transl.: *I paced from one side of the room to the other, dreaming out loud incoherent and impossible things. (...) And in this reverie without grandeur or calm, in this hopeless and endless dallying, I paced away my free morning, and my words – said out loud in a low voice – multiplied in the echoing cloister of my inglorious isolation.* (LdD-Penguin, 29, 31).

the almost 30.000 pages that he left, tried to realize in all of his writings: ‘(...) que pode um homem de génio fazer, se não converter-se, ele só, em uma literatura?’³³ The note, and the evidence of Pessoa’s countless plans of writing essays, poems, stories, novels, manuals and many other genres in the name of his more than eighty heteronyms, do remind us of Borges’s ‘Library at Babel’: the endless library that would include all texts of the world. There are many, many lists of plans for books, stories, poems and so on, which Pessoa planned to write. As he writes in *Disquiet*: ‘Projectos, tenho-os tido todos. A *Iliada* que compus teve uma lógica de estrutura, uma concatenação orgânica de epodos que Homero não podia conseguir. A perfeição estudada dos meus versos por completar em palavras deixa pobre a precisão de Virgílio e frouxa a força de Milton. As sátiras alegóricas que fiz excederam todas a Swift na precisão simbólica dos particulares exactamente ligados. Quantos Verlaines fui!’³⁴ And as he wrote himself in a letter from 1913 to Mário Beirão: ‘Versos ingleses, portugueses, raciocínios, temas, projectos, fragmentos de coisas que não sei como começam ou acabam, relâmpagos de críticas, murmúrios de metafísicas... Toda uma literatura, meu caro Mário, que vai da bruma — para a bruma — pela

33 (Pessoa, Mora, p. 109). Transl.: *What else can a man of genius do other than transform himself, on his own, in a literature?*

34 (LdD 290, 278). Transl.: *I’ve undertaken every project imaginable. The Iliad composed by me had a structural logic in its organic linking of epodes such as Homer could never have achieved. The meticulous perfection of my unwritten verses makes Virgil’s precision look sloppy and Milton’s power slack. My allegorical satires surpassed all of Swift’s in the symbolic exactitude of their rigorously interconnected particulars. How many Verlaines I’ve been!* (LdD-Penguin, 290, 249).

bruma...³⁵ Richard Zenith wrote in his introduction to *Disquiet* that if Pessoa had written all the different books that he projected, they would fill up an entire library: ‘O Livro do Desassossego, um não-livro dentro da não-Biblioteca, é sintomático do embaraço do autor.’³⁶ Everything concerning Pessoa can always be described in negative terms: a non-book in a non-library, written by a non-author. But *Disquiet* can also be considered to be symptomatic for all of Pessoa’s writings, because, as Paulo de Medeiros remarks, it encompasses as well ‘different books by different authors at different times.’ (Medeiros 2008, 166). In a letter to João Gaspar Simões, from 1929, Pessoa himself wrote: ‘Sobre poemas inéditos, tenho aproximadamente uma biblioteca virtual,’³⁷ a description that is more apt for this multiplicity of plans than a ‘non-library’. Concerning the hundreds or even thousands – nobody has ever counted them – of titles for future books we could also add another notion to that of the absolute fragment: the absolute title. ‘Impermanence’, ‘Open letter’, ‘Itinerário’, ‘Ligéa’; scholars often didn’t have a clue about what Pessoa had in mind for them. This absolute appearance of the title without work, can be linked to an idea that Pessoa formulated in an essay on literary translations: ‘Quem sabe, até, se em qualquer estado antenatal, não vimos frente a frente a obra em seu

35 1-2-1913 (Pessoa CORR I, 79). Transl.: *Poems in English and Portuguese, essays, themes, projects, fragments of things that I don’t how to begin or end, flashes of criticism, whispers of metaphysics... An entire literature, my dear Mário, which comes from the mist, to the mist, through the mist.*

36 (Zenith 2001, 17) Transl.: *Book of Disquiet, a non-book in the non-library, is emblematic of the capricious author’s difficulty.* (LdD-Penguin, xiv).

37 17-10-1929 (Pessoa CORR II, 174). Transl.: *As for unpublished poems; I nearly have a virtual library of those.*

espírito, que não no corpo verbal que aqui tem; que, ouvindo aqui só falar nela, desde logo sabemos de que se trata, na sua verdadeira essência e vida; e que, pois, lendo mal, ou nem sequer lendo, não é em nós suscitado, não um entendimento, ainda que intuitivo, mas uma funda e subtil recordação?’³⁸ This prenatal knowing of the work would allow the Library of Babel to exist, containing only titles. Pessoa constructs the hypothesis that many people ‘know’ literary works without ever having read them. Vague references, allusions and quotations, even when originally formulated in a language we don’t know, seem to be familiar to us. ‘É como se houvesse em nós uma parte superior da alma que soubesse por condição todos os idiomas e tivesse lido por natureza todas as obras.’³⁹ This hypothesis can lead to an idea of a title as the only necessary reference to a work that, as it were, is born together with us. Qualifying the title of projects in Pessoa’s oeuvre as ‘absolute titles’, we should also reconsider the status of the title of *Disquiet*. If *Disquiet* existed as anything stable at all over the years, it was as a title. That title remained unchanged over a period of more than twenty years, while almost everything of the book kept changing. It was a title that, hope against hope, had to become the umbrella of texts that didn’t permit any umbrella at all. Like the nature of the hedgehog didn’t permit any form

38 (Pessoa Inédito, 386). Transl.: *Perhaps we might have stood, in some prenatal state, face to face with the work in its spiritual capacity, not yet in the body of words that it has here. And that this is the reason that we here, when we only hear someone talking about it, immediately know what it’s about, in its true spirit and life, and that therefore, when we read badly or even read at all, not some understanding [of the work] is evoked in us, but, on an intuitive level, a deep and subtle memory of it?*

39 (ibid. 385). *It’s as if there exists in us a superior part of the soul that, by nature, knows all languages and has read all works.*

of huddling together to experience each other's warmth, the nature of absolute fragments doesn't permit any encompassing title. In this respect it is significant that this title rarely figures on the material documents of the fragments, but most of all on schemes, plans, the title page Pessoa typed for the future book and the pages of the published fragments. In those cases he used the full title, in all other cases he normally used the abbreviation 'L. do D.'. He used it in the first place of course to mark the text as belonging to this project. But in relation to the impossibility of applying the predicate 'Livro' to texts that so obviously never could become one, it is significant that he used an abbreviation, a code, a *temporary* and *relative* title that merely referred to a title that was stable, never changing and, no matter what its content, therefore absolute. The absolute title in its ultimate form of appearance doesn't contain any textual content at all. This aspect may have prevented Mallarmé from ever realising *Le Livre*; in its essence it rejects the possibility of ever being able to say 'Ecce Liber'. In that respect, the notion of the 'livre a venir' that Blanchot applied to Mallarmé's *Le Livre* and his poem *Un coup de Dés*, applies as well to *Disquiet*. Blanchot writes:

'The work is the expectation of the work. Into this expectation alone is gathered the impersonal attention that has the unique space of language as road and residence. (...) In this space - the actual space of the book - instant never follows instant according to the linear progression of an irreversible future. In this space one does not recount something that happened, even fictively. Story is replaced by hypothesis: "If it were..." (Blanchot 239).

Blanchot seems to echo Pessoa, who wrote somewhere in *Disquiet*:

‘narro indiferentemente a minha autobiografia sem factos, a minha história sem vida. São as minhas Confissões, e, se nelas nada digo, é que nada tenho que dizer.’⁴⁰

It is one long hypothesis, that doesn't narrate what has happened in this protagonist's life, but what because of the very act of writing, *is happening*. The features that for Blanchot turned Mallarmé's *Le Livre* into a 'livre a venir', Pessoa attributed to *Disquiet* from the very start, when he published the first text of the book in *A Águia*, accompanied by the remark: 'Do Livro do Desassossego – em preparação' ('From the *Book of Disquiet* – in preparation'). The addition 'in preparation' in this remark almost acts as a subtitle for the book. We don't know whether Pessoa or the editor of *A Águia* has added the message, nor does it matter. It perfectly indicates the permanent status of becoming that would turn out to be the fate of this book.

All the absolute titles in this *biblioteca virtual* 'postpone their irrealizable future,' to use Behler's words (Behler 153), since Pessoa wouldn't have only filled an entire library with his literary projects, he would also have needed more years than the longest human life contains to write them. *Disquiet* is one of the rare projects that both contain an absolute title and absolute fragments. The tension editors perceive when trying to make a

⁴⁰ (LdD 12, 60). Transl.: *I indifferently narrate my factless autobiography, my lifeless history. These are my Confessions, and if in them I say nothing, it's because I have nothing to say.* (LdD-Penguin, 12, 20).

real book of it, is exactly this tension between the absolute nature of its title and the absolute nature of its fragments. *Disquiet* doesn't originate from a revelation, nor does it reveal anything, to paraphrase Bataille, which makes reading this book anything but comforting. This tension has a cyclic nature; the fragments reject a unifying title and the title rejects the fragments. 'Começo porque não tenho força para pensar; acabo porque não tenho alma para suspender. Este livro é a minha cobardia.'⁴¹

§4. The crisis of the book

We know that Thomas Mann wanted his *Dr. Faustus* to parallel the four times twelve-structure of Schönberg and Bach, but wrote 47 instead of 48 chapters remaining one step shy of completion, we know that Proust shattered the perspective in his novel and gave tens or even hundreds of his characters a piece of it, we know that Joyce called his *Finnegans Wake* originally *Work in Progress*, we know that Kafka, much like Pessoa, left many of his texts unfinished and unpublished, we know that prose writers in high modernism have warmly embraced the fragment, the unfinished, the infinite and the uncertain from the very start. But still, many authors undertook the effort of writing novels, pursuing a certain narrative path, which, no matter how fragmentary the genesis of their (avant-)textes, resulted or ought to result in a finished and complete work. This tension,

⁴¹ (LdD 152, 174). Transl.: *I begin because I don't have the strength to think; I finish because I don't have the courage to quit. This book is my cowardice.* (LdD-Penguin, 152, 136).

between the desire for incompleteness and the fragmentary and the final aim of a completed and linear novel, resulted according to Dirk Van Hulle in a 'crisis of the novel' (Van Hulle 22). Given the extremely self-conscious writing method of these modernist authors, this crisis of the novel automatically resulted in novels of the crisis. A similar thing can be said on Pessoa, except that he, convinced that he couldn't write one, rejected the idea of a novel from the start: 'Como invejo os que escrevem romances, que os começam, e os fazem, e os acabam! Sei imaginá-los, capítulo a capítulo, por vezes com as frases do diálogo e as que estão entre o diálogo, mas não saberia dizer no papel esses sonhos de escrever...'⁴² *Disquiet* was to be a narrative fiction, but implied from the very start a radical denial of stability and completion. Its absolute fragments, in itself complete and stable, were written (and could be read) in an arbitrary order, did not pursue any narrative linearity or aims of completion.

Pessoa's preoccupations with the impossibility of the complete and finished work of art, puts certain limits to the way the texts can be materialized as a book. Jacinto do Prado Coelho, editor of the first edition wrote:

'Evitando um didactismo abusivo, ordenei o Livro do Desassossego por manchas temáticas, sem vedações a separá-las, sugerindo nexos e contrastes pela simples justaposição, colocando todavia no começo do itinerário textos e fragmentos a que atribui uma função periférica, introdutória, e levando o leitor a concentrar a atenção em zonas de

42 (LdD 291, 287). Transl.: *How I envy those who produce novels, those who begin them and write them and finish them! I can imagine novels chapter by chapter, sometimes with the actual phrases of dialogue and the narrative commentary in between, but I'm incapable of committing these dreams of writing to paper* (LdD-Penguin, 291, 250)

relativa homogeneidade (...).⁴³

Coelho created a 'line of reading' that took the reader by hand and guided him from fragment to fragment alongside thematic connections. This reminds us of Eisenstein's 'montage of attractions', an editing form for cinema that used the composition of separate images as an instrument to increase the impact of the work on audiences. The montage of attractions has much to do with the idea of the text as work of art, or the book understood as volumen. In Eisenstein's vision an attraction is 'every element of cinema or theatre that causes a certain emotional reaction in a proper order within the totality.'⁴⁴ It is an instrument for the director to guide his audience towards the idea or meaning he wants to express in the movie as a whole. 'Free montage of arbitrarily selected, independent [...] attractions – all from the stand of establishing certain final thematic effects – this is montage of attractions'. Despite the aspect of Eisenstein's by now obsolete idea that spectators can be treated as a multitude that is uniform in thought and perception, the montage of attractions is still an important principle for contemporary cinema. The filmmaker composes sequences of images and scenes that correspond or conflict, in order to create a maximum impact of the movie as a whole. This very idea immediately

43 (Coelho 1982, xxxii). Transl.: *Avoiding an abusive didacticism, I ordered Disquiet by thematic units, without any fences separating them, suggesting connections and contrasts by means of simple juxtaposition. At the beginning I put texts and fragments that could limit and introduce each section and permit the reader to concentrate on relatively homogenous zones.*

44 Eisenstein, Sergei. *The Film Sense*. Trans. Jay Leyda. London: Faber & Faber, 1986. 183

implies the impossibility of the absolute fragment that after all denies the whole and wants to speak for itself. As the first part of this thesis showed, other editors chose chronology as their main principle for organizing the texts. All of these methods for organizing the texts are effective in their own way, since they do produce a certain order in which the texts can appear in published form. But at the same time, both the montage of attractions as the chronological order do have a certain teleological program. They produce, deliberately or accidentally, a set of texts that apply a certain unity to the fragments. ‘Totalidade assim que, se bem atendemos, deve esta nova forma do Livro do Desassossego, em sua incerta luz, reflectir,’⁴⁵ Cunha wrote in her introduction. According to Fernando Cabral Martins, Cunha went too far, crossing the editorial borders by creating something that pretends to be ‘the Work’, or indeed the ‘totality’ that she herself confessed to pursue:

‘Teresa Sobral Cunha, que une o fio dos dias e promove a totalização do disperso como se obedecesse a um programa necessário (...). É que lá ao fundo emerge o Texto, o Livro, e avulta a figura canonizada do “autor real”, que é o Autor recuperado na sua plenitude romântica.’⁴⁶

The different approaches of the various editors and the problems they experienced while organizing their editions indicate clearly how the absolute fragment works in practice. The tension between the finished

45 (Cunha 1990, 10). Transl.: *If well understood, totality is what this new form of Disquiet in all its uncertain light should reflect.*

46 Transl.: *Teresa Sobral Cunha joins the thread of the days and promotes the totalization of what is dispersed as if she obeys to a necessary program. (...) It is down here where The Text emerges, The Book, that dignifies the canonized figure of the “real author”, who becomes the Author, restored in all his romantic completeness.* (Martins 2000, 223).

and unfinishable, the volumen and the codex, the complete and the fragmentary is sensible in each publication. Order and organization, except for a random order, doesn't appeal to the inherent non-structure of the fragments. There is no formula for ordering the texts, like there was none for writing them: 'Com que hei-de eu entreter-me, depois, senão com escrever cuidadosamente estes apontamentos espirituais? De resto, não cuidadosamente os escrevo. E, mesmo, sem cuidado limador que os agrupo.'⁴⁷ This impossibility of Pessoa's Book to actually be published as a book, results in a rupture with the modernist tradition. As Menzies-Pike pointed out: 'Unlike Homer's epic, the linguistic contortions of modernist narrative cannot be held by memory: the book is the only possible container for this type of text, not a memorable fancy, but a thing. (...) The authority of the Modernist text is located within the covers of the printed book, and not in the mind of its author.' (Menzies-Pike 275-277). As I pointed out in the previous chapter, showing the actual the manuscripts together with diplomatic transcriptions and thus focus on the process instead of the (reconstruction or simulacrum of the) final product, is one way of getting around some of the difficulties. But still, the nature of Pessoa's writing that evades every form of fixation remains fully in tact. If Mallarmé still characterized *Le Livre* as 'architectural et prémédité', *Disquiet* lacks any structuring idea of the book. The fact that Mallarmé called his book *Le*

47 (LdD 476, 422). Transl.: *How else can I amuse myself except by carefully recording these mental notes? Though I'm not very careful about how I record them. In fact I jot them down in no particular order and with no special care.* (LdD-Penguin, 476, 389).

Livre is in this respect significant. *Disquiet* has since its first appearances in public suffered from confusion about the presence or absence of the article. ‘Livro’ in Portuguese is masculine and thus demands the article ‘o’. In many articles and even on the cover of some editions⁴⁸, one refers to *Disquiet* as *O livro...*, ignoring Pessoa’s own habit of entitling it simply as *Livro...* This seemingly insignificant confusion touches upon the core of the book: Pessoa postponed the fixation of any meaning of these texts as long as possible. He never ended *Disquiet*; he simply abandoned it when he died. By doing so, the variants, corrections and additions he left on his manuscript, his fragmentary writing, the blanc spaces that he left for later revision; those genetic details do not indicate the echec of the book, but become part of its meaning. The paradox of *Disquiet* is exactly the fact that Pessoa attached the absolute title *Livro do Desassossego* to his texts that in every aspect denied the possibility of The Book. He acknowledged two different paths that could have led to its realisation: the one being the complete and perfect work, the other being the complete silence.

‘E eu que digo isto - por que escrevo eu este livro? Porque o reconheço imperfeito. Calado seria a perfeição; escrito, imperfeição-a-se; por isso o escrevo. E, sobretudo, porque defendo a inutilidade, o absurdo, - eu escrevo este livro para mentir a mim próprio, para trair a minha própria

48 Cf. for example a reprint in 75.000 copies of the Zenith edition for readers of the magazine ‘Visão’ in 2000, having the title ‘O livro do Desassossego.’ Zenith himself published his English translation as ‘The book of disquiet’ for Penguin in 1999. The German edition by Fischer Verlag (2003) called it ‘Das buch der Unruhe’ and the French 1999 translation by Christian Bourgois was called ‘Le livre de l’intranquillité.’ The Dutch 1990 edition of De Arbeiderspers called it ‘Het boek der rusteloosheid’, correctly removing the article in the new 2006-edition.

teoria.⁴⁹

This text also indicates that the fact of being not silence nor perfect, but instead ‘imperfect’, ‘useless’ and ‘absurd’ is the very reason for him to write it, thereby betraying his own theory. This infinite lingering in the interspace between silencing and writing opposes closure, ending and linearity. Instead of resulting in a book, it manifests *the crisis of the book*, and with its radical and self-conscious portrayal of that crisis it can in retrospect also be described as *a book of the crisis*.

49 (LdD 330, 314). Transl.: *And I who am saying all this – why am I writing this book? Because I realize it’s imperfect. Dreamed, it would be perfection; written, it becomes imperfect; that’s why I’m writing it. And above all else, because I advocate uselessness, absurdity, – I write this book to lie to myself, to be unfaithful to my own theory.* (LdD-Penguin, 330, 278).

Chapter 2

Disquiet: the ‘drama sem gente’

§1. Suicidal texts and half-fictions

The conception of *Disquiet* as a series of absolute fragments, thus provoking a crisis of the traditional notion of book, is likely to have consequences for the way in which we read the book and interpret its content. The absence of a whole, and most of all the impossibility of ever treating the bunch of texts as a whole, impedes any hermeneutical statement on the book. Once again we should distinguish between delivering statements on the absolute fragments and statements on the absolute title, of which the latter does not automatically imply the first. ‘The fragment,’ as Lacoue-Labarthe & Nancy put it, ‘is thus a “small work” in that it is a miniature or microcosm of the Work.’ (Lacoue Labarthe 48). Reading Pessoa’s *Disquiet*, irrespectively of which edition one chooses, implies reading hundreds of such ‘small works,’ never coinciding and never to be harmonized as the unified big work of art that the title seems to indicate. ‘The fragment itself is a Work in a certain manner, or is at least “like a small work of art,” inasmuch as it is meant to seize upon and “sketch out” its own silhouette in everything – poem, period, science, morals, persons, philosophy – insofar as it has been formed (and has formed itself) into a work.’ (Lacoue Labarthe 47). What does it mean to develop an interpretation of such absolute fragments?

How should it be done? ‘Nunca ler um livro até ao fim, nem lê-lo a seguir e sem saltar. (...)’ Pessoa wrote in one of his texts. ‘A melhor maneira de começar a sonhar é mediante livros.’⁵⁰ Start reading and finish it in your dreams: fragmentary *writing* apparently implies fragmentary *reading* as well. I think that for now, it is important to accept that reading *Disquiet* is most of all reading a ‘form’ that doesn’t unify the textual entities, but juxtaposes them. The impossibility of reading it as a linear text limits our possibility to use its formal aspects in the analysis of its contents. Pessoa never paid much attention to ordering and structuring his works, but instead left his many poems, notes and essays open for a future (which in many cases turned out to be a posthumous) destiny. Structure therefore isn’t the thing we should start looking for in this heterogeneous work; the best analysis of *Disquiet* probably consists of as many hermeneutic essays as the number of texts Pessoa wrote. This becomes clear when we turn towards the twelve texts that Pessoa himself published during his life. The first was published as early as 1913 in the magazine *A Águia*, the other eleven all appeared between 1929 and 1932 in various magazines. These twelve texts show the wide range of themes and styles that Pessoa devoted to his *Disquiet*-project. *Na floresta do alheamento* (1913) has a strongly symbolist pitch, while the eleven texts from the later years have the tone and atmosphere of clear, intimate notes of the journal intime-author that heteronym Bernardo Soares had to become. The thematic scope ranges

50 (LdD p.447). Transl.: *Never read a book to the end, nor in sequence and without skipping. (...) The best way to start dreaming is through books.* (LdD-Penguin, 402).

from impressionistic descriptions of Lisbon city life, the sunset or the slow movement of clouds to contemplations on morality, aesthetics and authors such as Henri-Frédéric Amiel and Cesário Verde. They introduce themes and ideas that recur in many other fragments, such as multiplicity, the self and the other and the ambiguity of perception and sensation. These few published texts only sufficiently indicate that the fragments show heterogeneity on all levels: Pessoa/Soares uses a variety of genres, styles and ideas. Those ideas, varying from positivist descriptions of external phenomena to an appraisal of dreams and highly subjective sensations, seem to echo the convictions that Pessoa previously had expressed through the works of his various heteronyms. ‘Independente de mim, cresce erva, chove na erva que cresce, e o sol doira a extensão da erva que cresceu ou vai crescer,’⁵¹ reminds of Caetano’s bucolic positivism. ‘Todos os pensamentos, que têm feito viver homens, todas as emoções, que os homens têm deixado de viver, passaram por minha mente,’⁵² echoes Campos’s credo ‘sentir tudo de todas as maneiras’ (‘to feel everything in every way’), a sentence that even features in these exact words elsewhere in the book. Soares’s exclamation ‘Quantos somos!’ (‘How many are we!’) (ibid.) resembles Reis’s conviction ‘Vivem em nós inúmeros’ (‘Countless lives inhabit us’) and his turn towards indifference (‘Na dúvida, abstenho-

51 (LdD 72, 109). Transl.: *Independently of me the grass grows, the rain falls on the grass that grows, and the sun shines on the patch of grass that grew or will grow* (LdD-Penguin, 72, 71).

52 (LdD 95, 130). Transl.: *All the thoughts that have made men live and all their emotions that have died passed through my mind* (LdD-Penguin, 95, 92).

me, 'Not knowing, I refrain') joins Reis's philosophy of abdication. It was this assembling of heteronymic voices in *Disquiet*, but this time without the various masks, biographies and literary programs of the heteronyms, that inspired Eduardo Lourenço to call *Disquiet* a text 'luminosamente suicidária' ('luminously suicidal'), since Soares 'dreamt all these fictions', referring to the fictions of the heteronyms that he by eliminating their individual and specific features, annihilated. (Lourenço 1986, 84). Sena affirms that in the fragments of *Disquiet* 'perpassam os temas, às vezes mesmo fantasmas de estrutura, dos poemas de todos os heterónimos e ortónimos.'⁵³ Sena was also the one who came up with the prefix 'anti' for many features of the fragments, describing Soares's self as an 'anti-I' (Sena 1984, 181), Pessoa as an 'anti-Camões' (ibid. 183), his poetry as 'anti-poetry' (ibid. 190) and Soares an 'anti-Fradique' (ibid. 184). Richard Zenith characterized the work as an 'anti-book', claiming furthermore: 'Com efeito, podemos folhear o Livro do Desassossego como um caderno de esboços e resquícios que contém o artista essencial em toda a sua diversidade heteronímica.'⁵⁴ (Zenith, 14). José Gil did also recognize *Disquiet* as a gathering place for heteronymic ideas: 'O laboratório poético de Pessoa está em plena actividade no *Livro do Desassossego*. (...) O experimentador Bernardo Soares (...) tornou-se capaz de adoptar a "personalidade" dos

53 (Sena 1984, 241). Transl.: *traverse themes and sometimes ilusions of the structure of the poems of all the heteronyms and orthonyms.*

54 (Zenith 2001, 14). Transl.: *We can leaf through The Book of Disquiet as through a lifelong sketchbook revealing the artist in all his heteronymic variety.*

outros.’⁵⁵ They all deny the possibility of coherence and unity, they all distinguish two different phases of the genesis of the book and they all deal with the various ways in which disquietude is portrayed in it. Nothing new so far and I don’t pretend to change any of these views, which I consider to be all perfectly valuable in their own contexts. What I will try to do here is to outline the character Bernardo Soares in relation to Pessoa’s heteronymic system, mainly by focusing on what I consider to be one of the central notions in the book; that of the ‘empty stage’. I’ll briefly discuss to what extent the heteronyms truly are present in *Disquiet* and to what extent (fragments of) Soares coincides with Caeiro, Campos and Reis. Is Soares a semi-heteronym exactly because he is a synthesis-character that brings together elements of all other heteronyms, or does he lack certain features of the heteronyms and therefore becomes a half-fiction (as Pessoa himself has claimed in a letter)? Isolating Soares from the heteronymic system permits me to focus on idiosyncratic aspects of Soares’s style and thematic preoccupations, in order to try to find *Disquiet’s* place in literary history.

55 (Gil 1996, 13/28). Transl.: *The poetic laboratory is at full speed in Disquiet (...) The experimenter Bernardo Soares (...) turned out to have the capacity to adopt the ‘personality’ of others.*

§2. The twelve published texts: literary background

In 1913 Pessoa published, in the magazine *A Águia*, the short story *Na floresta do alheamento* ('In the forest of estrangement') (from now on 'In the forest...'). It is important to realize that *Na floresta*, the first known text for *Disquiet*, was published only a year before the creation of his three main heteronyms. It isn't too bold to suppose that the same literary humus that fed the idea for *Disquiet* was shared by the genesis of the heteronyms. *In the forest...* introduced the conditions that made *Disquiet* into the 'laboratory' or the 'suicidal text' that the critics before me have labeled it.

The story was one of the first publicly exposed proofs of the literary ideas Pessoa had presented earlier in the same magazine. 'In the forest' is still strongly linked with his 'isms' *paulismo* and *interseccionismo* that he was developing at the time.⁵⁶ The story is full of unfinished sentences, dots, sighs, strongly accentuated mystical images, doubts concerning the possibility of any homogeneity, dream atmospheres, esotericism and decadence, clearly in accordance with his own ideas on a new Portuguese Renaissance. But there's more hidden in this story than the *saudosist* legacy only. The world of 'whiffs of fog', 'visible coolness of the mosses', 'clepsydras of imperfection', 'hours of spiritual ashes', 'hours clad in fraying purple robes', 'penumbral oils', 'fairies of silence' and 'gnomes of oblivion', is flanked by, let's call it a more day to day world: 'Na alcova mórbida e morna a antemanhã de lá fora é apenas um hálito de penumbra. Sou todo confusão quieta... Para quê

56 Cf. Introduction.

há-de um dia raiar?... Custa-me o saber que ele raiará, como se fosse um esforço meu que houvesse de o fazer aparecer.⁵⁷ In this fourth paragraph of the story one reads only about a person in an alcove that experiences some confusion at the dawn of a new day. In the second paragraph, without yet mentioning the alcove, he already revealed: ‘Minha atenção bóia entre dois mundos e vê cegamente a profundidade de um mar e a profundidade de um céu.’⁵⁸ So in this alcove he perceives both a sky and an ocean. We do not get to know whether he is staring at something in particular, for example the sky in which he recognizes the ocean or the window with the sky behind it, which resembles the mirroring surface of a sea. The first three paragraphs suggest that he is in a somewhat dreamy state in which he experiences the immateriality of the world surrounding him, but he still admits being in an alcove, which presupposes a house and a room. A little bit later, however, in paragraph five and six, the narrator makes a clear difference between *two* perceived realities:

‘Com uma lentidão confusa acalmo. Entorpeço-me. Bóio no ar, entre velar e dormir, e uma outra espécie de realidade surge, e eu em meio dela, não sei de que onde que não é este...

Surge mas não apaga esta, esta da alcova tépida, essa de uma floresta estranha. Coexistem na minha atenção algemada as duas realidades,

57 (Pessoa, LdD p.459). *In my warm, languid alcove, the imminent dawn is just a shadowy glow. I'm overwhelmed by a quiet confusion... Why must a new day break?... It weighs on me to know it will break, as if I had to do something to make it happen.* (LdD-Penguin, 417).

58 (ibid.) Transl.: *attention floats between two worlds, blindly seeing the depths of an ocean and the depths of a sky.* (ibid.)

como dois fumos que se misturam.

Que nítida de outra e de ela essa trémula paisagem transparente!...'⁵⁹

He now distinguishes emphatically two perceived realities: the one of the alcove and the one of the forest. To emphasize the simultaneity of the perception, he not only writes that the two realities *coexist*, but as well that the landscape, probably the one of the ocean and sky mentioned earlier, belong to them both. The protagonist of the story is sitting in the alcove of his room when he is overcome by another reality: that of a forest. During the entrance in this dreamy forest, the narrator still pays attention to the reality he's coming from, instead of only having an eye for the new, transcendental, one. In that respect Pessoa goes further than many of his symbolist predecessors: they were mainly after 'the contemplation of the objects, the image that rose out of their self evoked dreams,' as Mallarmé put it in 1891 (Stoker 2009, 84). Although in this kind of symbolist texts, the field of attention only leveled with the reality of the images of the dreams, Pessoa here clearly puts the relation between the two layers of reality at stake. The simultaneous perception of two different levels of consciousness, anticipated Pessoa's not long afterwards developed intersectionism. In a certain way, *In the forest...* can be read as a predecessor of *Chuva Oblíqua* (*Slanting Rain*) (1914), the cycle of poems that made Pessoa move away

59 (ibid.) *I hover in the air, neither awake nor asleep, and find myself engulfed by another reality, appearing from I don't know where...*

This new reality - that of a strange forest - makes its appearance without effacing the reality of my warm alcove. The two realities coexist in my captivated attention, like two mingled vapours.

That tremulous, transparent landscape clearly belongs to them both. (ibid.)

from symbolism. The confrontation between the objective and subjective world makes the protagonist insecure about whether he experiences dream or reality. The insecurity extends itself by evoking questions concerning identity. In the forest, the protagonist wanders around with a woman that he doesn't know ('who is this woman?') but yet addresses with 'my love'. Later, he paradoxically confesses to know her after all, just like the strange landscape: 'E a essa paisagem conheço-a há muito, e há muito que com essa mulher que desconheço erro, outra realidade, através da irrealidade dela.'⁶⁰ Elsewhere he even writes: 'Sonho e perco-me, duplo de ser eu e essa mulher...'⁶¹ and: 'E assim nós morremos a nossa vida, tão atentos separadamente a morrê-la que não reparámos que éramos um só, que cada um de nós era uma ilusão do outro, e cada um, dentro de si, o mero eco do seu próprio ser...'⁶² The quoted passage implies that the protagonist doubles and loses himself and the woman that accompanies him is *himself* and the *other*. This mysterious simultaneity expresses a radical dehumanization:

'Éramos impessoais, ocos de nós, outra coisa qualquer... Éramos aquela paisagem esfumada em consciência de si própria... E assim como ela era duas - de realidade que era, e ilusão - assim éramos nós obscuramente dois, nenhum de nós sabendo bem se o outro não era ele-próprio, se o

60 (ibid. 459). Transl.: *And I've known that landscape for a long time, and for a long time, I've walked with this woman I don't know, wandering as a different reality through her unreality.* (ibid.)

61 (ibid.) Transl.: *I dream and lose myself, doubly so, in me and in the woman...* (ibid.)

62 (ibid. 464). Transl.: *Thus we died our life, so individually intent on dying it that we never noticed that we were only one, that we were each an illusion of the other, and that each of us – as a separate self – was nothing on the inside but an echo of that self...* (ibid. 422).

incerto outro viveria...'⁶³

The protagonist and the woman are a landscape, but somehow they walk through that very landscape and thus themselves. They are “depersonalized” in a dreamt nature, truly a forest of estrangement, an estrangement of the self (the self that in turn coincides and differs with the other or dissolves together with the other in the landscape), and an estrangement of the world – inside or outside the dream. When the fog of the dream finally dissolves, ‘a fleeting mist of reality’ appears. ‘Acabaram de arder, meu amor, na lareira da nossa vida, as achas dos nossos sonhos...’⁶⁴, the protagonist sighs; in their dreams any fundament of existence was removed. The characters are reduced to parts of one being (whatever that being exactly is or is not) and later on they even converge with the very forest they walk in. The depersonalization they experience results in an identification with the dreamed landscape, that as such becomes both a reality in which they walk as an illusion since it is brought forth by themselves. And since they are the landscape, the landscape automatically is them as well, which doubles them again. Being uprooted, cut off from the self or the sense of the self, these protagonists experience doubt and uncertainty: the tears in the eyes of the protagonists are equaled by the ponds in the landscape.

63 (ibid. 463) Transl.: ‘We were impersonal, devoid of self, something else altogether... We were landscape dissipated in its self-awareness... And just as it was two landscapes, in the reality it was and in its illusion, so we were obscurely two, neither of us knowing for sure if we weren’t actually the other, or if the uncertain other even lived...’ (ibid.)

64 (ibid. 464). Transl.: *The embers of our dreams have died out, my love, in the heart of our life...* (ibid.)

‘Ali aquela paisagem tinha os olhos rasos de água, olhos parados, cheios do tédio inúmero de ser... Cheios, sim, do tédio de ser, de ter de ser qualquer coisa, realidade ou ilusão - e esse tédio tinha a sua pátria e a sua voz na mudez e no exílio dos lagos...’⁶⁵

Here, Pessoa introduces the notion of ‘tedium’, which occupies an important place in this oeuvre. It is the repugnance to be (*o tédio de ser*) that imbued the poems by the later Álvaro de Campos and Pessoa *ortónimo*. Considering its depersonalization, suggestions of tedium, nihilism, abdication and attention for nature, we might assert that Pessoa in the last paragraphs of this short story is anticipating on the birth of the heteronyms. The appraisal of nature and the refuge it offers from life, strongly reminds of bucolic heteronym Alberto Caeiro. ‘As árvores! as flores! o esconder-se copado dos caminhos!... Passeávamos às vezes, braço dado, sob os cedros e as olaias e nenhum de nós pensava em viver.’⁶⁶ ‘Não sou nada. Nunca serei nada,’⁶⁷ Álvaro de Campos wrote in his long poem *Tabacaria* (*Tobacco shop*). ‘Porque nós não éramos ninguém. Nem mesmo éramos coisa...’⁶⁸ Pessoa wrote in *In the forest...*. This sad outcome gives the protagonist a passive attitude in which we unmistakably recognizes the profile of Stoic

65 (ibid. 463). Transl.: *There the landscape had eyes brimming with water, eyes perfectly still, full of the endless tedium of being, full of the tedium of having to be something, reality or illusion – and that tedium had its homeland and its voice in the speechless exile of those ponds.* (ibid.)

66 (ibid. 460). Transl.: *The trees! The flowers! The paths hidden among the brush!... We sometimes strolled arm in arm under the cedars and redbuds, and neither of us thought about living.* (ibid. 418).

67 In: Pessoa, F. *Poesias de Álvaro de Campos*. Lisboa: Ática, 1993, 252. Transl.: *I’m nothing / I’ll always be nothing.*

68 (LdD. 463). Transl.: *For we were nobody. We were nothing at all...* (ibid. 422).

heteronym Ricardo Reis: ‘Não choremos, não odiemos, não desejemos... Cubramos, ó Silenciosa, com um lençol de linho fino o perfil hirto e morto de nossa Imperfeição...’⁶⁹ The passage clearly echoes the verses by Reis, only written a year later: ‘ Mais vale saber passar silenciosamente / E sem desassossegos grandes. / Sem amores, nem ódios, nem paixões que levantam a voz (...).’⁷⁰ This resignation seems to be the answer to the mystery of existence. With its ideal of nature, abdication and repugnance of being, *In the forest...* is the battle scene of competing impulses. In the story, Pessoa anticipates the creation in 1914 of his three main heteronyms: nature-lover Caeiro, tedium-suffering Campos and abdicating Reis.

There are many fragments like *Na floresta...*, exemplary for the first two or three years of the writing process of *Disquiet*. The texts in this period often have titles (those of the later phase in general don’t), they are much longer than those later ones and although the schism between objective and subjective reality is a recurrent theme in both phases, the early fragments have been written in a much more archaic style, using post-romantic and symbolist images to evoke a dreamy, ethereal atmosphere than the later ones. When this change of the style actually took place is not known, but we can indicate several moments in Pessoa’s biography as turning points. The

69 (ibid. 464). Transl.: *Let us not weep, nor hate, nor desire...*

Let us cover with a sheet of fine linen, O Silent Soulmate, the dead, stiff profile of our Imperfection... (ibid. 423).

70 In: Pessoa, F. *Odes de Ricardo Reis*. Lisboa: Ática, 1994. 23. Transl.: *It’s better to know how to pass on silently, / With no great disquiet. / With neither loves nor hates, nor passions raising their voice.*

first is the ‘dia triunfal,’ according to Pessoa dated March 8, 1914⁷¹. Campos wrote that, overlooking the poems Pessoa wrote under his own name: ‘ver-se-á que há qualquer coisa de diferente nos que têm datas posteriores a 8 de Março de 1914.’⁷². It is possible that the same applies to *Disquiet*. The name of Guedes pops up on lists with Pessoa’s plans concerning the publication of works by Caeiro, Campos and Reis.⁷³ In that scenario we can link the turning point to the start of the project of the heteronyms, in which Guedes with a different style and intention took authorial responsibility for *Disquiet*. A different, and a more biographically oriented turning point is the suicide of Pessoa’s close friend Mário de Sá-Carneiro in 1916. All four biographers of Pessoa acknowledge the importance of this friendship for Pessoa⁷⁴, who initially planned to enact the invention of a fictional ‘bucolic poet’ especially for his friend (ultimately leading to the genesis of Caeiro). Sá-Carneiro introduced Cubism to Pessoa and on various occasions influenced his writing.⁷⁵ They furthermore closely collaborated on the first issue of the avant-garde review *Orpheu*, which was financed by Sá-Carneiro’s father. It won’t be too much speculation to assert that Sá-Carneiro’s death was an emotional shock for Pessoa, something which he admitted himself in a letter to his Azorean friend Côrtes-Rodrigues some

71 The date March 8 was given by Pessoa in his letter to Casais Monteiro on the genesis of the heteronyms. A draft of the letter mentions a different date: March 13.

72 In: Pessoa, Fernando. *Álvaro de Campos: notas para a recordação do meu mestre Caeiro*. Lisboa: Estampa, 1997. 78. Transl.: (...) you’ll see that there’s something different about the ones written after March 8, 1914.

73 cf. [5/83], [48B/11], [48C/29].

74 cf. (Simões, 235), (Quadros 214), (Bréchon 171), (Cavalcanti 179).

75 cf. (Bréchon, 194), (Quadros, 255 / 258).

days after the suicide: ‘Tenho atravessado uma enorme crise intelectual. E agora estou muito pior, com a enorme tragédia que nos aconteceu a todos.’⁷⁶ And: ‘Quando o Sá-Carneiro atravessava em Paris a grande crise mental, que o havia de levar ao suicídio, eu senti a crise aqui, caiu sobre mim uma súbita depressão vinda do exterior, que eu, ao momento, não consegui explicar-me.’⁷⁷ Bréchon suggests that Pessoa let Caeiro die retrospectively in 1915, which he decided only after Sá-Carneiro’s death in 1916.⁷⁸ Sena suggested that Caeiro was closely attached to Sá-Carneiro, whose surnames are almost identical, and who both died at age 26. (Sena 450). Linked to Sá-Carneiro’s death or not; Pessoa took a different turn. Caeiro died, Reis left for Brazil in 1919 and Campos slowly lost the bravura that he showed in his long futurist-like odes from 1914-1916.⁷⁹ Fact is that the only two fragments of *Disquiet* that were dated in this period were clearly different from the early symbolist fragments. In a text from 1916 Pessoa writes with a cold-blooded style on the rational inadequacy of solving problems⁸⁰ and in 1917 he writes: ‘Desejei sempre agradar. Doeume sempre que me fossem indiferentes. Órfão da Fortuna, tenho, como

76 4-5-1916 (Pessoa CORR I, 212). Transl.: *I have gone through an enormous intellectual crisis. And now I’m even worse, with this enormous tragedy that happened to us all.*

77 24-6-1916 (Pessoa CORR I, 217). Transl.: *When Sá-Carneiro went through his huge mental crisis, which has led him to suicide, I felt the crisis here, overtaken by a sudden depression coming from outside of me, which I, at that moment, couldn’t explain.*

78 Cf. (Bréchon 339 / 443), (Cavalcanti 245).

79 Cf. (Campos-TRL 52). Furthermore, Cagliardi writes while discussing Campos change of style: ‘Em geral, os críticos identificam o ano de 1916 como sendo o ponto de arrefecimento desse estilo.’ (*In general, critics identify the year of 1916 as the decrease of this style.*) (Cagliardi)

80 (LdD 333, 317).

todos os órfãos, a necessidade de ser o objecto da afeição de alguém. Passei sempre fome da realização dessa necessidade. Tanto me adaptei a essa fome inevitável que, por vezes, nem sei se sinto a necessidade de comer. Com isto ou sem isto a vida dói-me.⁸¹ There is no way to directly link this passage to the loss of his friendship with Sá-Carneiro, but the feelings of restlessness that were present in *Na Floresta*, inspired by the estrangement of dreamy ambiances and subjective sensations, from now on changed to an existential disquietude of the human psyche. This is obvious in the texts that he published during his life in the various magazines. In *Na floresta* he wrote: ‘Que horas, ó companheira inútil do meu tédio, que horas de desassossego feliz se fingiram nossas ali!... Horas de cinza de espírito, dias de saudade espacial, séculos interiores de paisagem externa...’⁸² This disquietude is ‘joyful’, inspired by ‘spatial nostalgia’ and ‘spiritual ashes.’ In the later fragments that he published, the restlessness is painful, associated with qualifications like discomfort and futility: ‘Que desassossego se sinto, que desconforto se penso, que inutilidade se quero!’⁸³ On other occasions I already reasoned that Soares was exactly a ‘semi-heteronym’, as Pessoa

81 (LdD 429, 388). Transl. *I’ve always wanted to be liked. It always grieved me that I was treated with indifference. Left an orphan by Fortune, I wanted – like all orphans – to be the object of someone’s affection. This need has always been a hunger that went unsatisfied, and so thoroughly have I adapted to this inevitable hunger that I sometimes wonder if I really feel the need to eat. Whatever be the case, life pains me.* (LdD-Penguin, 429, 353).

82 (LdD p. 461). Transl.: *All those hours we spent there, O useless soulmate of my tedium! All those hours of joyful disquiet that pretended to be ours!... All those hours of spiritual ashes, days of spatial nostalgia, inner centuries of outer landscape...* (LdD-Penguin, 420).

83 (LdD 204, 216). Transl.: *Such disquiet when I feel, such discomfort when I think, such futility when I desire!* (LdD-Penguin, 204, 180).

dubbed him, because he found a tone that balanced between the highly poetic or symbolist ambition of the early fragments and the psychological clarity of Guedes's diary-fragments.⁸⁴ The texts from this later phase weren't as analytical or cold-blooded as those after the turning point in the tens, but instead preserved a certain poetic tone. It might have been especially this tone on which Pessoa alluded when he wrote in his famous note on the continuation of *Disquiet* under Soares's name, that the early fragments should be included, but in revised form: 'adaptando, porém, os mais antigos, que falhem à psicologia de Bernardo Soares, tal como agora surge, a essa vera psicologia.'⁸⁵ Although he notices the urge to adapt those fragments to the style and 'true psychology' of Bernardo Soares, he also states that they should maintain their style of 'dreaminess and logical disjointedness'. Pessoa never revised, adapted and thus stylistically unified the texts, but it still is an interesting question how this 'true psychology' of Bernardo Soares is presented in the texts that he wrote. It helps if we first determine its position in relation to the other heteronymic 'psychologies.'

§3. Monadology of the self

In 1935, some eight months before his death, Pessoa sent an exhaustive letter to his friend, the literary critic and author Adolfo Casais Monteiro. This letter was one of the few occasions that Pessoa commented on that

84 (Stoker 2009, 170)

85 (LdD p. 509). Transl.: *adapting the older ones – which lack the psychology of Bernardo Soares – to that true psychology as it has now emerged.* (LdD-Penguin, 471).

remarkable day in March 1914, less than a year after he wrote *In the forest...* that marked the ‘birth’ of the heteronyms. Pessoa:

‘Num dia em que finalmente desistira — foi em 8 de Março de 1914 — acerquei-me de uma cómoda alta, e, tomando um papel, comecei a escrever, de pé, como escrevo sempre que posso. E escrevi trinta e tantos poemas a fio, numa espécie de êxtase cuja natureza não conseguirei definir. Foi o dia triunfal da minha vida, e nunca poderei ter outro assim. Abri com um título, *O Guardador de Rebanhos*. E o que se seguiu foi o aparecimento de alguém em mim, a quem dei desde logo o nome de Alberto Caeiro. Desculpe-me o absurdo da frase: aparecera em mim o meu mestre.’⁸⁶

He claims furthermore in this letter to have written after this inspired moment the aforementioned cycle of poems called *Chuva oblíqua* (*Slanting rain*) under his own name:

‘Foi o regresso de Fernando Pessoa Alberto Caeiro a Fernando Pessoa ele só. Ou, melhor, foi a reacção de Fernando Pessoa contra a sua inexistência como Alberto Caeiro.’⁸⁷

He also found the names and characters of Ricardo Reis and Álvaro de Campos.

86 13-1-1935. (Pessoa CORR II, 343). Transl.: (...) *I walked over to a high chest of drawers, took a sheet of paper, and began to write standing up, as I do whenever I can. And I wrote thirty-some poems at once, in a kind of ecstasy I’m unable to describe. It was the triumphal day of my life (...) I began with a title, The keeper of sheep. This was followed by the appearance in me of someone whom I instantly named Alberto Caeiro. Excuse the absurdity of this statement: my master had appeared in me.* (Pessoa Prose, 256).

87 (ibid.). Transl.: *It was the return of Fernando Pessoa as Alberto Caeiro, to Fernando Pessoa himself. Or rather, it was the reaction of Fernando Pessoa against his non existence as Alberto Caeiro.* (ibid.).

‘Parece que tudo se passou independentemente de mim. E parece que assim ainda se passa. Se algum dia eu puder publicar a discussão estética entre Ricardo Reis e Álvaro de Campos, verá como eles são diferentes, e como eu não sou nada na matéria.’⁸⁸

I quoted a substantial fragment because it shows quite clearly Pessoa’s own ideas on the relationships between his heteronyms. He portrays the distinctive authors he created, including himself as part of them, as a series of oppositions. When he had created Caeiro, the poems of Slanting Rain that he signed with his own name, were a reaction of ‘Fernando Pessoa’ *against* his non-existence as ‘Alberto Caeiro.’ Campos is *quite the opposite* of Reis. And Reis is an *extract* of Caeiro’s false paganism, a statement that, although Pessoa doesn’t make it in this letter, can be made of all heteronyms since they were, after all, supposed to be Caeiro’s disciples. ‘The author’ disappears and is replaced by a series of oppositions. Instead of creating an oeuvre as the expression of a long and diverse monologue, the interconnected heteronyms formed a very long conversation, a *dialogue*. Not a conversation among the characters of a novel or a story, guided by an author, but a conversation that could not be influenced by an authorial body. ‘It seems that it all went on without me,’ Pessoa wrote. Pessoa himself is not present in the literature the heteronyms created. The futurism of the poetry of Álvaro de Campos and the classic stoicism of Ricardo Reis

88 (ibid.). Transl.: *I, who created them all, was the one who was least there. It seems that it all went on without me. And thus it seems to go on still. If one day I’m able to publish the aesthetic debate between Ricardo Reis and Álvaro de Campos, you’ll see how different they are, and how I have nothing to do with the matter.* (ibid.).

were something apparently strange to Pessoa himself. Alberto Caeiro even became a “master”, who was venerated by Campos and Reis, and also by Pessoa himself, the latter thus being placed on the same level as his disciples. The author Fernando Pessoa was divided into several personalities that implied the impersonification of his own self. ‘The creation of Caeiro and the discipleship of Reis and Campos (...) is a great act of intellectual magic, a magnum opus of the impersonal creative power.’ (Pessoa Prose, 36). Pessoa’s oeuvre, by the creation of these three and over the years eventually more than eighty heteronyms, was impersonalized.

I’m not going to redo fifty years of analysis and commentary on the issue of heteronymic writing in Pessoa. I’m interested in determining as to how we should understand Soares’s status as a semi-heteronym and still being able to talk about a ‘true sychology’, since Pessoa wrote:

‘O meu semi-heterónimo Bernardo Soares, que aliás em muitas coisas se parece com Álvaro de Campos, aparece sempre que estou cansado ou sonolento, de sorte que tenha um pouco suspensas as qualidades de raciocínio e de inibição; aquela prosa é um constante devaneio. É um semi-heterónimo porque, não sendo a personalidade a minha, é, não diferente da minha, mas uma simples mutilação dela. Sou eu menos o raciocínio e a afectividade. A prosa, salvo o que o raciocínio dá de ténue à minha, é igual a esta, e o português perfeitamente igual; (...).’⁸⁹

89 (Soares LdD p. 508). Transl.: *My semi-heteronym Bernardo Soares, who in many ways resembles Álvaro de Campos, always appears when I’m sleepy or drowsy, so that my qualities of inhibition and rational thought are suspended; his prose is an endless reverie. He’s a semi-heteronym because his personality, although not my own, doesn’t differ from my own but is a mere mutilation of it. He’s me without my rationalism and emotions. His prose is the same as mine, except for a certain formal restraint that reason imposes on my own writing, and his Portuguese is exactly the same (...).*’ (LdD-Penguin, 474).

Soares was a mutilated Pessoa. The differences that he sums up are stylistic differences; Soares's prose was less rational as Pessoa's (for example the debut articles in which he "proofed" the coming of a new Portuguese poetry) and less sentimental. Apart from those differences Soares's use of the Portuguese language equaled his own use. On the other hand was Soares supposed to have much in common with Álvaro de Campos, whose heteronymical status was never questioned by Pessoa. Furthermore, the description Pessoa gave of the emergence of Reis is very similar to what he had written on Soares: 'Arranquei do seu [Caeiro] falso paganismo o Ricardo Reis latente, descobri-lhe o nome, e ajustei-o a si mesmo, porque nessa altura já o *via*.'⁹⁰ This 'adjusting him to his true self' sounds very much like Pessoa's intention to adapt the old texts to Soares's 'true psychology'. So, how should we treat Soares? If we take him to be the half-fiction Pessoa claims him to be, what is his share in the heteronymic project? And if we should see him foremost as a mutilated Pessoa; why the bother of attributing the writings to an invented character? He never attributed his *Faust*, like *Disquiet* one of his lifelong projects, to a fictional personality. In relation to his 'real' heteronyms he claimed being unable to interfere with the writings of his heteronyms (cf. his remark 'how I have nothing to do with the matter'). The eleven fragments of *Disquiet* that Pessoa published during the early thirties were attributed to Soares but still published under

90 (Pessoa CORR II, 343). *From Caeiro's false paganism I extracted the latent Ricardo Reis, at last discovering his name adjusting him to his true self, for now I actually saw him.* (Pessoa Prose, 256).

his own name. And a cover page that Pessoa had typed, probably for the texts he sent to *Descobrimento*, said: ‘Do “Livro do Desassossego, composto por Bernardo Soares, ajudante de guarda-livros na cidade de Lisboa,” por Fernando Pessoa.’⁹¹ This formulation puts Soares together with the title between quotation marks. In all of previous publications of heteronymic texts, he didn’t give similar clues about the relationship between the fictive author and Fernando Pessoa.⁹²

To get more clarity on Soares’s relation to the heteronyms, I think it is essential to return to the ‘triumphal day,’ which over the years has become the icon of Pessoa’s heteronymic project. Soares doesn’t feature in that account of the genesis of the heteronyms. At first sight that shouldn’t surprise us, since the day occurs in 1914, when *Disquiet* still was under Pessoa’s authorship and even Guedes probably hadn’t entered the stage. But we shouldn’t forget that Pessoa wrote the account of the day in 1935, when he already had decided to attribute the book to Soares. In the meantime he had written another important text for the heteronymic project, probably somewhere in 1931 when he partially published them: *Notas para a recordação do meu mestre Caeiro* (‘Notes to the memory of my

91 [5/81] Transl.: *From the ‘Book of Disquiet, composed by Bernardo Soares, assistant-bookkeeper in the city of Lisbon,’ by Fernando Pessoa.*

92 Until 1925, that is. By that time he published *Opiário* and *Ode Triumphant* in the magazine *Athena* as ‘duas composições de Álvaro de Campos publicadas por Fernando Pessoa,’ a similar formulation as he later on would use for the Soares-publications. In a letter from July 1932 to João Gaspar Simões Pessoa expressed his wish that the heteronyms should be published under his own name. Pessoa never reached the point of publishing his *Ficções do Interlúdio*, which is why we don’t know whether he really would have published the works of the heteronyms in a similar way as he published the *Disquiet*-texts.

master Caeiro'). In those notes he makes Álvaro de Campos remember his master Caeiro, who supposedly had died in 1915. The notes contain a few fragments of the only known 'meeting' of the heteronyms, taking place somewhere in Lisbon. Campos reports on the aesthetic debate between master Caeiro and his disciples Campos, Reis, Pessoa and António Mora.⁹³ There is no trace of Guedes nor Soares in this meeting of the heteronyms, nor in any of the other notes Campos left. Soares did not play any role in the fictions of the *triumphal day* and the *Notes*. Many scholars have situated the heteronymic enterprise in the heart of Pessoa's oeuvre, but specifically for that reason Soares's absence is significant. Pessoa repeatedly speaks of these aforementioned heteronyms in terms of relationships and connectedness: 'a discussão em família', 'todos os do grupo', 'sou hoje o ponto de reunião de uma pequena humanidade só minha', 'Dramas em alma' and of course his most famous description: 'drama em gente.'⁹⁴ As the above quoted passages show, the heteronyms interacted, had aesthetic debates, dialogued and even the individual appearances of the three heteronyms were closely linked by Pessoa by means of the triumphal day. This connectedness was foremost based upon difference. Caeiro with his

93 António Mora: heteronym, philosopher. Pessoa created Mora to give the 'neopaganist' tendencies in the works of the heteronyms a theoretic background. Over 200 manuscripts with notes for the complete works of Mora were found among Pessoa's papers. Cf. (Pessoa Mora).

94 (Lopes 1990, 355), (ibidem, 373), (Pessoa PI, 102), (ibidem, 253) and (Pessoa CR, 198). Transl.: 'the discussion in the family', 'all of the group', 'today I am the place where a small humanity, exclusively mine, gathers together', 'drama in the soul', 'drama in people.'

bucolic naivety, Campos with his bravura and later on his introspectivism and Reis's indifferent classicism: they all had a clear part in this drama and were interconnected exactly because of their clearly separate destinies.

In this respect we could view the relation of the heteronyms as a system of Leibnizean monads,⁹⁵ in which every monad is a simple and individual substance; the smallest substances that constituted the universe. This way of looking at the heteronyms justifies their autonomous functions. After all, the heteronyms weren't merely fragments belonging to a greater whole, which one may call 'the self' of Fernando Pessoa, they most of all strongly expressed a self of their own that was not deducible to Fernando Pessoa himself. In the information we get about the heteronyms, this is pointed out at several occasions: Caeiro died twenty years before Pessoa did, Reis was born nine months before Pessoa and staid alive when Pessoa passed away, motives in the works of heteronyms like Campos's dandyism and bi-sexuality are nowhere to be found in the writings of the orthonym. The heteronyms were distinguishable one from the other *and* from the orthonym. They each represented distinct styles, languages or ideas, for which they took authorial responsibility, which they developed and

95 G.W. Leibniz (1646-1716): German philosopher and mathematician. In philosophy, Leibniz was one of the main advocates of 17th century rationalism, anticipating modern logic and analytic philosophy. One of his best known works is *La Monadologie* (1714), a concise collection of only 90 short paragraphs that present a metaphysics of simple substances. His views on the universe consisting of an infinite number of small entities called monads, and his discussions on monadic perception and consciousness are still used in philosophy and literature.

defended. According to Leibniz, monads are all different from each other, just like in nature no two things exist that are the same. The monads do not consist of parts or extensions, but they still can change, since their internal principles vary and evolve. ‘This particular series of changes should involve a multiplicity in the unit [unite] or in that which is simple,’ writes Leibniz, ‘for, as every natural change takes place gradually, something changes and something remains unchanged; and consequently a simple substance must be affected and related in many ways, although it has no parts.’⁹⁶ In this view we can state that the heteronymy as a whole consists of a multiplicity of individual monads, the heteronyms, of which every unit on its turn can change gradually (over time, as is happening with e.g. Álvaro de Campos) but remains simple and without parts. The reason why the whole, or in Leibniz’ term the Universe, is constituted as it is, is attributed by Leibniz in his creationist view to the divine hand of a creator. In my transposition to a literary situation, this is the author. If we look at Pessoa’s letter about the genesis of the heteronyms, the Fernando Pessoa who is subject in this letter can’t be the author, since we read that the ‘I’ in the writing has ‘nothing to do’ with the writings and developments of the heteronyms. This leaves something or someone that is responsible for their creation; the author, the creator. It appears to me, and genetic study of manuscripts supports

96 (Leibniz §13), as in: Leibniz, G.W. *The monadology*. London: Routledge, 1991. Further references are given by paragraph numbers.

this assertion,⁹⁷ that this account by Fernando Pessoa addresses a subject that does not coincide with the author. The subject ('I') in this account merely is another 'heteronym', bearing the same name as its author, and therefore called the 'orthonym.' All characters in the letter on the genesis of heteronyms were monads in a universe created by an invisible creator. The so called divine hand that for Leibniz was the organizer of the universe, is not so much different from the author: he created the heteronyms and their writings. The gradual changes in monads are of course also the result of the interventions of this creator. Leibniz says that the creator only changes monads when He perceives a real need for it, when the one monad needs to be adapted to another: God is the mediator between each and every monad. This is for example happening when Pessoa changed Álvaro de Campos from a poet of rhyming strophes into the Campos we know of the bombastic futurist verses, after that he had supposedly met his 'master' Alberto Caeiro. One monad shows by means of its individual connection to and adaptation of the whole, the other monad and therefore all monads, which in Leibniz' logic is the whole. He writes: 'each simple substance has relations which express all the others, and, consequently, that it is a perpetual living mirror of the universe.' (Leibniz §56) In this metaphoric mirror, one monad sees all others reflected in another monads. This is an

97 For example the fact that a draft of the letter indicates a different date of the 'triumphal day' (March 13 instead of March 8) (Pessoa Prose, 261) and the fact that the 'thirty-some poems' of Caeiro he asserted to have written 'at once', actually came into being over a period of two months (Castro 1990, 83ff). This indicates that the content of the letters should be considered as fiction.

important passage of the Monadology in relation to Pessoa's heteronyms, since it emphasizes the individuality of each monad (heteronym) and at the same time its connection to the whole. It reminds me of a text from one of the *Cadernos* of José Saramago. In his own, fictive, account of Pessoa's triumphal day, Saramago gave the mirror a central role.

‘(...) havia um homem a olhar de dentro do espelho, e esse homem não era Fernando Pessoa. (...) E como estes, Fernando e a imagem que não era sua, não iriam ficar ali eternamente a olhar-se, Fernando Pessoa disse: “Chamo-me Ricardo Reis.” O outro sorriu, assentiu com a cabeça e desapareceu. Durante um momento, o espelho ficou vazio, nu, mas logo a seguir outra imagem surgiu (...).’⁹⁸

Saramago used the mirror as a metaphor for the mediation between Pessoa and the heteronyms. His account makes one important aspect very clear: the autonomy of the heteronyms. At first it is Pessoa who moves, passing by the mirror and noticing the strange image in it. And from that moment on, Pessoa stands still and the heteronyms begin to move. They walk away or just vanish, which is not clear, but in any case they present each other, three in a row, to Pessoa. That standstill is important, since it indicates that Pessoa is not merely at one time Caieiro and at another time, or in another place, Reis, but that he actually is all three. This also

98 Saramago, José. *Cadernos de Lanzarote – Diário III*. Lisboa: Caminho, 1996. 204-206. Transl.: (...) *there was a man looking from the mirror and this man was not Fernando Pessoa. (...) And since they, Fernando and the image that wasn't his, were not to stay there forever looking at each other, Fernando Pessoa said: 'My name is Ricardo Reis.' The other smiled, nodded his head and left. For a moment the mirror remained empty, naked, but soon another image appeared (...).*

becomes clear on the moment when heteronym Reis had left the mirror and the next heteronym hasn't showed up yet: instead of showing Pessoa's own face on that moment, the mirror remains empty. Pessoa *sees* the various heteronyms as a representation of himself (since he is after all looking in a mirror) although he cannot identify with the images. If we take the perspective of the heteronyms: they all must see Pessoa's physical image in the mirror.⁹⁹ They all have the mirror-image of Fernando Pessoa; and therefore hypothetically recognize each other as themselves. It is, to speak with Leibniz once more, as a 'city viewed from different directions appears entirely different and, as it were, multiplied perspectively, in just the same way it happens that, because of the infinite number of simple substances, there are, as it were, just as many different universes, which are, nevertheless, only perspectives on a single one, corresponding to the different points of view of each monad.' (Leibniz §57) The point of this comparison is that in the case of the heteronyms, each and every individual heteronym, by being incommunicably different from the other, makes part of a huge multiplicity that as being a multiplicity forms an entirety. I recall Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*, in which the protagonist questions himself about his identity practically throughout the entire novel, and finally realizes that he is not himself or even someone, but that he is many.

99 Which becomes clear in a passage of the text that I haven't quoted: when Pessoa sees heteronym Reis in the mirror, Saramago writes: 'He was a little bit shorter and had a slightly brown, shaven face. Unconsciously, Fernando Pessoa moved his hand towards his upper lip, then sighed with almost childish relief, his moustache was still there.' The fact that 'the moustache was still there' indicates that Pessoa's physical image hadn't changed, but only his mirror image had.

He is a different 'I' being involved on his lover Albertine than the 'I' that is involved on Gilberte, he is a different I when he is in Venice than he is in the salons in Paris, he is an 'I-Combray', an 'I-Balbec' an 'I-Gilberte' an 'I-Albertine' and so on. (Landy 97). This monadic perspectivism of Proust results in a *nomadic* self that consists of a multiplicity. Pessoa expands this idea by creating many nomadic selves that in their multiplicity form a universe of fundamentally different monads. Each monad is different from the other, each has its own characteristics, in case of Pessoa's heteronyms an own style, biography and set of ideas, and yet they reflect each other and the whole without losing their identities. It is a highly radicalized version of the modernist fragmentation of the self that we found in Proust's perspectivism and the alter-ego's of, for example, Paul Valéry, Theo van Doesburg and Valéry Larbaud.

In *Disquiet* we recognize various heteronyms that pop up in ideas and formulations. That shouldn't surprise us, since Pessoa worked on the book for his entire writing life. And yet it is a bit strange, since this is a *journal intime*, written from a first person perspective in which the 'I' in this case was a fictitious author, a heteronym, or when we listen to Pessoa, a semi-heteronym. Wasn't the whole idea of that system of heteronyms to keep distinct ideas and ways of writing separate from each other? Caeiro was the metaphysics-hating nature lover, while Campos was continuously fascinated and terrified by the metaphysical mysteries of life. The heteronyms had interests, styles and ideas that were different from Pessoa

himself and each other, and certainly not randomly exchangeable.

The character of Bernardo Soares takes in a more problematic position within this monadic system of heteronyms. It seems as if this highly eclectic oeuvre full of heterogeneity and disquiet forms a monadic system on its own. Where each of the heteronyms has a quite clear and distinct literary style and set of ideas, Soares in *Disquiet* does not. This book shows itself as a universe of multiplicity of its own. A multiplicity in the disguise of unity, that is, since the work bears only one title and only one author. We therefore can assume that whenever the protagonist of *Disquiet* writes ‘I’, this ‘I’ refers to Bernardo Soares, like the ‘I’ in the *Triumphal Ode* refers to Álvaro the Campos. But Soares does not represent one type of aesthetical expression or ideal, but rather a conglomerate of different ideas that we can trace back to various heteronyms and works in Pessoa’s oeuvre. And, above all, Soares himself feels being fragmented, doubled and dissipated as well, but did not, contrary to Pessoa as an author, attribute names to those various elements. In some fragments we read echos from Alberto Caeiro, in others we seem to recognize Campos or Reis. One of the fragments could even be an echo of Fernando Pessoa as ‘the author’: ‘Criei em mim várias personalidades. Crio personalidades constantemente.’¹⁰⁰ In *Disquiet* we see the sub-selves of Soares brought together in an apparently uniform style. This stylistic disguise of selves dissipates the boundaries initially set in the heteronymia between the various personae; hence Lourenço’s

100 (LdD 299, 292). Transl.: *I’ve created various personalities within. I constantly create personalities.* (LdD-Penguin, 299, 254).

earlier quoted qualification of *Disquiet* as being a ‘texto suicidário.’¹⁰¹ In some ‘holiday-notes’ Soares describes how he wanders along the coastline and feels in some way liberated from himself:

‘E, sempre que eu descia a escada velha, e sobretudo da pedra aos pés para baixo, saía da minha própria existência, encontrando-me. (...) descendo aquela escada pouco usada agora, e entrando lentamente na praia pequena sempre deserta, eu empregava um processo mágico para me encontrar mais próximo da *mónada possível* que sou.’¹⁰² (my italics).

Here we read how Soares feels himself being a monad, although with doubt, like any other heteronym. Behind the doubts and feelings of fragmentations, there seems to be a self that is expressing the doubts in its search for unity. The oeuvres of the heteronyms are the manifestations of those unities. But in *Disquiet* the result is completely different from the clearly distinguishable, individual monads that the heteronyms were: it is an illusory whole of vaguely distinguishable parts.

As a result, we have a double fragmentation: a fragmentation of the text itself and a fragmentation of the self of its protagonist. And this double fragmentation presented as a unity (by the heteronym Bernardo Soares, by the unitary title and by the editor because of publishing the fragments as a book) has a specific effect: it produces its own multiplicity. Editors,

101 (Lourenço 1986, 91).

102 (LdD 198, 210). Transl.: *And each time I went down that old stairway [to the cove, MS], and especially on the part made of stone, I stepped out of my own existence and found myself. (...) In descending that now little-used stairway and slowly stepping out on to the forever deserted beach, it was as if I was using some magical technique to find myself nearer the monad that I perhaps am.* (LdD-Penguin, 198, 173).

readers and scholars have been struggling for decades with the question what to make of this book. In case of Pessoa's heteronyms one can hold on to an interpretation of a fragmentation of the self and of the impersonality of the author, but *Disquiet* is not mere fragmentation; it is at least fragmentation within fragmentation. *Disquiet* is a monadic universe that implies its own multiplicity of selves, therefore forming its own universe of selves, of monads, where every fragment of this book is the expression of its own monad and where sometimes even a certain paragraph of a single fragment is the expression of a monad. This might be another reason why Soares was a 'semi-heteronym': it is not Soares that mirrors the other monads in Pessoa's heteronymic universe, it is *Disquiet* that mirrors Pessoa's monadology of the self. Soares: 'Nada possuímos, porque nem a nós possuímos. Nada temos porque nada somos. Que mãos estenderei para que universo? O universo não é meu: sou eu.'¹⁰³ The portrayal of the self in *Disquiet* shows not merely a *depersonalized* self, but a *decentralized* self, about which, to continue the Leibnizean metaphor, the creator of the monadic universe had forgotten and lost all grip.¹⁰⁴ Soares only consists of many dispersed alter egos and thus adds another layer of fragmentation to his heteronymic status. This strange fragmentation within fragmentation

103 (LdD 138, 162). Transl.: *We have nothing, because we are nothing. What hand will I reach out, and to what universe? The universe isn't mine: it is me.* (LdD-Penguin, 123, 112).

104 Cf. (LdD 401, 367), which does not belong to the canon: "Morreu quem eu nunca fui. Esqueceu a Deus quem eu havia de ser. Só o interlúdio vazio." Transl.: *The man I never was died. God forgot who I should have been. I'm just a vacant interlude.* (LdD-Penguin, 401, 332).

or mirror of the heteronymic universe has a remarkable effect: it shows how the monadology of the self works. Not so much in the act of writing, as the heteronymia does, but in the act of reading. Bernardo Soares is not, as each of the other heteronyms an actor in a play. This is not a ‘drama em gente’, but a ‘drama sem gente’¹⁰⁵: ‘Sou a cena nua onde passam vários actores representando várias peças.’¹⁰⁶ It is there, on that stage that within *Disquiet* countless actors act.

‘Cada um de nós é vários, é muitos, é uma prolixidade de si mesmos. Por isso aquele que despreza o ambiente não é o mesmo que dele se alegra ou padece. Na vasta colónia do nosso ser há gente de muitas espécies, pensando e sentindo diferentemente.’¹⁰⁷

§4. Rereading and rewriting

The empty stage didn’t only offer space for an infinite number of monadic selves, it also opens up the possibility for many other works of literature to enter the text. In *Disquiet* we found references to texts of a wide range of authors such as Chateaubriand, Verlaine, Hugo, Rousseau, Shakespeare, Dickens, Horace, Aeschyle and Dante. The references to other authors and the quotations or paraphrases of their works are mainly present in the later fragments of *Disquiet*. Two of the texts that Pessoa published in

105 No ‘drama in people’ (as Pessoa in the letter to Casais Monteiro described his heteronym project), but a ‘drama without people’

106 (LdD 299, 292). Transl.: *I’m the empty stage where various actors act out various plays.* (LdD-Penguin, 299, 254).

107 (LdD 396, 362). Transl.: *Each of us is several, is many, is a profusion of selves. So that the self who disdains his surroundings is not the same as the self who suffers or takes joy in them. In the vast colony of our being there are many species of people who think and feel in different ways.* (LdD-Penguin, 396, 327).

the last years of his life, can serve as two case studies of how intertextuality in *Disquiet* works. The first text is a fragment that refers to 19th century poet Cesário Verde.¹⁰⁸ Verde's vivid, realistic portrayal of downtown Lisbon clearly left its marks in the fragments of this period. We don't know exactly when Pessoa got acquainted with Verde's poetry,¹⁰⁹ but it is for certain that his poetry can be recognized in the poetry of Álvaro de Campos and certain texts, such as this one, of *Disquiet*. '(...) gozo de sentir-me coevo de Cesário Verde, e tenho em mim, não outros versos como os dele, mas a substância igual à dos versos que foram dele,'¹¹⁰ one reads in this fragment. This 'substance' has to be Verde's wandering through the streets of Lisbon and the impressionistic descriptions of the colours, sounds and smells of the city and most of all the feelings, thoughts and associations they evoke. In his most famous (posthumously published) poem *O sentimento dum ocidental* (*The feelings of a westerner*) (1880) he describes the impressions of the lonely wanderer through the streets of downtown Lisbon by night. These impressions are seldomly contemplated; they are single, isolated perceptions of a detached observer, a person that was merely interested in looking and not so much in thinking. The thoughts that accompany these perceptions are more meditations or musings than purely rational

108 Cesário Verde (1855-1886): Portuguese poet, writing Alexandrine verses, most of all on contemporary city life or its opposite; life in the countryside.

109 Verde's name is to my knowledge mentioned for the first time in a notebook from 1901 [144C²]. (Pessoa EC-Cadernos, 287).

110 (LdD 3, 53). Transl.: *I enjoy feeling that I'm a contemporary of Cesário Verde and that in me I have, not verses like his, but the identical substance of the verses that were his (...)*. (LdD-Penguin, 3, 14).

considerations: ‘Embrenho-me, a scismar, por boqueirões, por beccos, / Ou erro pelos caes a que se atracam botes.’¹¹¹ (Verde 80). The poetry he wrote in the last years of his life stands out because of its honest and varied description of occidental city life, the social awareness, scenes of poverty, disease and decay. Not only the bohemians and high society, but also the working class and vagabonds stroll through his verses. Verde’s clear observations may be associated with late nineteenth century realism, they carry at the same time a very poetic voice in the description of those observations and the spleen and ennui of the verses:

‘ Nas nossas ruas, ao anoitecer,
Ha tal soturnidade, ha tal melancholia,
Que as sombras, o bulicio, o Tejo, a maresia
Despertam-me um desejo absurdo de soffrer.’¹¹² (Ibid. 79).

This combination of realist description and inner torment can be found clearly in Pessoa’s *Disquiet* as well, especially in this text that overtly mentions Cesário Verde. The fragment can even be read as a prose-version of Verde’s poem. Verde splits his poem in four parts: ‘eve,’ ‘evening,’ ‘at gaslight’ and ‘dead hours.’ It forms a gradual passage of time from early evening until the wee small hours, during a stroll through downtown Lisbon. Soares situates himself in the beginning of the text in the ‘the early summer evenings

111 Transl.: *I lose myself in pensiveness, wander through the alleys, / along the quays and just departed barges.*

112 Transl.: *In our streets, at nightfall, / there is such dreariness and melancholy / that the shadows, the rowdiness, the Tagus, the sea wind / wake in me an absurd desire to suffer.*

downtown,' making a stroll through its streets 'along the quiet dock,' that make him slip into a prior era, which is Verde's one. He continues 'walking on these streets, until the night falls,' thus entering the 'gaslight'-part of Verde's poem; the phase of the evening that most activity, bursting on the streets during the day, now occurs inside the houses, under the glimmer of gaslights. 'De dia elas são cheias de um bulício que não quer dizer nada; de noite são cheias de uma falta de bulício que não quer dizer nada,'¹¹³ Soares writes. In the third paragraph Verde's 'horas mortas' ('dead hours') become in Soares version: 'horas lentas e vazias' ('languid and empty hours'), having experienced the passage of time, wandering through the city, from early evening to dead hours, as in *O sentimento dum ocidental*. The 'evening'-part of the poem that in Verde's version depicts the last walks of his fellow townsmen towards their houses, seems to have been skipped by Soares: in the published version of the text, this part gets no attention at all. But on Pessoa's own typed copy of it, we find two handwritten paragraphs added to the fragment, in which the 'evening-part' still appears.¹¹⁴ Verde recalls 'as tuas elegantes' ('elegant ladies') and domino playing immigrants; Soares describes the 'casais futuros' ('future married couples') and 'rapazes com pressa de prazer' ('young men in a hurry for pleasure'). Some inhabitants

113 (LdD 3, 53). Transl.: ...by day they [the streets] are full of meaningless activity, by night they're full of a meaningless lack of it. (LdD-Penguin, 3, 14).

114 The 1929 published version of this text only prints the first three paragraphs. The manuscript [1/88] shows two more. The typewritten document shows that the fourth paragraph was interrupted. Pessoa finished this paragraph and the next one by hand, possibly only after he had sent a clear copy of the first three paragraphs to the magazine.

of Lisbon appear both in Verde's poem as in Soares's prosetext: Verde's 'os soldados' ('soldiers') and 'patrulhas de cavallaria' ('cavalry patrols') become in *Disquiet* 'os recruta's' ('army recruits'), Verde's 'as costureiras, as floristas' ('seamstresses and flowergirls') return in Soares's version as 'os pares das costureiras' ('chatting seamstresses') and Verde's observation 'Ás portas, em cabelo, enfadam-se os logistas' ('bareheaded shopkeepers that bore themselves in the doorway'), already immortalized by Verde in the first part (early evening) of his poem, return in Soares as well: 'a uma ou outra porta reparam em pouco os vadios parados que são donos das lojas' ('and at one or another doorway a shopkeeper stands like an idle vagabond, hardly noticing a thing').

The aim of this briefly sketched correspondence between Pessoa/Soares and Verde is not to claim that Pessoa has copied Verde's poem in his own fragment, but to show the importance of Cesário Verde for *Disquiet*. The discussed fragment is by no means a coincidentally Verde-influenced text, but sets a premise for many fragments of *Disquiet* in which Soares strolls through the city and registers his perceptions and emotions. The fact that Pessoa published this text as the first one in the series of new *Disquiet*-texts, is a statement of what to expect of the book that would hold this text. The analogy of the structure between this fragment and Verde's poem is striking: Pessoa has used *O sentimento dum ocidental* not merely as an influence but as a *template* for his own fragment: 'tenho em mim, não outros versos como os dele, mas a substância igual à dos versos que

foram dele.’¹¹⁵ This ‘substância igual’ even more applies to another author mentioned in one of the published texts and also an important reference in other fragments of *Disquiet*.

In a fragment that he published in the magazine *Presença* in 1932, Pessoa embroiders on a sentence by Swiss professor in aesthetics and philosophy Henri-Frédéric Amiel.¹¹⁶ He wrote a sizeable diary, which in certain respects resembles *Disquiet* and in any case inspired Pessoa highly. ‘Disse Amiel que uma paisagem é um estado de alma,’ Soares quotes Amiel, but he doesn’t completely agree with him. He prefers his own variant: ‘um estado da alma é uma paisagem’¹¹⁷, completely in line with his tendency to externalize emotions as he does in many other texts. Since this text introduces the themes of ‘perception’ and ‘objectivity’ in *Disquiet*, we are reminded of the poems of Alberto Caieiro. Soares’s text is ambiguously in dialogue with Caieiro’s poem XV, in which he writes that the next four of his poems ‘separam-se de tudo o que penso / Mentem a tudo o que eu sinto’. Caieiro still calls them ‘natural’ verses, since he wrote them when he

115 (LdD 3, 53). Transl.: *in me I have, not verses like his, but the identical substance of the verses that were his.* (LdD-Penguin, 3, 14).

116 Henri-Frédéric Amiel (1821-1881): Swiss professor in aesthetics and philosophy, poet and critic. During his life he didn’t get recognition as a poet. After his death, the publication of his ‘journal intime’, consisting of over 17.000 pages, gained worldwide recognition.

117 (LdD 72, 109). *Amiel said that a landscape is a state of the soul / a state of the soul is a landscape.* (LdD-Penguin, 72, 71).

was 'ill', thus expressing 'o contrário / Do que penso quando estou são'.¹¹⁸

‘Por isso essas canções que me renegam
Não são capazes de me renegar
E são paisagem da minha alma de noite,
A mesma ao contrário.’¹¹⁹

Caeiro establishes in this poem a strange inversion; the poems he is referring to are the opposite of what he usually writes. This is the only reason why he uses this metaphor of the 'paisagem da minha alma', which can be called aberrational in his non-metaphysical oeuvre. Normally ('when I am well') he wouldn't connect 'landscape' with 'soul' but instead he would limit himself to what he *sees*: 'Eu não tenho teorias. Eu não tenho filosofia. Eu vejo mas não sei nada. Chamo a uma pedra uma pedra para a distinguir de uma flor ou de uma árvore (...)'¹²⁰ Caeiro merely uses words to distinguish between the objects of his perception. The inverted poem, therefore, can be seen as the poetic formulation of what Caeiro *is not*. Caeiro rewrites Caeiro.

This brings us to Soares and his rewriting of Amiel. Soares writes:

‘Desde que a paisagem é paisagem, deixa de ser um estado de alma.
Objectivar é criar, e ninguém diz que um poema feito é um estado de

118 Pessoa, Fernando. *Poemas de Alberto Caeiro*. Lisboa: Ática, 1993. 43. Transl.: [these songs] *Are separate from anything I think. / They give the lie to everything I feel (...)* *When I'm sick I must think the opposite / Of what I think when I am well.*

119 (ibid.) Transl.: *That's why these songs that deny me / Have no power to deny me / And are the landscape of my soul at night, / The same one but its opposite . . .*

120 (Pessoa Notas 62). Transl.: *I don't have any theories. I don't have any philosophy. I see, but I don't know anything. I call a rock a rock to distinguish it from a flower or a tree, or anything else that's not a rock.*

estar pensando em fazê-lo. Ver é talvez sonhar, mas se lhe chamamos ver em vez de lhe chamarmos sonhar, é que distinguimos sonhar de ver.¹²¹

Soares describes his awareness of his unimportance while looking from a viewpoint over Lisbon and the Tagus. He mentions the cosiness of the experience of being small and the solace of being able to imagine himself happy. This happiness comes forth out of the perception of external reality. The possibility that seeing actually is dreaming still exists, but his emotion on this very moment is brought forth exclusively by the perceived world.

‘Independente de mim, cresce erva, chove na erva que cresce, e o sol doira a extensão da erva que cresceu ou vai crescer; erguem-se os montes de muito antigamente, e o vento passa com o mesmo modo com que Homero, ainda que não existisse, o ouviu. Mais certa era dizer que um estado da alma é uma paisagem; haveria na frase a vantagem de não conter a mentira de uma teoria, mas tão-somente a verdade de uma metáfora.’¹²²

Looking at “a purely objective” landscape, this is one of the rare moments in which Bernardo Soares loses his awareness of the physical being that he is. The fact that Soares is opposing Amiel, is in line with the dichotomy

121 (LdD 72, 109). Transl.: *As soon as the landscape is a landscape, it ceases to be a state of emotion. To objectify is to create, and no one would say that a finished poem is a state of thinking about writing one. Seeing is perhaps a form of dreaming, but if we call it seeing instead of dreaming, it's so we can distinguish between the two.* (LdD-Penguin, 72, 71).

122 (ibid.). Transl.: *Independently of me the grass grows, the rain falls on the grass that grows and the sun shines on the patch of grass that grew or will grow; the hills have been there for ages, and the wind blows in the same way as when Homer heard it, even if he didn't exist. It would be better to say that a state of emotion is landscape, for the phrase would contain not the lie of a theory but the truth of a metaphor.* (ibid.)

of his own self and the landscape in this fragment, but not entirely representative of what he writes in other texts: ‘Transeuntes eternos por nós mesmos, não há paisagem senão o que somos.’¹²³ Here he seems to deny clearly the existence of any landscapes outside of his own self. ‘Vejo-me como ao lago que imaginei, e o que vejo nesse lago sou eu. (...) Cessei, como o sol na minha paisagem.’¹²⁴ Similar to Caeiro opposing his own convictions in order to reaffirm those very convictions, Soares uses Amiel not to oppose Amiel’s but to oppose his own writings. Soares openly denies the impressive objectivity of the landscape he experienced in the above quoted text, in other fragments: ‘Não acredito na paisagem. Sim. Não o digo porque creia no “a paisagem é um estado de alma” do Amiel, um dos bons momentos verbais da mais insuportável interiorice. Digo-o porque não creio.’¹²⁵

Amiel is a huge presence in *Disquiet*, not only in these two fragments in which he mentions his name, but also in many other fragments in which his ideas have been integrated in Pessoa texts. Pessoa underlined more than 100 fragments in Amiel’s journal and in 1925 devoted a poem to

123 (LdD 138, 160). Transl.: *Eternal tourists of ourselves, there is no landscape but what we are.* (LdD-Penguin, 123, 112).

124 (LdD 339, 321). Transl.: *I see myself as I see the lake I’ve imagined, and what I see in that lake is myself. (...) I’ve ceased, like the sun in my landscape.* (LdD-Penguin, 339, 285).

125 (ibid. 340, 322). Transl.: *No, I don’t believe in the landscape. I don’t say it because I believe in Amiel’s ‘the landscape is a state of emotion’, one of the better verbal moments of his unbearable interiorizing. I say it because I don’t believe.* (ibid. 340, 285).

him.¹²⁶ It might be the case that the reading Amiel's diary has been, after the epiphany of the heteronyms and the death of Sá-Carneiro, a third major turning point in the evolution of *Disquiet*. In another fragment for *Disquiet*, Pessoa wrote:

'O diário de Amiel doeu-me sempre por minha causa. Quando cheguei àquele ponto em que ele diz que Scherer lhe descreveu o fruto do espírito como sendo "a consciência da consciência", senti uma referência directa à minha alma.'¹²⁷

Richard Zenith has already pointed out that Pessoa probably quoted the passage by memory, since it wasn't Schérer's but Amiel's position that Soares acclaims¹²⁸:

'Heim était l'impartialité de la conscience, Naville la moralité de la conscience, Lecoultré la religion de la conscience, Scherer l'intelligence de la conscience, et moi la conscience de la conscience. Un terrain commun, mais des individualités diverses.'¹²⁹

126 Pessoa owned a copy of Amiel's *Fragments of a journal intime*. Amiel, Henri-Frédéric. *Fragments d'un journal intime*. Paris : G. Fishbacher, 1911. The poem called 'Amiel' (1925) can be found in: (Pessoa Poesia II, 244).

127 (LdD 119, 141).

Scherer: Edmon Scherer (1815-1889). Scherer was a friend of Amiel's and wrote the lengthy preface of the posthumously published diary.

Transl.: *Amiel's diary has always grieved me on my own account. When I came to the passage where he says that Scherer described the fruit of the mind as 'the consciousness of consciousness', I felt it as a direct reference to my soul.* (LdD-Penguin, 119, 109).

128 For a long time the name of Schérer hadn't even been identified by scholars. It was only in the Assírio & Alvim edition of *Disquiet* that Zenith identified Pessoa's erroneous quotation of Schérer.

129 (Amiel 80). Charles Heim, Ernest Naville, Elie Lecoultré and Edmond Schérer were close friends of Amiel. Transl.: *Heim represented the impartiality of consciousness, Naville the morality of consciousness, Lecoultré the religion of consciousness and I the the consciousness of consciousness. Common ground, but of different individuals.*

By adapting Amiel's quotations, as is the case in the fragments on the landscape, and giving an inaccurate quotation like this one on conscience, Pessoa not merely *includes* Amiel but *adopts* him in *Disquiet*. Amiel starts to take part in the 'true psychology' of Bernardo Soares. In the fragment called *Exame de consciência*, a title that he might have extracted from Amiel's journal,¹³⁰ it becomes clear how Pessoa's use of quotations in *Disquiet* works:

'Viver a vida em sonho e falso é sempre viver a vida. (...) Este livro é um só estado de alma, analisado de todos os lados, percorrido em todas as direcções. Alguma coisa nova, ao menos, esta atitude me trouxe? Nem essa consolação se aproxima de mim. Estava tudo já em Heraclito e no Eclesiastes: A vida é um brinquedo de criança na areia... vaidade e de espírito... E em Job pobre, numa só frase: A minha alma está cansada da minha vida.'¹³¹

Not 'a paisagem é um estado de alma' (as Amiel wrote), but 'este livro é um só estado de alma.' Although everything has already been said before, this way of living life 'falsely, in dreams' 'is still living life.' Later on in the fragment he lists some authors of whom he intended some exemplary

130 'Examen de conscience'. Scherer uses this term in his preface to Amiel's journal on page LXX of Pessoa's copy.

131 (LdD p. 442). The quotation is from Job 10:1. 'My soul is weary of my life; I will leave my complaint upon myself; I will speak in the bitterness of my soul.'
Transl.: *One who lives life falsely, in dreams, is still living life. (...) This book is a single state of soul, analysed from all sides, investigated in all directions. Has this attitude at least brought me something new? Not even this consolation is mine. Everything was already said long ago, by Heraclitus and Ecclesiastes: Life is a child's game in the sand... vanity and vexation of spirit... And in that single phrase of poor Job: My soul is weary of my life.* (LdD-Penguin, 451).

lines, but, considering the lacunary status of the text, he never came to include them:

‘Caleidoscópico de fragmentadas sequências, de (...)

Em Pascal:

Em Vigny: Em ti

Em Amiel, tão completamente em Amiel:

...(certas frases)...

Em Verlaine, nos simbolistas,

Tantos doentes como eu... Nem o privilégio de uma pequena originalidade da doença... Faço o que tantos antes de mim fizeram... Sofro o que já é tão velha sofrer... Para que mesmo penso estas coisas, se já tantos as pensaram e as sofreram?...¹³²

The absence of the quotations here, although probably of a textual-genetic origin, illustrates perfectly the essential presence of the literary heritage in *Disquiet*. Soares is no author in the traditional meaning of the word, but a conglomerate of other texts, whether this be texts by other heteronyms – merely recognizable by means of similar ideas or formulations – or texts by other (canonical) authors. In that respect it is significant that the only heteronym that *is* mentioned by name, is Alberto Caeiro, the master of all heteronyms, thus being placed on the same level

132 (LdD p. 442). Transl.: *Kaleidoscope of fragmented sequences... (...)*In Pascal:
In Vigny: In you.....

In Amiel, so completely in Amiel:... (other phrases)...

In Verlaine and the symbolists:

I feel so sick inside, and without even a little originality in my sickness... I do what countless others have done before me... I suffer what's old and hackneyed... Why do I even think these things, when so many have already thought and suffered them?... (ibid.).

as the many canonical authors he mentions.¹³³ Pessoa had a tendency to quote and rewrite other texts in many of his works, but never as conscious and significant as in *Disquiet*. Other heteronyms use the literary references to shape their own literary and philosophical positions, to inscribe their writings into a tradition or to fence their individual ideas and styles. Think of the complete absence of literary tradition in the works of Caeiro, who after all rejects metaphysics and paradoxically proclaims a purely positivist and anti-artistic approach of reality in his poetry.¹³⁴ Think of the important presence of Whitman in Campos's works and the classic poets, mainly Horace and Epicurus, in the works of Reis. For Soares literary references do not shape or manifest his own identity; they are part of that identity, which after all is merely an 'empty stage'. This is why an amalgam of authors and works from over twenty centuries of western literary tradition can be present in the texts. The quoted authors therefore become somewhat

133 Caeiro is quoted and identified in fragment 46 : 'Releio passivamente, recebendo o que sinto como uma inspiração e um livramento, aquelas frases simples de Caeiro, na referência natural do que resulta do pequeno tamanho da sua aldeia. Dali, diz ele, porque é pequena, pode ver-se mais do mundo do que da cidade; e por isso a aldeia é maior que a cidade...

"Porque eu sou do tamanho do que vejo / e não do tamanho da minha altura."

Frases como estas, que parecem crescer sem vontade que as houvesse dito, limpam-me de toda a metafísica que espontaneamente acrescento à vida. (LdD, 46, 86).

Transl.: *I experience a feeling of inspiration and liberation as I passively reread those simple lines by Caeiro that tell what naturally results from the smallness of his village. Since it is small, he says, there one can see more of the world than in the city, and so his village is larger than the city... Because I'm the size of what I see / And not the size of my stature. Lines like these, which seem to spring into being on their own, independently of whoever says them, cleanse me of all the metaphysics that I automatically tack on to life.* (LdD-Penguin, 46, 46).

134 Caeiro even rejects the comparison of his works with a verse by Wordsworth, drawn by Campos. In: (Pessoa Notas 40-41).

exchangeable. In one of the texts of *Disquiet* Pessoa wrote: ‘Quantos Verlaines fui,’ but had written on the manuscript above Verlaine’s name: ‘Horácios,’¹³⁵ clearly indicating this convertibility. The absolute fragments of this book, being each an incommunicable monad and by being so referring only to other fragments, other texts and other (heteronymical) authors, illustrate Soares’s idiosyncratic relation with the heteronymic system. In the above-mentioned text called ‘Exame de consciência,’ Soares acknowledged this: ‘E contudo, sim, qualquer coisa de novo trouxe. Mas disso não sou responsável. Veio da Noite e brilha em mim como uma estrela... Todo o meu esforço não o produziu nem o apagou... Sou uma ponte entre dois mistérios, sem saber como me construíram...’¹³⁶ We get an image of the modern author that reminds us Barthes’s description in the *Death of the Author*: ‘We know that a text does not consist of a line of words, releasing a single “theological” meaning (the “message” of the Author-God), but is a space of many dimensions, in which are wedded and contested various kinds of writing, no one of which is original: the text is a tissue of citations, resulting from the thousand sources of culture.’ (Barthes 144). This post-structuralist view of the text containing no meaning in itself but only referring to other texts, is confirmed by Pessoa:

‘Releio, em uma destas sonolências sem sono, em que nos entretemos

135 (LdD, 290, 286). [2/21]. *How many Verlaines / Horaces I’ve been!* (LdD-Penguin, 290, 249).

136 (LdD, p. 443). Transl.: *And yet I have after all introduced something new, although I’m not responsible for it. It came from the Night and glows in me like a star... All of my effort couldn’t have produced it or snuffed it out... I’m a bridge between two mysteries, with no idea of how I got built.* (LdD-Penguin, 451).

inteligentemente sem a inteligência, algumas das páginas que formarão, todas juntas, o meu livro de impressões sem nexos. (...) E pergunto, ao que me resta de consciente nesta série confusa de intervalos entre coisas que não existem, de que me serviu encher tantas páginas de frases em que acreditei como minhas.¹³⁷

Those ‘phrases I believed in as my own,’ may equally have been written by other authors: ‘Ter a obra feita por outrem, e trabalhar só em aperfeiçoá-la... Assim, talvez, foi feita a *Ilíada*... Só o não ter o esforço da criação primitiva!’¹³⁸ Pessoa’s fragmentary writing created a web of heteronymic and canonical literary voices, quotations and adapted quotations that forces us to develop a reading strategy for this book that doesn’t primarily consider Soares to be an author, but to see him as a reader in the Barthesian meaning of the word: ‘there is one place where this multiplicity is collected, united, and this place is not the author, as we have hitherto said it was, but the reader: the reader is the very space in which are inscribed, without any being lost, all the citations a writing consists of; the unity of a text is not in its origin, it is in its destination; but this destination can no longer be personal: the reader is a man without history, without biography, without psychology; he is only that someone

137 (LdD, 442, 397). Transl.: *In one of those spells of sleepless somnolence when we intelligently amuse ourselves without the intelligence, I reread some of the pages that together will form my book of random impressions. (...) And I ask the conscious vestige that I still conserve, in this confused series of intervals between non-existent things, what good it did me to fill so many pages with phrases I believed in as my own (...).* (LdD-Penguin, 442, 363).

138 (LdD 291, 287). Transl.: *To begin with somebody else’s creation, working only on improving it... Perhaps that is how the *Iliad* was written. Anything but to have to struggle with original creation!* (LdD-Penguin, 291, 246).

who holds gathered into a single field all the paths of which the text is constituted.’ (Barthes 145). Viewing Soares as a Barthesian reader, makes *Disquiet* a kind of reader’s account of this reading, which backs up my earlier observation of *Disquiet* as ‘fragmentation of fragmentation.’ When the multiplicity of reading is – and according to Barthes can only be – collected and unified in the reader, Soares by rewriting this collection and unification in his own texts, produces a new layer of multiplicity, waiting to be collected again by the reader. It’s a dynamic movement of rereading and rewriting. Barthes’s death of the author gave birth to the reader, who in Soares dies again and gives birth to yet another type of modern author: the empty stage. This double layer of author- and readership in the book is exactly the reason why so many fragments in it deal with writing or reading. Soares, by having unified his readings and having divided them again by producing his own writing and thus his own multiplicity, proves to be extremely aware on the subject of writing.

§5. Hidden literality and continuous movement

The attention for the problems of writing seems to me a constant presence in *Disquiet*, no matter whether they stem from the early symbolist, the Guedes- or the Soares-phase. Although I admit that the stylistic and thematic features of the fragments in the various phases of writing are in general distinguishable, I am equally convinced of the strong intertwining of those phases when it comes to the theme of writing. We should also be aware of the fact that the stylistic separation of mainly the symbolist

phase and the later diary-phase is not so rigid as some want us to believe.¹³⁹ Even after the Soares-revelation had taken place, Pessoa occasionally still wrote with a highly symbolist pen.¹⁴⁰ But if we look carefully at the the fragments written in those early years, or the ones that look like as if they were written during that phase, we recognize even there the preoccupation with writing, as Santos has pointed out: ‘Frequently in fragments that seemingly amount to vague outpourings of reverie and postsymbolist ramblings, apparently sanctioning such descriptions of *The Book* as a “breviary of decadentism,” (Lind 1983, 21), references to the problem and status of writing go unnoticed (...).’ (Santos 271). Focusing on the aspect of self-conscious writing of the fragments demands a different approach: a literal one. In the works of the heteronyms each flower of Caieiro and each flywheel of Campos can be understood as a symbol of the various worldviews they express. As we’ve seen, this is different in the heterogenous and fragmentary oeuvre of Soares. A literal approach of his work does not so much focus on the imagery, the metaphors or the symbols in order to determine what the fragment or ‘the work’ means, but focuses on the words

139 In am referring to editors such as Cunha and Quadros who physically separate the two phases by publishing them in two different volumes or different sections of their editions.

140 For example in (LdD, 19, 64), written in 1929, and a text called *Sinfonia de uma noite inquieta*, written at least after 1923 (The text was partly written on the back of a copy of Pessoa’s text ‘Sobre um manifesto de estudantes,’ published in 1923). *Sinfonia...* resembles a text with the same title that originates from the early years of the writing process. In those texts we see the same imagery, decadent atmospheres and symbolic reverie that characterized the early years but they have been written much later. I recall Pessoa’s note in which he expressed his wish to adapt the older fragments to Soares’ new psychology while maintaining their ‘dreaminess and logical disjointedness.’

as they are literally there. And this approach applies to both the early and the later ones when, after all, the forests of estrangements with mysterious women have been replaced by the Lisbon streets and ordinary men: ‘Ah, compreendo! O patrão Vasques é a Vida. A Vida, monótona e necessária, mandante e desconhecida. Este homem banal representa a banalidade da Vida.’¹⁴¹ Even if boss Vasques represents life, and Soares’s apartment in the Rua dos Douradores represents Art, as he writes in the same fragment, there still remains a *literal* boss Vasques and a *literal* Rua dos Douradores in the book. The literal words do tell us something different than the symbolic variants. Stanley Cavell calls this in his writings on Beckett’s works a ‘hidden literality’: ‘The strategy of literalization is: you say only what your words say.’ (Cavell 2002, 126). Without focusing entirely on Cavell’s philosophy of ordinary language, to which his essay services, nor on the similarities with Beckett’s works, the hidden literality can bring us some interesting insights in a different layer of the text. Cavell writes:

‘The words strew obscurities across our path and seem wilfully to thwart comprehension; and then time after time we discover that their meaning has been missed only because it was so utterly bare – totally therefore unnoticeably, in view. Such a discovery has the effect of showing us that it is *we* who had been wilfully uncomprehending, misleading ourselves in demanding further, or other, meaning where the meaning was nearest.’ (Cavell 2002, 119).

141 (LdD 9, 59). Transl.: *Ah, I understand! Vasques my boss is Life – monotonous and necessary, imperious and inscrutable Life. This banal man represents the banality of Life. For me he is everything, externally speaking, because for me Life is whatever is external.* (LdD-Penguin, 9, 19).

Let's take a look at one of the other fragments of *Disquiet* to see what Cavell means.

In a text Pessoa published in 1930 in the magazine *Presença*, the 'I' walks towards the seashore and feels himself an assembly of other people's aspirations, emotions and fiasco's, leading towards the conclusion that 'we are who we're not.' The experienced reality seems to reveal a world full of slumbering and concealed sensitivities that assemble in the 'I'. This leads to a multiplication of his personality:

'Quantos somos! Quantos nos enganamos! Que mares soam em nós, na noite de sermos, pelas praias que nos sentimos nos alagamentos da emoção! Aquilo que se perdeu, aquilo que se deveria ter querido, aquilo que se obteve e satisfez por erro, o que amámos e perdemos e, depois de perder, vimos, amando por tê-lo perdido, que o não havíamos amado; (...).'¹⁴²

The text implies that Soares is a rallying place for thoughts, emotions, questions and not the least, 'disquietude of every age', a series of abstractions of humanity that could never be experienced by one man alone. The drift of the fragment recalls Campos's 'To feel everything in every way!', but instead of turning it into a credo, Soares bears this condition as a

142 (LdD 95, 131). Transl.: *How many are we! How many of us fool ourselves? What seas crash in us, in the night when we exist, along the beaches that we feel ourselves to be, inundated by emotion! All that was lost, all that should have been sought, all that was obtained and fulfilled by mistake, all that we loved and lost and then, after losing it and loving it for having lost it, realized we never loved (...).* (LdD-Penguin, 95, 92).

burden: ‘Quanto morro se sinto por tudo!’¹⁴³ On the poetic level of the text we encounter a wealth of images, thoughts, memories, exclamations and revery, tempting us to deduce meaning from them or maybe only to appreciate the beauty of the words. Reading this fragment quite literally we see a fairly simple thing: a man on his walk to the seashore. It’s simple but important; the action of the walk has been reported *seven* times in the text.¹⁴⁴ The signification of the hidden literality – the simple action of a walk – becomes clear by a formulation at the end of the fragment. It says:

‘Quanto sinto se assim vagueio, incorpóreo e humano, com o coração parado como uma praia, e todo o mar de tudo, na noite em que vivemos, batendo alto, (...)’¹⁴⁵

This remarkable paradox ‘bodiless and human’ fits entirely in the poetic portrayal of the “heteronimic condition”, the sensation of multiplicity and the annihilation of the protagonist’s self. But were we to take this fragment purely literally, the paradox becomes a literary statement that touches the heart of this book and the character of Bernardo Soares. Being human and walking to the beach is perfectly coherent, but walking to the sea without

143 (ibid.) Transl.: *How much I die if I feel for everything!* (ibid.)

144 Cf. ...andada à beira-mar / ... comigo passearam, à beira ouvida do mar / ...passeei de noite à beira-mar / ...no meu passeio à beira-mar / ...no passeio à beira-mar / ...no decurso nocturno do meu passeio à beira-mar... / ...no meu eterno passeio nocturno à beira-mar! (ibid.).

Transl.: *my night-time walk / in my meditation that went to the seashore / I walked to the seashore / all of this went to the seashore with me / in my walk to the seashore, / my nocturnal walk to the seashore... / on my eternal nocturnal walk to the seashore!* (ibid.).

145 (ibid.). Transl.: *How much I feel if I meander this way, bodiless and human, with my heart as still as a beach, and the entire sea of all things beating loud and derisive(...).* (ibid.).

a body is impossible. Describing himself as bodiless and human indicates the impossibility of this book; the difficulty of describing the everyday life of a man who has no body, who merely is a textual construction, an empty stage that, however, on the narrative level does get authorial responsibility and has to act as a human being. It is the ordinary motion of the walk that illustrates the predicate 'human' in this text and that gives the strange paradox its meaning.

In another fragment, published in 1931 in *Descobrimento*, we witness the same process. The protagonist writes that on a particular day he was conscious of the sky, and one is immediately overwhelmed by the omnipresence of clouds in this text. As a matter of fact, each paragraph begins the same: 'Nuvens...' ('clouds'). He distinguishes emphatically the city, in which he sometimes only 'feels' the sky and does not look at it and the world of nature 'that includes it [the sky]'. It bears no doubt that he is in the city: 'Nuvens... Passam da barra para o Castelo, de ocidente para oriente.'¹⁴⁶ This can only be the city of Lisbon that has the Atlantic Ocean on its westside and the castle of Saint George high above the city on the Eastern hills of Alfama. Throughout the text, the clouds create alternatively open or closed spaces, for example when they at the end of the first paragraph 'enegrecem mais da vinda que da sombra o que as ruas abrem de falso espaço entre as linhas fechadoras da casaria.'¹⁴⁷ The

146 (LdD 204, 216). Transl.: *Clouds... They pass from the sea to the Castle, from West to East.* (LdD-Penguin, 204, 179).

147 (ibid.). Transl.: *they darken with their arrival more than with their shadow the illusory space opened up by the street between the impassable rows of buildings.* (ibid.).

openness of the street is filled here with the darkness of the clouds, as if they take over the city and close all voids. At the same time they create space, because by filling the *illusory* space between the *impassable* rows of buildings, they make the space, now however filled, a *genuine* space, and, what's more, *passable*. They bridge the immovable buildings. Why this space is illusory, is revealed some lines later when the protagonist says that the clouds seem to fill the whole sky and then adds to his statement: 'porque as casas não deixam ver se são menos grandes que parecem.'¹⁴⁸ The space of the streets was permeated by the presence of the buildings. In the second paragraph for a moment it seems as if we have here the experience of the human being overwhelmed by the force of nature, realizing his own futility, but later on the protagonist considers the possibility that the clouds themselves are 'brinquedos de poderosas coisas, bolas irregulares de um jogo absurdo,'¹⁴⁹ thus reducing the sublime to something that gets its sublimity out of the human perspective, and out of its own being. The "I" goes on in the third paragraph by identifying himself with the clouds, after having already confessed about himself: 'Existo sem que o saiba e morrerei sem que o queira. Sou o intervalo entre o que sou e o que não sou, entre o que sonho e o que a vida fez de mim, a média abstracta e

148 (ibid.). *though the buildings prevent us from seeing if they're really as large as they appear.* (ibid. 180).

149 (ibid.). Transl.: *playthings of powerful beings, odd-shaped balls of some absurd game* (ibid.).

carnal entre coisas que não são nada, sendo eu nada também.¹⁵⁰ Here we have it again, a similar paradox as we came across in the previous text: ‘the fleshy and abstract average.’ If we are to take the fiction of his existence seriously, one would suspect him to describe himself as the “fleshy and concrete average”. Again, literally spoken, this can only be a literary statement: Soares being created “in the flesh” to be the author of this diary, and Soares being merely an abstraction, a textual construction and an empty stage. If we determine the literal action in this text, we notice the central presence of the clouds that overwhelm the protagonist. What do they do? They move. The notion of movement is repeated in each paragraph of the text: ‘Passam da barra para o Castelo’, ‘estão passando sempre’ and ‘continuum passando, continuum sempre passando, passarão sempre continuando, num enrolamento descontínuo de meadas baças, num alongamento difuso de falso céu desfeito.’¹⁵¹ The key to the text comes when Soares acknowledges that ‘são como eu’ (‘they are like me’), thus identifying himself with the clouds. This is when the contemplation of the clouds becomes a literary contemplation: they are ‘ficções do intervalo e do descaminho.’¹⁵² Replace the word ‘clouds’ by ‘texts’ and what you have is indeed a perfect description of the heteronym Bernardo Soares.

150 (ibid.). *I exist without knowing it and will die without wanting to. I'm the gap between what I am and am not, between what I dream and what life has made of me, the fleshy and abstract average of things that are nothing, I being likewise nothing.* (ibid.).

151 (ibid.). *They pass from the sea to the Castle / they're still passing / they continue to pass, passing always, they will always continue, in a discontinuous rolling of dull-coloured skeins, in a scattered prolongation of false, broken sky.* (ibid.).

152 (ibid.). *stray fictions in the gap* (ibid.).

If we approach these twelve texts that Pessoa published on a very literal level, what we see is movement. We see a character moving from one place to the other: the walk through the forrest of estrangement, the walk through downtown Lisbon in the Verde fragment ('Passa tudo isso'), the walk in another fragment published in *Descobrimento* ('Chego à foz da Rua da Alfândega') and the imaginary journey in the fragment in *A Revista* from 1932 ('Tomaria o carro para Benfica').¹⁵³ Sometimes the movement is hidden, but still literally there, for example the mental travelling in the fragment published in *Solução Editora* in 1929 ('No próprio registo de um tecido que não sei o que seja se me abrem as portas do Indo e de Samarcanda, e a poesia da Pérsia, que não é de um lugar nem de outro.')¹⁵⁴

In these texts Soares's status as a textual construction is often directly or indirectly addressed. In another fragment, beginning as some notes on the difference between prose and poetry, the writing expresses a close link of the text and (bodily) movement: 'Há prosa que dança, que canta, que se declama a si mesma. Há ritmos verbais que são bailados, em que a ideia se desnuda sinuosamente, numa sensualidade translúcida e perfeita. E há também na prosa subtilezas convulsas em que um grande actor, o Verbo, transmuda ritmicamente em sua substância corpórea o mistério

153 Cf. (LdD 3, 53) *All of this passes* / (LdD 225, 232) *I reach the end of the Rua da Alfândega* / (LdD 374, 346) *I take the tram to Benfica*.

154 (ibid. 5, 55). *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)* (LdD-Penguin, 5, 15).

impalpável do universo.’¹⁵⁵ That ‘bodily substance’ returns in another fragment from *Descobrimento*: ‘As palavras são para mim corpos tocáveis (...)’ and ‘a ortografia também é gente.’¹⁵⁶ Even in the 1931 fragment in *Presença* that quite essayistically (although ironically) discusses the distance between man and animal, this view is maintained: ‘todos somos igualmente derivados de não sei quê, sombras de gestos feitos por outrem, efeitos encarnados, consequências que sentem.’¹⁵⁷ Soares is typically such a consequence that feels. He is the one who writes, but at the same time the one who is being written, as Santos mentions in her discussion of one of the fragments: “What is there in all this besides myself? Ah, but tedium is this, and this alone. In all of this, the sky, the earth, the world - there is nothing at all but I.” Considering the passage very carefully in all its details, this reader cannot but conclude that “tédio” does equal “eu” in so far as the speaking I is the fragment itself, the fragment in the act of speaking desassossego as the prerogative of impossibly expressing the subject. (...) Sou em grande parte a mesma prosa que escrevo.”¹⁵⁸

A literal reading of these twelve texts of *Disquiet* shows motion

155 (ibid. 227, 234). Transl.: *There is prose that dances, sings and recites to itself. There are verbal rhythms with a sinuous choreography, in which the idea being expressed strips off its clothing with veritable and exemplary sensuality. And there are also, in prose, gestural subtleties carried out by a great actor, the Word, which rhythmically transforms into its bodily substance the impalpable mystery of the universe.* (ibid. 227, 197).

156 (ibid. 259, 263). Transl.: *Words for me are tangible bodies (...) spelling is also a person.* (ibid. 259, 224).

157 (ibid. 149, 171). Transl.: *we’re shadows, of gestures performed by someone else, embodied effects, consequences that feel.* (ibid. 149, 132).

158 (Santos 272). Santos discusses a fragment from 1932: (LdD 193, 205).

everywhere. It lies at the very basis of the fragments. The disquiet that is thereby expressed is not the effect of all those feelings of tedium, angst, depression, confusion and doubt that Soares suffers; it's what causes them. The character of Bernardo Soares himself is also a product of that (literary) disquiet, although in the texts he is being feigned to be the producer. The many walks and strolls through the city, the many imaginary journies and the movements of clouds, sunsets and waves in the book, indicate that movement is not merely a theme, but one of the creative principles of this work. The absolute fragments, the changing authorship of Pessoa, Guedes and Soares, the many heteronimical and literary voices that echo in the book and the stylistic changes perfectly represent this movement. In a letter to Adolfo Casais Monteiro, Pessoa himself also indicated traveling and motion as an important aspect of his *drama em gente*:

‘Sendo assim, não evoluo, VIAJO.(...) Vou mudando de personalidade, vou (aqui é que pode haver evolução) enriquecendo-me na capacidade de criar personalidades novas, novos tipos de fingir que compreendo o mundo, ou, antes, de fingir que se pode compreendê-lo. Por isso dei essa marcha em mim como comparável, não a uma evolução, mas a uma viagem: não subi de um andar para outro; segui, em planície, de um para outro lugar.’¹⁵⁹

This traveling or flying into another person (‘voou outro’ ‘fly into another’,

159 20-1-1935. (Pessoa CORR II, 350). Transl.: *And so I do not evolve, I simply JOURNEY. (...) I continuously change personality, I keep enlarging (and here there is a kind of evolution) my capacity to create new characters, new forms of pretending that I understand the world, or, more accurately, that the world can be understood. That is why I've likened my path to a journey rather than to an evolution. I haven't risen from one floor to another; I've moved, on a level plane, from one place to another.* (Pessoa Prose, 263).

as Pessoa writes elsewhere⁶⁰) that lies at the basis of the creation of the heteronyms, is exactly what is mirrored in *Disquiet*. But instead of the topography that Pessoa invented along with his various heteronyms, the geography in *Disquiet* is formed by the character of Bernardo Soares alone. Soares is the empty stage expressed by a staged fiction. But although Soares can be seen as a conglomerate of heteronyms and although *Disquiet* mirrors the heteronymic system, Soares cannot simply be equalled with ‘Pessoa-*Todo*’, i.e. Pessoa as the creator of it all. Soares is as much the result of a literary strategy as Campos and Caeiro. He cannot be seen as a ‘trophy’ for Pessoa, who finally managed to combine all impulses in one and the same figure, since the fiction that Soares is and produces, creates its own multiplicity. And this multiplicity is much more complex than the system of clearly distinguishable heteronyms or the use of equally multiplying strategies such as Proust’s extreme perspectivism. All the views, opinions, convictions and quotations in *Disquiet* are expressed by one and the same protagonist, and, as Stanley Cavell remarks: ‘the more a first-person narrative, a tale, the more suspicious the account becomes. For a first-person account is, after all, a confession; and the one who has something to confess has something to conceal. And the one who has the word “I” at his or her disposal has the quickest device for concealing himself. (...) The third person narrator, being deprived of self-reference, cannot conceal himself; that is to say, he or she has no self, and therefore nothing, to

160 In a letter to João Gaspar Simões (11-12-1931). (Pessoa CORR II, 248).

conceal.' (Cavell 1984, 33). Pessoa made *Disquiet* into an empty stage for the many impulses he had previously canalized in as many personalities and at the same time made the heteronym Bernardo Soares confess this multiplicity in a first-person account. This is the paradoxal drama without people of *Disquiet*. And this interval between subject and object that Soares had become, combined with the only possible way (i.e. fragmentarily) of constructing the book, denied the book its beginning or end, and turned Soares' soul into a landscape, waiting for the reader to travel around.

Chapter 3

Disquieted Consciousness

A quite literal reading of the twelve texts from *Disquiet* that Pessoa himself had published showed mainly one consistent characteristic: motion. In many other texts of the book, it seems that motion is a strikingly present feature as well: the several walks of the protagonist through the Lisbon streets, his thoughts in which travels, journeys and other kinds of movements are often the main action and, not to forget, his dreams in which many kinds of motion occur as well. As for an attempt to attach this work to a certain literary current or period, the motive of 'motion' seems quite useless: doesn't some kind of moving, travelling or floating thoughts occur in every literary work of art? José Saramago's *O ano da morte de Ricardo Reis* is for that matter as much in motion as Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*. And besides, were we to name only one canonical work that incorporated motion in each segment, wouldn't that have to be Homer's *Ulysses*? The notion of 'motion' needs specification if we want to use it in the interpretation of *Disquiet*, especially when we consider it one of the key-notions of the book. In order to set some boundaries, I will focus on the notion of 'consciousness' in *Disquiet* in order to see to what extent the important motive of motion in the book is related to other works in high modernism.

§1. Consciousness in modernism

Many a modernist work turned the psyche of the protagonist into its main locus acti. Think of Pirandello's *Sei personaggi in cerca d'autore*, Valéry's *La soirée avec Monsieur Teste* and the innovative use of stream of consciousness in for example *Ulysses* and *Mrs. Dalloway*. Contemporary philosophical works by Heidegger, Husserl and Wittgenstein show an equally emphasized role of the perceiving subject in relation to representation and verbal expression. After having rejected symbolist metaphysics and realist representation, the individual critical mind remained as the only reliable fundament of the modernist worldview. Conscience became the centre of the universe (Fokkema 1984, 45). Van Stralen considers (reflective) consciousness the 'semantic core of modernism' (Van Stralen 1990, 11), Eysteinson speaks of 'a modernist preoccupation with human consciousness (as opposed to a mimetic concern with the human environment and social conditions)' (Eysteinson 26), Calinescu attributes to the works from this era 'a realism of inner life, of consciousness' (Calinescu 220) and Baltrusch writes that 'Bewußtsein ein großes Motiv des Erzählungen unseres Jahrhunderts ist.' (Baltrusch 395). According to Baltrusch, the philosophical debate on conscience started with Descartes dualism and parallelism as proclaimed by Leibniz and Wolff (ibid. 51). Descartes distinguished *res extensa* (matter) and *res cogitans* (mind) connected by speech, while Leibniz and Wolff portrayed matter and mind as two parallel universes that reflect each other. Not only do both views still need God to back up their constructions of the human

mind, but also is the difference between thought and conscience rather unclear. When discussing conscience, it is however a distinction that we are obliged to make in relation to Pessoa's works which are notorious for their statements on thought and thinking. In one of the many notes he left on his readings of philosophical texts, Pessoa wrote:

'I do not agree that by *pensée* Descartes means consciousness. I believe that he means, as he says, thought. "Res cogitans", such is man, he says, a thinking thing. What he means I believe to be this: I in all my life must think of something. Even in hours of laziness I think, I ruminate, I dream — all that I stand for is in my thought.(...) One reason why Descartes should not mean consciousness by *pensée* is that famous passage where he says that his reason for saying that the soul thinks (*pensée*) always is the same as urges (makes) him to believe that light shines always although no eyes look upon it. If by *pensée* he means consciousness, how can he speak of it as unconscious? On the other hand unconscious thought is conceivable. It is, at least, more conceivable nowadays (in the sense of reasoning) than it was then. However it may be unconscious thought, even in that time, though obscure may be conceived. But unconscious consciousness, being a contradiction in terms, is entirely inconceivable.' (Pessoa TF, 113).

Pessoa seems to distinguish between thought as an ongoing activity of the mind, equally including perceiving, reasoning and dreaming, and conscience which would be the awareness of these acts. This apparently clear distinction isn't however – as is often the case with Pessoa using

terms and predicates – maintained throughout his complete oeuvre.¹⁶¹ But the awareness of such a distinction seems at first sight to corroborate with the transformation of the classical view of consciousness as a ‘thing’ into a modern view of consciousness as an ‘act’ or ‘function.’ (Van Stralen 1990, 11). This ‘intentional act’ highlights a certain part of reality, while another part remains in the background. Van Stralen, using theories by Husserl, Merleau-Ponty and Sartre, discerns three forms of these intentional acts: (1) perception or observation that intends to present reality, (2) memory that aims to present a reality of the past by means of a reconstruction of fixated data from recollection¹⁶² and (3) imagination that uses fixated data to reconstruct or create a reality outside of the direct spatio-temporal context. Memory and imagination aim to cross or reorganize the boundaries and regularities of direct reality. (ibidem 11-12). If we annihilate such intentionality (for example by preventing the senses from acquiring new data), it’s possible to reach a state of ‘pure awareness’ or unification, in which we coincide with a stream of spontaneous perceptions, memories and fantasies. Van Stralen reasons that symbolists idealized such a state, while in modernism: ‘is sprake van een intensieve interactie tussen de

161 (Baltrusch 52). Cf. ‘The peculiar structure of man when consciousness is in it has the special function of perception, of reasoning, etc.’ (Pessoa TF, 187), ‘Spirit is consciousness — it is no more, not even is it that which is conscious. Matter is whatever there can be consciousness of, whether this be the sun or the moon or the street which passes by, or an emotion, a desire to love, a fear of pain.’ (Pessoa TF, 185).

162 This data can originate from perceiving consciousness, but also from dreams.

diverse bewustzijnsmodi en reflecties daarover: van een *overbewustzijn*.¹⁶³ Baudelaire's *Correspondances* indicated that the human being erroneously lived cut loose from the 'profond unit ', a harmony of the divine and the animated cosmos. Perceptions, observations and images were only useful as keys to this transcendent reality. In modernism the focus shifts towards the perceptions or observations itself, partly due to scepticism about the possibility of such metaphysical harmony and scepticism about the adequacy of language *tout court* to express that divine reality of the symbolists. (ibidem 16). Combined with certain scepticism on progress (instigated by socio-political circumstances at the beginning of the twentieth century such as WOI) and scientific revelations such as Freud's psychoanalytical insights and Einstein's theory of relativity, the visions on reality and self, and the relationship between the two, changed drastically. This unavoidably also had severe consequences for art:

'Modernism is, clearly, more than an aesthetic event, and some of the conditions that lie behind it are discernible and clear. Yet it contains a highly aesthetic response, one which turns on the assumption that the registering of modern consciousness or experience was not a problem of representation but a profound cultural and aesthetic crux ... a problem in the making of structures, the employment of language, the uniting of form, finally in the social meaning of the artist himself. (...) he is perpetually engaged in a profound and ceaseless journey through the means and integrity of art.' (Bradbury 29).

163 (Van Stralen 1990, 13). Transl.: *In modernism we are dealing with an intensive interaction between the various modes of consciousness and the reflections about it: a hyper-consciousness.*

The extreme focus on (the working) of consciousness itself only showed that no stability of the conscious subject, no possibility to fully comprehend perceived reality and no divine harmony whatsoever existed. If the individual was nothing more than the sum of sensory perceptions, as Mach asserted, or slave to perceptions recorded in unconsciousness (Bergson) or ventilated in dreams (Freud); what was left for authors to express but exactly the sepsis, angst, fragmentation, disbelief and disquiet that resulted from this all?

§2 Consciousness in *Disquiet*

In this chapter I'll use the three modes of intentionality that Van Stralen discerned in modernist consciousness – perception, memory and imagination – to illustrate the way consciousness works in *Disquiet*. I'll first focus on those texts dealing with perceptions, observations, smells, sounds and other sensory sensations. Of course I immediately admit that these experiences often occur in relation to or in combination with the other two modes of consciousness. The taste of chocolate leads to a certain childhood memory (LdD 400, 366), the observation of a girl in a tram incites the working of imagination (LdD 298, 290), and so on. By focusing on those intentional acts of consciousness that want, in Van Stralen's words, to 'present reality', we'll learn that perceiving consciousness almost never merely presents elements of external reality. I'll get to that later. Another useful distinction by Van Stralen is his distinction of pre-reflective and reflective consciousness: 'Het reflexieve bewustzijn is een strikt menselijk

vermogen om de activiteiten van het bewustzijn zelf present te stellen. In deze akt ontvouwt zich de bezinning, het oordeel en dergelijke over de – veelal – spontane intentionele akten van perceptieve, retrospectieve dan wel imaginaire aard. (...) Het pre-reflexieve en reflexieve bewustzijn van eenzelfde realiteit kunnen per definitie niet gelijktijdig opereren (...).¹⁶⁴ It doesn't matter whether pre-reflective consciousness receives data from perceptions, memories or dreams; the point is that no reflections have yet intermingled with this data. It's the kind of 'pure awareness' that Van Stralen linked to symbolism (Van Stralen 1990, 13) and that we indeed recognize in some of the early, symbolist, fragments of *Disquiet*.

Descriptions that testify of such a pre-reflective state are rare in the book, which is not that strange, since it is Bernardo Soares who writes down these experiences, thereby automatically devoting some kind of reflection to them. It becomes clear from every text we read that the observations, occurrences, acts and dialogues come to us through his consciousness; we can, as readers, in no way verify his assertions. Everything he asserts is part of *his* reflective consciousness. The person, or character, of Bernardo Soares therefore is the unavoidable mediator between the reality present in the book and us, its readers.

We don't know much about this protagonist. We get to know his reality

164 (Van Stralen 1990, 13). Transl.: *Reflective consciousness is a strictly human capacity to show the activity of consciousness itself. In this act reflection and judgement of the – usually – intentional acts of spontaneous acts that are of a perceptive, retrospective or imaginary nature, unfold. (...) Pre-reflective and reflective consciousness of the same reality, by definition cannot operate simultaneously (...).*

through sensible, perceptible phenomena that present themselves from the external to the observer. Soares himself does occasionally speak of ‘the surprising objectivity of the world’, as for example in the fragment I quoted earlier, in which he writes: ‘independently of me the grass grows (...)’ (LdD 72, 109). His connection with reality is established by means of his senses; Soares sees, smells, tastes, touches and hears, is surprised about the external phenomena and describes them minutely. He observes the coincidental passer-by on the street, a group of visitors of the tavern, a blotter on his desk.¹⁶⁵ And yet the *Book of Disquiet* did by no means become a realist work of art, merely intending to present this surrounding reality. In many other fragments Soares’s perception is linked to highly subjective elements, such as dreams, memories, symbols or fantasies. The objects in those cases seem to transcend, or refer to other objects, with meanings that only refer to other meanings. In those fragments it seems as if that so-called objective reality only exists by the grace of another reality, a highly subjective one. As soon as Soares perceives something his gaze doesn’t stop there, but transforms the object into a whole range of imagined details:

‘Vou num carro eléctrico, e estou reparando lentamente, conforme é meu costume, em todos os pormenores das pessoas que vão adiante de mim. Para mim os pormenores são coisas, vozes, letras’. Neste vestido da rapariga que vai em minha frente decomponho o vestido em o estofado de que se compõe, o trabalho com que o fizeram - pois que o vejo vestido e não estofado - e o bordado leve que orla a parte que contorna o pescoço separa-se-me em retrós de seda, com que se o bordou, e o trabalho

¹⁶⁵ (LdD 356, 331), (LdD 410, 373), (LdD 99, 133).

que houve de o bordar. E imediatamente, como num livro primário de economia política, desdobram-se diante de mim as fábricas e os trabalhos – a fábrica onde se fez o tecido; a fábrica onde se fez o retrós, de um tom mais escuro, com que se orla de coisinhas retorcidas o seu lugar junto do pescoço; e vejo as secções das fábricas, as máquinas, os operários, as costureiras, meus olhos virados para dentro penetram nos escritórios, vejo os gerentes procurar estar sossegados, sigo, nos livros, a contabilidade de tudo; mas não é só isto: vejo, para além, as vidas domésticas dos que vivem a sua vida social nessas fábricas e nesses escritórios... Todo o mundo se me desenrola aos olhos só porque tenho diante de mim, abaixo de um pescoço moreno, que de outro lado tem não sei que cara, um orlar irregular regular verde escuro sobre um verde-claro de vestido.¹⁶⁶

This extract perfectly shows how Soares perception works: he merely sees a girl in a green dress, but on the very moment of the perception of the object (the dress), he literally sees ('aos olhos' / 'before my eyes') a series of details that the production process of making a dress includes. And the association does not confine itself to the production process and embroiders, but extends itself to 'the loves, the secrets and the souls of all who laboured (...)'. It is obviously not the "objectivity of the world" that

166 (LdD 298, 290). Transl.: *I'm riding on a tram and, as usual, am closely observing all the details of the people around me. For me these details are like things, voices, phrases. Taking the dress of the girl in front of me, I break it down into the fabric from which it's made and the work that went into making it (such that I see a dress and not just fabric), and the delicate embroidery that trims the collar decomposes under my scrutiny into the silk thread with which it was embroidered and the work it took to embroider it. (...) But that's not all: I see beyond all this to the private lives of those who live their social existence in these factories and offices. The whole world opens up before my eyes merely because in front of me – on the nape of a dark-skinned neck whose other side has I don't know what face – I see a regularly irregular dark-green embroidery on a light-green dress. (LdD-Penguin 298, 253).*

is the central theme of this fragment, since that objectivity only consists of a girl in a green dress in the same tram as the protagonist. The object that is perceived, or let's call it a sign, opens up a whole series of other signs. This transformative imagination doesn't seem to permit Soares to coincide with his experience. To the contrary; it creates a permanent detachment of the observer with the (perceived or imagined) reality that surrounds him, hence the repeatedly expressed sensations of tedium, disgust and aversion. Every perception is immediately subject to reflective consciousness: 'Debruço-me, de uma das janelas de sacada do escritório abandonado ao meio-dia, sobre a rua onde a minha distração sente movimentos de gente nos olhos, e os não vê, da distância da meditação.'¹⁶⁷ The depth of this meditation prevents Soares to really see the people he himself acknowledges to perceive. There is literally but also metaphorically a distance between them, which on many occasions is called an 'abyss'. It denies Soares any kind of direct and personal involvement in the world he perceives and contemplates:

'Os pormenores da rua parada onde muitos andam destacam-se-me com um afastamento mental: os caixotes apinhados na carroça, os sacos à porta do armazém do outro, e, na montra mais afastada da mercearia da esquina, o vislumbre das garrafas daquele vinho do Porto que sonho que ninguém pode comprar. Isola-se-me o espírito de metade da matéria.

167 (LdD 143, 166). Transl: *It's midday in the deserted office, and I lean out one of the balcony windows overlooking the street down below. My distraction, aware of the movement of people in my eyes, is too steeped in its meditation to see them.* (LdD-Penguin 143, 127).

Investigo com a imaginação.¹⁶⁸

He investigates with his imagination, and by doing so he creates a ‘mental detachment’ from the things he perceives. Perception is immediately started on a reflective level, in such a dominating way that the senses are taken over by reflective consciousness: ‘Anotação com a consciência dos sentidos (...) Tenho os olhos pesados de supor.’¹⁶⁹ Being conscious of the act of perceiving changes the perceived object, as Jauß points out: ‘Die Weise, in der das Objekt erscheint, verweist nicht auf sein Sein, das sich in seiner Erscheinung zeigte, sondern einzig auf das Bewußtsein, dem das erscheint und das ein Bild von ihm entwirft, mit dem er das Objekt nicht erreicht.’¹⁷⁰ The qualities of the objects are not inherent in those objects, but are dependent of the meaning that is attributed to them by consciousness. This results in a fundamental doubt of the possibility of truthful description and accurate perception, and thus mistrust in the senses: ‘Se cerrar os olhos, continuo vendo, pois que não vejo. Se os abrir nada mais vejo, pois que não via.’¹⁷¹ It doesn’t matter whether he has his eyes

168 (ibid.). Transl.: *With mental detachment I look at the arrested street full of hurrying people, and I make out the details: the crates piled up on a cart, the sacks at the door of the other warehouse, and, in the farthest window of the grocery on the corner, the glint of those bottles of Port wine that I imagine no one can afford to buy. My spirit abandons the material dimension. I investigate with my imagination.* (ibid.).

169 (ibid.). Transl.: *To take note, not with my senses, but with the awareness of my senses...* (ibid.).

170 (Jaus 146). Transl.: *The manner in which the object appears, doesn’t refer to its being that it showed in its appearance, but only to the consciousness to which it appears and which develops an image of it, without being able to reach the object.*

171 (LdD 377, 347). Transl.: *If I close my eyes, I keep seeing, because I’m not really seeing. If I open them I see no more, because I wasn’t really seeing in the first place.* (LdD-Penguin 377, 312).

open or shut, since apparently his sensation doesn't come from the senses. In this text there is only imagination; the senses do not play any role at all. We read: 'Estou de facto à varanda da vida, mas não é bem desta vida. Estou por sobre ela, e vendo-a de onde vejo. Jaz diante de mim, descendo em socalcos e resvalamentos, como uma paisagem diversa, até aos fumos sobre casas brancas das aldeias do vale.'¹⁷² Landscape, terraces, houses exist only in the imagination of the protagonist, who has only the sensation of perceiving: 'Isola-se-me o espírito de metade da matéria.'¹⁷³ If we are to draw any conclusion yet from this all, it must be that Soares cannot be anything but a very bad student of Master Caeiro. His lesson that 'a stone is just a stone,' was not heard, or at least not practised by Bernardo Soares. The signs that are given to him by the world he perceives, do become signs of another reality. He perceives this hidden world simultaneously with the reality of what is in front, of what is manifest and on the surface. The object he sees becomes much more than the object his senses can register.

§3. Disquieted and heteronymic consciousness

Soaresean perception has some similarities with Pessoa's theory of sensations that he developed in the context of sensationism and the creation of the heteronyms that illustrated it. A little detour into heteronymic theory

172 (ibid.). Transl.: *I'm on the balcony of life, but not exactly of this life. I'm above life, looking down on it. It lies before me, descending in a varied landscape of dips and terraces towards the smoke from the white houses of the villages in the valley.* (ibid.).

173 (LdD 143 166). Transl.: *My spirit abandons the material dimension* (LdD Pengion 143, 127).

is needed in order to show to what extent Soares fits in the constellation of Pessoa's heteronymic worldviews. José Gil has already shown beautifully that Caetano's mastership is based upon his uninterrupted vision on reality as opposed to the visions of Campos, Reis and Pessoa that were intruded by metaphysics, politics or religion. Caetano avoids the aporia of old metaphysics because seeing forms the principles of his poetry. (Gil 23). 'O essencial é saber ver,'¹⁷⁴ Caetano writes in one of his poems, and this implicates that thinking is not necessary at all. 'A Natureza é partes sem um todo,'¹⁷⁵ and thinking only tries to make a whole out of the loose fragments. His spirit never abandons 'a metade da matéria,'¹⁷⁶ like Soares. When Caetano died in 1915, Álvaro de Campos wrote some 'notes for the memory of my master Caetano,' mindful of the tutor-pupil relationship between Caetano and Campos (and Reis and Pessoa as well). In the dialogue that Campos describes, Caetano portrays himself as being sovereign towards the outer world: 'Sou uma sensação minha.'¹⁷⁷ It expresses Caetano's famous poetic attitude of being merely an object among objects, accepting a fundamental objectivity of reality. When Pessoa asks him whether he can tell what is behind reality, Caetano answers: 'Por trás da realidade não está nada. Também por trás do tamanho não está nada, e por trás do peso não está nada. (...) Uma pedra não pode existir sem tamanho; uma pedra não pode existir sem peso. Mas uma pedra não é um tamanho e uma pedra não é um peso.'

174 (Pessoa Caetano 50). Transl.: *What matters is to know how to see.*

175 (ibid.). Transl.: *Nature is parts without a whole.*

176 (LdD 143, 166). Transl.: *the material dimension.*

177 (Pessoa Notas 88). Transl.: *I for myself am one of my sensations.*

Também uma pedra não pode existir sem realidade, mas a pedra não é uma realidade.¹⁷⁸ The epistemological discussion between Pessoa and Caieiro focuses on the status of reality. For the one reality is a complicated presence that is subject to language and thought, for the other reality is analogous to abstract notions such as size and weight used for describing certain aspects of his perception. ‘Eu não tenho teorias. Eu não tenho filosofia. Eu vejo mas não sei nada. Chamo a uma pedra uma pedra para a distinguir de uma flor ou de uma árvore, enfim de tudo quanto não seja pedra.’¹⁷⁹ Unlike Caieiro, Pessoa, Campos and Reis all have to deal with thought¹⁸⁰; they continuously need to choose which interpretations, religions and philosophies to embrace and which ones to reject. Caieiro doesn’t need to make all these choices; in that respect he truly is sovereign. Since he is only a small part of nature that consists of parts without a whole, he doesn’t belong to anything bigger than himself. In that respect he coincides with his pre-reflective perceptions: ‘Creio no Mundo como num malmequer, / Porque o vejo. Mas não penso nele / Porque pensar é não compreender...’¹⁸¹

178 (ibid. 60). Transl.: *There is nothing behind reality. Just as there is nothing behind size and nothing behind weight. (...) A stone can't exist without size; a stone can't exist without weight. But a stone isn't a size, and a stone isn't a weight. Nor can a stone exist without reality, but the stone is not a reality.*

179 (ibid.). Transl.: *I don't have theories, I don't have philosophies. I see but know nothing. I call a stone a stone to distinguish it from a flower or from a tree – from everything in other words, that isn't a stone.*

180 Although Caieiro’s image of the naïve poet is quite paradoxical; if there is one heteronym that continuously discusses reality, perception and thinking it’s Caieiro, but nevertheless always serving the ideal of uncomplicated perception, presented as the status quo.

181 (Pessoa Caieiro 24). Transl.: *I believe in the world as in a daisy, / Because I see it. But I don't think about it / Because to think is to not understand.*

The monadic relations of difference between Caeiro, Campos, Reis and Pessoa, are based upon ways of perception.¹⁸² Their different identities are being expressed by their specific ways of looking at the world. These ways can be clarified with the help of an interesting and well-known note of Pessoa's, concerning the 'elements of every sensation.'¹⁸³

'Contents of every sensation:

- a) Sensation of the external universe
- b) Sensation of the object that one experiences on a certain moment
- c) Objective ideas that can be associated with it
- d) Subjective ideas that can be associated with it (state of mind on that moment)
- e) Temperament and mental basis of the perceiver
- f) The abstract phenomenon of conscience' (Pessoa PI 180)

Pessoa asserts that 'each sensation is a cube,' with each of the six elements on one of its sides. One should immediately distinguish sensations from the term 'perceptions' as I use it here: sensations can (although not necessarily) imply also all kinds of reflections, ideas or metaphysical thoughts. Pessoa's description of sensations as a cube implicates that a sensation never is revealed completely; one always experiences only one, two or three elements of it at the same time. If we apply this cube to the heteronyms,

182 Cf. (Baltrusch 341)

183 (Pessoa PI; 180). Cf. (Gil 1999, 49), (Hatherly 61ff), (Baltrusch 226ff), (Stoker 2009, 49ff).

we could state that in case of for example Caeiro each sensation only reveals the first element '(a)' (Stoker 2009, 49). He only experiences the sensation of an external object, i.e. purely as object. It is obvious that the other heteronyms experience more complex sensations. Reis, for example, the heteronym that sometimes bears striking similarities with Caeiro's view upon the world, also experiences side (a), but because of the extent of his education and his Stoic and Epicurean ideas coming along with his perception, side (c) is also part of his sensation. In case of the futurist Campos of the *Triumphal Ode*, side (a), side (d) (his by no means constant ideas or philosophical standpoints) and side (e) seem to be flagrantly present. In the more introspective works of Campos, such as the *Tobacco shop*, the external reality seems to be completely replaced by a purely subjective sensation of the object (the tobacco shop) accompanied by the state of 'his temperament and mental basis' (side (e)). The orthonymic texts offer various possibilities, because of the diversity of themes and styles. The esoteric verses for example, can be associated with (a), (b) and the ideas of cabbala and free masonry (objective ideas in the sense that they are not ideas created by the subject). The whole idea of intersectionist verses such as *Chuva Obliqua*, is the intersection of both sensations of the external universe (a) as sensations of a purely subjective universe (b). Ana Hatherley transposes this idea the composition of sensations on the perception of a work of art. The interpretation of a work of art, in this case a poem, is thus also based upon a fragmentarily sensation. A perception of the whole work of art is always a mental construction. There is, however, a

distinction between artistic and non-artistic objects: that what is perceived and thought in the artistic object has or has not preceded the produced object. In case of a “common object” a pre-conception does necessarily precede it. The artistic object creates itself when it is constructed, by means of its self-realisation. (Hatherley 73). The fundamental point of sensationism is therefore that by means of the senses a real or full synthesis can never be reached, since they only permit us a fragmentary knowledge of what only artificially can be moulded into a whole. The outcome of this point of view is that the concept of ‘reality’ is an example of such a construction, because, in Caeiro’s words, ‘nature is parts without a whole.’ Religion, philosophy, politics or any other intellectual system that tries to regulate reality is in this view impossible. They are merely a construction of what in essence is fragmentary. In his extreme objectivism, Caeiro rejects all such constructions and experiences only the ‘pure sensation of the external object.’ (Pessoa PI, 188). One of the implications of Caeiro’s sovereign attitude is his detachment of social life, which also consists in large part of ‘fictions’ and ‘constructions.’ ‘Que me importam a mim os homens / E o que sofrem ou supõem que sofrem?’¹⁸⁴ Caeiro responds to a man that tells him in one of his poems about what is going on in the city. ‘Sejam como eu—não sofrerão.’¹⁸⁵ Campos, Pessoa and Reis have tried it, but failed. Pessoa (orthonym) fled into thought, Campos’s gall and

184 (Pessoa Caeiro 56). Transl.: *What do I care about people / And what they suffer or suppose they suffer?*

185 (ibid.). Transl.: *Let them be like me, and they won’t suffer.*

bravery of his odes tipped over in introspection and inertia and Reis was continuously backed up by classic and academic poetry and thought. For Reis, nature was most of all an ideal, instead of a concrete object of visual perception. He is extremely aware of his subjection to the pagan gods of fate and as such joins Pessoa and Campos in their attempts to reach ingenious, simple, non-intellectual, Caeiroan life.¹⁸⁶ In his heteronymic enterprise, Pessoa moves back and forth between the confirmations of a fully objective reality (for example in the works of Caeiro and António Mora) and a relativistically evaluated and epistemologically questioned reality (Campos/Soares). Mora theoretically supported Caeiro's belief in objective reality, but also tried to balance it and thus adapt it for the use of the other heteronyms:

‘O mundo-exterior é real como nos é dado. As diferenças que há entre a minha visão do mundo e a dos outros é uma diferença de sistemas nervosos. Os sistemas nervosos são partes dessa realidade exterior. (...) A ciência estuda — não as leis fundamentais do mundo-exterior, ou Realidade, porque não há leis fundamentais do mundo-exterior: ela é a sua própria lei — mas as normas segundo as quais os fenómenos se manifestam, isto, não com o fim de saber, mas com o fim de utilizar para

186 Caeiro's philosophy, or non-philosophy, is more complicated than I portray it, but I'm not redoing a discussion of it here. Cf. (Gil 1999, 15-43) and (Martins 2008, 115ff) among others. His simplicity, unity and denial of metaphysics are at least remarkable characteristics of his work, which I will use in my discussion of *Disquiet*.

nosso conforto e proveito os “conhecimentos” adquiridos.¹⁸⁷

Mora acknowledges the pre-existence of an objective world, but still leaves some space for the existence of various perspectives on that world. As Baltrusch aptly points out, Mora's sentence 'O mundo-exterior é real como nos é dado' resembles Wittgenstein's later assertion: 'Die Welt ist alles, was der Fall ist.' (Baltrusch 55). Wittgenstein's concept of the 'language-game', his assertion that all acts of speaking or using language in other forms is tightly connected to its context, is anticipated here by Mora. The study of reality, which begins with perception, doesn't result in *knowledge* of that reality but instead offers us the possibility to improve our *communication* on reality. Although Mora asserts that all knowledge of the world is relative, he also acknowledges Caeiro's firm conviction of the world's fundamental objectivity. Caeiro's positivism can very well be defended within the context of his own language-game. For Caeiro no relativity could exist, since his worldview is based upon the premise that all is absolute and objective: 'A existência absolutamente real sem sombras nem erros / A coincidência exacta (e inteira) de uma coisa consigo mesma.'¹⁸⁸

Gil deduced some characteristics of Caeiro's visual perception, which

187 (Pessoa EC Mora, 321). Transl.: *The exterior world is real as it has been given to us. The differences that exist between my vision of the world and that of others lies in a difference in nervous systems. Nervous systems are part of this exterior reality. (...) Science studies not the fundamental laws of the exterior world or Reality - because there are no fundamental laws of the exterior world: it is its own law - but the rules it follows to manifest the phenomena. This hasn't the aim of knowing, but of using the acquired knowledge for our comfort and benefit.*

188 (Pessoa Caeiro 145). Transl.: *Existing – absolutely real – without shadows or errors, / The exact and entire coincidence of a thing with itself.*

may clearly point out the differences with Soares's conscious perception in *Disquiet*. First of all Caeiro writes: 'As coisas não têm significação, têm existência'¹⁸⁹, an assertion that Soares certainly could ascribe, but more as an ideal than as a description of his own practice: 'Não querer compreender, não analisar... Ver-se como à natureza; olhar para as suas impressões como para um campo — a sabedoria é isto.'¹⁹⁰ Secondly Caeiro opposes meaning to existence, the artificial to the natural and knowledge to reality. (Gil 23). Meaning only originates in linking various objects to each other, which produces apparently complete units of objects with meanings, but Caeiro learns that seeing things as they really are means to 'unlearn' the added meaning, thereby implying fragmentation. 'Compreendi que as coisas são reais e todas diferentes umas das outras; / Compreendi isto com os olhos, nunca com o pensamento.'¹⁹¹ José Gil called 'difference' a third major aspect of Caeiro's vision: to exist to is to be different. (Gil 24). An important aspect of these characteristics of Caeiro's writings is the absence of any kind of search, which in the works of the other heteronyms is so important; one of Pessoa's first heteronyms was even called Alexander Search. Although Caeiro *writes* these verses ('Como se escrever fosse uma coisa que me acontecesse / Como dar-me o sol de fora'¹⁹²), there seems no

189 (ibid. 63). Transl.: *Things don't have significance: they only have existence.*

190 (LdD 252, 256). Transl.: *To stop trying to understand, to stop analysing... To see ourselves as we see nature, to view our impressions as we view a field – that is true wisdom.* (LdD-Penguin 252, 218).

191 (Pessoa Caeiro 88). Transl.: *I understood that things are real and all different from each another; / I understood this with my eyes, never with my thought.*

192 (Pessoa Caeiro 68). Transl.: *As if writing were a thing that happened to me / Like the sun shining on me outside.*

active consciousness present aiming at the revelation of any kind of truth or wisdom. If there is a search in Caeiro's works, it's a search for getting rid of wisdom and truth, in order for an undefiled registration of the world to remain.

Caeiro's works point at a pre-reflective perception, which illustrates his primordial contact with the world. It's an attitude that continuously reminds of Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of perception*, in which perception gives proof of the pre-existence of reality as well. By focusing on existence, nature and reality, Caeiro cultivates an intensive bond with the objective world. Like Caeiro's adagium that nature is only fragments without totality, Merleau-Ponty asserts that some parts of the object will always be escaping our perception, similar to what Pessoa asserted in his metaphor of the cube.¹⁹³ Merleau-Ponty: 'Du point de vue de mon corps je ne vois jamais égales les six faces du cubes, même s'il est en verre, et pourtant le mot "cube" a un sens, le cube lui-même, le cube en vérité, au-delà de ses apparences sensibles a ses six faces égales.'¹⁹⁴ Meaning of perceived objects are always partially in the eye of the beholder. The whole object is unavoidably an intelligible structure, because it can only

193 Disquiet regularly indicates that Soares too perceives the world only partially, cf. (LdD 41, 82): Um sopro leve de vento, que por detrás da janela não sinto, rasga em desnivelamentos aéreos a queda rectilínea da chuva. **Clareia qualquer parte do céu que não vejo.** (my emphasis). Transl.: *The rain stops, and for a moment a fine dust of miniature diamonds hangs in the air, like tiny crumbs from an enormous tablecloth bluely shaken on high. I can feel that part of the sky has cleared.*

194 (Merleau-Ponty 2006, 245). Transl.: *From the point of view of my body, I can never see all six parts of the cube at the same time, even if it is made of glass, and yet the word 'cube' has a meaning: the cube itself, the cube in reality, beyond its sensible appearance, has its equal sides.*

be thought and not experienced qua whole.¹⁹⁵ But maybe it is even better to connect Caeiro's perceptions with Husserl's 'Abschattungen': an object can only be presented to us because it is given from a certain perspective. In *Ideen* Husserl writes about the experience of perceiving a table while walking around it:

'Let us begin by noting that the aspect, the perspectival adumbration through which every spatial object invariably appears, only manifests the spatial object from one side. No matter how completely we may perceive a thing, it is never given in perception with the characteristics that qualify it and make it up as a sensible thing from all sides at once.'¹⁹⁶

For each new position the perceiver still has a perception of the table, albeit from a different side or angle, and is still able to call this a table. This is more in line with Caeiro's abundant statements that 'flowers are just flowers' and 'stars are just stars' (Pessoa Caeiro 50), while for Merleau-Ponty the change of perspective does however in some way alter the meaning of the object.¹⁹⁷ When Soares writes that 'O ambiente é a alma das coisas',¹⁹⁸ he seems to anticipate Merleau-Ponty's vision. Things get their

195 Cf. (Merleau-Ponty 2003, 55). : '(...)de wereld wordt door middel van een menselijk aspect tegemoet getreden waardoor alle dingen onder een menselijke blik worden gezien.' Transl.: (...) *the world is approached through human aspects, which make all things subject to the human view.*

196 Husserl (APS §1), in: Moran, D. *Edmund Husserl: Founder of Phenomenology*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005. 159-161.

197 It is an important aspect of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology that meaning originates in bodily intentionality and not in representational intentionality of consciousness, like Husserl proclaims. Meaning depends of the relation of the object with the continuously moving body. Cf. (Merleau-Ponty 2003, 56)

198 (LdD 58, 96). Transl.: *The environment is the soul of things*. (LdD-Penguin 58, 58).

meaning from the surroundings, the relation they have with other objects:

‘Esta mesa, a que estou escrevendo, é um pedaço de madeira, é uma mesa, e é um móvel entre outros aqui neste quarto. A minha impressão desta mesa, se a quiser transcrever, terá que ser composta das noções de que ela é de madeira, de que eu chamo àquilo uma mesa e lhe atribuo certos usos e fins, e de que nela se reflectem, nela se inserem, e a transformam, os objectos em cuja justaposição ela tem alma externa, o que lhe está posto em cima.’¹⁹⁹

Soares acknowledges that things are complicated objects and get meaning from the way they are situated in their surroundings.²⁰⁰ This results in a fragmentary perception of the world, as Husserl and Merleau-Ponty pointed out, and the meaning of its objects is strongly influenced by the perspective of the perceiver and the situation of the objects in the world.

To link Soares’s mixed perception in, for example, the earlier quoted text on the imagined world behind the perception of a green dress in the streetcar with Pessoa’s cube of sensation, it becomes clear that not only Soares’s perceptions, but also his sensations are complex. His sensation consists doubtless, like Caeiro, of side (a); the sensation of the external universe, i.e. the whole constellation of sensory perceptions (city, tram, girl and dress).

199 (ibid.). Transl.: *This table on which I’m writing is a block of wood, it’s the table, and it’s a piece of furniture among others in the room. My impression of this table, if I wish to transcribe it, will be composed of the notions that it is made of wood, that I call it a table and attribute certain uses to it, and that it receives, reflects and is transformed by the objects placed on top of it, in whose juxtaposition it has an external soul.* (ibid.).

200 ‘O mal das coisas da vida é que as podemos ir olhando por todos os lados...’, he writes in a text not belonging to the canon. (LdD 346, 325). *The problem with the things of life is that we can look at them from all sides...* (LdD-Penguin, 346, 290).

The sensation of the object that one experiences, side (b), is also present (the green dress), and so is side (c): ‘as fábricas e os trabalhos – a fábrica onde se fez o tecido.’²⁰¹ These last remarks are clearly objective things that easily can be associated with the object, although in transformative imagination. The whole world of loves, secrets, and souls that Soares ‘senses,’ however, belongs to side (d) of the cube: these are subjective ideas. ‘Saio do carro exausto e sonâmbulo. Vivi a vida inteira.’²⁰² Since not everyone in that tram gets this dizzy, we are allowed to presuppose that this particular ability to sense, in Soares’s own words, ‘all of life,’ may have something to do with Soares’s temperament and mental basis, which implicates side (e). And his ‘inwardly turned eyes’ that probably cause this complex sensation, refers to side (f), which is according to Pessoa the basis of the cube, the side on which the cube stands. One could reason that in case of Soares, the cube shows more than three sides at the same time, which is, as Pessoa himself admits physically impossible (Pessoa PI 188). In relation to Caieiro’s simple sensations that are characterized by having only one side of the cube present, Soares could be the exact opposite of Caieiro, by having all sides present. This does however not indicate that Soares therefore has a full view on reality, in all its objective and subjective manifestations. The outcome of Soares’s constellation is the same as Caieiro’s – reality only manifests itself fragmentarily – but for the exact opposite reasons. Instead

201 (LdD 298, 290.). Transl.: *the fabric from which it is made and the work that went into making it.* (LdD-Penguin, 290, 253).

202 (ibid.). Transl.: *I get dizzy. I get off the tram dazed and exhausted.* (ibid.).

of Caeiro's perception of various parts of the objects on different moments, Soares's perception shows all layers in a kind of semi-transparency piled up in the same view. Caeiro's fundamental objectivity, implying that he as perceiving subject is merely 'object among objects', is in Soares's case an unavoidable subjectivity and the perceiving subject is, because of the omnipresence of reflective instead of pre-reflective consciousness, aware of this subjectivity and the consciousness of it, resulting in an intensive dialectics. This intensive activity of consciousness is the only certainty Soares has. Van Stralen labels this autoreflective and highly intensive form of consciousness, after Von Hofmannsthal, 'fiebrisches denken': '(...) Chandos neemt (gezien de hoge mate van onthechting) een beperkt deel van de realiteit waar. Deze pre-reflexieve ervaringen worden onmiddellijk op reflexief niveau geëvalueerd. Deze reflexies worden daarop weer direct op pre-reflexief niveau in de perceptie verwerkt, etcetera. Deze cycliciteit wordt in belangrijke mate door *distantie* bepaald: niets of niemand lijkt de observatie te mogen storen.'²⁰³ This view seems to be corroborated by the scene in *Disquiet*, quoted above, in which Soares leans out of the office-window to observe the noisy people in the streets: 'Os pormenores da rua parada onde muitos andam destacam-se-me com um afastamento

203 (Van Stralen 1990, 20). Transl.: *Chandos perceives (given the high degree of detachment) only a limited part of reality. These pre-reflective experiences are immediately evaluated on a reflective level. These reflections are then directly used on a pre-reflective level in the perception, etc. This cyclicity is largely determined by distance; nothing or nobody seems to be allowed to disturb the observation.*

mental: (...).²⁰⁴ At the end of the text, Soares is brutally disturbed in his observation:

‘... E, de repente, soa, de detrás de mim no escritório, a vinda metafisicamente abrupta do moço. Sinto que o poderia matar por me interromper o que eu não estava pensando. Olho-o, voltando-me, com um silêncio cheio de ódio, escuto antecipadamente, numa tensão de homicídio latente, a voz que ele vai usar para me dizer qualquer coisa. Ele sorri do fundo da casa e dá-me as boas-tardes em voz alta. Odeio-o como ao universo. Tenho os olhos pesados de supor.’²⁰⁵

Soares’s detachment from everyday reality becomes increasingly intensified because of these confrontations between his imagination and perceived reality, in this scene impersonated by the “intruding” office boy.

The essential aspect of this scene, and of many other similar scenes, is the equation of perception and imagination. Although Soares in some scenes does suppose, like Caieiro, a pre-existent reality, his experience is too ambiguous to really defend this conviction in the persistent manner of Caieiro.²⁰⁶ In all those cases that he perceives the signs of a world that

204 (LdD 143, 166). Transl.: *with mental detachment I look at the arrested street full of hurrying people, and I make out the details (...)*. (LdD-Penguin 143, 127).

205 (ibid.). Transl.: *And suddenly, from behind me, I hear the metaphysically abrupt arrival of the office boy. I feel like I could kill him for barging in on what I wasn’t thinking. I turn around and look at him with a silence full of hatred, tense with latent homicide, my mind already hearing the voice he’ll use to tell me something or other. He smiles from the other side of the room and says ‘Good afternoon’ in a loud voice. I hate him like the universe. My eyes are sore from imagining.* (ibid.).

206 In one of the texts not belonging to the canon, Pessoa writes for example: ‘Sem mim, o sol nasce e se apaga; sem mim a chuva cai e o vento geme. Não são por mim as estações, nem o curso dos meses, nem a passagem das horas.’ (LdD 218, 227). Transl.: *Without me the sun rises and expires; without me the rain falls and the wind howls. It’s not because of me that there are seasons, the twelve months, time’s passage.* (LdD-Penguin 218, 190).

goes around without him having anything to do with it, the question remains: How does he know? In every statement on reality in *Disquiet* there remains some doubt about the epistemological status of what is said about the world. Because of the endless circularity of pre-reflective and reflective consciousness, the boundary between what Soares says about the world and what it “really” is, is subject to continuous contemplation. Soares’s sensations, inadequate to be ordered in categories like “true” and “false”, are the only things of which he can say they exist:

‘A única realidade para mim são as minhas sensações. (...) A verdade? É uma coisa exterior? Não posso ter a certeza dela, porque não é uma sensação minha, e eu só destas tenho a certeza. Uma sensação minha? De quê? Procurar o sonho é pois procurar a verdade, visto que a única verdade para mim sou eu próprio. Isolar-me tanto quanto possível dos outros é respeitar a verdade.’²⁰⁷

Sensations as the only reality²⁰⁸, dreams are the only truth and the best possible detachment of the others; this is Soares’s *Weltanschauung* in a nutshell.

§4. Language

This *Weltanschauung* has of course implications for the possibility of

207 (LdD p. 511). Transl.: *The only reality for me are my feelings. (...) The truth? Is it something external? I cannot be sure of it, because it isn't one of my sensations, and I'm only sure of them. One of my sensations? Of what? To go looking for the dream is to go looking for the truth, because the only truth for me I am myself. To isolate myself as much as possible from the others is to respect the truth.*

208 Cf. a note in (Pessoa P/I 183): ‘There is nothing, no reality, but sensations.’

expressing the world and the status of language. I already stated earlier that the only thing Soares really relies upon, is the presence of his own consciousness in everything he perceives, imagines or remembers: ‘Para mim, só a minha autoconsciência é real; os outros são fenômenos incertos nessa consciência, e a que seria mórbido emprestar uma realidade muito verdadeira.’²⁰⁹

There’s no way of finding out whether external reality does or does not exist. Language is by no means the window on reality; it is at most the window on Soares’s own consciousness. Everything that reaches him through the senses or his imagination is treated with suspicion and doubt. The world Soares describes is a possible world, instead of the phenomenal world. Every statement he makes on reality is almost by definition a fictive one: ‘A única realidade que há é a palavra realidade não ter sentido (nenhum),’²¹⁰

Pessoa wrote in a short note. In *Disquiet*:

‘Ficamos, portanto, com as nossas sensações por única “realidade”, entendendo que realidade não tem aqui sentido nenhum, mas é uma conveniência para frasear. De “real” temos apenas as nossas sensações, mas “real” (que é uma sensação nossa) não significa nada, nem mesmo “significa” significa qualquer coisa, nem “sensação” tem um sentido, nem “tem um sentido” é coisa que tenha sentido algum. Tudo é o mesmo mistério... Reparo, porém, em que nem tudo quer dizer coisa alguma,

209 (LdD 209, 221). Transl.: *Only my consciousness of myself is real for me; other people are hazy phenomena in this consciousness, and it would be morbid to attribute very much reality to them.* (LdD-Penguin 209, 184).

210 (Pessoa Inédito, 147). Transl.: *The only reality that exists is that the word reality doesn’t have (any) meaning.*

nem “mistério” é palavra que tenha significação.²¹¹

In this reasoning that words do not bear any meaning and that signs only refer to other signs (not only linguistically, but also for example when perceived signs lead to imagined signs), we discern a language that is chaotic, unstable and not premeditated.

Every word can be described with other words and thus forms an endless prison from which escaping is impossible.²¹² Both perception and language are fully incapable of revealing any truth, which is why the observations in *Disquiet* are often accompanied by negative terms, expressing their meaninglessness: ‘tão sem sentido o ar calmo que me envolve’, ‘o céu azul sem sentido’, ‘e depois a noite onde emergem sem sentido os hieróglifos quebrados das estrelas’, ‘nuvens... sem sentido no ar alto contra o céu fatigado’, ‘o rio, sem sentido salvo correr, eterno, para marés longínquas’, ‘as janelas sem sentido.’²¹³ We seem to be confronted with a Leibnizean gap, as the disconnection of consciousness and the world is sometimes called,

211 (LdD p. 513). Transl.: *We, therefore, are left with our sensations as the only ‘reality’, a reality that here even ‘really’ has some value, but only because we have the habit of putting it this way. As part of the ‘real’ we only have our sensations, but ‘real’ (which is one of our sensations) doesn’t mean anything, and even this ‘mean’ doesn’t mean anything, nor does ‘sensation’ have any meaning and ‘have any meaning’ is something that hasn’t got any meaning at all. It’s all the same mystery. I notice, however, that not even ‘all’ can mean anything at all or that ‘mystery’ is a word that has any meaning.*

212 A metaphor that Soares himself uses when describing his own life: ‘Cárcere infinito - porque és infinito, não se pode fugir de ti!’ (‘Infinite prison – since you’re infinite, there’s no escaping you!’) (LdD 225, 233).

213 (LdD 437, 394). (...) *the calm air surrounding me so devoid of sense (...)*. (LdD 117, 145). (...) *the meaningless blue sky*. (LdD 167, 186). (...) *the meaningless, fractured hieroglyphs of the stars*. (LdD 204, 216). *Clouds... meaningless in the heights of the exhausted sky (...)*. (LdD 365, 338). (...) *a river whose only meaning is to flow – eternal – towards distant seas*. (LdD 437, 394) (...) *the meaningless windows (...)*.

that has two effects: first of all it prevents the attribution of meaning to perceived objects: ‘Olha-se, mas não se vê. A longa rua movimentada de bichos humanos é uma espécie de tabuleta deitada onde as letras fossem móveis e não formassem sentidos. As casas são somente casas. Perde-se a possibilidade de dar um sentido ao que se vê, mas vê-se bem o que é, sim.’²¹⁴ Secondly it frustrates a connection of reality with language: ‘escrevo sem querer pensar, num devaneio externo (...) São frases sem sentido’²¹⁵ and: ‘Pequenas frases sem sentido, metidas nas conversas que supomos estar tendo; afirmações absurdas feitas com cinzas de outras que já de si não significam nada.’ ‘Pequenas frases sem sentido, metidas nas conversas que supomos estar tendo.’²¹⁶ At the same time the book and even its author Soares only exist because of language; they are linguistic constructions. Many fragments in *Disquiet* reveal Soares’s ambiguous relationship with language. Language is to a large extent substantiated; it stands alone and speaks for itself instead of being merely an instrument of the author. ‘Die Sprache spricht,’ as Heidegger would say. ‘As palavras são para mim corpos tocáveis, sereias visíveis, sensualidades incorporadas. (...) Estremeço se

214 (LdD 78, 114). Transl.: *We look but don't see. The long street bustling with clothed animals is like a flat-lying signboard whose letters move around and make no sense. The buildings are just buildings. We're no longer able to give meaning to what we see, though we see perfectly well what's there.* (LdD-Penguin 78, 76).

215 (LdD 259, 261). Transl.: *And so I often write with no desire to think, in an externalized reverie (...). They form sentences with no meaning (...).* (LdD-Penguin 259, 224).

216 (LdD 370, 340). Transl.: *Little nonsense phrases inserted into the conversations we pretend to be having, meaningless affirmations made from the ashes of other, equally meaningless affirmations...* (LdD-Penguin 370, 307).

dizem bem.’²¹⁷ The recourse to language is often only aesthetically motivated: ‘Gosto de dizer. Direi melhor: gosto de palavrar. (...) Não choro por nada que a vida traga ou leve. Há porém páginas de prosa que me têm feito chorar. (...) A palavra é completa vista e ouvida.’²¹⁸ The word is complete when seen and heard; meaning doesn’t necessarily have to be part of it. The aesthetic purpose can, however, be called a function of language. It functions as a delirious counterbalance for Soares’s awareness of the void surrounding him: ‘O álcool das grandes palavras e das largas frases que como ondas erguem a respiração do seu ritmo e se desfazem sorrindo, na ironia das cobras da espuma, na magnificência triste das penumbras.’²¹⁹ We might even say that speaking or ‘palavrar’ is one of the few fulfillments that Soares has left. On many occasions when he questions the meaning of his enterprise, the simple fact of writing down words, with their sounds, their shape and their intellectual play of building sentences seem to be the constant forces that move the book forward. Although he attributes some value to language, this doesn’t imply of course that the texts or the world they seem to express thereby have gotten any other meaning than this:

‘Dizer! Saber dizer! Saber existir pela voz escrita e a imagem intelectual!

217 (LdD 259, 261). Transl.: *Words for me are tangible bodies, visible sirens, incarnate sensualities. (...) I tremble when someone speaks well.* (LdD-Penguin 259, 224).

218 (ibid.). Transl.: *I enjoy speaking. Or rather, I enjoy wording. (...) I weep over nothing that life brings or takes away, but there are pages of prose that have made me cry. (...) The word is complete when seen and heard.* (ibid.).

219 (LdD 321, p. 309). Transl.: *O alcohol of grand words and long phrases that swell, like waves, with the breathing of their rhythms and then crash, smiling, with the irony of twisting snakes of foam and the sad magnificence of glimmering shadows.* (LdD-Penguin 321, 272).

Tudo isto é quanto a vida vale: o mais é homens e mulheres, amores supostos e vaidades factícias, subterfúgios da digestão e do esquecimento, gentes remexendo-se, como bichos quando se levanta uma pedra, sob o grande pedregulho abstracto do céu azul sem sentido.²²⁰

§5. The City

If language is highly self-referential and if the only reality that is given to Soares through his senses is consciousness itself, the city turns out to be a significant presence in *Disquiet*. In the previous chapter I already pointed out that a rather literal reading of the twelve fragments that Pessoa published himself, showed a constant occupation with motion, often reflected in the walks and strolls through the city and sometimes in imagined travels and dreams. The city of Lisbon is an important location to situate the epistemological doubt and existential disquiet of the protagonist. This is not something unique: the modern city pops up in many novels written in the early twentieth century, according to Raymond Williams because it reveals an awareness ‘intense and fragmentary, subjective only, yet in the very form of its subjectivity including others, who are now with the buildings, the noises, the sights and smells of the city parts of this single and racing consciousness.’²²¹ It’s a significant detail in Pessoa’s heteronymic *drama em gente* that Caeiro, with his pure awareness of external reality,

220 (LdD 117, 146). Transl.: *To say! To know how to say! To know how to exist via the written voice and the intellectual image! This is all that matters in life; the rest is men and women, imagined loves and factitious vanities, the wiles of our digestion and forgetfulness, people squirming – like worms when a rock is lifted – under the huge abstract boulder of the meaningless blue sky.* (LdD-Penguin 117, 108).

221 As quoted in (Bradbury 99).

is situated in the rural, bucolic surroundings outside the big city, while Soares, who is because of his disquieted consciousness Caeiro's counterpart, lives in downtown Lisbon. Gil asserts that Caeiro's panoramic view of the countryside permits him to perceive his own village as large as the entire universe, while in Soares' case his view is limited because of high buildings and narrow streets. Objects are close together, because of which they are easily comparable and as such lose their individual intensity.²²² Soares however doesn't experience the city as a restriction at all. Occasionally he directly opposes nature with his own habitat: 'Nada o campo ou a natureza me pode dar que valha a majestade irregular da cidade tranquila, sob o luar, vista da Graça ou de São Pedro de Alcântara. Não há para mim flores como, sob o sol, o colorido variadíssimo de Lisboa.'²²³ Lisbon's variety versus the monotony of nature: 'Em torno, obscuro, o campo é uma grande falta de ruído que cheira quase bem. (...). Sentado à janela, contemplo com os sentidos esta coisa nenhuma da vida universal que está lá fora.'²²⁴ Even though he contemplates with his senses the rural surroundings, it remains a 'nothingness of the universal life outside.' The variety of the city with its 'motor vehicles', its 'products of science - telephones, telegraphs' and

222 (Gil 1999, 39). Gil refers to Caeiro's verse 'Da minha aldeia vejo quanto da terra se pode ver do Universo...' ('From my village I see as much in the Universe as you can see from earth...').

223 (LdD 50, 89). Transl.: *Nothing nature or the country can give me compares with the jagged majesty of the tranquil, moonlit city as seen from Graça or São Pedro de Alcântara. There are no flowers for me like the variegated colouring of Lisbon on a sunny day.* (LdD-Penguin 50, 50).

224 (ibid.). Transl.: *Around me the dark countryside is a huge lack of sound that almost smells pleasant. (...) Sitting next to the window, I contemplate with my senses the nothingness of the universal life outside.* (ibid.).

its 'fanciful by-products, phonographs, radios' (ibid.) perfectly reflects the variety of Soares's sensations and does agree with Williams's observation of the city and its inhabitants as 'one racing consciousness'.

But there is an interesting aspect of the city in *Disquiet* that we should mention here. The city is not merely an apt place for this protagonist to experience his epistemological doubt and his multiplicity of sensations, it also seems as if the city is completely situated around Soares. When we think of Dublin in *Ulysses* or London in *Mrs. Dalloway*, or even the bourgeois-scenes on various locations in *À la recherche du temps perdu*, it shows that the city in these novels functions as a *locus acti* where multiple perspectives on one and the same reality can be expressed. Their protagonists explore the streets of a rapidly modernizing city. They mingle with the crowds, their identities merge with the city they perceive and its inhabitants they encounter on the streets. But most of all the perspectives of the various protagonists and by-characters illustrate that no singular or 'true' perspective on the world is possible. 'Everyone looked at the motorcar. Septimus looked. Boys on bicycles sprang off. Traffic accumulated... and this gradual drawing together of everything to one centre before his eyes, as if some horror had come almost to the surface and was about to burst into flames, terrified him,' Woolf wrote in *Mrs. Dalloway*. (Woolf 16). While everything is drawn together to 'one centre', it is not only the protagonist that observes this scene, but 'everyone looked.' The reader is continuously confronted with multiple perspectives on one and the same scene. Clarissa and Septimus both perceive a motor car's backfire but react

rather differently; first we read Clarissa's perception of the Big Ben, later we also read Peter Walsh's reaction on it, and so on. *Disquiet* shares the idea from these novels that reality cannot be perceived in its entirety, and the city is indeed a perfect place to make that clear. Its many inhabitants represent as many points of view. I already pointed out in chapter 2.3 that the heteronyms could be understood, like for example the characters in Proust's novels, as many ways of looking at the world. I reasoned that Proust's protagonist learned after many years of lost time, that his view on the world and its inhabitants had been in continuous change and movement, and that exactly this was the purpose of the apparently lost years. This change was caused by the many encounters with characters like Swann, Albertine, Françoise and Vinteuil. In *Mrs. Dalloway* Clarissa's behavior is continuously related to that of Septimus and Peter Walsh, like Leopold Bloom in *Ulysses* to that of Stephen Dedalus and Molly Bloom. Leibniz offers us again an opportunity to clarify this: in his monadology he prevails the point of view of the monad to the object that is perceived: 'Just as the same city viewed from different directions appears entirely different and, as it were, multiplied perspectively, in just the same way it happens that, because of the infinite number of simple substances, there are, as it were, just as many different universes, which are, nevertheless, only perspectives on a single one, corresponding to the different points of view of each monad' (Leibniz §57). The monadology serves as an explanation for intersubjectivity (since there is in Leibniz view only one city), while at the same time an ontological 'proof' of this intersubjective reality

is fully dependent on the monadic points of view. The most important implication is that a shared objective reality results from the monads and their perspectives, which however does not automatically imply that the world purely is a subjective construction. The question in many modernist novels is not whether some objective reality exists, but most of all how it is to be discovered and expressed. The multiplicity of perspectives is for sure one important reason for the fundamental epistemological crisis in many modernist novels. Auerbach corroborates this point of view by writing that in modernist novels 'we are given not merely one person whose consciousness (that is, the impressions it receives) is rendered, but many persons, with frequent shifts from one to the other. The multiplicity of persons suggests that we are here after all confronted with an endeavor to investigate an objective reality (...).'²²⁵ We saw this idea reflected in Pessoa's heteronymical system in which he created a new individual for each perspective. But in *Disquiet* Bernardo Soares is alone. Alone *in* and *with* the city, that is. There certainly are some minor characters, like boss Vasques, clerk Morreira and a few office boys and co-workers, but we hardly get to know anything about their points of view. And in the rare scenes that they speak out loud or intervene in any other way, Soares doesn't seem to develop any other perspective because of it. Everything in the book is presented to us through Bernardo Soares. We've seen that *Disquiet* consists of absolute fragments that function much like the various

225 Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968. 536.

heteronyms, analogous to Leibniz's monadology. In this monadic universe each monad reflects all the others, while each perspective opens doors to all other perspectives. In *Disquiet* this means that the multiplicity of perspectives must come from Soares. The different views on the same city are incorporated in Soares:

‘Passo por eles, subo qualquer das ruas suas afluentes, depois desço de novo essa rua, para a ele regressar. Visto do outro lado é diferente, mas a mesma paz deixa dourar de saudade súbita - sol no ocaso - o lado que não vira na ida.’²²⁶

The city, therefore, does not so much function as the Leibnizean objective reality, expressed and formed by the various monadic perspectives, but most of all as a reflection of Soares's consciousness. The various perspectives on the city expressed in the many absolute fragments of *Disquiet* do not necessarily refer to the same city: each fragment has its own protagonist, its own location and its own action. The city is to a large extent incorporated by Soares: ‘A minha consciência da cidade é, por dentro, a minha consciência de mim.’ (LdD 397).²²⁷ In this text Soares describes the sunset and its effects on the city. At first sight it is merely

226 (LdD 352, 329). Transl.: *I come to a square, walk up one of the streets that runs into it, then back down the same street. Seen from the other direction, the square is different, but the same peace gilds with sudden nostalgia – the setting sun – the view I didn't see when I walked up the street.* (LdD-Penguin 352, 293).

227 (LdD 397, 363). Transl.: *My consciousness of the city is, at its core, my consciousness of myself.* (LdD-Penguin 397, 328). In another fragment, not belonging to the canon, Soares writes: ‘Caminho, não pelas ruas, mas através da minha dor.’ (LdD 401, 367). Transl.: ‘I walk not through the streets but through my sorrow.’ (LdD-Penguin, 401, 332).

an impressionistic description of the dawning day, but if we read the beginning of the text literally, there is something strange at stake:

‘Por entre a casaria, em intercalações de luz e sombra - ou antes, de luz e de menos luz -, a manhã desata-se sobre a cidade. Parece que não vem do sol mas da cidade, e que é dos muros e dos telhados que a luz do alto se desprende - não deles fisicamente, mas deles por estarem ali.’²²⁸

The light that falls over the city ‘seems to come not from the sun but from the city itself.’ In this statement Soares puts the city under the same conditions as his own consciousness: no truth can be derived from its data because this data might have been produced by consciousness itself, like the city’s sunlight seems to be produced by the city.

In the previous chapter I noted the many walks and continuous motion present in these texts. It indicates that Soares strolls through his own consciousness and that the motion in the city reflects the motion in Soares’s own consciousness: ‘The sign of consciousness is motion. Relative immobility is relative consciousness, inanimateness, as a matter of fact,’ Pessoa wrote in a loose note.²²⁹ He seems to have worked out this idea quite meticulously in *Disquiet*, where the city and his soul co-exist organically. This attributes geographical features to consciousness: ‘Mais certa era

228 (LdD 397, 363). Transl.: *Falling between the buildings, in alternating patches of light and shadow (or of brighter and less bright light), the morning dawns over the city. It seems to come not from the sun but from the city itself, as if the sunlight emanated from the walls and rooftops – not from them physically, but because they happen to be there.* (LdD-Penguin 397, 328).

229 Pessoa TF, Vol. II, 183).

dizer que um estado da alma é uma paisagem,²³⁰ Soares paraphrases Amiel. He overtly contemplates a material and accessible form of consciousness, that could be measured, analyzed and perceived as if it were a city: ‘Penso às vezes com um agrado (em bissecção) na possibilidade futura de uma geografia da nossa consciência de nós próprios,’²³¹ (76) and: ‘A geografia da consciência da realidade é de uma grande complexidade de costas, acidentadíssima de montanhas e de lagos.’²³² Like the city, consciousness is to a large extent substantiated in *Disquiet*; it functions quite autonomously. Gil speaks of ‘uma espécie de peneira’ (Gil 1993, 78); consciousness as a porous tissue that merely lets things (images, perceptions, ideas) pass through. The two poles of subject and object of which consciousness used to be a mediating element, have been mingled. Gil quotes an interesting phrase that makes this clear:

‘Tudo quanto sou, ou quanto fui, ou quanto penso do que sou ou fui, tudo isso perde de repente - nestes meus pensamentos e na perda súbita de luz da nuvem alta - o segredo, a verdade, a ventura talvez, que houvesse em não sei quê que tem por baixo a vida.’²³³

230 (LdD 72, 109). Transl.: *It would be better to say that a state of emotion is a landscape.* (LdD-Penguin 72, 71).

231 (LdD 76, 112). Transl.: *I sometimes enjoy (in split fashion) thinking about the possibility of a future geography of our self-awareness.* (LdD-Penguin 76, 74).

232 (LdD 338, 320). Transl.: *The geography of our consciousness of reality is an endless complexity of irregular coasts, low and high mountains, and myriad lakes.* (LdD-Penguin 338, 283).

233 (LdD 216, 226). Transl.: *All that I am or was, or that I think I am or was, suddenly loses – in these thoughts and in that high cloud’s suddenly spent light – the secret, the truth, perhaps fortune, that was in some obscure thing that has life for a bed.* (LdD-Penguin 216, 189).

The subject doesn't 'lose' itself *like* the cloud lost its light (as would be the common metaphorical form), but *in* that cloud. (Gil 1993, 59) The boundaries between interior and exterior, the self and the landscape, subject and object have disappeared.

§6. Time

In a situation in which a clear division of interior and exterior has been abolished and consciousness functions quite autonomously, writing and literature can't automatically give any meaning to perceived reality, the past or the self, like it does for example in *A la recherche*. If 'motion is the sign of consciousness,' as Pessoa wrote, than time surely is such a sign. It can in no way lead this protagonist to any kind of truth: 'Where in the world can I find a thing true? In me? I am not the same as yesterday I was. It were necessary that there were no time, for in time things change and in time they become unsure.' (Pessoa TF 216). If there is one category that leads Soares to epistemological insecurities, it is time. The past seems to be something that does only play a marginal role in the life of Bernardo Soares. Unlike, for example, Proust's protagonist, Svevo's Zeno and Du Perron's Ducroo, Soares seems under no pressure to decipher, regain or reveal his past, simply because there's no point in it. 'Vivo sempre no presente. O futuro, não o conheço. O passado, já o não tenho. Pesa-me um como a possibilidade de tudo, o outro como a realidade de nada. Não tenho

esperanças nem saudades.’²³⁴ The past and the future are not, *cannot be*, present in his sensations. In the quoted fragment he describes the shadows, sounds and colours of a public garden and states: ‘sois, neste momento, o universo inteiro para mim, porque sois o conteúdo pleno da minha sensação consciente.’²³⁵ Once this sensation passes, it loses all its meaning: ‘passado este, há um virar de página e a história continua, mas não o texto.’²³⁶ Like the absolute character of the fragments in *Disquiet*, time functions in a similar way: each moment is absolute and not reducible to any complete lifetime. “Before” and “after” are subordinate to the “now”. In *À la recherche du temps perdu* time is treated in a linear way. The time sequence of *Ulysses* and *Mrs. Dalloway* is set in one day, although the chronology of events is subordinate to the chronology of the stream of consciousness. In *Disquiet* there is also unmistakably a dominance of consciousness, but even though the book is claimed to be an autobiography and a diary, it remains unclear how much time has been described. The order of events and time sequence in general are of no importance whatsoever. The fragments can’t be ordered chronologically: the days in *Disquiet* seem to be something different than subsequent entities in time. Linearity is replaced by repetition, circularity and fragmentation, without any beginning or end in time: ‘Há em certas

234 (LdD 100, 134). Transl.: *I always live in the present. I don't know the future and no longer have the past. The former oppresses me as the possibility of everything, the latter as the reality of nothing. I have no hopes and no nostalgia.* (LdD-Penguin 100, 96).

235 (ibid.). Transl.: *you are in this moment the whole universe for me, for you are the full content of my conscious sensation.* (ibid.).

236 (ibid.). Transl.: *once this has passed, there's a turning of the page and the story continues, but with a different text.* (ibid.).

frases, em vários períodos, de coisas escritas a poucos passos da minha adolescência, que me parecem produto de tal qual sou agora, educado por anos e por coisas. Reconheço que sou o mesmo que era.’²³⁷ It seems as if any kind of past situations remembered by Bernardo Soares does only have the function of pointing at the present and the future²³⁸; the present is continuously written over the past. When Soares finds some texts he wrote fifteen years ago in French, he ascertains that his language skills, despite his many years of practice, have not improved over the years, but even have diminished in a certain way: ‘há trechos inteiros, frases completas, formas e modos de expressão que acentuam um domínio daquela língua de que me extraviei sem que me lembrasse que o tinha. Como se explica isto? A quem me substituí dentro de mim?’²³⁹ Edmund Wilson wrote on Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake* that it followed ‘the principle of a palimpsest: one meaning, one set of images, is written over another.’ (Wilson 174). *Disquiet* can be seen as a palimpsest as well, but only as a palimpsest of which the various layers of writing cannot be chronologically ordered. There is no

237 (LdD 213, 223). Transl.: *There are certain phrases and sentences written in the wake of my adolescence that seem like the product of the person I am now, with all that I’ve learned in the intervening years. I see I’m the same as what I was.* (LdD-Penguin 213, 187).

238 Cf. (LdD 397, 363): ‘Já vi tudo, ainda o que nunca vi, nem o que nunca verei. No meu sangue corre até a menor das paisagens futuras, e a angústia do que terei que ver de novo é uma monotonia antecipada para mim.’ Transl.: *I’ve seen everything, even what I’ve never seen nor will ever see. Even the memory of future landscapes flows in my blood, and my anxiety over what I’ll have to see again is already monotonous to me.* (LdD-Penguin 397, 328).

239 (LdD 214, 224). Transl.: (...) *there are entire passages, complete sentences, grammatical forms and idioms that demonstrate a fluency I’ve lost without remembering that I ever had it. How can this be explained? Who did I replace inside myself?* (LdD-Penguin 214, 188).

possibility of reconstructing the past as accurately as possible, since its various diary entries co-exist all at the same time.

Nevertheless, many texts contain some form of childhood memories, in which Soares does seem to acknowledge the existence and value of the past.

‘O tempo! O passado! Aí algures, uma voz, um canto, um perfume ocasional levanta em minha alma o pano de boca das minhas recordações... Aquilo que fui e nunca mais serei! Aquilo que tive e não tornarei a ter! Os mortos! Os mortos que me amaram na minha infância. Quando os evoco, toda a alma me esfria e eu sinto-me desterrado de corações, sozinho na noite de mim próprio, chorando como um mendigo o silêncio fechado de todas as portas.’²⁴⁰

According to Van Stralen, the remembering consciousness in modernist texts often deals with childhood. (Van Stralen 1990, 52). An important motivation for this claim might be the popularity of Bergson’s views on time. Bergson distinguished ‘duration’ that divides an authentic reality in the context of space, from ‘duration’ that is everlasting and pure: ‘La durée toute pure est la forme que prend la succession de nos états de conscience quand notre moi se laisse vivre, quand il s’abstient d’établir une séparation

²⁴⁰ (LdD 197, 210). *Transl.: Time! The past! Something – a voice, a song, a chance fragrance – lifts the curtain on my soul’s memories... That which I was and will never again be! That which I had and will never again have! The dead! The dead who loved me in my childhood. Whenever I remember them, my whole soul shivers and I feel exiled from all hearts, alone in the night of myself, weeping like a beggar before the closed silence of all doors.* (LdD-Penguin 197, 173).

entre l'état présent et les états antérieurs.'²⁴¹ This form of duration is indivisible and is not submitted to clock time. It's 'une multiplicité confuse de sensations et de sentiments.'²⁴² This state of being can be reached by shutting down all activities of consciousness or by means of memory (Van Stralen 1990, 38). In memory one is able to cut oneself loose from chronology and to go back to this state of authentic reality. In this view time is strongly connected to the human mind, as Virginia Woolf wrote in *Orlando*: 'The mind of man, moreover, works with equal strangeness upon the body of time. An hour, once it lodges in the queer element of the human spirit, may be stretched to fifty or a hundred times its clock length; on the other hand, an hour may be accurately represented on the timepiece of the mind by one second.' (Woolf 1970, 91). Soares expresses a similar view in *Disquiet*:

'Não sei o que é o tempo. Não sei qual a verdadeira medida que ele tem, se tem alguma. A do relógio sei que é falsa: divide o tempo espacialmente, por fora. A das emoções sei também que é falsa: divide, não o tempo, mas a sensação dele. A dos sonhos é errada; (...) . Na recordação, que tenho da minha vida passada, os tempos estão dispostos em níveis e planos absurdos, sendo eu mais jovem em certo episódio dos quinze anos

241 In: Bergson, Henri. *Essai sur les Données Immédiates de la Conscience*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1947. 75. Transl.: *The pure 'Durée' is the form which the succession of our conscious states assumes when our Ego lets itself live, when it refrains from separating its present state from its former states.*

242 (ibid. 65). Transl.: *a confusing multiplicity of sensations and feelings.*

solenes que em outro da infância sentada entre brinquedos.²⁴³

His experience of the past is not guided by the rules of linearity and chronology, but is instead cut up in ‘absurd levels and planes.’ The various passages focusing on his childhood days therefore do not necessarily refer to the earliest phase of his life. They’re most of all a symbol for a certain state of mind; a phase that hints at Bergson’s ‘durée tout pure’, in which time was not yet divided in past and present, in which object and subject coincided and the self was not yet the multiplicity that Soares experiences in many scenes in the book. It’s a phase of extra-temporal existence of the origin of things and beings:

‘Dizem os ocultistas, ou alguns deles, que há momentos supremos da alma em que ela recorda, com a emoção ou com parte da memória, um momento, ou um aspecto, ou uma sombra, de uma encarnação anterior. E então, como regressa a um tempo que está mais próximo que o seu presente da origem e do começo das coisas, sente, em certo modo, uma infância e uma libertação.’²⁴⁴

If we remove this from the occultist idiom, we can connect this symbol of

243 (LdD 350, 327). Transl.: *I don't know what time is. I don't know what its real measure is, presuming it has one. I know that the clock's measure is false, as it divides time spatially, from the outside. I know that our emotions' way of measuring is just as false, dividing not time but our sensation of it. The way our dreams measure it is erroneous, (...). In the remembrance I have of my past life, the times are arranged in absurd levels and planes, so that I'm younger in a certain episode from my serious-minded fifteenth year than in another from my childhood surrounded by toys.* (LdD-Penguin 350, 292.

244 (LdD 198, 210). Transl.: *Occultists say (or at least some of them do) that the soul has supreme moments when it recalls, with the emotions or with some part of memory, a moment or an aspect or a shadow from a previous incarnation. And since the soul returns to a time that is closer than the present to the beginning and origin of things, it experiences a sensation of childhood and of liberation.* (LdD-Penguin 198, 173).

childhood with a state prior to the burden of consciousness and thought. In that respect, Soares's continuous longing for his childhood is always related to his grievance over the loss of unconsciousness (Baltrusch 308): 'Matei a vontade a analisá-la. Quem me tornara a infância antes da análise, ainda que antes da vontade!'²⁴⁵

§7. Childhood memories as a literary device: Pessoa and Du Perron

The longing for unconsciousness, existential unity, being rooted in the world in opposition to conscious living implying feelings of multiplicity, detachment and existential despair is nothing strange in modernist literature. A small comparison of *Disquiet* with another masterpiece of modernism, the Dutch novel *Het land van herkomst* ('Country of origin') by Edgar du Perron, shows how and where *Disquiet* deviates from the itinerary. In Perron's novel, remembrance is an important instrument for the protagonist Ducroo to cope with his present life in exile. Although he does evaluate his childhood days with some criticism and scepticism, he most of all describes that time as a period in which his parents were still alive and had a fairly happy marriage, he had a warm bond with his mother and his childhood home in Indonesia was a symbol of safety and quietude.²⁴⁶ After his relocation to Europe all of this was destroyed; the rootedness in his environment was replaced by detachment. Childish

245 (LdD 462, 413). Transl.: *I killed my will by analysing it. If only I could return to my childhood before analysis, even if it would have to be before I had a will!* (LdD-Penguin 462, 380).

246 cf. (Du Perron 237ff)

unconsciousness has given way to self-consciousness:

‘Alles smelt voor mij samen tot één groot panorama: de eenheid is het landschap, de tijdperken zijn die van mijn eigen leeftijd. Maar die weet ik niet precies, en hoeveel van wat ik later, toen ik 10 of 11 was, bewuster gevoeld heb, was in onze eerste tijd, toen ik 6 was, al niet aanwezig? Waar het alleen décor betreft, aarzel ik niet: een kind in een omgeving, dat is de omgeving.’²⁴⁷

In childhood, the unconscious self coincides with the world surrounding it, a view that is shared by Bernardo Soares:

‘Lembro-me de repente de quando era criança, e via, como hoje não posso ver, a manhã raiar sobre a cidade. Ela então não raiava para mim, mas para a vida, porque então eu (não sendo consciente) era a vida. Via a manhã e tinha alegria; hoje vejo a manhã, e tenho alegria, e fico triste... A criança ficou mas emudeceu. Vejo como via, mas por trás dos olhos vejo-me vendo (...).’²⁴⁸

In both works childhood stands for some kind of pure, unconscious being that in case of *Het land van herkomst* is pursued by means of memory. Fokkema & Ibsch: ‘Veel aandacht valt op de waarde die de speurtocht

247 (Perron 119). Transl.: *Everything melts for me into one big panorama: the unity is the landscape, the eras are those of my own age. But I don't know exactly what age, and how much of what I later when I was 10 or 11 felt more consciously, wasn't already present in this first period when I was 6? If only scenery is concerned, I don't hesitate: a child in its environment is its environment.*

248 (LdD 397, 363). Transl.: *I suddenly remember when I was a child and saw, as today I cannot see, dawn breaking over the city. Back then it didn't break for me but for life, because back then I (not being conscious) was life. I saw dawn break and felt happy; today I see dawn break, feel happy, and become sad. The child is still there but has fallen silent. I see the way I saw, but from behind my eyes I see myself seeing. (...).* (LdD-Penguin 397, 328).

naar het verleden voor Ducroo heeft en de plaats die herinnering in zijn bestaan inneemt. (...) *Het land van herkomst* is een herinneringsroman, maar tevens een boek dat het proces van de herinnering beschrijft. De verteller Ducroo aarzelt hoe hij te werk zal gaan: ‘En nu: uit mijzelf opdiepen wat Indië mij toch gegeven moet hebben, trouw volgens de ogenblikken waarin het bovenkomt? of ook mijn herinneringen omliegen tot zoiets als een roman, het geliefde artikel van het publiek?’²⁴⁹ Ducroo reflects here upon the choice that Du Perron had already made; he had created distance towards his past by inventing the character of Ducroo and making this invention the one who remembers and interprets the past. The individual that writes these reflections on his present and past leaves no doubt about the fact that this “self” only came into being after his unconscious childhood days: ‘Waar het mijn verleden betreft (vanaf de tijd toen ik reeds *ik* was)(...)’²⁵⁰ In order to understand that self and the present in which it lives, the past and most of all the analysis of the past is essential. It permits reflective consciousness to get grip on the situation. ‘Alleen het verleden laat zijn brokstukken groeperen, en het heden dat ik soms aanvat verbergt altijd iets anders.’²⁵¹ The self is constructed by the

249 (Fokkema & Ibsch 275). Transl.: *The value that the search for the past has for Ducroo and the place memory takes in his life get a lot of attention (...). ‘Het land van herkomst’ is a novel consisting of memories, but it also describes the process of remembering. The narrator hesitates on how to proceed: ‘And now: dig out from myself what the Indies must have given me, faithful to the way they pop up? Or should I lie my memories into something like a novel, the beloved item of the public?’*

250 (Perron 29). Transl.: *As far as my past is concerned (from the time when I was already I)(...)*

251 (Perron 296). Transl.: *Only the past permits its fragments to be grouped together, and the present that I sometimes describe always hides something else.*

various memories that in themselves do not automatically represent any historical truth. The past is only given to Ducroo after his remembering consciousness has presented it to him. When he asks himself: ‘Wat waren mijn eerste indrukken, of wat heb ik achteraf als zodanig geregistreerd?’²⁵², we are reminded of Soares who wrote after a long description of all kinds of sensory perceptions of autumn: ‘Assim era tudo para mim antes que o pensasse. Hoje, se o escrevo, é porque o lembro. O outono que tenho é o que perdi.’²⁵³ The paragraph is in itself paradoxical, since ‘that’s how it was for me before I thought about it’ seems to imply that Soares here was able to directly describe his pre-reflective impressions. The next sentence immediately denies this possibility: everything he writes down merely exists because he remembers it. The autumn that he has (the described autumn) is the one he lost (the experienced one). Writing and time are therefore quite incompatible, which is something that both Ducroo and Soares seem to acknowledge. Ducroo: ‘Ik zoek mijn oude leed terug te vinden terwijl ik dit schrijf: maar niets... het is voorbij, of de handeling van het schrijven vervangt het.’²⁵⁴ Soares: ‘A doçura do passado? O recordá-lo, porque recordá-lo é torná-lo presente, e ele nem o é, nem o pode ser - o absurdo, meu amor, o absurdo. E eu que digo isto - por que escrevo eu

252 (Perron 73). Transl.: *What were my first impressions, or what have I registered retrospectively as such?*

253 (LdD 320, 308). Transl.: *That’s how it was for me before I thought about it. If I write it down today, it’s because I remember it. The autumn I have is the one I lost.* (LdD-Penguin 320, 272).

254 (Perron 180). Transl.: *I’m trying to find my old pain as I write, but nothing... it’s over or the act of writing replaces it.*

este livro? Porque o reconhecço imperfecto.²⁵⁵ Both Pessoa and Du Perron forced their imagined protagonists to admit the deficiency of literature. At the same time it is the very medium of the text that permitted them to construct these protagonists, and to express parts of their own selves through Soares and Ducroo. The relation between Du Perron and Ducroo resembles that of Soares and Pessoa (even their names are in both cases mutilated anagrams): both authors emphasize that their characters shouldn't be seen as mere products of their literary imagination, but literary mutilations of themselves. Du Perron: 'Mijn hoofdpersoon Arthur Ducroo, die ik *niet* heelemaal ben [...] verkeerde in een toestand van groot heimwee naar Indië. Nu, ik ook.'²⁵⁶ Pessoa famously wrote on Soares: 'É um semi-heterónimo porque, não sendo a personalidade a minha, é, não diferente da minha, mas uma simples mutilação dela. Sou eu menos o raciocínio e a afectividade.'²⁵⁷ In both cases the life that has been described, has remarkable similarities with the life of its author, but still the works cannot be treated as purely autobiographical documents. In chapter 2.3 I already pointed out Soares's self-conscious moments in which he reflected

255 (LdD 330, 315). Transl.: *The sweetness of the past? Our memory of it, since to remember it is to make it present, and it isn't present nor ever can be – absurdity, my love, absurdity.*

And I who am saying all this – why am I writing this book? Because I realize it's imperfect. (LdD Pebguin 330, 277).

256 (Van Stralen 1990, 117). Transl.: *My protagonist Arthur Ducroo, who is not entirely me [...] suffered from great nostalgia to the Indies. Well, I do too.*

257 (LdD p. 508). Transl.: *My semi-heteronym Bernardo Soares, who in many ways resembles Álvaro de Campos, always appears when I'm sleepy or drowsy, so that my qualities of inhibition and rational thought are suspended; his prose is an endless reverie. He's a semi-heteronym because his personality, although not my own, doesn't differ from my own but is a mere mutilation of it.* (LdD-Penguin 474).

upon himself as a fictive entity. Du Perron wrote on his work: 'Als het géén roman is, en géén mémoires, en geen essay en geen dagboek, G.v.D. wat is het dan? Een boek. Een mensch.'²⁵⁸ In both works, an important aim of the writing is to construct a fictive human being.

An important difference between Ducroo and Soares is the method that has been used: the life of Ducroo has to a great extent been compiled by his many memories of the Dutch East Indies, while for Soares memory and the past are not particularly essential for the construction of his identity. Ducroo becomes aware of his experience of life in exile and the detachment that rules his life mainly because his present life is set against his past life. For Soares the return to childhood occurs every now and then, but is quite hopeless; the memory of the supposed unity of those years can never be regained and does not, as in Ducroo's case, offer the achievement of self-knowledge: 'A que propósito relembro? O cansaço. Lembrar é um repouso, porque é não agir.'²⁵⁹ Remembrance is only recreation. As I pointed out earlier, the present moment is the only thing that Soares truly deals with:

'Que fazer? Isolar o momento como uma coisa e ser feliz agora, no momento em que se sente a felicidade, sem pensar senão no que se sente, excluindo o mais, excluindo tudo. Enjaular o pensamento na sensação.
□ É esta a minha crença, esta tarde. Amanhã de manhã não será esta,

258 (Van Stralen 1990, 117). Transl.: *If it's not a novel, no memoir, no essay and no diary, for God's sake, what is it? It's a book. A human being.*

259 (LdD 456, 408). Transl.: *Why do I bother to remember? Weariness. Remembering is a repose, for it means not doing.* (LdD-Penguin 456, 375).

porque amanhã de manhã serei já outro.²⁶⁰

It becomes clear that remembrance, longing, nostalgia and melancholy are merely *literary devices*. It has in *Disquiet* nothing to do at all with truth or knowledge: ‘Não tenho saudades senão literariamente. Lembro a minha infância com lágrimas, mas são lágrimas rítmicas, onde já se prepara a prosa.’²⁶¹ The function of the many (childhood) memories in *Disquiet* is not to build the ‘person’ Bernardo Soares, like it was in *Land van herkomst*, but to communicate certain (present) sensations to the reader. Memory is a literary device:

‘O que sinto, na verdadeira substância com que o sinto, é absolutamente incomunicável. (...) Tenho a chave para a porta do meu tema. Escrevo e choro a minha infância perdida; demoro-me comovidamente sobre os pormenores de pessoas e mobília da velha casa na província; evoco a felicidade de não ter direitos nem deveres, de ser livre por não saber pensar nem sentir - e esta evocação, se for bem feita como prosa e visões, vai despertar no meu leitor exactamente a emoção que eu senti, e que nada tinha com infância.’²⁶²

260 (LdD 406, 370). Transl.: *What to do? Isolate the moment like a thing, and be happy now, in the moment we're feeling happiness, thinking of nothing but what we're feeling and completely excluding everything else. Trap all thought in our sensation..... That's what I believe this afternoon. It's not what I'll believe tomorrow morning, because tomorrow morning I'll be someone else.* (LdD-Penguin 406, 336).

261 (LdD 208, 220). Transl.: *Any nostalgia I feel is literary. I remember my childhood with tears, but they're rhythmic tears, in which prose is already being formed.* (LdD-Penguin 208, 183).

262 (LdD 260, 263). Transl.: *The true substance of whatever I feel is absolutely incommunicable, (...). Now I have the key to the door of my theme. I write and weep about my lost childhood, going into poignant detail about the people and furniture of our old house in the country. I recall the joy of having no rights or responsibilities, of being free because I still didn't know how to think or feel - and this recollection, if it's well written and visually effective, will arouse in my reader exactly the same emotion I was feeling, which had nothing to do with childhood.* (LdD-Penguin 260, 226).

Instead of trying to reveal some truth about the past by means of memory, as is most notably the case in *A la recherche*, Soares uses evocations of his childhood to evoke in his readers a similar emotion as he presently experiences, ‘*which has nothing to do with childhood.*’ Truth is of no use:

‘A mentira é simplesmente a linguagem ideal da alma, pois, assim como nos servimos de palavras, que são sons articulados de uma maneira absurda, para em linguagem real traduzir os mais íntimos e subtis movimentos da emoção e do pensamento, que as palavras forçosamente não poderão nunca traduzir (...)’²⁶³

Soares writes about his childhood memories in order to arouse in his readers a similar kind of emotion he experienced. It turns out that Soares communicates by means of faking. His memories are artificial constructions (since they are put into literary writing) of which “the original” has never existed.²⁶⁴ Soares is self-consciously constructing a past, his memories and for that matter his present as well, in order to be able to communicate his sensations. In this way he denies the referentiality of art and only puts one image upon the other: ‘Menti? Não, compreendi. (...) assim nos servimos da mentira e da ficção para nos entendermos uns aos outros, o que com

263 (ibid.). Transl.: *Lying is simply the soul's ideal language. Just as we make use of words, which are sounds articulated in an absurd way, to translate into real language the most private and subtle shifts of our thoughts and emotions (which words on their own would never be able to translate).* (ibid.).

264 It might be said that Pessoa was obsessed with faking, given another example in which he made faking and replicas into a theme. The short story *Um grande Português* (*A great Portuguese*) (1926) deals with the possibility of using counterfeit money of the worst possible quality. For a discussion of this story, see (Stoker 2003) and (Stoker 2009) and the relation of this story and Pessoa's use of simulacra, see (Medeiros 2008).

a verdade, própria e intransmissível, se nunca poderia fazer.²⁶⁵ *Disquiet* is not, like other modernist novels, about giving meaning to life by means of the evocation of past memories or the complicated search for truth in the kaleidoscope of perspectives and perceptions, it mainly is about opening life up for every experience imaginable. The specific form of consciousness that Pessoa created in *Disquiet*, strikingly described as ‘uma espécie de peneira’ by José Gil, sets various conditions on the self that produces this consciousness.

265 (ibid.). Transl.: *I've lied? No I understood. (...) so we make use of lies and fiction to promote understanding among ourselves, something that the truth – personal and incommunicable – could never accomplish.* (ibid.).

Chapter 4

Involuntary imagination and the empty self

A key aspect for the understanding of *Disquiet* is the continuous questioning of the assumption that life precedes writing. The whole construction of many modernist novels is based upon exactly this assumption: protagonists in the novels of Joyce, Proust, Woolf, Mann and others often use narrative space to reflect upon past experiences or to elaborate on dominant memories. It seems as if Pessoa in *Disquiet* turned things around: writing precedes life. To a certain extent every literary character is of course the product of writing, in the sense that they all sprouted from their author's pen, but in *Disquiet* the dialectics between life and writing are subject to permanent insecurity. Life, past or biographical facts are no essential presumptions for the texts that Bernardo Soares writes in his book. Even when he points at his past, his loved ones or his childhood, Pessoa leaves no doubt that the diary is fictitious, that Soares (and I take this quite literally) is *no one* and that the evocation of childhood memories are purely used as a literary device. If apart from the omnipresent motion in *Disquiet* any "progress" of its protagonist can be discerned, it certainly isn't the development of a young man into the educated artist; as for example is the case in Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*.²⁶⁶ To the contrary, Soares develops into nothing at all. This nothingness and being nobody often referred to by the

266 From now on abbreviated as *À la recherche*.

metaphors of the *abismo* (*abyss*) or *interlúdio* (*interlude*), complicate the ontological status of the self that nevertheless is always present on the many pages of this book. Before I focus on the consequences of these peculiar premises of *Disquiet* for the self, which unavoidably turns out to be an odd specimen of the concept 'self', we first have to make as clear as possible how the 'literary device' of Soares's memories work. I'll confront Soares's way of remembering with the way protagonists of famous modernist novels by Proust and Du Perron deal with remembrance and memory. After that I'll zoom in on the 'empty self' from which these particular memories seem to be derived.

§1. Voluntary and involuntary memory in Proust and Pessoa

Let us first return to the idea of the 'durée pure' that according to Bergson could be reached through memory. On the one hand he distinguished the absorption of the remembering person in a stream of remembered images and on the other hand he indicated a purely intellectually evoked set of memories. The first one has gained fame as the 'mémoire involontaire' in Proust's *À la recherche*. It is an example of how the artist can express the stream of memory and the durée in order to map the authentic domain (Van Stralen 1990, 38). This is not the case in *Disquiet*: it is not obvious at all that Soares's memories are 'true', nor that they can lead him to authenticity. Memories can be fake ones and are only a metaphor for certain sentiments or experiences in order to make those communicable to the reader. If there is any parallel in *Disquiet* with the guiding principle that Proust, Du Perron

and Bergson indicate in their writings, it surely is something different than time. Soares does, however, occasionally experience epiphanies, revelations and self-understanding, which certainly are caused by something. Some of these revelations even look close to those described in *À la recherche*. But in all scenes where time does play an apparently defining role, it turns out that something else is by far more dominant: imagination.

‘O que eu sinto quando penso no passado que tive no tempo real, quando choro sobre o cadáver da vida da minha infância ida,... isso mesmo não atinge o fervor doloroso e trémulo com que choro sobre não serem reais as figuras humildes dos meus sonhos, as próprias figuras secundárias que me recordo de ter visto uma só vez, por acaso, na minha pseudovida, ao virar uma esquina da minha visãoção, ao passar por um portão numa rua que subi e percorri por esse sonho fora.’²⁶⁷

The way this driving force of imagination works is pointed out in many fragments. In one text Bernardo Soares describes a situation in which the taste and smell of a cigar or cigarette carry him – ‘heart and soul’ - back to past days when he used to smoke them. In the same text, he confesses that a piece of chocolate provokes his childhood days. At first sight, this fragment seems to be in flagrant contradiction with the meaninglessness of the past in Soares’s sensations that I proclaimed earlier. Here is the beginning of it:

267 (LdD 92, 127). Transl.: *The longing I feel when I think of the past I’ve lived in real time, when I weep over the corpse of my childhood life – this can’t compare to the fervour of my trembling grief as I weep over the non-reality of my dreams’ humble characters, even the minor ones I recall having seen just once in my pseudo-life, while turning a corner in my envisioned world, or while passing through a doorway on a street that I walked up and down in the same dream.* (LdD-Penguin 92, 89).

‘Com um charuto caro e os olhos fechados é ser rico. Como quem visita um lugar onde passou a juventude, consigo, com um cigarro barato, regressar inteiro ao lugar da minha vida em que era meu uso fumá-los. E através do sabor leve do fumo todo o passado revive-me. Outras vezes será um certo doce. Um simples bombom de chocolate escangalha-me às vezes os nervos com o excesso de recordações que os estremece. A infância! E entre os meus dentes que se cravam na massa escura e macia, trinco e gosto as minhas humildes felicidades de companheiro alegre de soldados de chumbo, de cavaleiro congruente com a cana casual meu cavalo. Sobem-me as lágrimas aos olhos e junto com o sabor do chocolate mistura-se ao meu sabor a minha felicidade passada, a minha infância ida, e pertenço voluptuosamente à suavidade da minha dor.’²⁶⁸

The actual process that Soares describes here – the sensation of a simple object such as a piece of chocolate or a cheap cigarette that evokes past memories – reminds us of Proust and the paradigm ‘involuntary memory’ that he created for these kinds of experiences. Compare this text with a shard of the famous ‘madeleine-scene’ from *À la recherche*:

‘Et bientôt, machinalement, accablé par la morne journée et la perspective d’un triste lendemain, je portai à mes lèvres une cuillerée du thé où j’avais laissé s’amollir un morceau de madeleine. Mais à l’instant même

268 (LdD 400, 366). Transl.: *An expensive cigar smoked with one’s eyes closed – that’s all it takes to be rich. Like someone who revisits a place where he lived in his youth, with a cheap cigarette I can return – heart and soul – to the time in my life when I used to smoke them. Through the mild flavour of the smoke, the whole of past comes back to me. At other times it’s a certain sweet. A mere piece of chocolate can shake up my nerves with the surfeit of memories it provokes. Childhood! And my teeth sink into the dark, soft mass, I chew and savour my humble joys as the happy companion of my toy soldiers, as the knight in perfect accord with whatever stick happened to be serving as my horse. Tears well up in my eyes, and along with the flavour of the chocolate I can taste my bygone happiness, my long lost childhood, and I voluptuously bask in the sweetness of my sorrow.* (LdD-Penguin 400, 331).

où la gorgée mêlée des miettes du gâteau toucha mon palais, je tressaillis, attentif à ce qui se passait d'extraordinaire en moi. Un plaisir délicieux m'avait envahi, isolé, sans la notion de sa cause. Il m'avait aussitôt rendu les vicissitudes de la vie indifférentes, ses désastres inoffensifs, sa brièveté illusoire, de la même façon qu'opère l'amour, en me remplissant d'une essence précieuse: ou plutôt cette essence n'était pas en moi, elle était moi. J'avais cessé de me sentir médiocre, contingent, mortel. D'où avait pu me venir cette puissante joie? Je sentais qu'elle était liée au goût du thé et du gâteau, mais qu'elle le dépassait infiniment, ne devait pas être de même nature. (...) Et tout d'un coup le souvenir m'est apparu. Ce goût celui du petit morceau de madeleine que le dimanche matin à Combray (parce que ce jour-là je ne sortais pas avant l'heure de la messe), quand j'allais lui dire bonjour dans sa chambre, ma tante Léonie m'offrait après l'avoir trempé dans son infusion de thé ou de tilleul.²⁶⁹

The memory of his place of birth Combray that Marcel, the protagonist of *À la recherche* experiences is caused by the taste of a soaked biscuit. The memory is above all *involuntary* because of the element of surprise ('And suddenly the memory returns') and the impossibility of recalling the scene

269 (Proust I, 44). Transl.: *And soon, mechanically, weary after a dull day with the prospect of a depressing morrow, I raised to my lips a spoonful of the tea in which I had soaked a morsel of the cake. No sooner had the warm liquid, and the crumbs with it, touched my palate than a shudder ran through my whole body, and I stopped, intent upon the extraordinary changes that were taking place. An exquisite pleasure had invaded my senses, but individual, detached, with no suggestion of its origin. And at once the vicissitudes of life had become indifferent to me, its disasters innocuous, its brevity illusory--this new sensation having had on me the effect which love has of filling me with a precious essence; or rather this essence was not in me, it was myself. I had ceased now to feel mediocre, accidental, mortal. Whence could it have come to me, this all-powerful joy? I was conscious that it was connected with the taste of tea and cake, but that it infinitely transcended those savours, could not, indeed, be of the same nature as theirs. (...) And suddenly the memory returns. The taste was that of the little crumb of madeleine which on Sunday mornings at Combray (because on those mornings I did not go out before church-time), when I went to say good day to her in her bedroom, my aunt Leonie used to give me, dipping it first in her own cup of real or of lime-flower tea.*

of his youth voluntarily ('I hope at least to be able to call upon the tea for it again and to find it there presently, intact and at my disposal'). Throughout the novel this protagonist goes through several of these profound sensory experiences of memories, triggered by smells, sounds, sights or tastes. The taste of the Madeleine, the belfry of martinville, the inequality of two steps; anything, apparently insignificant and completely coincidental occurrences, can cause such a memory. At the end of the novel, Marcel discovers that he in his many failed attempts in the past to become a writer, had never noticed the importance of these involuntary memories. Despite being involved in love affairs, visiting fashionable *soirées* in France's beau monde, being a sharp observer of the many people and their circumstances that passed by during the years, he had never found the great subject he desired for to describe in his big novel. The role of the *mémoire involontaire* in the novel is often understood as the ultimate revelation of his literary calling: his search for lost time can only be fulfilled in the work of art.²⁷⁰

An important revelation coming with involuntary memory is the insight that everything in linear chronology is in permanent movement and change (Fokkema & Ibsch 134). The perception of a person on a certain moment in time only covers a very small part of that person. Initially, Marcel sees the character Swann as a man with a bad marriage who flaunts his mediocre circle of acquaintances, but later in the novel he turns out to be a man with superb connections in a much higher class

270 Cf. (Jauss 190); (Fokkema & Ibsch 144).

than expected. The character of Charlus initially is portrayed as a dandy, but later on becomes a proud, sarcastic man and still later a pathetic homosexual. These changes in perception are being caused by the passage of time. In this respect, Marcel's search can be understood as a search for 'truth' (Descombes 77). The protagonist however is only given a partial view upon his truth; he needs to search for the complete image. Proust's perspectivism is an important force in causing this fragmentary truth: in his conversations with persons and the gossip during soirées, Marcel collects bits of information on relationships, characters, feelings and situations from all kinds of perspectives. It is shown that 'time' is the key to a full understanding of the 'truth.' The passage of time functions as the instrument that is able to restore false ideas or impressions. *À la recherche* shows that by means of a long and difficult road of wandering and errors, truth eventually can be reached. By representing the lost time of apparently useless years in a work of art, the lost time can be regained. Gilles Deleuze portrays Marcel's search for lost time as the apprenticeship of a young man in deciphering signs. He is being confronted with all kinds of signs and is being forced to interpret them. The involuntary memory of the Madeleine is such a sign, but also for example the behaviour of Mme Verdurin, the shard of music by Vinteuil and his relationship with Albertine. According to Deleuze, Marcel perceives those signs as hieroglyphs; he has to take pains to decipher them. His apprenticeship exactly consists of learning how to discover the meanings of the signs. It demands a tour along an almost infinite series of signs to finally get an idea of what they mean, or

eventually to learn their essences: it is a search for truth indeed (Deleuze 15). Deleuze uses Proust's own metaphor of a 'box' to clarify the function of signs (Deleuze 116). The box represents the relation between container and content (the box is the shell of something and offers space to put something in it). The content is folded in the container, just like the sign that keeps its 'content' hidden for normal perception. Deleuze shows that by opening the box, the content is not corresponding with its container. By opening the box of, for example, the Madeleine, the involuntary memory of Combray unexpectedly pops out of it. And on second thought, the box that contains the involuntary memory (the Madeleine) actually isn't the Madeleine itself, but only its sensory qualities. Those memories, on their turn, are not merely memories, but an evocation of the "essence" of Combray. And this evocation is that far removed from the voluntary memories that the protagonist who is merely eating a biscuit could possibly have on that moment, that the involuntary memory becomes disconnected from the actual person that experiences it. The involuntary memory can neither be linked with the biscuit; the content cannot be derived from the container. This makes it extremely difficult for Marcel to interpret certain signs. The experience of time is necessary to get the content out of the boxes; a shortcut to the revelation of this truth doesn't exist (Descombes 86).

This excursion to Proustian theory is needed to show that Soares's evocation of childhood days seems very similar to Proust's rendering of involuntary memory, but is fundamentally different from it. First of all the element of

surprise isn't present: Soares writes that he 'can return – with heart and soul – to the time (...): 'Consigno' is the word he uses, which implicates that he voluntarily manages to evoke memories of those days. The comparison with someone who revisits a place where he spent his childhood days indicates even more clearly the difference with Proust: this memory is completely voluntary. The 'signs' in Pessoa's fragment, the cigarette and the piece of chocolate don't need any deciphering, as they do in Proust's Madeleine scene. In Pessoa's text content and container are in agreement. What happens here is the experience of a certain emotion while thinking (voluntarily) back to a 'long lost childhood' and 'bygone happiness.' In *À la recherche* the protagonist has these kinds of memories all the time. But the special feature of the Madeleine scene is its revelation or epiphany of truth. The box is opened and the unexpected content presents itself. Time is being regained; loose moments are connected. In Soares's case, however, there is nothing regained at all.

'Com que subtil plausibilidade de sabor-aroma reergo os cenários mortos e empresto outra vez as cores de um passado, tão século dezoito sempre pelo afastamento malicioso e cansado, tão medievais sempre pelo irremediavelmente perdido.'²⁷¹

Soares's past is a theatre play of which he can only resurrect the set and reinvest some colours. His memory even goes beyond the remembered

271 (LdD 400, 366). Transl.: *With what subtle plausibility – taste combined with smell – I recreate the dead stage settings and reinvest them with the colours of a past, always so eighteenth century in its weary and mischievous aloofness, always so medieval in its irreparable lostness!* (LdD-Penguin 400, 332).

time and reaches eighteenth century and even medieval atmospheres. Gil mentions the poem *A Múmia* in which Pessoa goes all the way back to Egyptian history and mythology. He writes that Pessoa here ‘assiste a si proprio escrevendo *num* passado para além de todo o passado, de todo o tempo; no presente, ao mesmo tempo que escreve esses versos da *Chuva Obliqua*, (d)escreve o acto de escrever num tempo imemorial.’²⁷² Gil asserts that the whole act of writing is analyzed on the same moment as it is in progress. He defines this pre-temporal phase as the time in which no heteronyms yet existed. They after all brought their own remembered times, their own particular childhood days, their own nostalgia and memories. This is a time in which those pasts not yet existed, because they still had to be created. *Disquiet* mirrors this pre-heteronymic times in the scenes in which Soares refers to past times that he impossibly could have remembered. That past is a fiction, a creation that is irreparably lost. ‘Ah, não há saudades mais dolorosas do que as das coisas que nunca foram!’²⁷³ For this reason no truth at all can be detached to his memory. Marcel has experienced illusions, disappointments and revelations; in retrospective he learns the point of having to lose time first before regaining it. *À la recherche* is the account of Marcel developing from a naïve aesthete into a true artist. Soares develops into nothing at all during his life: ‘fui o

272 (Gil 1999, 54). Transl.: *Here, Pessoa watches himself writing in a past that is beyond the entire past, beyond time. In the present, on the very moment of writing these verses of Chuva Obliqua, he describes (writes) the act of writing in an immemorial time.*

273 (LdD 92, 127). Transl.: *Ah, no nostalgia hurts as much as nostalgia for things that never existed!* (LdD-Penguin 92, 89).

devaneio do que quis ser, o meu sonho começou na minha vontade, o meu propósito foi sempre a primeira ficção do que nunca fui.²⁷⁴ His past is fictitious. We could therefore state that Bernardo Soares didn't have a true past at all. What does that mean in *Disquiet*?

First of all this absence of a real past has some implications for his being in the present. He doesn't have, like Marcel, the revealing instrument of time at his disposal. We've seen how Deleuze's reading of Proust's metaphor of the boxes points out that the experience of time is needed to be able to interpret a complex sign such as the involuntary memory of the Madeleine. And most importantly: without time, the eating of the Madeleine wouldn't probably be any special sign at all. It would possibly be a sign like the ones described by Soares in his text on the memory of his childhood days: by smoking a cigarette or eating a chocolate one can voluntarily recall some childhood days. It becomes a box of which the content is clearly exposed, while for Proust the content of some containers can only be understood because of the passage of time. It requires the recognition of a past that has been lived through, a past that sometimes seemed pointless, but that in retrospective proofed its value for the person that had experienced it. This insight is an affirmation of being in the world, an affirmation of someone's identity on a certain moment in his life. For Marcel this results

274 (LdD 399, 365). Transl.: *I was the daydream of what I wanted to be, and my dreaming began in my will: my goals were always the first fiction of what I never was.* (LdD-Penguin 399, 331).

in an understanding of his own life and the start of his literary career. It offers him the possibility to close a part of his life, to end. For Soares, no such thing is possible. His past is a made up past, and no closure or ending can be expected of it:

‘E isto faz com que sonhe a pergunta se não será tudo neste total de mundo uma série entreinserta de sonhos e romances, como caixinhas dentro de caixinhas maiores - umas dentro de outras e estas em mais -, sendo tudo uma história com histórias, como as *Mil e Uma Noites*, decorrendo falsa na noite eterna.’²⁷⁵

Soares’s box does not reveal anything, even after a really long while. His box is a sign that only refers to another box, and that box refers to yet another one. There is no content for the container other than the container itself. The signs that Soares comes across in this book are not so much similar to boxes, but to spirals:

‘uma espiral é um círculo virtual que se desdobra a subir sem nunca se realizar. Mas não, a definição ainda é abstracta. Buscarei o concreto, e tudo será visto: uma espiral é uma cobra sem cobra enroscada verticalmente em coisa nenhuma.’²⁷⁶

His life, and all perceptions and experiences inherent in it, did not *precede*

275 (LdD 285, 282). Transl.: (...) *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 the 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.* (LdD-Penguin 285, 245).

276 (LdD 117, 145). Transl.: *a spiral is a potential circle that winds round as it rises, without ever completing itself. But no, the definition is still abstract. I’ll resort to the concrete, and all will become clear: a spiral is a snake without a snake, vertically wound around nothing.* (LdD-Penguin 117, 107).

his autobiography, but *is created by* it. His literature is no product of his life, which permits Marcel to start writing his magnum opus at the end of *À la recherche* right after the revelation of his regained time. The *Book of Disquiet* precedes actually the life of its author. It is an autobiography without a life, truly wound around nothing, in which time consequently cannot play any role of importance: ‘Pêndulo oscilante, sempre movendo-se para não chegar, indo só para voltar, preso eternamente à dupla fatalidade de um centro e de um movimento inútil.’²⁷⁷ One of the consequences of this ‘life-producing machine’ is that sensations can be produced in every possible constellation (with all sides of Pessoa’s cube represented), that Soares’s description of reality is never stable and coherent. Marcel had found out, by means of his experience of the *mémoire involontaire*, that his impressions of the unstable, always changing and incoherent world are caused by the passage of time. Because of the fictitious status of Soares’s past, time is not the driving force behind his book. It is rather an “involuntary imagination”, a sudden moment of insight that, in case of this person who is produced by fiction, reveals what is the point of all that dreaming and imagining:

‘De repente, como se um destino médico me houvesse operado de uma cegueira antiga com grandes resultados súbitos, ergo a cabeça, da minha vida anónima, para o conhecimento claro de como existo. (...) Tudo quanto tenho feito, pensado, sido, é uma soma de subordinações, ou a um ente falso que julguei meu, por que agi dele para fora, ou de um peso de

277 (LdD 133, 158). Transl.: *A swinging pendulum, back and forth, forever moving to arrive nowhere, eternally captive to the twin fatality of a centre and a useless motion.* (LdD-Penguin 133, 121).

circunstâncias que supus ser o ar que respirava. Sou, neste momento de ver, um solitário súbito, que se reconhece desterrado onde se encontrou sempre cidadão. No mais íntimo do que pensei não fui eu.²⁷⁸

When in Proust's *À la recherche* Marcel's experience of involuntary memories reveals to him what his previously low esteemed life actually is about, Soares is revealed what his 'submissions to a false self' were up to: to make him a person, a monad in the constellation of heteronyms that in his case can only inspire him to keep on writing: writing his own self, that is. 'Saber de si, de repente, como neste momento lustral, é ter subitamente *a noção da mónada íntima*, da palavra mágica da alma' (my italics).²⁷⁹ Marcel's search revealed to him the meaning of lost time, Soares's revelation brought him the meaning of his 'factless autobiography': 'Foi só um momento, e vi-me.'²⁸⁰

A large part of *Disquiet* deals with the way Soares copes with imagination. Similar to the dominance of remembering consciousness in many modernist novels, most notably the involuntary variant in *À la recherche*,

278 (LdD 39, 79). *All of a sudden, as if a surgical hand of destiny had operated on a long-standing blindness with immediate and sensational results, I lift my gaze from my anonymous life to the clear recognition of how I live. (...) All that I've done, thought or been is a series of submissions, either to a false self that I assumed belonged to me because I expressed myself through it to the outside, or to a weight of circumstances that I supposed was the air I breathed. In this moment of seeing, I suddenly find myself isolated, an exile where I'd always thought I was a citizen. At the heart of my thoughts I wasn't I.* (LdD-Penguin 39, 40).

279 (ibid.). Transl.: *To know yourself in a flash, as I did in this moment, is to have a fleeting notion of the intimate monad, the soul's magic word.* (ibid.).

280 (ibid.). Transl.: *It was just a moment, and I saw myself.* (ibid.).

Soares is dominated by the force of, what Van Stralen would call ‘transformative imagination.’ He experiences many imagined perceptions quite involuntarily. And what’s more important: they don’t seem to have anything to do with his past or his life. In the previous I already discussed at length the scene in which Soares saw a girl in a green dress in a tram. On the very same moment of the perception of the object (the dress) he also saw a series of details that the production process of making that dress included. A whole world of embroiderers and their lives popped up before his eyes. If we take a look at a similar scene in Joyce’s *Portrait of the artist as a young man*, we notice the difference:

‘It was the last tram. The lank brown horses knew it and shook their bells to the clear night in admonition. The conductor talked with the driver, both nodding often in the green light of the lamp. On the empty seats of the tram were scattered a few coloured tickets. (...) And he remembered the day when he and Eileen had stood looking into the hotel grounds, watching the waiters running up a trail of bunting on the flagstaff and the fox terrier scampering to and fro on the sunny lawn and how, all of a sudden, she had broken out into a peal of laughter and had run down the sloping curve of the path. Now, as then, he stood listlessly in his place, seemingly a tranquil watcher of the scene before him. — She too wants me to catch hold of her, he thought. That’s why she came with me to the tram. I could easily catch hold of her when she comes up to my step: nobody is looking. I could hold her and kiss her. But he did neither: and, when he was sitting alone in the deserted tram, he tore his ticket into shreds and stared gloomily at the corrugated footboard.’ (Joyce 1977, 69).

The perception of the tram (the horses, the conductor, the seats) does not lead Stephen into any imagined situation, except for the memory he has of

an earlier meeting with Eileen. Fokkema & Ibsch: ‘De inlas, die gedeeltelijk een woordelijke herhaling is van een overeenkomstige eerdere passage, is gemotiveerd door het belang dat de verteller aan de registratie van het zich herinnerende bewustzijn toekent.’²⁸¹ The narrator offers us an analogy between the remembered meeting and the present scene (‘Now, as then’), but there is no interaction between the two. Although the remembered scene takes place in the present moment, in memory the present moment is denied. In the transcene in *Disquiet*, this interaction is present: ‘meus olhos virados para dentro penetram nos escritórios (...)’²⁸² The imagined scene is not part of his past, or even anybody’s past, it’s not isolated in time and remembered because of these particular circumstances, it simply opens up before his eyes: ‘Todo o mundo se me desenrola aos olhos (...)’²⁸³ No remembering consciousness, but transformative imagination. The imagined reality penetrates perceived reality in such a way that he can’t escape it. In each scene in which there is some form of remembering consciousness present, the remembrance of the past is no match for imagination: ‘O meu mundo imaginário foi sempre o único mundo verdadeiro para mim.’²⁸⁴ This introduces a new epistemological problem. Reality, for Soares, is always compiled by perceptions given to him

281 (Fokkema & Ibsch 63). Transl.: *The inset, which partly is an exact repetition of a similar previous passage, is motivated by the importance the narrator attributes to the remembering consciousness.*

282 (LdD 298, 290). Transl.: *My inwardly turned eyes penetrate into the offices (...).* (LdD-Penguin 298, 253).

283 (ibid.). Transl.: *The whole world opens up before my eyes (...).* (ibid.).

284 (LdD 415, 377). Transl.: *My imaginary world has always been the only true world for me.* (LdD-Penguin 415, 343).

through the senses *and* elements given to him through imagination. The actual and the imagined world continuously coexist. Soares himself does acknowledge this problem as well:

‘Não há problema senão o da realidade, e esse é insolúvel e vivo. Que sei eu da diferença entre uma árvore e um sonho? Posso tocar na árvore; sei que tenho o sonho. Que é isto, na sua verdade?’²⁸⁵

§2. Involuntary Imagination

In order to understand what such a life implies for the self that experiences it, we should not so much turn to Proust and Bergson, but maybe primarily to Kierkegaard. In his dissertation on irony, Kierkegaard addressed emphatically the notion of imagination and its implications for the self. According to Kierkegaard, romantic imagination makes the actual reality subordinate to fantasies: ‘Now who is such a monster that he is unable to delight in the free play of the imagination? But it does not follow from this that the whole of life should be given over to imagination. When the imagination is allowed to rule in this way it prostrates and anesthetizes the soul, robs it of all moral tension, and makes of life a dream.’²⁸⁶ For Kierkegaard irony is needed to control the complete surrender to imagination, as Gouwens remarked: ‘Irony can now function to return

285 (LdD 378, 349). Transl.: *The only problem is that of reality, as insoluble as it is alive. What do I know about the difference between a tree and a dream? I can touch the tree; I know that I have the dream. What is all this really?* (LdD-Penguin 378, 313).

286 Kierkegaard, S. *The Concept of Irony: With Continual Reference to Socrates*. Ed. and Trans. Lee M. Capel. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965. 308. Quoted in (Gouwens 15).

one to actuality, that is, to permeate the finite with the sense of the infinite in contrast to the romantic flight into imagination.’ (Gouwens 74). In *The sickness unto death*, Kierkegaard distinguishes four forms of ‘despair’ coming from romantic imagination: possibility (one despairs over which possibility to choose from the many possibilities offered by imagination in order to actualize it); necessity (one must deal with the loss of possibility); finitude (one despairs over being limited to the boundaries of the finite world without ever being able to free oneself of it) and infinitude (the imagination produces only dreams). (Gouwens 163-66). This last form probably can be best applied to Soares. The imagination presents infinite possibilities and in doing so it ‘infinitezes’ the self. Gouwens saw Kierkegaard’s Johannes Climacus in *Diary of a seducer* as a character that, and this reminds me of Soares, strived for triumph of imagination over the actual, but concluded that ‘for all its powers, the imagination cannot give wholeness.’ (Gouwens 178).²⁸⁷ For Soares, the lack of wholeness and the multiplicity of the self are indeed central features of his existence, but he does not seem convinced of the possibility to avoid them in any way. He certainly does not follow Kierkegaard into the realm of the ethic to reach wholeness: ‘Tenho uma moral muito simples - não fazer a ninguém nem

287 For Kierkegaard this notion of infinitude concerning imagination had also the connotation of the enhancement of the capacity for pleasure, something which does not directly apply to Soares. Kierkegaard of course mainly brought this analysis of imagination up, to reason that for ‘wholeness’ one needs the sphere of the ethical. I will leave this notion out of my argument, since the whole issue of ethics in Kierkegaard does not find its best context in this discussion of *Disquiet*. I merely want to focus on the particular way Kierkegaard approached imagination in order to elaborate on the way it functions in *Disquiet*.

mal nem bem.²⁸⁸ He simply seems to accept that reaching the wholeness Kierkegaard talks about is unachievable. The imagination for Soares is not a choice; it is unavoidable. I pointed out the scene in which Soares ‘in a flash’ saw himself, which I interpreted as the revelation that the self is a fiction and therefore completely the product of imagination. Those scenes are of a metafictional nature, as do many of the scenes that deal with imagination. The whole point of *Disquiet* seems to convince the reader that imagined life is so much better than “real” life, as Soares himself often asserts. We need to become convinced of the “real” existence of its protagonist and acclaimed author. The introduction in which Pessoa depicts the first meeting he had with Soares, prior to an intended publication of *Disquiet*, does have that function. The scene could be the description of a historically “true” meeting between Pessoa and one of his friends. It describes the characteristic Lisbon restaurant, a conversation with Soares, a moment that they are both distracted by a scuffle outside on the street, in short, there is no special value of dreams, internal reality or imagination yet. This preface sets the conditions to make us believe in the existence of Soares. It creates a kind of reality effect that is also essential to the novel *Elias of het gevecht met de nachtegale*n by Maurice Gilliams, shared among the classics of Dutch modernism. In this work the protagonist transforms the domain of a remote estate where he spent his childhood into a forest full of adventure and freedom. The forest is mainly an interiorized world,

288 (LdD 208, 219). Transl.: *I have a very simple morality: not to do good or evil to anyone.* (LdD-Penguin 208, 182).

being on the one hand a refuge from everyday reality and on the other a clear effect of his depersonalization, his loss of identity and disturbances of consciousness. The dichotomy between “real” and imagined reality has been portrayed in a non-linear story, consisting of seven separate parts or fragments of text that cross genre boundaries and are guided by repetition, variation and opposition. Very similar to *Disquiet*, the text is preceded by a preface by, in this case, the ‘editor’ Olivier Bloem whose main aim was to posthumously publish the life story of protagonist Elias Lasalle. He quotes diaries, letters and poems by Elias and adds to the fragmentary corpus of autobiographical texts a biographical description of Elias’s life. Next to the similar games of fiction and reality, played by both Gilliams and Pessoa, the presence of an editor that is responsible for ‘discovering’ this text and subtracting it from oblivion, functions in a similar way. Both Gilliams’s fictive editor Bloem presenting Elias, as Pessoa introducing Soares (and the former even more than the latter) have a certain effect of adding reality to the fiction, very similar to the classic genre of the *manuscrit trouvé*.

In the many fragments of *Disquiet* that follow the preface, however, Pessoa tries to undo any firm belief in the narrator’s true existence, by making him continuously reflect (ironically) upon his imagined life and thus the non-existence of it. The irony is in the fact that by writing down his doubts and scepticism concerning his existence, Soares is as a matter of fact at the same time creating that very existence. In a text explicitly dealing with the notion of irony, Soares points at two different forms of it: Socrates’s variant which says ‘All I know is that I know nothing’, and

Sanches's variant which says 'I don't even know if I know nothing.' (LdD 149, 170). Soares turns Sanches's double negation into an affirmation of his (non-)existence by stating: 'Desconhecer-se conscientemente, eis o caminho. E desconhecer-se conscientemente é o emprego activo da ironia.'²⁸⁹ Soares seems aware of the fact that he does not truly possess the reality of a life, but at the same time this self-consciousness builds him an existence. This explains the various ironic remarks on corporeality in *Disquiet*. In the irony-fragment he writes: 'Ergo-me da cadeira de onde, fincado distraidamente contra a mesa, me entretive a narrar para mim estas impressões irregulares. Ergo-me, ergo o corpo nele mesmo, e vou até à janela (...)'.²⁹⁰ This sentence 'I stand up, propping my body on itself', can be interpreted as an ironic combination of his body as a literary creation (seen on a metafictional level) and the physical body he has on a narrative level. 'Eu não possuo o meu corpo - como posso eu possuir com ele?'²⁹¹ he asks in another fragment. Involuntary imagination in *Disquiet* adds a permanent layer of metafiction to the texts, which in turn opens the way for irony, contradiction and paradox.

289 (LdD 149, 170). Transl.: *To consciously not know ourselves – that's the way! And to conscientiously not know ourselves is the active task of irony.* (LdD-Penguin 149, 132).

290 (ibid.). Transl.: *I stand up from the chair where, propped distractedly against the table, I've entertained myself with the narration of these strange impressions. I stand up, propping my body on itself, and walk to the window (...).* (ibid.).

291 (LdD 364, 337). Transl.: *How can I possess with my body, when I don't even possess my body?* (LdD-Penguin 364, 301).

Although involuntary imagination is something completely different from Proust's involuntary memory, both function in quite a similar way. Schulte Nordholt wrote on *À la recherche*: 'What involuntary memory gives to the future book is less its content than its form, if not its very condition of existence: a narrating instance sufficiently unified as to be able to say "I" and to speak for a multiplicity of selves in past and present tenses.' (Schulte Nordholt 102). In *Disquiet* it is involuntary imagination that gives to the book its narrating instance sufficiently unified as to be able to say "I" and to speak for a multiplicity of selves, but then maybe not in past and present, but in various imagined tenses. Time is not as essential as it was for Proust. Landy: 'Our personality, on his [Proust's] view, has a way of changing dramatically over time, to such an extent in fact that today's "moi" cannot predict tomorrow's, nor even always remember that of yesterday; so radical is the rupture that it gives the impression of multiple deaths and rebirths over the course of a single life, producing a series of "new selves" each of which should, suggests Marcel, "bear a different name from the preceding one.'" (Landy 94). In *Disquiet* the different selves are not created over time and present at various moments, but, on the contrary, on one and the same moment. Again, we have arrived at Soares's metaphor of the 'empty stage', that I already quoted earlier. The process of establishing the narrating instance in *Disquiet* is completely different from Proust's perspective multiplicity and Pessoa's *drama em gente*. The heteronym project was all about creating worldviews, establishing selves, clearly distinguishable voices and literary styles. *Disquiet* is about creating

nothing or the nothingness in which imagination can fully blossom. What was needed for *Disquiet*, therefore, was not so much a life full of past experiences in need of unification, but its reverse: an empty life, that permits the plurality of selves, experiences and voices all at the same time and in the same person. ‘Posso imaginar-me tudo, porque não sou nada. Se fosse alguma coisa, não poderia imaginar.’²⁹²

§3. Showman Pessoa: The Mariner and Disquiet

In order to understand Pessoa’s creation of the empty subject, or ‘empty stage’ to use his own words, I first need to turn to the play *O marinheiro* (*The mariner*) that in a way can exemplify the notions ‘subject’ and ‘self’ as they have been used in *Disquiet*. In the next paragraph I will discuss one particular metaphor from *O marinheiro* that created a model for the doubleness of the subject in *Disquiet*. In the fifth and the sixth paragraph I’ll show how Pessoa “disarmed” language in order to “empty” the subject. The germ of all of these characteristics is already present in *O marinheiro*. The play was written in 1913, prior to the ‘discovery’ of the heteronyms and the writing of *Disquiet*. Pessoa labeled the piece a *drama estático*, in order to indicate the focus on language and dialogue, instead of action and narrative. Before the play starts off Pessoa gave a few stage directions. What we were to see on stage was a room with circular walls. A long but narrow window in the wall gave view to two distant hills and, between them, a

292 (LdD 171, 191). Transl.: *I can imagine that I’m everything, because I’m nothing. If I were something, I wouldn’t be able to imagine.* (LdD-Penguin 171, 154).

glimpse of ocean. In the middle of the room there is a coffin on a bier with a young woman dressed in white lying in it. Three young virgins watch over the body in the coffin. It is night and a hazy remnant of moonlight shines through the window. The maidens start to speak about the past, especially from a negative point of view, starting from the falseness of the past and the uselessness of speaking about it. In the meantime they do nothing but talk, and not seldomly on the past. Similar to the (non-) existence of Bernardo Soares, speech and language in *The mariner* are highly ambiguous; they are exactly the elements that build the play and the only thing that occupies the maidens, but at the same time their value is consistently denied. It forces the protagonists to move on: ‘Falemos, se quiserdes, de um passado que não tivéssemos tido’; ‘Ah, falemos, minhas irmãs falemos alto, falemos todas juntas...’; ‘Falai-me das fadas’; ‘Contai sempre, minha irmã, contai sempre...’²⁹³ And yet there is always skepticism and mistrust towards speaking: ‘E tão triste falar! É um modo tão falso de nos esquecermos!’; ‘Para que é que havemos de falar?’; ‘Quem sabe por que é que eu digo isto’; ‘Por que é que me respondestes?’; ‘Não se deve falar demasiado’, and so on.²⁹⁴ The speeches of the maidens don’t aim to construct

293 In: (Pessoa Marinheiro). Further references are given by paragraph numbers. The speeches of the characters can be numbered consecutively; each paragraph number corresponds to a speech of one of the characters. Transl. §8: *Let’s talk, if you like, about a past we may never have had*; §25: *Oh, let’s talk, sisters, let’s talk altogether in a loud voice*; §33: *Speak to me of fairies*; §53: *Keep telling it, sister, keep on telling it*. (These and the following translations were made by Richard Zenith and published in (Pessoa Prose 20ff).)

294 (ibid. §10, 38, 40, 46, 52). Transl.: §10 *Talking is so sad – such a false way of forgetting*; §38: *Why must we talk?*; §40: *Who knows why I am saying this*; §46: *Why did you respond to what I said*; §52: *It’s better not to talk too much*.

their different personalities, since they seem to be fairly exchangeable, and they don't seem to construct any narrative. The shards of past, dreams and reality that are present in their sentences, are to a large extent repetitive and circular, symbolized by the circular room in which the play is situated. I am reminded of what Cavell wrote on Beckett's *Endgame*: 'His lines do not individuate his characters nor further the action of the play; their interest is intrinsic. Words, we feel as we hear them, *can* mean in these combinations, and we want them to, they speak something in us. But what do they mean, and what in us, who in us, do they speak for? Nothing is left unsaid, but the speakers are anonymous, the words lead a life of their own. To own them, to find out who says them, who can mean them when, is the drama of the play.' (Cavell 2002, 130). Cavell calls Beckett, in opposition to the 'greater dramatist' Chekhov, 'the superior showman' (ibid.), a label that could be linked to the author of *The Mariner* as well. There is no way of seeing ourselves in the characters, or experience any kind of catharsis; we're left with the sound of those maidens speaking. The story they tell, the point they make or the position they defend is subordinate to the act of speaking itself. The play is a puppet-show, and showman Pessoa is pulling the strings that apparently are only connected to the girls mouths, making himself the prompter of their words: 'Quem é que está falando com a minha voz?'; one of the maidens asks. 'Falo, e penso nisto na minha garganta, e as minhas palavras parecem-me gente...'²⁹⁵ We are reminded of

295 (ibid. §93, §35). Transl.: §93: *Who is speaking with my voice?;* §35: *When speaking, I think about what's going on in my throat, and my words seem like people...*

what Soares wrote in *Disquiet*: ‘As palavras são para mim corpos tocáveis, sereias visíveis, sensualidades incorporadas.’ For him words were written instead of spoken entities: ‘Sim, a ortografia também é gente.’²⁹⁶ Both the maidens as Soares portray words as persons, independent of who writes or speaks them. This corroborates with Soares’s self-awareness of being a written character and likewise the maidens do have some notion of the fact that they merely speak with someone else’s words. This implies that the maidens can’t control their words, or at the most can control them only to a certain degree, like one can(‘t) control other people. This confession implies that she doesn’t control this very confession either, since it is after all a *spoken* confession. The text gets the same level of self-referentiality that we saw earlier in the case of *Disquiet*. A key-metaphor that Pessoa uses in *The mariner* is very illustrative. The third watcher says: ‘Sinto na minha mão, não sei como, a chave de uma porta desconhecida. E toda eu sou *um amuleto ou um sacrário que estivesse com consciência de si próprio*. É por isto que me apavora ir, como por uma floresta escura, através do mistério de falar... E, afinal, quem sabe se eu sou assim e se é isto sem dúvida que sinto?...’ (my italics).²⁹⁷ The metaphor of the self-conscious tabernacle or talisman is significant. The tabernacle and the talisman have

296 (LdD 259, 261). Transl.: *Words for me are tangible bodies, visible sirens, incarnate sensualities*. (LdD-Penguin 259, 225). And: (ibid.). Transl.: *Yes, because spelling is also a person*. (LdD-Penguin 259, 225).

297 (Pessoa Marinheiro §35). Transl.: *I can feel in my hand, I don’t know how, the key to an unknown door. And I’m suddenly, all of me, a talisman or tabernacle conscious of itself. That’s why it so scares me, like a dark forest, to pass through the mystery of speaking...But who knows if this is really how I am and what I feel?...* (my emphasis).

something in common: they are both objects that hold in all contexts a deeper meaning (magical power, the force of Koran texts, the contact with God, the human soul, the holy Eucharist), which is explicitly intended on something else but itself.²⁹⁸ The talisman has its powers to protect the owner, the tabernacle as a temple was there to provide the sacred room for the disciples to honor their god, the human body understood in Christian sense offered the soul a place to live and the catholic box was used to cherish the holy Eucharist. Irrespectively of the specific context of the two words in the maiden's speech, her remark conflicts indubitably with the primary characteristic of the words: the presence of a deeper meaning that is intended on something else but itself. What she actually is telling us, is that the deeper meaning – the magic power, the sacred room, the immortality of the soul, the Eucharist – now as well, or maybe even only, is intended *on itself*. Suddenly, the talisman not only is the thing that protects, but the protected as well, like the tabernacle is not merely the delineation of sacred space but part of that sacred space, the body not merely the house of the soul but an inextricable part of the soul, and the box part of the sacredness of the Eucharist. The objects are no longer *objects* used in the contexts I described, but conscious, active elements, and therefore

298 A talisman is not the same thing as a tabernacle. The talisman is an object that keeps the owner from bad luck, originating from the Arabic use and language, and is generally known as a piece of paper containing a proverb from the Koran. The tabernacle is a portable sanctuary, often a tent, used and introduced by Jews, but is also known in various other meanings, originating from biblical passages. As such, the tabernacle is known in the old testament as an improvisatory house in honor of God, in the new testament as a metaphor of the human body, and in the catholic church as a box containing the 'Most Holy Eucharist.'

metaphorically described *subjects*. The metaphor of the tabernacle being object and subject at the same time is perfectly in line with Soares's self-consciousness, for which he himself uses another metaphor:

‘E, acima de tudo, estou tranquilo, como um boneco de serradura que, tomando consciência de si mesmo, abanasse de vez em quando a cabeça para que o guizo no alto do boné em bico (parte integrante da mesma cabeça) fizesse soar qualquer coisa, vida tinida do morto, aviso mínimo ao Destino.’²⁹⁹

Here again we have Pessoa the showman: Soares is a puppet on a string. He is a rag doll, completely filled with sawdust and what's most important; this doll *knows* that it's a doll. Having learned the lesson of Cavell's hidden literality, we shouldn't neglect the casual remark between brackets about the pointed cap of the doll: 'a component part of the same head.' It explicitly attaches the object to the subject, thus making it into one indivisible whole.

§4. Las Meninas and Disquiet: doubleness of the subject

It was as a matter of fact Foucault who pointed out that this ambiguous status of the human being as object and subject at the same time is a distinct characteristic of modernity. In his *analysis of finiteness* he states that in the positive sciences of the seventeenth century the finiteness of the human being was announced. This very insight can, at the same time,

299 (LdD 193, 206). Transl.: *And above all I'm calm, like a rag doll that has become conscious of itself and occasionally shakes its head to make the tiny bell on top of its pointed cap (a component part of the same head) produce a sound, the jingling life of a dead man, a feeble notice to Fate.* (LdD-Penguin 193, 170).

only being acquired while being a human being. This doubleness, or 'The Same' as Foucault calls it, is the core of modern thought and resulted in a reflection that no longer needed a scheme or order as was required in classic science. In modern thought, Foucault reasons, life's positivity, production and labor form the limitations of knowledge and the possibility of ever knowing what reality, life and language actually are. (Foucault 342). The classic metaphysics of representation and infiniteness and the analysis of living beings is being replaced by an analysis of the human existence and its finitude. Finitude has begun to be subject of thought of an endless debate with itself. (ibid. 343). This is the moment that Foucault saw the human being entering the stage. He even asserts that no species of thought had ever produced as much knowledge of the human being as modern science had done. In *The order of things* Foucault illustrated the early appearance of the human being as an ambivalent creature with an analysis of a painting by Velázquez. On the painting *Las Meninas* (1656) we see a painter that looks at a point that is situated outside the painted room, which is exactly the point from which we, i.e. the viewers of the painting, look at it. There is a continuous exchange between who is looking and who is being looked at: we look at the painting on which a painted painter and several other characters stare at us, while at the same time they are object of our staring. Subject/object and viewer/model continuously change of position. What or who the depicted painter actually is painting is something we will never know, since the painting he is working on is represented with it's back turned towards us. On the rear wall, exactly facing us, we discover

a mirror reflecting precisely that what it wants to reflect: the models. It is the only element that shows what it is supposed to show: the painting on the canvas shows only its back, the painter shows himself instead of the painting he is working on, and the girls in the centre are not the central figures of the painting that the painter is making. The girls are as a matter of fact not present in the painting at all, since he is painting the models that are situated outside the painted room, on the exact spot where we, the viewers of the painting, are standing now. Because of this absent model that Velázquez nevertheless tried to involve in many ways in the painting, the mirror *does not* repeat the image that it reflects, but reveals what is beyond the painting: the “real” models. In the mirror we recognize Spanish king Philips IV and his wife Marianna, which immediately enables us to identify the girls (las meninas from the title): we see their daughter infante Marguerita and their royal household. Her eyes, like those of the man in the background, the dwarf on the right and the portrayed painter, are pointed at us. Foucault shows how various constellations of compositional lines of characters, perspectives, positions and rays of light all point at that non-existing spot in front of the canvas, the point where the viewer is standing, where the king and queen supposedly have stood as models (as the mirror reveals) and where, we should not forget, Velasquez stood when he actually painted this very painting. Foucault suggests that the painting shows the classic representation: the painting tries to represent itself. In classic times, the unity of the room was guaranteed; once discerned in the mirror, the king and queen were the centre of the painting, while

in modern times not only the royals but also the viewer and the actual painter are discernable in the absence of the model. The reason for that is the doubleness of the modern being: the position outside the painting is the position of the object (at which/whom various characters on the painting are looking) and subject (the one that is looking) at the same time. *Las Meninas* therefore is a painting that can be situated on the edge between the classic and the modern, in Foucault's terms, *épistème*.

In *Disquiet* the narrative not only intends to show itself, as was the case in the classic episteme, it also implies the doubleness of the subject. Soares is narrator and narratee at the same time: 'Para mim, que hoje não espero nem desespero, ela [a vida] é um simples quadro externo, que me inclui a mim, e a que assisto como um espectáculo sem enredo, feito só para divertir os olhos (...)'³⁰⁰

This doubleness of the subject surely is summarized in the concept of the self-conscious tabernacle in *The Mariner*. The "deeper meanings" of both the tabernacle and the talisman are responsible for the fact that a stone with some mystic sign on a cord, is not merely an inscribed stone on a cord and a tent in which one prays is not merely a tent. It usually is the subject that attributes this deeper meaning to the objects and this is why the metaphor indicates that they apparently don't need the subject anymore. All sacred powers and deeper meanings can disappear: the conscious talisman, no

300 (LdD 193, 206). Transl.: *For me, since I've stopped hoping or not hoping, life is simply an external picture that includes me and that I look at, like a show without a plot, made only to please the eyes (...)*. (LdD-Penguin 193, 170).

longer in need of the subject, has a weird form of awareness that in spite of the mystic sign or holy proverb it carries, is actually nothing more than a piece of stone or paper. Likewise is a body not the temple of the soul anymore, and a box simply is a box no matter how holy the Eucharist in it is supposed to be. It seems as if the lesson of ‘master’ Caeiro that ‘o único sentido oculto das cousas / É elas não terem sentido oculto nenhum,’³⁰¹ already came to the fore in *O marinheiro*.

‘É por isto que me apavora ir, como por uma floresta escura, através do mistério de falar,’ the third maid continues. ‘E, afinal, quem sabe se eu sou assim e se é isto sem dúvida que sinto?...’³⁰² This affirms that the girl is horrified by the act of speaking, since her speaking not only is brought forth by her as being a *subject*, but also affects her while being an *object*. ‘Custa tanto saber o que se sente quando reparamos em nós!,’ responds the first watcher. ‘Mesmo viver sabe a custar tanto quando se dá por isso... Falai, portanto, sem reparardes que existis... Não nos íeis dizer quem éreis?’³⁰³ The third answers with a strange inversion: ‘O que eu era outrora já não se lembra de quem sou...’³⁰⁴ A confession that, apart from the temporal paradox, is not so strange when we remember the comparison

301 (Pessoa Caeiro, 63). Transl.: *The only hidden meaning of things / Is that they have no hidden meaning.*

302 (Pessoa Marinheiro §35). Transl.: *That’s why it so scares me, as through a dark forest, to pass through the mystery of speaking... But who knows if this is really how I am and what I feel?...*

303 (ibid. §36). Transl.: *It’s so hard to know what we feel when we look at ourselves! Even living seems hard when one gives account of it... Speak, therefore, without thinking about the fact you exist. Weren’t you going to tell us who you once were?*

304 (ibid. §37). Transl.: *What I once was, no longer remembers who I am.*

she made between herself and the self-conscious tabernacle: what she once was (in the tabernacle-metaphor the unambiguous meaningful object) no longer remembers who she is (the subject/object that no longer has a clear meaning). This suggests that the uncomplicated meaningful object somehow was still present in the subject/object she became, but now, according to her confession is gone. This is the direct outcome of the aporia that the maid finds herself confronted with: in order to maintain her position as a subject, she has to create a new reality on the basis of something that is definitely gone.

§5. Postponing the end; speaking, singing, writing

We need to find out what the disappearance of the meaningful object (the tabernacle before it became conscious of itself) means for the status of literature, narrative and narrator. 'Não falemos de nada, de nada... (...) Para que é que havemos de falar?... É melhor cantar, não sei porquê...'³⁰⁵ the first maiden suggests. This remark, especially in the slightly absurd context of this play, reminds us of Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, in which the character Vladimir sings a song on a dog that steals a bread and is beaten to death by the cook. While waking over the death dog, other dogs write as an epitaph on his tomb the opening line of this exact song, thus creating at the end of the dog's tale a new beginning. The story begins all over again at the end of it and thus repeats itself *ad infinitum*, repetition in itself already

305 (ibid. §38). Transl.: *Let's talk about nothing, nothing...(...) Why must we talk? Singing, I don't know why, is better than talking...*

being a characteristic of songs. The maiden in this play seems to suggest the endless song as a replacement of the complicated speech. ‘O canto, quando a gente canta de noite, é uma pessoa alegre e sem medo que entra de repente no quarto e o aquece a consolar-nos...’³⁰⁶ Like speaking, singing here is represented as a subject (‘a cheery person’) outside of the singing subject, and by comforting, treats the singer as an object.

‘Não vale a pena, minha irmã... quando alguém canta, eu não posso estar comigo. Tenho que não poder recordar-me. E depois todo o meu passado torna-se outro e eu choro uma vida morta que trago comigo e que não vivi nunca. É sempre tarde de mais para cantar, assim como é sempre tarde de mais para não cantar...’³⁰⁷

Being always too late to sing, resembles what Adorno and Horkheimer have written on the epic account of the sirens song in their *Odysseus*-chapter of the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*: “To sing of Achilles’ anger and the travel’s of Odysseus is already the wistful stylization of what can no longer be sung.”³⁰⁸ Their interpretation of the siren’s episode in the *Odyssey* is connected to an idea of the ‘end of art’, an ambiguous and complex end, that was already included in the very beginning. They state that the origin of art coincides with the end of the song of the sirens and that ‘all

306 (ibid.). Transl.: *Singing, when we do it at night, is a bold and cheery person who bursts into the room and warms it up, comforting us...*

307 (ibid. §39). Transl.: *It’s not worth the bother, sister... When someone sings, I can no longer be with myself. I stop being able to remember myself. My entire past becomes someone else, and I weep over a dead life that I carry inside me and never lived. It’s always too late to sing, just as it’s always too late not to sing...*

308 Adorno, T. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. J. Cumming, Continuum, New York, 1982, p. 48

songs have fallen ill since Odysseus's encounter with the sirens.' (ibid.). With the beauty of their songs, the Sirens can be seen as the tempting sounds of art. 'Deixai-a falar... Não a interrompais... Ela conhece palavras que as sereias lhe ensinaram... Adormeço para a poder escutar... Dizei, minha irmã, dizei...'³⁰⁹ The use of the story of the sirens by Adorno and the maidens is clearly different: the maid stimulates the other – as if she were a siren – to go on, where in the *Odyssey* and Adorno's use of it, Odysseus protects himself against the siren's enticement. The oarsmen row with all their strength, with wax in their ears to be able to resist the siren's singing. Odysseus himself was tied down to the mast of the boat but with his ears open, to be able to safely hear the songs. The oarsmen work and don't hear a thing and cannot even satisfy their curiosity by pulling the wax out of their ears, not even for a moment. They only know of the danger of the song, but it's beauty they have never experienced. According to Adorno, the enticement of the siren's song was neutralized by the social functions of the oppressor (Odysseus tied to the mast) and the oppressed (the oarsmen that don't hear a thing and by staying deaf save themselves and the life of the oppressor.) In one text of *Disquiet*, Soares holds still in the streets when he is enticed by the song of a streetsinger: 'A canção dizia, pelas palavras veladas e a melodia humana, coisas que estão na alma de todos e que ninguém conhece. Ele cantava numa espécie de sonolência,

309 (Pessoa Marinheiro §49). Transl.: *Let her speak. Don't interrupt. She knows words that sirens taught her...I'm falling asleep in order to hear her...Go on, sister, go on...*

ignorando com o olhar os ouvintes, num pequeno êxtase de rua.³¹⁰ The streetsinger is a kind of urban siren: ‘O ruído da cidade não se ouvia se o ouvíamos, e passavam as carroças tão perto que uma me roçou pelo solto do casaco. Mas senti-a e não a ouvi. Havia uma absorção no canto do desconhecido (...).’³¹¹ The use of the motive of singing is similar to that in *The mariner*: Soares is not, unlike Odysseus, protected against the song, but instead is fully absorbed by it. Still there is a similarity with Adorno present. At the end of the fragment, the singer stops singing: ‘Era um caso de rua, e todos reparámos que o polícia virara a esquina lentamente. Aproximou-se com a mesma lentidão.’ The oppressor does only have to approach to make the singer stop singing: ‘Nesta altura o cantor parou. Ninguém disse nada. Então o polícia interveio.’³¹² Soares nowhere morally evaluates the intervention of the police, nor the illegal act of the musician trying to make a living on the street. But the small sentence ‘No one said anything’ seems to indicate somehow that someone should have said anything. It could indicate that art is powerless against social oppression or indifference. For Adorno there’s always a social dimension resonating with his ideas on art. Adorno’s subject is a social being and all kinds of

310 (LdD 408, 371). Transl.: *Through its veiled words and human melody, the song told of things that are in the hearts of us all and that no one knows. He sang in a kind of stupor, a kind of ecstasy right there in the street, his gaze oblivious to his listeners.* (LdD-Penguin 408, 337).

311 (ibid.). Transl.: *We didn’t hear the city’s noises, even if we heard them, and the carts passed by so close that one of them brushed against my coat. But I only felt it; I didn’t hear it. There was a rapt absorption in the stranger’s song (...)*

312 (ibid.). Transl.: *It was a street incident, and we all noticed the policeman slowly turning the corner. He approached with the same slow gait (...). That’s when the singer stopped. No one said anything. Then the policeman intervened.*

social factors are affecting works of art. He sketched a saddening society in which the subject has a lot of responsibilities. The work of art comes from the suffering on society itself and the subject is the one that in spite of the complete negativity of reality somehow can cherish the hope for a better world. The critical function of art therefore is its most important aspect, with the subject as the one that is able to resist the estrangement and exert his protest. That protest or indignation and the utopian hope is what Albrecht Wellmer called the 'reconciliation' in Adorno's philosophy. (Wellmer 171). Wellmer saw this idea of reconciliation expressed by Samuel Beckett's play *Endgame*, once interpreted by Adorno as well.³¹³ In *Endgame* the characters Hamm and Clov are continuously talking on the end of things (the end of the day, the last time, finishing off), but yet in the beginning of the play they allude to the uncertainty of the end: 'Enough, it's time it ended in the refuge too. (Pause) And yet I hesitate, I hesitate to... to end. Yes there it is, it's time it ended, and yet I hesitate to – (he yawns) – to end. (Yawns).' (Beckett 1972, 12). Although their phrases are hollow and empty, they continue talking. The end never arrives, even when it's time to end they 'hesitate to end'. Like in the song of the dog in *Waiting for Godot*, the end is postponed and literally never ending. This absurd, paradoxical, hollow dialogue is the protest of the reconciling modern subject. 'Speech, though it deludes physical force, is incapable of restraint,' Adorno/Horkheimer wrote. 'Its flow accompanies, as parody, the stream

313 cf. Adorno, T. *Versuch das Endspiel zu verstehen*. in: *Gesammelte Werke*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1997, vol 11, p. 281-321.

of consciousness, thought itself: its unperturbed autonomy acquires an aspect of madness – the manic – when it enters reality through speech, as if thought and reality bore the same name, whereas thought only has power over reality by virtue of distance.’ (Adorno 1982, 68). The affinity between the stream of thought and the flow of language implies that thought has to enter the world of speech, while thought derives its power exactly from the distance it has from reality. As such, and this is what Adorno emphasizes in Beckett’s play, speech accompanies thought as parody, as something else than what it says or names. The concept of the end in *Endgame* is a parody, inherently to speech. Given the equally absurd, paradoxical and hollow dialogue between the maidens, one could suspect a reconciling subject in *O marinheiro* as well, a fight against life’s negativity. In Adorno’s ideas and his interpretation of Beckett’s *Endgame*, the subject however takes in a central position. It is after all the suffering of the subject that causes this experience of the sublime in Adorno’s philosophy and makes the subject strive continuously for a utopia.³¹⁴ The parody implies a utopian hope. That central position of the subject cannot be maintained in the course of the dialogue between the maidens. For the maidens talking is no longer a way of keeping the hope for a utopia alive: ‘Importa tão pouco o que dizemos ou não dizemos... Velamos as horas que passam... O nosso mister é inútil como a Vida...’³¹⁵ In *Disquiet* we can often discern some excitement

314 cf. Wellmer, 171-172

315 (Pessoa *Marinheiro* §58). Transl.: *It matters so little what we say or don't say... We keep watch over the passing hours... Our task is as useless as Life...*

in Soares about art and literature, as if they indeed are able to solve life's negativity. ... But it's always for a different reason than Adorno intended: it's not there to keep some utopia alive, but instead to ignore or replace life: 'A literatura é a maneira mais agradável de ignorar a vida' and 'Que é a arte senão a negação da vida?'³¹⁶ Soares flight into literature can also be explained by what I wrote earlier: it's his only ground of existence. Of course he praises prose (LdD 227, 234), and calls literature the highest art (LdD 27, 69); without it he wouldn't be anything at all. But still many fragments exist in which literature doesn't count as something able to reconcile the subject and its surrounding world. The postponing of the end, as Beckett did in *Endgame*, is not so much the protest of the subject, but most of all the self-realization of the subject. Within this realized self (the narrative), literature often is as empty as anything else:

'E escrevo estas linhas, realmente mal notadas, não para dizer isto, nem para dizer qualquer coisa, mas para dar um trabalho à minha desatenção. Vou enchendo lentamente, a traços moles de lápis rombo - que não tenho sentimentalidade para aparar -, o papel branco de embrulho de sanduíches, que me forneceram no café, porque eu não precisava de melhor e qualquer servia, desde que fosse branco. E dou-me por satisfeito. Reclino-me. A tarde cai monótona e sem chuva, num tom de luz desalentado e incerto... E deixo de escrever porque deixo de

316 (LdD 116,144) and (LdD 178, 195). Transl.: *Literature is the most agreeable way of ignoring life*. (LdD-Penguin 116, 107). *What is art but the negation of life?* (LdD-Penguin 178, 158).

escrever.³¹⁷

Ending is not something particularly difficult; Soares simply stops writing because he stops writing. On a narrative level Soares experiences with equal intensity the reality or society in which he is bound to act and the reality he gets from his imagination. The self is therefore indefinable and inassimilable to any system, hence the strong political and social indifference in the *Disquiet* texts. Speech, text, songs and words can be a nice way of entertainment, or distraction from life, but they don't solve much.

'(...) perante a realidade da vida, soam pálidas todas as ficções da literatura e da arte. (...) são contudo sonhos, de que se acorda, que não constituem memórias nem saudades, com que vivamos depois uma segunda vida.'³¹⁸

§6. Quid instead of quod: writing 'the now'

After having asserted that in *O marinheiro* the subject is invariably presented as object at the same time, and that this subject/object is created by means of disarmed or powerless language, speech and song, I now

317 (LdD 66, 104). Transl.: *And I write these carelessly written lines not to say this and not to say anything, but to give my distraction something to do. I slowly cover, with the soft strokes of a dull pencil (I'm not sentimental enough to sharpen it), the white sandwich paper that they gave me in this café, for it suits me just fine, as would any other paper, as long as it was white. And I feel satisfied. I lean back. The afternoon comes to a monotonous and rainless close, in an uncertain and despondent tone of light. And I stop writing because I stop writing.* (LdD-Penguin 66, 65).

318 (LdD 232, 237). Transl.: *next to the reality of life all the fictions of literature and art pale (...) dreams that dissipate when we wake up, leaving no memories or nostalgia with which we could later live a second life.* (LdD-Penguin 232, 200).

would like to focus on the way the subject/object is emptied. The whole fiction of *Disquiet* takes off from the point where *O marinheiro* ends: with the complete annihilation of the subject. Guedes and later Soares are characters whose selves had been emptied and remain so during their fictive lives. It is an important condition for the multiplicity of voices and selves that Pessoa wanted to combine in *Disquiet's* protagonist. It is also an important reason why perception and imagination, memories and dreams are often so exchangeable. In *Disquiet* the empty subject already is a status quo, but *The Mariner* shows the process of emptying the subject. In the first forty speeches of the play we get several clues that the subject is under fire: 'De resto, fomos nós alguma coisa?'; 'Já não tornarei a ser aquilo que talvez eu nunca fosse'; 'Fito-vos a ambas e não vos vejo logo'; 'quem sabe se eu sou assim e se é isto sem dúvida que sinto?'; 'Quem sabe por que é que eu digo isto e se fui eu que vivi o que recordo?'³¹⁹ From then on, the subject isn't merely questioned but slowly starts to disappear. The second watcher tells the other maidens a story; a dream she had on the seashore. She tells that she found herself on top of a cold cliff, having forgotten entirely about her past and family, when she saw a sail in the distance of the ocean. She experienced herself as the object of her view. 'Quando reparei para mim, vi que já tinha esse meu sonho... Não sei onde ele teve

319 (Pessoa *Marinheiro* §5, 15, 26, 35, 40). Transl.: §5: *Were we ever anything?*; §15: *I'll never go back to being to what I perhaps never was...*; §26: *I stare at you both and don't see you right away*; §35: *Who knows if this is really how I am and what I feel?...*; §40: *Who knows (...) whether I was the one who lived what I remember?*

princípio.. . E nunca tornei a ver outra vela.’³²⁰ This ‘returning to’ herself, as she describes it, would mean that the subject and object come together, resulting in the subject/object that we already have established earlier. As soon as she became subject/object, she realized that the dream had already started. Reality, as she understood it, suddenly turned out to be a dream. Instead of realizing after having ‘returned’ to herself (e.g. waking up) that her perception of herself was merely a dream, the revelation is turned the other way around: after the return she starts to realize that the dream had already started when she thought she was still awake. Lying there on that cliff, seeing herself lying there, observing the sail of a ship; it was all part of the dream. She then continues:

‘Sonhava de um marinheiro que se houvesse perdido numa ilha longínqua. Nessa ilha havia palmeiras hirtas, poucas, e aves vagas passavam por elas... Não vi se alguma vez pousavam... Desde que, naufragado, se salvara, o marinheiro vivia ali... Como ele não tinha meio de voltar à pátria, e cada vez que se lembrava dela sofria, pôs-se a sonhar uma pátria que nunca tivesse tido: pôs-se a fazer ter sido sua uma outra pátria, uma outra espécie de país com outras espécies de paisagens, e outra gente, e outro feitio de passarem pelas ruas e de se debruçarem das janelas... Cada hora ele construía em sonho esta falsa pátria, e ele nunca deixava de sonhar (...).’³²¹

320 (ibid. §43). Transl.: *Returning to myself, I realized that I now had this dream... I don't know where it began. And I never saw another sail...*

321 (ibid. §47). Transl.: *I dreamed of a mariner who seemed to be lost on a faraway island. (...) The mariner had lived there since surviving a shipwreck... Since he had no way of returning to his homeland, and since remembering it, made him suffer, he dreamed up a homeland he'd never had, and he made that other homeland his: another kind of country with other kinds of landscapes, and different people, who had a different way of walking down the street and leaning out their windows. Hour by hour he built that false homeland in his dreams, and he dreamed continuously (...).*

Here she creates three layers of dreams: (1) herself laying on that cliff and seeing a sail, (2) dreaming (within that dream) of a shipwrecked mariner, and (3) his dream of a past that he never had. She continues by telling that the dreamed homeland of the mariner soon takes over his memory and he starts to remember his self-created past *en détail*: ‘E assim foi construindo o seu passado... Breve tinha uma outra vida anterior... (...) Tudo era diferente de como ele o tivera — nem o país, nem a gente, nem o seu passado próprio se pareciam com o que haviam sido...’³²² The dream dominates in such a way, that, when the mariner wanted to stop dreaming and remember his “true” homeland, he couldn’t recall anything else but the dream. ‘Meninice de que se lembrasse, era a na sua pátria de sonho (...). Toda a sua vida tinha sido a sua vida que sonhara... E ele viu que não podia ser que outra vida tivesse existido... Se ele nem de uma rua, nem de uma figura, nem de um gesto materno se lembrava... E da vida que lhe parecia ter sonhado, tudo era real e tinha sido...’³²³ ‘Reality’ doesn’t exist any more, cannot be remembered, because the dream has replaced it completely. Concluding this episode in *O marinheiro*, the maid remarks: ‘Ó minhas irmãs, minhas irmãs... Há qualquer coisa, que não sei o que é, que vos

322 (ibid. §56). Transl.: *And thus he created his past...Soon he had another previous life...(...) It was all different from what he'd actually lived. Neither the country, nor its people, nor even his own past were like the ones that had really existed...*

323 (ibid. §59). Transl.: *The only childhood he could recall belonged to the homeland of his dream. (...) His entire life was the life he'd dreamed...And he realized he could never have had any other life...For he could remember none of its streets, none of its people, and not one motherly caress... Whereas in the life he thought he'd merely dreamed, everything was real and had existed...*

não disse... Qualquer coisa que explicaria isto tudo...'³²⁴ Apparently there is an explanation for this mysterious affair, but the maid doesn't know what it is. It's *something*. It seems as if the complete conversation between the maidens was set up only to arrive at this very point: to tell the story that actually was not to be told. They don't want to talk about the past, but yet they do talk about the past. They don't want to speak at all since language is a 'false way of forgetting', but yet they do speak. Why do they talk in the first place?

The most important aspect of the mariner's dream is not the question *why* they speak about it or *how* the mariner could forget his past. The most important thing is *that* it happens. As Lyotard wrote in his interpretation of a painting by Barnett Newman: 'What we do not manage to formulate is that something happens, *dass etwas geschieht*. Or rather, and more simply, that it happens...*dass es geschieht*. (...) Just an occurrence.' (Lyotard 1987, 197). The conversation between the maidens is an account of the experience of the sublime as Lyotard describes it. According to him, this sublime is highly elusive, but capable of expressing something that is unthinkable. The first condition for this sublime, according to Lyotard is what he calls in his essay *The Inhuman*, a 'void'. It is the type of void, openness, emptiness that is necessary for every writer, painter or musician to be able to have thoughts, to hear sounds and to see images (and likewise, to experience the

324 (ibid.). Transl.: *O sisters, sisters... There's something, I don't know what, that I haven't told you... something that would explain all this...*

sublime, the same is necessary for the consumer of their art to experience thoughts, sounds or images.)³²⁵

Lyotard's notion of the void strikes me in relation to the conversation of the maidens. We've seen that in both Adorno's concept as in that of Foucault, the subject takes in a central role, which in many respects corresponds to the role of the subject in this play. In both Adorno's as Foucault's philosophy the subject plays an important role in surviving reality: for Adorno to reach a better reality, for Foucault to realize a framework. In the dialogue between the maidens it becomes clear that not only reality slowly vanishes or becomes ambiguous; what is at stake here is the subject itself. The doubleness of the subject for being a subject/object as described by Foucault agrees on the whole quite well with the subject that is described here, but still there is a difference. The maiden slowly disappears from the story she herself is telling. In the first and second layer of her dream (in which she found herself laying on the cliff and starts to dream about the mariner) she is still present; as subject and object. When the mariner starts to dream his own past, however, the maiden has completely vanished. And the destruction is yet more rigorous: the mariner himself disappears as well.

'PRIMEIRA — E o que aconteceu depois?

SEGUNDA — Depois? Depois de quê? Depois é alguma cousa?... Veio um dia um barco... Veio um dia um barco... — Sim sim... só podia ter

325 (Lyotard 1992, 30). Cf. (Van Der Vall 90)

sido assim... — Veio um dia um barco, e passou por essa ilha, e não estava lá o marinheiro

TERCEIRA — Talvez tivesse regressado à pátria... Mas a qual?³²⁶

The mariner had disappeared, in his own dream, outside his own dream? Nobody knows. And nobody cares, since, like Lyotard has pointed out, the important thing here is not, *what* had happened, but *that* it happened. The *quid* instead of the *quod*. The second maid asks furthermore: ‘After what? What is after?’ In doing so, she reminds as well of what Barnett Newman, Lyotard’s source of inspiration, meant with the title of one of his paintings: *Now*. On that ‘now’ Lyotard wrote: ‘Newman’s *now* which is no more than *now*, is a stranger to consciousness and cannot be constituted by it. Rather it is what dismantles consciousness, what deposes consciousness, it is what consciousness cannot formulate, and even what consciousness forgets in order to constitute itself.’ (Lyotard 1989, 197). In short: this *now* is in need of the void and not in need of the subject. And in order to create this void, the last certainty concerning the subject in the old castle room with the maidens, dissipates as well:

‘SEGUNDA — (...) Que frio é isto?... Ah, é agora... é agora!... Dizei-me isto... Dizei-me uma coisa ainda... Por que não será a única coisa real nisto tudo o marinheiro, e nós e tudo isto aqui apenas um sonho dele?...

326 (Pessoa Marinheiro §63-65). Transl.: *First: ‘What happened after that?’ Second: ‘After what? What is after? Is after anything?...One day a boat arrived...One day a boat arrived...Yes, yes...that has to be what happened...One day a boat arrived, and passed by that island, and the mariner wasn’t there...’ Third: ‘Perhaps he’d returned to his homeland...But which one?’*

PRIMEIRA — Não faleis mais, não faleis mais... Isso é tão estranho que deve ser verdade. Não continueis... O que íeis dizer não sei o que é, mas deve ser de mais para a alma o poder ouvir...³²⁷

In one of his epiphanies produced by involuntary imagination, Soares experiences in *Disquiet* something similar: ‘As vezes, em plena vida activa, em que, evidentemente, estou tão claro de mim como todos os outros, vem até à minha suposição uma sensação estranha de dúvida; não sei se existo, sinto possível o ser um sonho de outrem, afigura-se-me, quase carnalmente, que poderei ser personagem de uma novela, movendo-me, nas ondas longas de um estilo, na verdade feita de uma grande narrativa.’³²⁸

This hypothesis can only arise from a subject that leaves enough ‘open space’ for such ontological doubt. *O marinheiro* shows how this open space is constructed. Reality dissipates increasingly in various levels of imagined realities; the maidens are talking in a void. In this emptiness there is space for the unthinkable and the *quid* of Lyotard’s sublime. It is the emptiness in which the self is ‘an empty place where many selves come to mingle and depart.’³²⁹ The void is filled with voices and words that are unfamiliar

327 (ibid. §83-84). Transl.: *First: Ah, what’s this chill?...Ah, now it is, now it is....Tell me this...Tell me this one thing... Why can’t the mariner be the only thing that’s real, and we and everything else just one of his dreams?*

Second: Stop talking, stop talking... This is so strange that it must be true. Say no more...I don’t know what you were going to say, but it must be too much for the soul to bear...

328 (LdD 285, 282). Transl.: *Sometimes, when I’m actively engaged in life and have as clear a notion of myself as the next man, my mind is beset by a strange feeling of doubt: I begin to wonder if I exist, if I might not be someone else’s dream. I can imagine, with an almost carnal vividness, that I might be the character of a novel, moving within the reality constructed by a complex narrative, in the long waves of its style. (LdD-Penguin 285, 245).*

329 Formulation by Ihab Hassan (Hassan 1977, 845).

to the maidens: 'Que voz é essa com que falais?... É de outra... Vem de uma espécie de longe...'³³⁰ The confusing conversation of the maiden is the product of post-subjective emptiness, characteristic of many modern works of art, such as the novels of Beckett or the paintings of Newman. The corpse that the maidens are watching over and is centrally but silently present throughout the whole play is the corpse of the subject that had passed away before *O marinheiro* had even begun.

When Soares writes 'Posso sonhar de sonhar' and 'não sei se existo, sinto possível o ser um sonho de outrem'³³¹ he overtly joins the multilayered (non-)reality from *O Marinheiro*. In a story Pessoa attributed to Vicente Guedes he wrote: 'ilusões dentro de outras ilusões. Se vos sonhais sonhar, o sonho que sonhais é menos real acaso do que o sonho que vos sonhais sonhando?'³³² In other words: is there any data from consciousness that reveals what you really are? For Soares it seems not. The many (often contradictory) sensations Soares writes down in his 'autobiography without facts' is due to the fact that Pessoa created him an empty self, with plenty of space for everything. And in all the things Soares feels, thinks, sees and remembers, in all those many selves he feels himself to be, there is no core, no center, no stable fundament. Or it should be the fathomless

330 (Pessoa *Marinheiro* §86). Transl.: *What voice are you speaking with?...It's someone else's...It comes from some sort of distance...*

331 (LdD 82, 117) and (LdD 285, 282). Transl.: *'I can dream of dreaming' and 'I begin to wonder if I exist, if I might not be someone else's dream.'* (LdD-Penguin 82, 79) / (LdD-Penguin 285, 245).

332 In the story *O asceta*, (quoted in (Zenith 1998, xvii). Transl.: (...) *illusions inside other illusions. If you dream you're dreaming, is the dream you dream less real than the dream you dream you're dreaming?*

emptiness, the ‘abyss’ that he so often uses in his texts:

‘E eu, verdadeiramente eu, sou o centro que não há nisto senão por uma geometria do abismo; sou o nada em torno do qual este movimento gira, só para que gire, sem que esse centro exista senão porque todo o círculo o tem. Eu, verdadeiramente eu, sou o poço sem muros, mas com a viscosidade dos muros, o centro de tudo com o nada à roda.’³³³

333 (LdD 262, 265). Transl.: *And amid all this confusion I, what’s truly I, am the centre that exists only in the geometry of the abyss: I’m the nothing around which everything spins, existing only so that it can spin, being a centre only because every circle has one. I, what’s truly I, am a well without walls but with the walls’ viscosity, the centre of everything with nothing around it.* (LdD-Penguin 262, 228).

§7. Narrating the empty self: the tragedy of Bernardo Soares

The odyssey of *Disquiet* is to portray the life and soul of a man who has no life and soul, and, what's more important: who knows that he hasn't got a life and soul. Soares's self-consciousness of being merely a literary product, a fictive being, an invention makes the book a poignant expression of modernity. The story of this protagonist that only is created to discover that he doesn't truly exist might be called a tragedy. 'A minha vida, tragédia caída sob a pateada dos deuses e de que só o primeiro acto se representou.'³³⁴ Although Soares himself portrays his life here as a tragedy, José Gil asserted that Pessoa wanted to exclude the notion of tragedy from the book. 'O termo não aparece mais de uma dezena de vezes no *Livro do Desassossego* (e a problemática explícita ainda menos vezes).'³³⁵ According to Gil, our idea of tragedy has been dictated by Aeschylus and Sophocles, who wrote about an inexorable fate propelling into a catastrophe and the loneliness of the hero abandoned by gods and human beings. Furthermore Gil catches up with Hölderlin's definition who wrote (in Gil's paraphrases): 'O acontecimento trágico, diz Hölderlin noutro texto, é desprovido de sentido, equivale a um zero de significação. A ruptura não é pensável – é só vivível negativamente, através de *catharsis*.'³³⁶ The rupture originates in the

334 (LdD 437). Transl.: *My life: a tragedy booed off stage by the gods, never getting beyond the first act.* (LdD-Penguin 426).

335 (Gil 1993, 15). Transl.: *The term only appears about a dozen times in the Book of Disquiet (and the explicit subject matter even less).*

336 (ibid. 16). Transl.: *The tragic event, Hölderlin writes in another tekst, lacks meaning; it is the equivalent of zero-significance. A rupture is inconceivable – and can only be experienced through negative terms, through catharsis.*

withdrawal of the gods, Gil reasons. As a response to human excesses, they leave us alone, hide themselves for us and let us wander alone on earth. This divorce of gods and mankind inaugurates a flight from meaning; the hero starts desperately looking for the meaning of the catastrophes he suffered. It is, however, not only despair he meets, but also freedom and self-awareness. Gil writes that Soares for this reason is not a tragic hero: 'Em Bernardo Soares não há nem héroi nem enaltecimento da liberdade – ele é mesmo uma figura de anti-herói. Aonde está, então, a sua tragédia?'³³⁷ The tragic in Pessoa's constellation of heteronyms can be found in the collision of action and dream in their lives and works. According to Gil however, this can't be called a true tragedy either, since there is no catastrophe that follows; 'no fim existe o Abismo' ('in the end only the Abyss exists'). (ibid. 30).

Although I agree with Gil that *Disquiet* doesn't contain any catastrophe, I still think that there's reason to speak of the tragedy of Bernardo Soares. The term is in any case far more important than Gil supposes. First of all, the words *tragédia* and *trágico* do not appear only 'a dozen times' in the book, as Gil asserts, I counted 39 occurrences. True: not all of these occurrences explicitly deal with the subject matter of the tragic, but still they indicate that Pessoa didn't take much effort in excluding the word from his work. The tragedy he describes in *Disquiet* is one that indeed doesn't match the definitions given by Aeschylus and Sophocles. He

337 (ibid. 25). Transl.: *In Bernardo Soares no hero, nor any increase of freedom exists – he even is a species of anti-hero. So, where is his tragedy?*

equally disobeys Nietzsche's suggestion that the tragedy arises from the opposition between imperative and impuls, moral ordinance and passion, in short, the two Greek gods Apollo and Dionysos. Maybe we should bear Hegel's description of the tragedy in mind. His description of the tragic situation as a collision of mutually exclusive but equally legitimate causes has some affinities with Soares's case. He continuously compromises between his loyalty to both the world of things, people, time and the world of dreams, fantasies and imagination. This does create some sort of a tragic schism. As Heilman pointed out, the tragic hero meanders between 'two imperatives, different injunctions, each with its own validity but apparently irreconcilable.' (Heilman 1981, 207). Soares: 'Descobri que penso sempre, e atendo sempre, a duas coisas no mesmo tempo. (...) Sucede comigo que têm igual relevo as duas realidades a que atendo. Nisto consiste a minha originalidade. Nisto, talvez, consiste a minha tragédia, e a comédia dela.'³³⁸ Soares's tragedy is a mixture of originality, tragedy and comedy. If we return to the involuntary imagination in *Disquiet* and compare it once more to Proust's involuntary memory, Soares's tragedy gets more contours. According to Landy, Marcel finds after years and years his own self, his true 'moi': "Throughout the whole course of one's life," Marcel confirms, "one's egoism sees before it all the time the objects that are of concern to the self, but never takes in that 'I' itself which is perpetually observing

338 (LdD 302, 293). Transl.: *I've discovered that I'm always attentive to, and always thinking about, two things at the same time. (...) In my case the two realities that hold my attention are equally vivid. This is what constitutes my originality. This, perhaps, is what constitutes my tragedy, and what makes it comic.* (LdD-Penguin 302, 256).

them” (...) Even if we do not consider the act which squeezes together the multifarious selves and sub-selves a falsification *eo ipso*, even if we claim that its product actually becomes a reality for us, we must surely allow that unconditional faith in the unique fitness of the latter is only possible in literature – only possible, that is, if we turn ourselves into a character.’ (Landy 115). Involuntary memory allows access to a diachronic and unique self that, observed over time, shows a centralized and continuous “I”. Landy: ‘When involuntary memory restores a “self” which has long been forgotten, as if it were “dead” (that is, permanently erased from the mental record), it holds out the hope that all of the other selves which go to make up the overall persona – at least the second-order selves (like the *moi-Combray*), if not the innumerable third-order selves – may similarly be resurrected. Full self-knowledge is therefore at least a hypothetical possibility, even if, at any one instant, we are only privy to a fraction of our soul’s multiplicity.’ (Landy 102). Involuntary imagination, however, does not show Soares what he is *not*, at least what he is not in “real life”. It can’t restore an ‘overall persona’, it only adds new selves to something which has no core at all. Sometimes Soares even avoids the word “I” and instead uses ‘povo-eu’ (‘people-I’) and ‘ele-eu’ (‘he-I’).³³⁹ We have seen that Soares sometimes hints at the existence of a “true self”, a “true I” (‘the monad that I perhaps am’), but where Marcel attempts to *restore* it, Soares attempts to *create* it. Without the fixed values that the great authors of tragedies all

339 In: (LdD 157, 178) and (LdD 374, 346).

took for granted, *Disquiet's* tragedy can only become a 'tragedy of negation,' as Soares himself calls it:

'Contento-me com a minha cela ter vidraças por dentro das grades, e escrevo nos vidros, no pó do necessário, o meu nome em letras grandes, assinatura quotidiana da minha escritura com a morte. Com a morte? Não, nem com a morte. Quem vive como eu não morre: acaba, murcha, desvegeta-se. O lugar onde estive fica sem ele ali estar, a rua por onde andava fica sem ele lá ser visto, a casa onde morava é habitada por não-ele. É tudo, e chamamos-lhe o nada; mas nem essa *tragédia da negação* podemos representar com aplauso, pois nem ao certo sabemos se é nada, vegetais da verdade como da vida, pó que tanto está por dentro como por fora das vidraças, (...) (my italics).'³⁴⁰

The detail of the 'windows inside the bars' of his metaphoric cell is significant. It's one of those details that reveal the self-reflective value of the text; besides from being locked up in this cell from which any escape seems impossible, there's glass in front of them. The glass prevents him from having any contact with life outside of the cell and allows him to write down his name in the dust that covers it. If we interpret him being locked up in his fiction, his signature on the window of it indicates the self-created status of that fiction. Not even death can rescue him; Bernardo

340 (LdD 42, 83). Transl.: *I'm grateful that my cell has windows inside the bars, and on the dust of the necessary that covers the panes I write my name in capital letters, my daily signature on my covenant with death.*

With death? No, not even with death. Whoever lives like me doesn't die: he terminates, wilts, devegetates. The place where he was remains without him being there; the street where he walked remains without him being seen on it; the house where he lived is inhabited by not-him. That's all, and we call it nothing; but not even this tragedy of negation can be staged to applause, for we don't even know for sure if it's nothing, we, these vegetable manifestations of both truth and life, dust on both the outside and the inside of the panes (...). (LdD-Penguin 42, 44).

Soares doesn't die. He simply 'terminates, wilts, divegetates.' This is the 'tragedy of negation' that Pessoa put into *Disquiet*, which turns the hero of the classic tragedy into the modern anti-hero that Soares is. This is the reason why Soares nowhere in his fictive life even considers taking his own life, as for example Pessoa's heteronym Barão de Teive (in many respects similar to Bernardo Soares) does. Teive's existence (as a heteronym) was built upon a certain past (being the offspring of a noble family), and his failure as a nobleman, a writer and a lover forces him to draw the conclusion of taking his own life:

'Circumscrevo a mim a tragédia que é minha. Sofro-a, mas sofro-a de cara a cara, sem metafísica nem sociologia. Confesso-me vencido pela vida, porem não me confesso abatido por ela.³⁴¹

For Soares there is no way of being defeated by life or to defeat it. Suicide is no remedy or conclusion at all:

'Para o remediar o suicídio parece incerto, a morte, mesmo suposta a inconsciência, ainda pouco. É um cansaço que ambiciona, não o deixar de existir - o que pode ser ou pode não ser possível -, mas uma coisa muito mais horrorosa e profunda, o deixar de sequer ter existido, o que não há maneira de poder ser.³⁴²

341 (Pessoa EC-Teive, 52). Transl.: *I confine to myself the tragedy that's mine. I suffer it, but I suffer it face to face, without metaphysics or sociology. I admit that I'm conquered by life, but not humbled by it.*

342 (LdD 140, 163). Transl.: *Suicide seems a dubious remedy, and natural death – even assuming it brings unconsciousness – an insufficient one. Rather than the cessation of my existence, which may or may not be possible, this weariness makes me long for something far more horrifying and profound: never to have existed at all, which is definitely impossible.* (LdD-Penguin 140, 124).

The very fact that he is writing these reflections makes it impossible 'never to have existed at all'. And besides that, there is no past that obliges him to mark any beginning or end. There is only the actual moment, and the moment 'now' does not allow death ever to exist in the modus of reflective consciousness and the first person account of it.

In that respect *Disquiet* bears a lot of similarities with theatre, more than with diaries, autobiographies or novels, genres that would be more qualified to be associated with the book. Cavell wrote that plays do not have a narrative instance, but only characters. We as spectators do identify us with the characters, but we can't ever really approach them; we simply don't share the same space. 'We could also say: There is no distance between us, as there is none between me and a figure in my dream, and none, or no one, between me and my image in a mirror. We do, however, occupy the same time. And the time is always now; time is measured solely by what is happening to them, for what they are doing now is all that is happening.' (Cavell 1984, 105). The character is stuck in the present; if he starts narrating than that is what he is doing, but he does by no means have the possibility to interrupt the present. In this aspect of *Disquiet* we find the strength of it. Although Pessoa created an empty subject, filled with many selves, *ad fundum* an abstraction and a purely rational experiment, I am still able to identify with Soares, and even feel moved by his writings. He created a stage, of which I am a spectator. Like being in a theatre and watching a play being acted out on stage, I witness Soares's movements, I hear his contemplations and I bear with him his (multiple) fate. In Cavell's

words: ‘catharsis, if that is the question, is a matter of purging attachment of everything but the present, from pity for the past and terror of the future. My immobility, my transfixing, rightly attained, is expressed by that sense of awe, always recognized as the response to tragedy. In another word, what is revealed is my separateness from what is happening to them; that I am I, and here. It is only in this perception of them as separate from me that I make them present. That I make them *other*, and face them.’ (ibid. 109).

Disquiet is a self-conscious tragedy, in a way similar to the self-conscious tabernacle in *O Marinheiro*. The tragedy is aware of its own secret. If we get lost because of the many paradoxes and contradictions that Soares writes down, it is because he himself gets lost as well. He is no better than his best reader; in a way he is author and reader of his own text at the same time. Cavell calls it one of the functions of tragedy in our modern times to show the theatricality of theatre: ‘One function of tragedy would be to show me that this view of the world is itself chosen, and theatrical.’ (ibid.). The empty subject that Soares is, filled with a multiplicity of selves guided by involuntary imagination and locked in the present resembles well the position of many postmodern protagonists that Bertens described: ‘[ze zijn] zich pijnlijk bewust van hun onzekere greep op de werkelijkheid. Ze weten dat ze enkel een rol spelen, een linguïstische positie innemen. Daarom kunnen postmoderne vertellers ook beperkt blijven tot ‘stemmen.’ (...) Bij een aantal postmoderne auteurs zet die verwarring tussen pronomina zich ook voort op het vlak van de biografie

en de autobiografie. Hier wordt extra benadrukt dat, als het ‘individu’ slechts een talig referentiepunt is, feit fictie *kan* zijn en omgekeerd.(...) Hoe het ook zij, in al deze gevallen is er niet langer sprake van personages in de klassieke zin, maar van een benadering van de mens als een ontmoetingsplaats voor talige praktijken, eerder dan als een individu.’³⁴³ If there is no self to look for, if circularity replaces linearity and if language itself is the central element, the attachment to the present is under high pressure. Cavell’s ‘I am I, and here’, which he used to describe tragedy, is questioned in Soares’s tragedy of negation.³⁴⁴ It questions presence, it deprives tragedy of a clear perspective, it presents the catastrophe as the absence of a catastrophe, and neither Soares nor we as spectators know where to look for it. Cavell: ‘If a tragedy would not know how to look, which could bring presentness back, still it knows something: it knows that this ignorance is shared by all modernist arts, each driving into itself to maintain the conviction it has always inspired, to reaffirm the value which men have always placed upon it. (...) It knows that this requires that we reveal ourselves and that, as always, this is not occasioned by showing

343 (Bertens 1988, 161). *[They are] painfully aware of their precarious grip on reality. They know they only play a role, take in a linguistic position. Therefore, postmodern narrators can be reduced to ‘voices.’ (...) In case of some postmodern authors, this confusion of pronomina can also be discerned in the genres of biography and autobiography. Here is emphasized that, if the ‘individual’ merely is a linguistic point of reference, fact can be fiction and the other way around. (...) Anyway, in all these cases the classic character has been replaced by a view on the human being as a meeting place for linguistic practice, rather than as an ‘individual.’*

344 In one of the fragments not belonging to the canon of *Disquiet*, Pessoa writes: “Conhece alguém as fronteiras à sua alma, para que possa dizer - eu sou eu?” (LdD 364, 337). Transl.: *Does anyone know the borders of his soul, that he can say ‘I am I?’* (LdD-Penguin 364, 302).

me that something happening is relevant to me – that is inescapably the case – but by showing me something to which I am relevant, or irrelevant.’ (Cavell 1984, 119). Soares learns within the wheeling of his (minimal) events and imaginative scenes of his self-conscious writing only who he is not; a circumstance for which he is absolutely relevant but also irrelevant at the same time. His entire book centres around the empty spot that he incorporates, which can be called a tragedy and the negation of tragedy at the same time:

‘Encontro-me descrito (em parte) em vários romances como protagonista de vários enredos; mas o essencial da minha vida, como da minha alma, é não ser nunca protagonista. Não tenho uma ideia de mim próprio; nem aquela que consiste em uma falta de ideia de mim próprio. Sou um nómada da consciência de mim. Tresmalharam-se à primeira guarda os rebanhos da minha riqueza íntima.

A única tragédia é não nos podermos conceber trágicos.³⁴⁵

345 (LdD 107, 139). Transl.: *I find myself partially described in novels as the protagonist of various plots, but the essence of my life and soul is never to be a protagonist. I don't have any idea of myself, not even the kind that consists in the lack of an idea of myself. I'm a nomad in my self-awareness. The herds of my inner riches scattered during the first watch.*

The only tragedy is not being able to conceive of ourselves as tragic. (LdD-Penguin 107, 101).

Conclusion

Challenging modernism?

It is complicated to link Pessoa's complicated use of concepts like 'life', 'self', 'time' and 'consciousness' to one literary current in particular. We've seen traces of symbolist soil in quite a few fragments of the book and we've seen the strong kinship between *Disquiet* and modernist works like *A la recherche* or *Land van herkomst*. At the same time we've noted its remarkable differences with those works, raising the question: is this still modernism? First we should determine whether we use the term modernism to mark out a certain period in literary history (as for example Bradbury has done), or to label a certain 'system of conventions that regulates the organization of a text' (Fokkema 1984, 5). The fact that *Disquiet* was conceived in the same years as those main works of high modernism doesn't automatically mean that they share the same semantic code. Fokkema & Ibsch have developed a set of literary or aesthetic concepts that nowadays functions as an important paradigm for modernist prose, at least in the Netherlands. They have shown that diverging works by Joyce, Proust, Larbaud, Svevo, Woolf and Mann, among others, all can be linked to the same 'semantic universe': 'de verschillende semantische werelden van alle Modernistische teksten te zamen vormen het Modernistische semantische universum.'³⁴⁶

346 (Fokkema & Ibsch 37). Transl.: *The different semantic worlds of modernist texts together form the modernist semantic universe.*

A first preliminary conclusion could be that *Disquiet*, besides belonging to the modernist period in history, fits in the semantic universe Fokkema & Ibsch describe. The book in general meets with the main characteristics of modernist prose they identify: epistemological doubt and scepticism about the possibilities of language (ibid.). Signs of these aspects (self-reflective writing, mixing various genres, much attention for the activities of consciousness and ratio) are all abundantly present in *Disquiet*. Fokkema & Ibsch give a list of keywords featuring in modernist works, which also could have been derived from *Disquiet*: intelligent, subtle, experiment, kaleidoscope, depersonalization, adventure and dupe.³⁴⁷ The distance the modernist text, according to Fokkema & Ibsch, keeps to symbolist and realist works is also kept by *Disquiet*. Soares's depersonalization is not, like symbolism, submitted to some kind of universal subjectivism that reaches out for an absolute, undoubted truth waiting for discovery by symbolist metaphysics. We've seen that Soares doesn't believe in such a truth, since the bottom line of his whole experience is that everything is fictitious, including himself. This makes the symbolist conviction of the author as mediator between physics and metaphysics impossible. (Fokkema & Ibsch 46). We've seen as well that there is no fixated relation between the protagonist in the book and his social or material circumstances, there is no

³⁴⁷ The keywords 'adventure' and 'dupe' may seem less applicable to *Disquiet*, but they're not entirely far fetched. I already indicated that 'motion', roaming the city and the 'geography of consciousness' is central to many texts, which can be associated with Fokkema & Ibsch's notion of adventure. 'Dupe', understood as the antipode of the modernist ideal of personality can be applied to Soares as well.

explanatory power of psychological laws, the possibility that the character and his world can be fully described is anything but certain and there is no dominant development in the narrative, tightly clamped between a clear beginning and end. These aspects defy the realist code. The plot of classic realist novels was always guided by chronology, logics and causality, which were for many modernist novels less obviously present. Fokkema & Ibsch reason that in those novels that argue with symbolist and realist codes, all that remains is the own critical mind of the protagonist: 'Centrum van het Modernistische semantische universum is het individuele bewustzijn, dat zich zo min mogelijk door invloeden van buiten laat imponeren en zich tegenover de buitenwereld gereserveerd opstelt, om vanuit een zo onafhankelijk mogelijke uitgangspositie de wereld te observeren.'³⁴⁸ If we take a look at for example *La coscienza di Zeno*, we notice clearly, as the title suggests, that Zeno's consciousness comes to the fore and is the only guiding principle of the book. Any action in it – a plot is absent anyway – has completely become interiorized and is fully absorbed by consciousness. Time for Zeno is always a 'mixed time' (Svevo 197), past and present interfere and the reader cannot determine whether Zeno's perceptions refer to any existent world or are the mere products of his consciousness. This is very similar to other modernist novels, including *Disquiet*. At the same time the first problems of framing *Disquiet* in a modernist context

348 (Fokkema & Ibsch 45). Transl.: *The center of the modernist semantic universe is the individual consciousness, which is the least impressed by external influences and has some reticence towards the world outside, to be able to observe the world from a position as independent as possible.*

arise. The clear dichotomy of external and internal reality that Fokkema & Ibsch describe, is in *Disquiet* continuously problematized. I have reasoned that although this opposition is absolutely present in the book, the fact that the city, the room, the office continuously interact with Soares's "individual consciousness" and at some point even become exchangeable entities, does challenge this view on consciousness. This has everything to do with the aspect of circular self-referentiality in *Disquiet*, which in many cases prevails above the epistemological doubt that Fokkema & Ibsch seem to centre in their analysis of modernism. Both self-reflection and epistemological doubt, however, have in general been accepted as characteristics of modernist literature and both are amply present in *Disquiet*, as is the effect of such devices for the self of the protagonist. Both Zeno, Proust's protagonist, Mrs. Dalloway, Ducroo and Soares suffer from the awareness that they cannot rely on the existence of a fixed core in their identity. Johanna Drucker reasons that the modernist subject is 'constantly in formation, psychically dynamic, open-ended and complex' and that the subject is 'never complete, whole or intact: it is split from the very outset between self/other, conscious/unconscious and makes use of representation in the continual mediation according to which it seeks its own definition.' (Drucker 109-110). Pessoa, by creating 'empty' subjects such as the watchers in *O Marinheiro* and Bernardo Soares in *Disquiet*, deliberately avoided the possibility to deduce coherent worldviews and identities from them. This also explains the almost unlimited power of imagination, which I have reasoned to be in Soares's case an *involuntary*

force. This too might be identified as a modernist feature.

I addressed the notion of continuous motion in *Disquiet* as a motive for the reflection of consciousness in the book. We see the motive appear as well in different other modernist works such as *Ulysses*, *Mrs. Dalloway* and *À la Recherche*. In Du Perron's *Land van Herkomst* physical mobility is most clearly linked to intellectual mobility. Ducroo had involuntarily cut off the bonds with the country and certainties of his childhood and replaced them with ongoing relocations. His childhood years in the Dutch Indies are often the object of his restless remembering consciousness or transformative imagination. Although Soares is very connected to Portuguese soil and never mentions any time abroad (although Pessoa himself had, like Du Perron, spent most of his childhood abroad, in South Africa), his many walks through the city do resemble Ducroo's geographical mobility as the instigator of mental disquietude. The way in which the fragmentary, the ongoing motion, reflective consciousness, involuntary imagination and literary metafiction are present in *Disquiet*, can build a strong case for defending that this is indeed a modernist work of art.

Some scholars, nevertheless, link the book to literary postmodernism.³⁴⁹ Despite all the similarities with modernist theory, there is in *Disquiet* at least what I would like to call a "postmodern effect". Two aspects cause this effect. First, the unfinished and unpublished status of the work, left in a

349 I quoted a few of them in the introduction on p. *

chaos of manuscripts with its many provisory corrections and undecided possibilities, gives the impression of a work in progress and creates a certain “openness”, an air of “nobody knows” and therefore “anything goes.”

Secondly, the postmodern effect has to do with the aspect of the book that I in the previous chapter have called ‘the tragedy of Bernardo Soares’; his self-awareness of being the purely fictive protagonist of an ‘autobiography without facts.’ Soares being a true “Mann ohne Eigenschaften”, and even a man without a self, makes of him the self-proclaimed empty stage that I keep recalling throughout this study. This stage demands for play, acting, faking, artistic lying, and insincerity. And this wasn’t limited to the character of Soares alone. In everything Pessoa wrote there’s always the more than likely possibility that he is faking it; from his monarchic and his republican sympathies to his support of fascism and his opposition to it. ‘The poet is a faker,’ Pessoa wrote famously in *Autopsicografia*. If we return to the issue of the ‘isms’ in Pessoa that I recalled in the introduction, we might conclude that the whole point of his *Ultimatum* or *Ode Triunfal*, in so many ways resembling the works of Marinetti, was to ‘fake’ futurism. There is in these texts an obvious stylistic relationship with Marinetti, he used a futurist idiom such as the praise of machines and electricity and provocative language placed in a big and prominent font, such as the word ‘MERDE’ written in huge capitals on the page. It’s not that strange that the works of Pessoa/Campos coming from this period are generally seen as futurist texts. Not least by Pessoa himself. On *Orpheu* he wrote in a note: ‘insere duas poesias futuristas (as primeiras, crêmos, que aparecem

entre nós) do malogrado Alvaro de Campos.³⁵⁰ Various scholars before me have nevertheless pointed out that there are many significant differences between Pessoa and the futurism he refers to. Leyla Perrone-Moisés has shown for example that the poem *Plenilúnio (Full Moon)*, published under Pessoa's own name in the magazine *Portugal Futurista* is a frontal contradiction with Marinetti, who after all had 'killed the moon'. That this was not a coincidence is proven by three other poems in which he insists on the lunar theme. In the manifesto *Ultimatum*, which had many similarities with futurist manifestos, he damns practically everything and everyone, but directs its scorn at contemporary vanguards as well: 'todos vós que sois literatos meneurs de correntes europeias (...). Passai vós, que sois autores de correntes artísticas, verso da medalha da impotência de criar! Passai, frouxos que tendes a necessidade de serdes os istas de qualquer ismo!'³⁵¹ It seems as if Marinetti and his futurism in this text are being taunted together with 'old Europe'. Marinetti's appraisal of war is rejected in *Ultimatum*: 'Roça-te, canhões declamando a incapacidade de mais ambição que balas, de mais inteligência que bombas!'³⁵² His poems

350 (Pessoa Ismos 45). Transl.: (...) insert two futuristic poems (the first, I believe, that appears among us) by the thwarted Álvaro de Campos. In another text he wrote: 'a terrível 'Ode Triunfal' de Álvaro de Campos (que é propriamente apenas futurista, se bem que seja futurismo equilibrado, como nunca se vira)(...)' in: (Pessoa Ismos 47). Transl.: (...) the terrible 'Triumphal Ode' of Álvaro de Campos (which is really only futuristic, although it's a well balanced futurism, as we've never seen it).

351 In: (*Portugal Futurista* 30). All who are leaders among the European literati, (...) Pass by, you social, literary and artistic trendsetters, the tail side of the coin of creative impotence! Pass by you milksops who need to be istas of one or another ism!

352 (ibid.). Transl.: Grovel, you cannons, that boom a total lack of any ambition beyond bullets of any intelligence beyond bombs.

Ode triunfal and *Ode Marítima*, also written in what at first sight seems to be a futurist idiom are frequently interrupted by remembrances of the past, his childhood, nostalgic longing, in short, passages that were not particularly futurist. A superficial reading of the text gives the strong impression of futurism, but a closer look reveals that Pessoa merely staged it. Scholar Arnaldo Saraiva claimed that Pessoa joined the Orpheu-group only to launch his literary career spectacularly. Leyla Perrone-Moisés stated that Pessoa's contributions to *Portugal Futurista* had similar motivation. (Perrone-Moisés 25).

Pessoa turned the art of faking into a game. There is no exaggeration in the statement that his entire oeuvre is a game of imagination, a game of language, a game of hide and seek with reality. In *Disquiet* the game of faking is being involved in the self-referential game that Pessoa plays in the book. 'Minha tia velha fazia paciências durante o infinito do serão. Estas confissões de sentir são paciências minhas.'³⁵³ Soares emphasizes that he doesn't interpret them like those who read cards to tell the future. 'Não as ausculto, porque nas paciências as cartas não têm propriamente valia.'³⁵⁴ It's a game of cards, simply meant as entertainment. Elsewhere he writes, using the same metaphor: 'Sou uma espécie de carta de jogar, de naipe antigo e incógnito, restando única do baralho perdido. Não tenho sentido, não sei do meu valor, não tenho a que me compare para que me encontre,

353 (LdD Assírio 12, 61). Transl.: *My elderly aunt would play solitaire throughout the endless evening. These confessions of what I feel are my solitaire.* (LdD-Penguin 12, 21).

354 (ibid.). Transl.: *I don't probe them, because in solitaire the cards don't have any special significance.* (ibid.).

não tenho a que sirva para que me conheça.³⁵⁵ For the tragic Bernardo Soares who had realized that he merely was a construction of language and texts, words do not have any referential value. The best one can do is to toy them around: ‘os meus brinquedos, as palavras, as imagens, as frases (...) Afinal eu quem sou, quando não brinco? Um pobre órfão abandonado nas ruas das Sensações, tiritando de frio às esquinas da Realidade, tendo que dormir nos degraus da Tristeza e comer o pão dado da Fantasia.’³⁵⁶

With this aspect of game and the omnipresence of faking (faking memories, faking literary genres, faking that he is faking), we end up in a postmodern idiom. While bearing on the narrative level many clear marks of modernism, the comprehensive layer of faking subverts them all and gives the book a strong postmodernist pitch. As I’ve said in the previous chapter while comparing the book with *À la recherche*, Soares took in a different position than the protagonists of many other modernist novels. *Disquiet* is not the *multiplication* of perspectives, as the “system” of the heteronyms and in fact many modernist novels were, it is the *distortion* of perspective, by making its protagonist perceive many different, incompatible things at the same time. And this distortion not only affects the perception of

355 (LdD 193, 207). Transl.: *I’m like a playing card belonging to an old and unrecognizable suit – the sole survivor of a lost deck. I have no meaning, I don’t know my worth, there’s nothing I can compare myself with to discover what I am, and to make such a discovery would be of no use to anyone.* (LdD-Penguin 193, 170).

356 (LdD 88, 122). Transl.: (...) *my toys, words, images and phrases, (...). Who am I, finally, when I’m not playing? A poor orphan left out in the cold among sensations, shivering on the street corners of Reality, forced to sleep on the steps of Sadness and to eat the bread offered by Fantasy.* (LdD-Penguin 88, 85).

external, but in fact all realities. It is important to notice that Soares is not only alienated from his coworkers and his office in de Rua dos Douradores, but also from the characters and worlds in his dreams. *O marinheiro* made very clear that dreams can also be dreamt realities and even the awareness of dreaming can take place within the dream. The only thing that is “true” is the fact that this plural reality and life of Bernardo Soares *is being written*. Soares writes many times that literature or the simple act of writing is the only valuable thing for him, and even that he is able to materialize his dreams in literature. But still this doesn’t change the ontological status of those dreams and the written report of them. The *act of writing* becomes the only validation of Soares’s existence. Literature as a mere game to pass time, or as Soares wrote: ‘E amanhã tornarei a escrever, na sequência do meu livro estúpido, as impressões diárias do meu desconhecimento com frio. Sigam, tais como são. Jogado o dominó, e ganho o jogo, ou perdido, as pedras viram-se para baixo e o jogo findo é negro.’³⁵⁷ Hence the strong emphasis on *process* instead of *product* that the textual genetic documents show, hence the fragmentary form of the work, hence the word ‘disquiet’ in the title and the starring “man without a self”. It is in this context that we can see *Disquiet* as a theatre play or a performance and Pessoa as its showman, as I suggested referring to Cavell’s writings. While enacting the superb performance of the ‘life and works’ of Bernardo Soares, the writing

357 (LdD 442, 397). Transl.: *And tomorrow I’ll go back to my stupid book, jotting down the daily impressions of my cold lack of conviction. Let them keep coming. Once the dominoes are all played and the game is won or lost, the pieces are turned over and the finished game is black.* (LdD-Penguin 442, 364).

exposes itself continuously as a fiction. He deliberately staged the existence of Soares by putting his name on the cover of the book and enacted a meeting between himself and his protagonist. At the same time, Pessoa's own name also appeared on the cover page he typed for *Disquiet* and many metaphors and small remarks in the text reveal the fictive status of it: Soares's fragments are simulacra from the very start.

In many postmodern works this hollowing of literary meaning leads to an embrace of popular culture; regional literatures, romantic or pornographic booklets, stories inspired by comics etc. For Levin the 'post-modern' is explicitly an 'anti-intellectual current.' Fiedler found in postmodernism a 'new sensibility' (term by Sontag), a new spontaneity identified with the American counterculture. Bradbury sees in Fiedler's and Sontag's definition of postmodernism a 'new posthumanist consciousness' that rebels against traditional humanist concepts of the nature and function of art.³⁵⁸ Sontag plead for sensuousness, as she expressed in *Against Interpretation*: 'Instead of a hermeneutics of art we need an erotics of art', which characterized postmodernism as the 'flight from interpretation.' (Sontag 23). In *Disquiet* (and in a way in Pessoa's entire oeuvre, cf. *sensacionismo*) we witness a careful shift towards this plea for sensations instead of reason, without turning towards literary subgenres of the popular. Its subversion of the traditional values of Western literature was however strong enough to result in a 'non-

358 See for all quotes (Bertens 1986, 13).

book' or 'anti-literature,' as some critics have labeled *Disquiet*, analogous to Sontag's characterization of postmodernist art as 'non-art.' (Sontag 46). In *Disquiet* we don't recognize the habit of replacing traditional values by the counterculture Fiedler and Sontag write about. *Disquiet* was still an intellectual enterprise that did not exceed the limits of its literary status by turning to sub-literary genres as science fiction or pornography. There at most is a slight hint at such a development in the series of fragments entitled *Advice to unhappily married women*, which does bear some, although very prudish,³⁵⁹ pornographic features. The only popular genre that we might link, indirectly, to *Disquiet* is the genre of the detective-novel. We should bear in mind that Pessoa formulated the question on which Rimbaud's famous 'Je est un autre' is the answer: 'Quem é eu?' ('Who is I?') (LdD Assírio 213, 224). Exactly this ungrammatical formulation of the question combines both modernist and postmodernist concerns. Whereas modernism tried to reassemble the pieces of a lost self (Quem *sou* eu?), postmodernism put the question in a to a large extent impersonated key, leaving behind the subject at all (Quem *é*?). That last question is shared by detective stories, which were important models for postmodernist novels. Eysteinnsson stated that the modernist focus on psychology was replaced by the ironic recycling of popular culture: 'While postmodernism is taken to use the detective format in a highly self-conscious and subversive manner, modernism supposedly - and here the ghost of Eliot's essay on Joyce is ever

359 But still daring enough for the first editor of the book to exclude the fragments from his edition.

present - accepts myth “innocently” as a structural paradigm.’ (Eysteinnsson 120). Pessoa, being an enthusiastic reader and author of detective stories, in *Disquiet* nowhere explicitly plays around with the genre of the detective, but the book, considering its search for a complete absent self and thus subverting the detective’s aim to solve the enigma, seems to be moving into postmodernist directions here. Eysteinnsson points righteously at the fact that for example Kafka’s works can also be seen as playful subversions of detective novels (ibidem 120), and that popular culture (songs, newspapers, pamphlets) are notoriously present in *Ulysses*. He makes the distinction between the two even more visible by stating that modernist novels always create more distance between themselves and such products of popular culture, while postmodernist works are self-consciously involved in the production and consumption of popular products. Such use of popular elements as instruments for ‘tricking’ the reader into the work in order to reveal subsequently its fictional status, is not applicable to *Disquiet*. Soares’s detective-like central question (‘quem é eu’) is more a *reflection* on his loss of the self than a *response* to it, as would be the case in postmodernism.

In *Disquiet* the self-referential function is undeniably there, but yet less overtly shown than in many postmodern novels. Patricia Waugh’s definition of metafiction fully applies to *Disquiet*: ‘to simultaneously create a fiction and to make a statement about the creation of that fiction’ (Waugh 6). *Disquiet* is both the construction of a fictional illusion and the disclosure of that illusion. Waugh: ‘Postmodernism can be seen to exhibit the same

sense of crisis and loss of belief in an external authoritative system of order as that which prompted modernism. Both affirm the constructive powers of the mind in the face of apparent phenomenal chaos. Modernist self-consciousness, however, though it may draw attention to the aesthetic construction of the text, does *not* “systematically flaunt its own condition of artifice” (Waugh 21). Here we have another interface between *Disquiet* and postmodernism; the whole point of bringing Pessoa onto the scene as a ‘showman’ in chapter 4, for which I used Cavell’s words on Beckett, was to show that he in some way did flaunt with Soares’s fictional status and have him (and us) realize all the time and in many diverging ways that this text is a ‘factless autobiography.’ Pessoa’s flaunting with Soares as a fictive character is by far not as obvious as in for example Barth’s *Lost in the funhouse* or Robert Coover’s *Pricksongs and Descants*, but still it is of an entirely different order than modernist works such as *À la recherche* or *Les faux monnayeurs*. This becomes clear when we compare a scene from *Disquiet* with one of the examples of modernist self-consciousness quoted by Waugh; a fragment from Woolf’s *To the lighthouse*. At the end of the book Lily Briscoe suddenly perceives a higher order in things as she watches the boat return: ‘It was finished. Yes she thought laying down her brush in extreme fatigue, I have had my vision.’ (Woolf 1993, 320). Her revelation is immediately translated into aesthetic terms, having provided her with the supply to finally put the finishing touch on the canvas. According to Waugh the epiphany indicates that the mind forms the basis for aesthetics, which is ‘ordered at a profound level’ and only revealed to consciousness in

these isolated moments. She reasons that for postmodernism the mind is not a perfect aestheticizing instrument at all, but instead a construction of language like everything else. When we focus on one of Soares's epiphanies we see immediately that he questions the stability of the mind from the start:

‘De repente, como se um destino médico me houvesse operado de uma cegueira antiga com grandes resultados súbitos, ergo a cabeça, da minha vida anónima, para o conhecimento claro de como existo. E vejo que tudo quanto tenho feito, tudo quanto tenho pensado, tudo quanto tenho sido, é uma espécie de engano e de loucura. Maravilho-me do que consegui não ver. Estranho quanto fui e que vejo que afinal não sou.’³⁶⁰

No ordered aesthetics, ready for him to finish his work of art as was the case in *To the lighthouse* and *A la Recherche*, but ‘a species of delusion or madness,’ and ‘congenital drunkenness.’ The epiphany doesn’t reveal any hidden order or truth, but on the contrary chaos and delusion. As we’ve seen before, the scene becomes metafictional in the way that the reflection goes back and forth between Soares as a “real”, “existent” person on the narrative level of the book (the one that experiences this revelation) and Soares as the puppet created and animated by Pessoa. I don’t take Soares revelation to be intended upon his existence on the narrative level (as was the case in

360 (LdD 39, 79). Transl.: *All of a sudden, as if a surgical hand of destiny had operated on a long-standing blindness with immediate and sensational results, I lift my gaze from my anonymous life to the clear recognition of how I live. And I see that everything I’ve done, thought or been is a species of delusion or madness. I’m amazed by what I managed not to see. I marvel at all that I was and that I now see I’m not.* (LdD-Penguin 39, 40).

To the lighthouse), inciting him to write his novel or paint his picture, but to be intended on the metafictional level, making him conscious of the fact that he only exists in language: ‘Foi só um momento, e vi-me. Depois já não sei sequer dizer o que fui.’³⁶¹ We even get another glimpse of Pessoa the showman here, flaunting with Soares’s ‘condition of artifice’, when he makes him write: ‘Nem sequer representei. Representaram-me. Fui, não o actor, mas os gestos dele.’³⁶² The various levels of reflection (Pessoa pulling the strings of Soares and this puppet making the gestures that he subsequently says to be) indicate that creation, writing and acting itself have become the main object of attention. In another text Soares writes: ‘Vejo-me no quarto andar alto da Rua dos Douradores, sinto-me com sono; olho, sobre o papel meio escrito, a minha mão sem beleza (...)’³⁶³ Whenever he ‘sees’ himself, his image is inseparably connected to writing. The extreme and multilayered self-consciousness reveals to Soares that his existence cannot be explained in the terms of logical causality. We recognize the modernist concern to define reality in terms of a unified consciousness without being able to ever reach (or describe) the whole self (Waugh 27). The texts that Soares produces can be nothing but absolute, since they reflect, or better: they *are*, the very elements that build his existence. The limits of language are the limits of Soares’s self. Charles Russell identified this aspect as a

361 (ibid.). Transl.: *It was just a moment, and I saw myself.* (ibid.).

362 (ibid.). Transl.: *I didn’t even act anything out. I was the role that got acted. At most, I was the actor’s motions.* (ibid.).

363 (LdD Assírio 6, 56). Transl.: *I’m on the fourth floor of the Rua dos Douradores, and I take a drowsy look at myself. I glance up from this half-written page at life, futile and without beauty (...).* (LdD-Penguin 6, 16).

typical postmodern one: 'The work of these postmoderns is characterized by an emphatic self-reflectiveness. It presents itself as a direct manifestation of aesthetic language investigating itself *as language*; that is, the text or artwork points to itself as a particular expression of a specific meaning system, as a construct that explicitly says something about the process of creating meaning. Instead of presuming and attempting to speak about or illustrate the phenomenal world, the artwork regards itself as the primary reality.' (Russel 1993, 289). In case of Soares this means that whenever he writes about himself and his own life, he inevitably writes about the act of writing. 'Escrevo-me para me distrair de viver, e publico-me porque o jogo tem essa regra.'³⁶⁴ Manuscript evidence showed that this phrase was not a lapse, a slip of the writing hand. Initially Pessoa wrote in this text 'escrevo-o', giving Soares as author some distance from his writing, but later corrected it to 'escrevo-me'. In the previous chapter I've made a case for a literal reading of these kind of metaphors and motives in *Disquiet*, simply for the fact that many of them seem to have a metafictional nature. Now and then Soares very directly uses a literal approach himself as well, almost mocking his linguistic existence;

'Sou, em grande parte, a mesma prosa que escrevo. (...) Tornei-me uma figura de livro, uma vida lida. O que sinto é (sem que eu queira) sentido para se escrever que se sentiu. O que penso está logo em palavras, misturado com imagens que o desfazem, aberto em ritmos que são outra coisa qualquer. De tanto recompor-me, destruí-me. De tanto pensar-me,

364 (LdD Assírio 118, 146). Transl.: *I write myself to forget about life, and I publish me because that's one of the rules of the game.* (LdD-Penguin 118, 108).

sou já meus pensamentos mas não eu. Sondei-me e deixei cair a sonda; vivo a pensar se sou fundo ou não, sem outra sonda agora senão o olhar que me mostra, claro a negro no espelho do poço alto, meu próprio rosto que me contempla contemplá-lo.³⁶⁵

No matter how deep he dives into his own self, all he finds is a literary construction. ‘From so much self-revising I’ve destroyed myself.’

Disquiet shows the loss of significant external reality, a displacement of it by imagined reality, a normalization of alienation and the reverse of subjectivity. These characteristics, a paraphrase of the keywords that Gerald Graff once gave of postmodern literature, were according to Graff nothing more than a completion of the modernist break with traditional realism and bourgeois rationalism: ‘modern fiction, except in a few instances, did not actually effect the total subjectivization and privatization of human experience called for by modernist theories which defined literature as an expression of inward ‘consciousness’ set over against the rational discourse of the public, objective world. By contrast, postmodern fiction tends to carry the logic of such modernist theories to their limit.’ (Graff 208). In Graff’s view, the loss of referentiality that characterizes

365 (LdD 193, 206). Transl.: *I am, in large measure, the selfsame prose I write. (...) I’ve made myself into the character of a book, a life one reads. Whatever I feel is felt (against my will) so that I can write that I felt it. Whatever I think is promptly put into words, mixed with images that undo it, cast into rhythms that are something else altogether. From so much self-revising, I’ve destroyed myself. From so much self-thinking, I’m now my thoughts and not I. I plumbed myself and dropped the plumb; I spend my life wondering if I’m deep or not, with no remaining plumb except my gaze that shows me – blackly vivid in the mirror at the bottom of the well – my own face that observes me observing it.* (LdD-Penguin 193, 170).

postmodernist literature can be traced all the way to romanticism and authors like Shelley, Blake and Wordsworth (not by coincidence major influences on Pessoa's writing). The expression of the autonomous status of art, i.e. its independence of referentiality, got new forms over the years but was not in any way an invention of postmodernism. It developed from romanticism, through modernism into postmodernism; real breaks did not occur. Postmodernism radicalized the insights of romanticism: 'Knowing and naming itself as fiction, literature becomes a vehicle for a nihilistic meta-physics, an anti-didactic form of preaching. In a world in which nobody can look outside the walls of the prison house of language, literature, with its built-in confession of its self-imprisonment, becomes once again the great oracle of truth, but now the truth is that there is no truth.' (Graff 179). Graff's metaphor of literature as a prison reminds us of Pessoa's metaphor of his 'infinite cell', quoted earlier. He equally concludes that no truth exists: 'A Verdade é, portanto, uma ideia ou sensação nossa, não sabemos de quê, sem significação, propósito ou valor, como qualquer outra sensação nossa.'³⁶⁶ Wasson asserted in his discussion of Murdoch, Robbe-Grillet, Barth and Pynchon that these authors are 'sceptical of modernist notions of metaphor as a species of suprarational truth that unifies paradoxical opposites and modernist conceptions of myth which make it a principle of order for art and of discipline for the subjective self' (Bertens 1986, 19). The world outside the subject is for them no longer

366 (LdD Assírio 513). Transl.: *Truth, therefore, is an idea or sensation, we don't know of what, without meaning, hence worthless, like any other sensation.*

part of subjective consciousness as it was in modernism. Wasson replaced the modernist epistemological doubt with ontological doubt. For Pessoa the metaphor still served as an anchor in disquietude. He even speaks of ‘a verdade de uma metáfora’³⁶⁷ that can bring some form of consolation: ‘Uma metáfora consola de tantas coisas!’³⁶⁸ At the same time metaphors are not always sufficient: ‘O meu sonho falhou até nas metáforas e nas figurações.’³⁶⁹ It seems as if metaphoric language is not always without problems a principle of order and unification; the metaphor exists within paradox and disquiet.³⁷⁰ Soares is so much “slave” to language, that even grammar starts to lead a life of its own:

‘construo em mim essa imagem áquea que, (...) se ajusta a este incerto movimentos. Ao escrever esta última frase, que para mim exactamente diz o que define, pensei que seria útil pôr no fim do meu livro, quando o publicar, abaixo das “Errata” umas “Não-Errata”, e dizer: a frase “a este incerto movimentos”, na página tal, é assim mesmo, com as vozes adjectivas no singular e o substantivo no plural. Mas que tem isto com aquilo em que estava pensando? Nada, e por isso me deixo pensá-lo.’³⁷¹

367 (LdD Assírio 72, 109). Transl.: *the truth of a metaphor (...)*. (LdD-Penguin 72, 71).

368 (LdD 443). Transl.: *A metaphor can make up for so many things!* (LdD-Penguin 451).

369 (LdD 54, 93). Transl.: *My dream even failed in its metaphors and depictions.* (LdD-Penguin 54, 54).

370 Like Graff, Wasson as well admitted the postmodernism in this respect to be the radicalization of ideas already being present in modernism. cf. (Bertens 1986, 20).

371 (LdD 83, 118). Transl.: *I inwardly fashion this aquatic image which is more suitable than any other (in part because I thought it would rain) for this random movements. As I wrote this last sentence, which for me says exactly what it means, I thought it might be useful to put at the end of my book, when I finally publish it, a few ‘Non-Errata’ after the ‘Errata’, and to note: the phrase ‘this random movements’ on page so-and-so, is correct as is, with the noun in the plural and the demonstrative in the singular. But what does this have to do with what I was thinking? Nothing, which is why I let myself think it.* (LdD-Penguin 83, 79).

The 'Não-errata' that Soares proposes is an ironic variant of the non-book of a non-author that some critics claimed *Disquiet* to be. The very concept of anti-literature and non-books was also brought to the fore by Ihab Hassan; explicitly linked to postmodernist literature. Many of the characteristics of postmodernism as opposed to modernism that he summed up in *The dismemberment of Orpheus*, are well applicable to *Disquiet*: the book can be connected better with anti-form than with form, play instead of purpose, process instead of finished work, deconstruction instead of totalization, anti-narrative instead of narrative and irony instead of metaphysics. (Hassan 268). Hassan asserts that we should count among those authors that we can consider to be 'precursors' of postmodernism: Sterne, Lautréamont, Rimbaud, Jarry, Tzara, Hofmannsthal, Stein, the later Joyce, the later Pound, Duchamp, Artaud, Roussel, Bataille, Broch, Queneau and Kafka (ibid.). I think we should definitely add the later (and maybe even the young) Pessoa as well. Hassan: 'What this really indicates is that we have created in our mind a model of postmodernism, a particular typology of culture and imagination, and have proceeded to "rediscover" the affinities of various authors and different moments with that model. We have, that is, reinvented our ancestors-and always shall.' (ibid. 265). *Disquiet* cannot and probably should not be seen as a full-fledged postmodernist novel. Its roots in fin-de-siècle literature, symbolism and even in romanticism are too strong for that. Besides, the book has undeniably strong links with works associated with 'high modernism.' When Bertens writes that 'whereas the modernists sought

to defend themselves against their own awareness of cosmic chaos, of the impossible fragility of any 'center' they might perceive, the postmodernists have accepted chaos and live in a certain intimacy with it' (Bertens 1986, 28), we recognize a clear difference with Soares. He doesn't live in 'a certain intimacy' with his disquietude; there is despair, tedium and melancholy running through the entire book. If there is one central aim or desire in *Disquiet* that is hidden behind the pluriformity and openness, it is probably the desire of replacing objective with subjective reality. In this aspect, and I repeat *if* there is such an aspect, lies the monism of *Disquiet* and its attachment to modernism. My uncertainty follows immediately from the aspect in which *Disquiet* challenges modernism; the awareness that such monism is never reachable. There is unmistakably a strong desire for this 'interior world of man's intellect or imagination', as James Mellard once described the modernist focus,³⁷² but there is never a strong belief in it. *Disquiet* departs from a still very modernist dichotomy of two different and incompatible realities, especially in those early symbolist fragments, and starts unfolding many worlds in the realm of imagination. In this way we could indeed quote Calinescu's words on postmodernism that Soares's consciousness 'exists in a multiplicity of (actual and possible) worlds in perpetual "chronotopical" change.' (Calinescu 1983, 284).

The diachronical presence of romantic, symbolist, modernist and

³⁷² In: Mellard, James. *The exploded form: the modernist novel in America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980: 140. As quoted in (Bertens 1986, 35).

postmodernist tendencies situates the book in the heart of European literature. In many respects, *Disquiet* fits quite well to the modernism defined by works of Proust, Joyce, Woolf, Du Perron, Gilliams and others. On many issues, Pessoa was radical: the metafictional capacity of the book not only caused continuous reflection on narrative and autobiography, but even presented its texts as absolute fragments. The linear progression of the narration was therefore not only problematized (like in *Ulysses*, *Elias* and *Het Land van Herkomst*) but negated. When we think of protagonists that can easily be confused with their creators, such as Stephen Dedalus, Mrs. Dalloway, Proust's nameless protagonist and Joseph K. or heteronym-like figures such as Valéry's Mr. Teste, Van Doesburg's I.K. Bonset and Tucholsky's Kaspar Hauser, Pessoa drove the modernist game with his fictive, constructed alter ego Bernardo Soares to its limits. His over eighty heteronyms, a term that he significantly coined in this context, are an extreme form of modernist depersonalisation. Extreme, but in the end *Disquiet* wasn't entirely cut loose from the projects elaborated by Proust, Joyce, Kafka and Woolf. The mixture of genres in *Disquiet* (symbolist reveries, clear impressionist descriptions, fragments from letters, advises, diaries, maxims, declarations, pastorals, legends, notes, prayers, litanies, cenotaphs) is as much the result of Pessoa's intention to express 'disquietude' in this book, as of the fact that he worked his entire life on it and never had the chance to revise it. The much discussed stylistic difference between the early more symbolist texts and the later more modernist-like diary-fragments is less problematic if one accepts an 'inclusive' notion of

modernism. Bradbury set the boundaries of modernism between 1890 and 1940, with the years 1910-1930 as the core of the period; almost exactly the years that Pessoa wrote *Disquiet*. Bradbury's modernism covers the entire period from late nineteenth century symbolist and other fin-de-siècle movements, the early twentieth century avant-gardism's and the famous prose writers from 'high modernism'. On the other hand: the continuous suggestion of being a game of language that mixes reality and fiction, the ontological doubt he expresses in various scenes, the creation of an empty subject that fills itself unceasingly up with imagined personalities and scenes and thereby only underlines its emptiness... Those are one by one features of the book that can be associated with postmodernism. When the book was published for the first time in 1982, we could immediately recognize and identify those features. Had the book been published (and translated) in the thirties or forties, one probably had only pointed at the scepticism of language, the importance of consciousness, the ambiguity of the experience of time, in short, those aspects that were recognizable from other contemporary works. Something similar happened to *Finnegans Wake*, which is nowadays often seen as one of postmodernism's precursors.³⁷³ There is much to say for a concept of modernism and postmodernism that presents both movements in one continuous development, in which the first blends quite imperceptibly into the other. Welsch, Kristeva, Kermode

³⁷³ For a reception of that book, see: Spinks, L. *James Joyce: a critical guide*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009; 169-175.

and Mellard, among others, have given such a concept.³⁷⁴ Bradbury's inclusive modernism ended in 1939, the year in which Joyce's last work *Finnegans Wake* was published. Given the fact that this strictly spoken modernist novel occasionally has been interpreted as a postmodernist novel, the 'Wake' balances on the vague border of these two currents. The way in which Pessoa's *Disquiet* challenged the concepts of modernist literature might defend the proposal to move the 'boundary-year' in which modernism turned into postmodernism to 1935, the year in which Pessoa died and left *Disquiet* for us to discover and appreciate the book according to (post)modern standards. And the very fact that especially future readers worldwide would be embracing the book long after Pessoa's death, was one of the few things that was never doubted by Bernardo Soares:

'Penso às vezes, com um deleite triste, que se um dia, num futuro a que eu já não pertença, estas frases, que escrevo, durarem com louvor, eu terei enfim a gente que me "compreenda", os meus, a família verdadeira para

374 Welsch asserts that the pluralism of postmodernism actually is a completion of the germ of pluralism that is already present in modernism. (Welsch, Wolfgang. *Unsere Postmoderne Moderne*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002: 83). Vietta views modernism from a more philosophical perspective and situates the start of 'modern literature' at the end of the eighteenth century with Hölderlin. (Vietta, Silvio. *Die literarische Moderne*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1992; 31). Kermode and Mellard characterize postmodernism as well as the continuation of modernism. cf. (Bertens 1986, 45). Other defenders of the continuity-claim: Julia Kristeva (in: Kristeva, J. "Postmodernism?", in: Garvin, H. *Romanticism, Modernism, Postmodernism*. Bucknell Review 25.2. Lewisberg: Bucknell University Press, 1980) and Lyotard: 'a work can become modern only if its is first postmodern' (Lyotard, Jean-François. "Answering the Question: What is Postmodernism?", in: *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989. 71-82), both quoted in (Eysteinsson 107). According to Robert Alter modernism was a mere transitional phase of renewed self-conscious literature, ultimately flowering in postmodernism (Eysteinsson 109).

nela nascer e ser amado.³⁷⁵

375 (LdD 191, 204). Transl.: *It sometimes occurs to me, with sad delight, that if one day (in a future to which I won't belong) the sentences I write are read and admired, then at last I'll have my own kin, people who 'understand' me, my true family in which to be born and loved.* (LdD-Penguin 191, 167).

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Het Modernisme Uitgedaagd

Fernando Pessoa en het Boek der Rusteloosheid

In dit proefschrift heb ik getracht vast te stellen in hoeverre het *Boek der Rusteloosheid* (BdR) geplaatst kan worden in de context van het Europese Modernisme. Om die vraag te beantwoorden heb ik de dissertatie in twee delen gesplitst. In het eerste deel heb ik mij gericht op de tekstgenetische aspecten van het boek om zo te kunnen beoordelen welke manuscripten behoorden tot het BdR, hoe de tekst was gepubliceerd in de verschillende historische edities en op welke wijze een 'archieff-editie' van het BdR tot stand kan komen.

Het BdR is nimmer door Pessoa zelf samengesteld, gereviseerd, laat staan gepubliceerd. Hij werkte ruim twintig jaar aan het project dat pas na zijn dood werd onttrokken aan zijn omvangrijke nalatenschap, bestaande uit bijna 30.000 documenten. Een studie van de tekstgenetische aspecten van het werk was derhalve een onvermijdelijke eerste stap, te meer omdat een kritische editie van het BdR bij aanvang van mijn studie nog niet beschikbaar was. Wel bestond er een reeks kritische edities waarin diverse andere projecten van Pessoa waren opgenomen. In mijn beschouwing van enkele van die werken en hun relatie met theorieën uit de editiewetenschap, heb ik aangetoond dat het maken van een wetenschappelijke editie van Pessoa's werk een hachelijke onderneming is. Uit mijn beschouwing blijkt dat de gangbare wetenschappelijke edities, samengesteld door de Equipa Pessoa en gepubliceerd door de uitgever INCM, duidelijk teleologisch van aard zijn. Dat hebben ze overeen met de gangbare 'leesedities' van die werken, bedoeld voor een algemeen lezerspubliek. Alle tekstsamenstellers van Pessoa's werken, dus zowel de samenstellers van kritische als de samenstellers van niet-kritische edities, hebben primair het voortbrengen van een zogenaamde 'basistekst' nagestreefd. Dat is lastig omdat de staat waarin de manuscripten zijn overgeleverd het onmogelijk maken één basistekst vast te stellen. Er is eerder sprake van 'mogelijke basisteksten'. In mijn bespreking van de twee tekstkritische edities van de poëzie van Álvaro de Campos en de verschillende 'algemene' edities van het BdR, bleek dat de ongepubliceerde status van Pessoa's teksten heeft geresulteerd in vele, uiteenlopende tekstinterpretaties en edities. De twee voornaamste teams die zich de afgelopen twee decennia toe hebben gelegd op de publicatie van Pessoa's werk (het team van redacteurs van uitgeverij Assírio & Alvim en het team van de kritisch-wetenschappelijke editie, de zogenaamde 'Equipa Pessoa') hebben verschillende 'basisteksten' van dezelfde werken voortgebracht. De overheersende doelstelling een basistekst voort te brengen, zette de samenstellers aan tot het verrichten van editoriale ingrepen, te beginnen met het vaststellen van de 'author's last will', de laatste wens van de auteur. Daarnaast heeft men zich toegelegd op de 'reconstructie' van teksten door diverse afzonderlijk aangetroffen tekstuele eenheden aan elkaar te plakken, op de structuur en de volgorde van tekstfragmenten en de transcriptie van moeilijk leesbare passages. Ik heb circa vijfhonderd noemenswaardige verschillen aangetroffen tussen de vijf edities van het BdR. Sommige tekstbezorgers kozen voor een aanpak die sterk op de genetisch kritische theorie is gebaseerd (zoals Ivo Castro en Jerónimo Pizarro), anderen hielden er een meer romantisch begrip van auteur, tekst en editie op na (zoals Teresa Rita Lopes en Teresa Sobral Cunha). In geval van Pessoa spelen tekstbezorgers een cruciale rol in de betekenis die een werk uitdrukt.

Het gebrek aan een archief-editie die alle manuscripten reproduceert en daarbij diplomatieke transcripties levert, is schrijnend. De in 1988 in het leven geroepen 'Equipa Pessoa' heeft zijn verantwoordelijkheid toen de digitale techniek dergelijke edities mogelijk maakte, niet genomen. In plaats daarvan is de Equipa doorggegaan met het publiceren van steeds weer nieuwe kritische edities die nooit konden dienen als de 'definitieve' edities. Ik heb in dit proefschrift enkele prologomena voor een archiefeditie van het BdR geformuleerd en stelde een editie samen die als de basis voor mijn interpretaties in het tweede deel van de dissertatie heeft gediend. Het bestaan van zoveel, soms sterk van elkaar verschillende edities van het BdR, veroorzaakt door de onzekerheden wat betreft tekstvarianten, transcripties en volgorde, vormt tevens een van de belangrijkste oorzaken voor het open en onzekere karakter en de fragmentatie van dit werk.

Naast fragmentatie op het niveau van de tekst bestaat er ook fragmentatie op het niveau van het werk. In het eerste hoofdstuk van het tweede deel heb ik het boek als 'codex' tegenover het boek als 'volumen' geplaatst. Aan dit onderscheid heb ik Deleuzes concept Logos versus Anti-Logos verbonden. Ik heb aangetoond dat aspecten van codex en Anti-Logos duidelijk aanwezig zijn in het BdR. Zowel in vorm als inhoud is het boek fragmentarisch, aarzelend, aftastend en meervoudig. Ik lees de fragmenten in dit boek vooral als 'absolute fragmenten'; teksten die behoren tot een boek dat nooit compleet kan zijn. Deze interpretatie, sterk beïnvloed door Lacoue-Labarthe & Nancy, heeft zijn oorsprong in de romantische theorie van Schlegel, die het wordingsproces van teksten in plaats van het eindresultaat (het voltooide geheel) tot de kern van romantische literatuur maakte. Wanneer we teksten uit het BdR als absolute fragmenten lezen, dan staat elk fragment zowel voor zichzelf als voor het geheel waaraan het is onttrokken maar waartoe het op hetzelfde moment nooit helemaal kan behoren. Stijlmiddelen als de paradox en de contradictie, die veelvuldig in het BdR worden gebruikt, zijn inherent aan het fragmentarische karakter van het werk. Dit alles resulteert in de ervaring van een versplinterde werkelijkheid, een leegte en het verlangen naar een eenheid die door dromen wordt voortgebracht. In de vroegst geschreven fragmenten van het boek zien we de overheersing van de droomwereld die tot op zekere hoogte een transcendentale eenheid creëert, terwijl in de later geschreven fragmenten een modernistische epistemologische twijfel overheerst.

Het fragmentarisch schrijven vloeit enerzijds voort uit de rusteloosheid, maar is aan de andere kant de voornaamste oorzaak van de rusteloosheid. Het wordt daardoor zeer moeilijk deze rusteloosheid te beschrijven. Het creëert een open ruimte dat de lezer in staat stelt om talloze routes uit te stippelen, dwars door de tekst heen. Het BdR stelt als het ware zijn voltooiing uit. Het boek bestaat niet alleen uit absolute fragmenten, maar beschikt ook over een absolute titel. De titel 'Boek der Rusteloosheid' pretendeerde eenheid en voltooiing, hoewel hoogstens elk fragment afzonderlijk compleet en stabiel is. De fragmenten zijn in willekeurige volgorde geschreven en streven als collectief geen narratieve lineariteit en eenheid na. Als er een ding was wat het Boek der Rusteloosheid niet kon worden, dan was het een boek. Ik noemde dit 'de crisis van het boek' en het BdR 'het boek van de crisis': Pessoa's aanhoudende schrijven aan een boek met fragmenten die fundamenteel de mogelijkheid een boek te vormen ontkennen.

Het lezen van de absolute fragmenten in het BdR betekent dat de lezer niet moet pogen de fragmenten tot een eenheid te smeden of een vorm van lineariteit te zoeken. In plaats

daarvan moeten we de fragmenten naast elkaar plaatsen en accepteren dat ze soms tegengestelde standpunten, ideeën, opinies, literaire stijlen en genres uitdrukken. Bernardo Soares neemt een andere plek in dan de andere heteroniemen in Pessoa's 'drama in mensen', namelijk door niet zoals bijvoorbeeld Caeiro, Campos en Reis één specifieke *Weltanschauung* te representeren maar hun uiteenlopende karakteristieken te incorporeren. Soares en het BdR passen niet in het systeem van differenties dat Pessoa had gecreëerd door zijn werken te koppelen aan verschillende fictieve auteurs. Ik vergeleek het heteronymische systeem met Leibniz' *Monadologie*, waarin elk heteroniem vergelijkbaar is met een afzonderlijke 'monade', het kleinste ondeelbare deeltje dat met alle andere monades samen het universum vormt. Doordat de absolute fragmenten kunnen worden gezien als afzonderlijke monades, vormt het BdR een monadisch systeem op zichzelf. Het BdR is daarom geen onderdeel van Pessoa's monadische universum van verschillende 'zelden', het boek spiegelt dit universum. Bernardo Soares, zelf een (half-)heteroniem, produceert in de fragmenten van het BdR vele zelden en creëert daarmee in de context van Pessoa's oeuvre fragmentatie binnen de fragmentatie. Soares is niet slechts een acteur in Pessoa's heteronymische toneelstuk, hij is een 'leeg podium', zoals hij zichzelf omschrijft in een van de fragmenten in het boek. Als Pessoa zijn heteroniemen omschreef als een 'drama em gente' ('drama in mensen'), dan is het BdR een 'drama sem gente' ('drama zonder mensen'), dat draait om het 'lege podium' Soares waarop vele ongeïdentificeerde acteurs hun verschillende rollen spelen.

Deze lege ruimte wordt niet alleen gebruikt voor de rollen van Pessoa's heteronymische zelden, maar ook voor talloze echo's uit de wereldliteratuur. Pessoa gebruikte ideeën, citaten en structuren van auteurs als Chateaubriand, Verlaine, Hugo, Rousseau, Shakespeare, Dickens en vooral Henri-Frédéric Amiel en Cesário Verde als sjabloon voor de teksten in dit boek. Soares is geen 'auteur' in de traditionele betekenis van dat woord, maar een conglomeraat van andere teksten, of dit nu de teksten van andere heteroniemen of andere (canonieke) auteurs betreft. Pessoa's fragmentarische schrijven creëerde een web van heteroniemen en canonieke literaire stemmen, dat volgens Barthes' theorie van de dood van de auteur verenigd moet worden in de lezer. Soares echter, die op een bepaalde manier de lezer is van Pessoa's teksten, herschrijft deze eenwording in zijn eigen fragmenten en produceert daardoor een nieuwe laag van verdubbeling, die op zijn beurt ook weer wacht op vereniging in de lezer. Het BdR is een dynamische beweging van herlezen en herschrijven. De notie 'beweging' is daarbij opvallend aanwezig in het boek. Het woord 'rusteloosheid' uit de titel alludeert al nadrukkelijk op het idee van beweeglijkheid en verandering die ook, in vele varianten, voorkomt in titels van andere modernistische werken: *À la recherche du temps perdu*, *Work in progress* (Joyce's oorspronkelijke titel voor *Finnegans Wake*), *Der Prozeß*, *Die Entstehung des Doktors Faustus*, *Die Verwandlung*, *A voyage out*. Ik heb een leesstrategie ontwikkeld die is gebaseerd op Stanley Cavells begrip van een 'verborgen letterlijkheid', om aan te tonen dat Pessoa's of Soares' metaforische taal vaak een metafictieve mededeling verhult. In de twaalf fragmenten van dit boek die Pessoa zelf bij leven publiceerde, onthult een letterlijke lezing met name 'beweging'; de beweging van wolken, een wandeling langs de kust, een wandeling door een woud der vervreemding, een wandeling door de straten van Lissabon. Dit geeft aan dat 'beweging' niet slechts een thema is in veel fragmenten van het boek, maar een van de creative beginselen. Dit soort scènes verwijzen geregeld naar de ambigue lichamelijke van Bernardo Soares; merkwaaardige metaforen en paradoxen geven aan dat Soares zich bewust was van zijn fictieve

status; van het feit dat hij geen echt lichaam bezat maar slechts een talige constructie was. Soares gaat voorbij de typisch modernistische preoccupatie met epistemologische twijfel door zichzelf in vele fragmenten te onderzoeken als product van taal en literatuur. De conclusie dat het BdR om die reden dus een postmodern werk is, is evenwel prematuur.

In mijn behandeling van de typisch modernistische aandacht voor 'bewustzijn', bleek dat Soares vaak een verborgen wereld van dromen, herinneringen of verbeelding gewaar wordt, simultaan met de werkelijkheid die hij voor zijn ogen waarneemt. Het object dat hij zintuigelijk ziet wordt veel meer dan het object dat zijn zintuigen kunnen registreren. In een paar vroeg geschreven teksten lijkt Soares in een bepaalde toestand te kunnen geraken waarin hij samenvalt met een stroom van spontane percepties, herinneringen en fantasieën, zoals geïdealiseerd in het symbolisme. Vaker, en dan met name in de later geschreven teksten, zien we een intensieve interactie tussen de verschillende modi van bewustzijn en de reflecties daarop. Dit resulteert in een duidelijk modernistische aandacht voor (de werking van) het bewustzijn, die de stabiliteit van het bewuste subject, de mogelijkheid om de waargenomen werkelijkheid volledig te begrijpen en het bestaan van een goddelijke harmonie ontkent. Hieruit volgt dat 'taal' in het BdR in grote mate verzelfstandigd is; de taal dient om de tijd door te brengen als een soort intellectueel kaartspel in plaats van als een instrument van de auteur om de werkelijkheid te beschrijven. Dit verlies van referentialiteit is ook toepasbaar op de stad die zo nadrukkelijk aanwezig is. De stad is niet slechts de plaats waar deze protagonist zijn epistemologische twijfel en meervoudige gewaarwordingen kan creëren, maar de stad functioneert ook als een beeld van Soares' bewustzijn. De door Soares gebruikte metafoor van de 'geografie van het bewustzijn' geeft aan dat hij door zijn eigen geest wandelt. De grens tussen binnen en buiten, het zelf en het landschap, subject en object is vervaagd.

Dit heeft ook consequenties voor Soares' beleving van tijd. In zijn absolute fragmenten zijn verleden en toekomst geen onderdeel van zijn gewaarwordingen en kunnen dat ook niet zijn; elk fragment heeft immers zijn eigen absolute moment in de tijd. Anders dan vele protagonisten in modernistische romans, staat Soares onder geen enkele druk om zijn verleden te ontcijferen, hervinden of onthullen. De paar herinneringen aan zijn kindertijd in het boek zijn altijd verbonden met de rouw om het verlies van de toestand van bewustzijnsloosheid. Een vergelijking van de beleving van tijd en herinnering in het BdR en in Du Perron's *Land van Herkomst* toonde aan dat Ducroo de vele herinneringen aan zijn jeugd in Indië nodig heeft om zijn identiteit (opnieuw) op te bouwen en zelfkennis te bereiken. Voor Soares zijn herinnering aan zijn verleden niet essentieel voor het opbouwen van zijn identiteit. Het wordt duidelijk dat herinnering, terug verlangen, nostalgie en melancholie slechts literaire hulpmiddelen zijn. Hij beschrijft herinneringen aan zijn vervlogen kindertijd om bij de lezer bepaalde gevoelens op te roepen, die niet persé iets te maken hebben met de kindertijd die hij beschrijft. Het terughalen van het verleden heeft in het BdR hoegenaamd niets te maken met de zoektocht naar waarheid of kennis. Het wordt duidelijk dat Soares met name communiceert door te doen alsof. Zijn herinneringen zijn kunstmatige constructies (omdat ze zijn vevat in literaire teksten) waarvan 'het origineel' nooit heeft bestaan. Het BdR gaat, in tegenstelling tot zoveel modernistische romans, niet over het geven van betekenis aan het leven door middel van een herbeleving van het verleden of door middel van de gecompliceerde zoektocht naar waarheid in de caleidoscoop van perspectieven en percepties. Het boek draait om het vinden van een manier om het leven open te stellen voor elke mogelijke ervaring.

Een vergelijking met Prousts *À la recherche du temps perdu* maakte duidelijk dat er voor Soares niet zoiets als een 'mémoire involontaire' (onvrijwillige herinnering) bestaat. Proust's protagonist wordt gedwongen om allerlei tekens te interpreteren met als doel een zekere waarheid over de wereld te weten te komen. De ervaring van tijd is noodzakelijk om de betekenis van sommige van die tekens te ontdekken. Soares heeft het onthullende instrument van de tijd niet tot zijn beschikking. Zijn tekens verwijzen naar andere tekens, want de absolute fragmenten kunnen niet worden verbonden met een groter, lineair geconstrueerd geheel. De tekens die Soares interpreteert zijn niet, zoals bij Proust, de tekens uit zijn verleden waarop hij later zijn boek baseert, maar precies andersom: de tekens die Soares beschrijft (zijn ervaringen, waarnemingen, zijn herinneringen en fantasieën) construeren zijn leven. Het boek vloeit niet voort uit het leven van de protagonist; het BdR gaat vooraf aan het leven van zijn auteur. De drijvende kracht achter veel van de fragmenten in dit boek is niet het herinnerende bewustzijn, maar de transformatieve verbeelding. De verbeelde realiteit dringt op zo'n omvattende manier door in de waargenomen werkelijkheid dat Soares er niet aan kan ontsnappen. We kunnen daarom spreken van een 'imagination involontaire' als Pessoa's alternatief voor Prousts 'mémoire involontaire'. Deze onvrijwillige verbeelding zorgt ervoor dat de vertelinstantie in dit boek voldoende eenheid krijgt om zichzelf 'ik' te kunnen noemen en tegelijkertijd een veelheid aan zelden te vertegenwoordigen. Die veelheid aan zelden komt niet, zoals bij Proust, voort uit het verstrijken van de tijd, maar uit de verbeelding. Het proces om een vertelinstantie te creëren in het BdR is totaal verschillend van Prousts meervoudige perspectivisme en Pessoa's drama in mensen. Voor het BdR was geen leven nodig vol ervaringen uit het verleden die tot een eenheid gemaakt moesten worden, maar het tegenovergestelde: een 'leeg leven' dat een veelheid van zelden, ervaringen en stemmen mogelijk maakt, op een en hetzelfde moment en in een en dezelfde persoon.

Pessoa's toneelstuk *O Marinheiro* (De Zeevaarder) uit 1913 is cruciaal om te begrijpen hoe Pessoa in staat was om het literaire subject 'leeg' te maken. In de dialogen uit dit stuk, die soms aan Beckett doen denken, heeft de taal haar referentiële functie verloren en zijn de woorden die worden gesproken door de hoofdpersonen niet vanzelfsprekend hun eigen woorden. Dat komt voornamelijk doordat Pessoa deze personages aanhoudend voorstelt als object en subject op hetzelfde moment. Op een soortgelijke wijze is Bernardo Soares in het BdR tegelijkertijd *verteller* (degene die zijn leven vertelt) en *vertelde* (wiens leven wordt geconstrueerd door het narratief). Soares kan taal en literatuur niet gebruiken om meester te zijn over zijn eigen leven. De utopische hoop die doorklinkt in Becketts absurde dialogen, die Adorno herkende als het verbale gevecht van het subject tegen de negativiteit van het leven, is zowel in *De Zeevaarder* als in het BdR onmogelijk. Spraak, teksten en woorden kunnen aardige vormen van vermaak vormen of een aangename afleiding van het leven, maar ze zijn niet in staat het subject te versterken. De afwezigheid van tijd en de verstoring van het verstrijken van de tijd in zowel *De Zeevaarder* als in het BdR geven aan dat het narratief plaatsvindt in wat Lyotard het 'Nu' noemt. Dat is een plaats die vreemd is aan het bewustzijn en niet door het bewustzijn kan zijn voortgebracht. Lyotard wees 'de leegte' aan als een van de voornaamste voorwaarden van het sublieme; een openheid en leegte die noodzakelijk zijn voor elke schrijver of kunstenaar om zijn kunst te kunnen scheppen. In *De Zeevaarder* zien we hoe de werkelijkheid in toenemende mate vervaagt in verschillende niveaus van verbeelde werkelijkheid en zo een leegte creëert die het negatieve fundament van Soares' bestaan vormt: 'Ik ben het niets waaromheen alles draait.'

Dit is, in de woorden van Ihab Hassan, de 'lege ruimte waar vele zelden samenkomen en weer weggaan.' Mijn bespreking van Pessoa's werken in relatie tot Adorno, Foucault en Lyotard gaf aan dat het zelf voortdurend onder verdenking ligt. In *De Zeevaarder* is het subject volledig opgelost, in het BdR beseft de protagonist dat hij nooit heeft bestaan. Ik heb dit de tragedie van Bernardo Soares genoemd: Soares kan niet leven en niet sterven. Zijn boek is, in zijn eigen woorden, een 'tragedie van de ontkenning.'

Het is niet eenvoudig om Pessoa's gecompliceerde gebruik van concepten als 'leven,' 'zelf,' 'tijd' en 'bewustzijn' te verbinden met één specifieke literaire stroming. In diverse fragmenten zijn duidelijk sporen van het symbolisme aan te wijzen. De verwantschap van het BdR met modernistische werken als *À la recherche du temps perdu* en *Land van Herkomst* is manifest. Tegelijkertijd zijn er opvallende verschillen met die werken vast te stellen, die vraag opwerpen: is dit nog wel modernistisch?

De manier waarop het fragmentarische, de aanhoudende beweging, het reflectieve bewustzijn, de onvrijwillige verbeelding en de literaire metafiction het BdR domineren, geeft voldoende aanleiding om te verdedigen dat dit een modernistisch werk is. Toch zijn er te veel aspecten die een probleemloze situering in het literaire modernisme dwarsbomen. De duidelijke dichotomie van een externe en interne werkelijkheid die Fokkema & Ibsch met het modernisme verbinden, wordt in het BdR voortdurend geproblematiseerd. Een belangrijke oorzaak daarvan ligt in het circulaire zelf-bewustzijn in het BdR dat in de meeste gevallen prevaleert boven de epistemologische twijfel die Fokkema & Ibsch tot het hart van het modernisme maken. Er is in het BdR sprake van wat ik zou willen noemen 'een postmodern effect.' Er zijn twee aspecten die dit effect veroorzaken. Het eerste is het feit dat de onvoltooide en ongepubliceerde status van het werk, nagelaten met vele provisorische correcties en aantekeningen, de impressie gaf van een zekere 'openheid' en 'anything goes.' Ten tweede heeft het postmoderne effect te maken met de 'tragedie van Bernardo Soares': zijn zelfbewustzijn een puur fictieve constructie te zijn in een 'autobiografie zonder feiten'. Soares was een werkelijke man zonder eigenschappen, zelfs een man zonder zelf, wat hem maakte tot een zelfverklaard 'leeg podium.' Dat podium vroeg om spel, acteren, doen alsof, artistiek liegen en onzekerheid. Bij alles wat Pessoa schreef, is er altijd sprake van de mogelijkheid dat hij deed alsof. 'De dichter is een veinzer,' schreef hij in *Autopsicografia*. Pessoa maakte van de kunst van het veinzen een spel. Zijn gehele oeuvre is een spel met de verbeelding, een taalspel, een verstoppertje met de werkelijkheid. In het BdR speelt de veinzerij een rol in het spel met zelfbewustzijn dat Pessoa in dit boek speelt. Met de notie van 'spel' en de alomtegenwoordigheid van veinzen (het veinzen van herinneringen, het veinzen van literaire genres, het veinzen dat hij veinst) zijn we terechtgekomen in een postmodern idioom. Hoewel het boek op het niveau van het narratief een duidelijk modernistisch karakter heeft, ondergraaft de omvattende aanwezigheid van het veinzen deze modernistische trekken en heeft het boek daardoor een sterke postmoderne tint.

Vanwege de diachronische aanwezigheid van romantische, symbolistische, modernistische én postmodernistische eigenschappen, situeer ik dit boek in het hart van de Europese letteren. Het BdR balanceert, net als Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*, op de vage grens van de twee stromingen modernisme en postmodernisme. Er valt veel te zeggen voor een concept dat de beide stromingen weergeeft als één doorlopende beweging, waarin de

eerste vrij onzichtbaar overloopt in de ander. Bradbury liet zijn inclusieve modernisme eindigen in 1939, het jaar waarin *Finnegans Wake* werd gepubliceerd. De manier waarop Pessoa's BdR het concept van literaire modernisme uitdaagde, rechtvaardigt mijn voorstel om het 'grensjaar' waarin modernisme in postmodernisme veranderde te wijzigen in 1935, het jaar waarin Pessoa stierf en het BdR achterliet, wachtend om door ons te worden ontdekt en te worden gewaardeerd volgens (post)moderne standaarden.

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