Portuguese Modernisms

Multiple Perspectives on Literature and the Visual Arts

Edited by Steffen Dix and Jerónimo Pizarro

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Modern Humanities Research Association and Routledge

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INTRODUCTION

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Steffen Dix and Jerónimo Pizarro

All definitions are limiting. Rather than suggest a new and broad definition of modernism, we would like to highlight one of the more distinctive features of the set of cultural trends and artistic movements that are usually identified as modernist: its plurality. This does not mean that we don't agree, at least in part, with some recent descriptions of modernism as 'the lure of heresy' and 'a commitment to a principled self-scrutiny',[1] for instance, or with prior studies that reveal other common characteristics and fundaments.[2] Either approach has its own advantages, but in our view, *modernisms* — in the plural — should be the term used, in order not to subsume the more theoretically peripheral manifestations in a global, or rather, an Anglo-American and Central European perspective. This perspective has already been strongly challenged by some of those involved in modernist movements who were neither born in great urban centres, the focal point of European modernisms, nor then spent long periods in many of them as they came and went from these points of convergence. What in retrospect has been called modernism — one of those great nouns in the singular where plurals tend to be avoided — is part of a historical period that includes industrialization, urbanization, rationalization and democratization, that is to say, Western modernity, and as such, describes a series of manifestations that reveal the transformations of the forms of perception of human sensibility in relation to new socio-historical contexts. These manifestations were plural, which could hardly have been otherwise seeing that modernity brought with it a growing pluralization of our world and that modernization was not (and still is not to this day) homogenous in time and space. In fact, unlike what some influential classical sociology authors predicted, modernization has not shown itself to be a process that leads to a single modernity, but as a differential process that multiplies differences within each social group.[3]

Consequently, modernism as a phenomenon cannot be considered a less plural set of expressions than modernity, and its concept must be understood as a notion in which the (collective) singular is formally a plural. At the same time, this understanding of modernism and modernity requires a distancing in relation to certain critical 'post-modernist' assumptions. The pluralization of the modern world is not recent and history demonstrates that the hegemony of some 'grand narratives' has been at stake since the mid-nineteenth century. One of the most lucid testimonies to this hegemonic crisis is in *Livro do Desasocego* [*Book of Disquietude*], the greatest Portuguese modernist book, in which Fernando Pessoa describes his generation in the following manner:

> Pertenço a uma geração que herdou a descrença no facto christão e que creou em si uma descrença em todas as outras fés. Os nossos paes tinham ainda o

> impulso credor, que transferiam do christianismo para outras formas de illusão. Uns eram enthusiastas da egualdade social, outros eram enamorados só da belleza, outros tinham a fé na sciencia e nos seus proveitos, e havia outros que, mais christãos ainda, iam buscar a Orientes e occidentes outras fórmas religiosas, com que entretivessem a consciencia, sem ellas ôca, de meramente viver.[4]
>
> [I belong to a generation that inherited the disbelief in the Christian fact and created in itself a disbelief in all other faiths. Our parents still had the creative impulse, which they transmitted from Christianity to other forms of illusion. Some were enthusiasts of social equality, others were in love only of beauty, others had faith in science and its benefits, and there were others that, even more Christian, set out to look in Orients and occidents for other religious forms, with which to entertain the consciousness, without them empty, of merely living.]

Instead of being an outdated historical period that foreshadows an epoch that was postmodern in theory, modernity is a qualitative transformation that continues — in a differential manner — to be deeply felt in contemporary life.[5] Modernism, understood as a critical category associated with the initial impulse of avant-gardist experimentation, a profound concern to renew all artistic forms in every aspect, and a permanent search for alternative systems of beliefs and values.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

In the early twentieth century, a number of revolutionary artists and art movements emerged in Portugal, as well as in many other Western countries. The works of these artists and art movements — which nowadays constitute the modernist canon — encouraged a re-examination of many aspects of human existence and can be said to have produced some of the most significant and radical changes in the tradition of Portuguese literature and the visual arts, as well as in social and cultural life. In Portuguese history, for instance, since the renowned 'generation of 1870', nothing had had such an important and critical bearing on the arts and society as Portuguese modernisms — in the plural, for there would be a first and then a second modernism, and some critics would even argue a third.[6] During the period encompassed by the first and the second modernist generation (1915–40), a series of artists and intellectuals began an ongoing renovation of the relations between production and reception of literature and the visual arts. They rebelled against nineteenth-century artistic, academic and historicist traditions, which were seen as outdated. They attacked the traditional forms of art, literature and daily life in order to establish new forms of human experience. As an alternative to outmoded ways of thinking and conceiving of life, Portuguese modernists suggested the fragmentation of the subject and (sometimes) a dialogue between antiquity and modern times. The effects of modernist transformations in Portugal were so profound and irreversible that they still reverberate in contemporary cultural life.

In spite of these facts, very few books in English have examined in retrospect Portuguese modernisms as an artistic-cultural phenomenon within a specific social and historical context. A few very good articles about different topics on Portuguese modernisms can be found in some English-language journals, but not a

wide-ranging volume on it. In any case, it is important to mention here two books that are mainly focused on Fernando Pessoa. The first is *An Introduction to Fernando Pessoa: Modernism and the Paradoxes of Authorship*, by Darlene Sadlier, who studied the formation of Pessoa's modernist aesthetic and the poetry of his main heteronyms, i.e. Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis and Álvaro de Campos, as well as the poems signed by Pessoa under his 'own' name. The book addresses the problem of authorship and the question of how a national poet is constructed or deconstructed.[7] The second is a comparative study, entitled *Atlantic Poets: Fernando Pessoa's Turn in Anglo-American Modernism*, by Maria Irene Ramalho de Sousa Santos. This book begins with a comparison between Hart Crane and Fernando Pessoa, and constitutes a remarkable attempt to place Pessoa rightfully in the canon of Anglo-American literature.[8] However, these two books, and even a third one, concerned with corporeality, gender, and sexuality,[9] should be seen as exceptions. There is no single volume in English-speaking countries that presents an overview of Portuguese modernisms. This is exactly what we will try to convey in this volume.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

This book presents a number of essays written by specialists in various fields that include literary criticism, linguistics, sociology, history and art criticism. It therefore offers an excellent overview of Portuguese modernism in a current, challenging and encompassing manner. Although contributions focus on literature and the visual arts, that is to say the two artistic forms that had the greatest impact in the first decades of the twentieth century in Portugal, several texts refer critically to the socio-cultural and political changes of the time. The first and second modernisms are usually bracketed between 1915 (the appearance of the *Orpheu* magazine) and 1940 (when the *Presença* magazine folded), but in making temporal delimitations we decided to set a distinction between the beginning and theoretical end of Portuguese modernisms in less absolute terms, to focus more on the roots and advent of twentieth-century modern movements, and to highlight the early work by Maria Helena Viera da Silva (1908–1992). It is also worth mentioning that although we focus mainly on those figures who were involved in what is known in Portugal as the 'first modernism,' which is considered the most influential part of the Portuguese modernist movement, we also include the precursors of Portuguese modernists and the so-called second modernist generation, which consisted mainly of contributors to the *Presença* magazine. Finally, it is important to mention that if the appearance of the *Orpheu* generation was roughly concurrent with the proclamation of the First Republic in Portugal (there was also a First Republic!), *Presença*'s appearance on the literary scene coincided with the military coup that would put an end to that short-lived experiment with democracy. This is relevant, especially if we recall that the first modernist generation was the primary initiator of a new kind of *Weltanschauung* that began to influence literature, art and even daily life, and that the second modernist generation, in contrast, was more committed to the institutionalization of this aesthetic.

The book is in two parts: the first is devoted to the leading practitioners of modernist literature and art in Portugal, and it begins with an article on precursors

of the first burst of modernism and ends with an essay on successors of Portuguese modernisms; the second part is more historical and comparativist and begins with a text that suggests the possibility of considering the literature of the Iberian Peninsula 'as a dream without physical or time frontiers', and ends with a critical index of ten key Portuguese modernist works, according to its author.

We will now take a look at aspects in each article.

As **Paula Morão** argues in the first chapter, 'Today it seems absurd to consider that poets of a certain generation appear spontaneously without the support of a tradition.' All generations, even those that claim to have made a break with the past, are indebted to the past to a greater or lesser extent. So, however much of a paradox it may seem, we may even talk about the tradition of the break itself, as Octavio Paz did in *Los hijos del limo* (1974), a book where he explores the history of modern poetry from German Romanticism to the late avant-gardes.[10] Morão examines the important influence that writers, such as Almeida Garrett, Antero de Quental, Cesário Verde, António Nobre and Camilo Pessanha had over the first generation of Portuguese modernists, the generations connected with the *Orpheu* magazine.

Jerónimo Pizarro writes about the main *isms* (paulism, intersectionism and sensationism) that Fernando Pessoa created 'between 1914 — when he gives "life" to Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis and Álvaro de Campos — and 1915, when he writes numerous newspaper articles, sociological reflections, parts of the *Book of Disquietude* and some inflammatory letters, many of which he never gets round to sending.' This panoramic presentation of Pessoan *isms* was helped by a previous work: volume X of the Fernando Pessoa Critical Edition, entitled *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*.[11] Its appendix presents an unknown and unfinished text by Pessoa, called *Technique of Feeling*.

The next contribution is by **Giorgio de Marchis**, who focuses on Mário de Sá-Carneiro, a close friend of Fernando Pessoa and joint director of *Orpheu*. De Marchis studies Sá-Carneiro's own, rather peculiar interpretation of modernism, as well as his obstinacy in defending all his works, though seeming to accept Pessoa's criticism of some of them by revising, reformulating and republishing them in a new guise. From this perspective, Mário de Sá-Carneiro always appears determined to rescue the 'beauty' of his works from oblivion, though admitting to a certain 'wrong beauty'.

The third key figure of the first generation of modernists — and perhaps the most versatile — was José de Almada Negreiros. This poet, novelist, dramatist, painter, draughtsman, caricaturist, conference speaker and choreographer is examined by **Ellen Sapega** and **Raquel Henriques da Silva**. For Sapega, Almada Negreiros's body of work presents the most successfully developed and complex effort at capturing the nuances of urban life in Lisbon during the first half of the twentieth century. In her essay, Sapega argues that after 1917, i.e., after incorporating the lessons of abstraction into his visual production, Almada began to develop the distinct visual style for which he is known today. Raquel Henriques da Silva complements this essay when she looks into Almada Negreiros's artistic work during the modernist period, which in Portugal went from the early or mid 1910s to 1940. In her introduction, Silva explains that she will not comment on every phase

in Almada Negreiros's artistic career, but only 'highlight those that I believe to be more relevant in the context of Portuguese culture of the time'.

Following these essays on the precursors as well as the better known figures in the 'first modernism' are four critical texts that examine the works of other artists and writers (Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, António Botto, Florbela Espanca, Judith Teixeira) as well as that of a journalist and politician (António Ferro) who was also a modernist writer, dramatist and poet.

Rui-Mário Gonçalves writes about Souza-Cardoso, who very early in his career developed abstract-geometric paintings of a cubist type. Gonçalves argues that Souza-Cardoso attained a remarkable and original synthesis of the extreme energy of colours with the extreme energy of forms, thus overtaking both the orthodoxies of expressionism and cubism. Gonçalves's chapter is an outstanding presentation of the highlights of an extraordinary painter who died very young, victim of the 1918 pneumonic epidemic, and whose work remained unknown for about forty years, even bearing in mind that Modigliani, Brancusi, Delaunay and Henri Gaudier-Brzeska were among Souza-Cardoso's greatest admirers.

Anna Klobucka's essay is on António Botto, one of the most controversial figures in Portuguese modernisms and a frequenter of the cafés and tertulias that Pessoa, Sá-Carneiro and Almada used to frequent. Pessoa defended him as an artist very early on, in a manifesto signed by Álvaro de Campos and in an article signed by Pessoa-*ipse*, 'António Botto e o Ideal Estético em Portugal' [António Botto and the Aesthetic Ideal in Portugal], published in *Contemporanea*, 3, (1923). Klobucka is interested in the important influence that Botto's work and presence had on several leading figures of Portuguese and international modernism, such as Fernando Pessoa, Federico García Lorca and Vaslav Nijinsky — Pessoa got to know Lorca through Botto[12] — as well as the cultural and social environment in which they and others moved. Klobucka argues that Botto's was the first openly gay Portuguese author and that he cultivated a highly visible queer persona in the historical setting of the 1920s and 1930s.

Cláudia Pazos-Alonso's article explores the workings and consequences of the marginality of women in Portuguese modernisms, studying the contrasting strategies of Judith Teixeira and Florbela Espanca, and discussing their thematic points of contact with Sá-Carneiro and Pessoa. Pazos-Alonso argues that a close reading of Teixeira's and Espanca's respective works reveals their modernist propensity to thematize embodied subjective experiences and to challenge assumptions of sexual orthodoxy, through the conscious enactment of an elaborate performative stance.

Finally, in his article, **José Barreto** analyses António Ferro's ideas as a young modernist and his policies when collaborating with the Salazarist regime, i.e. with the authoritarian, right-wing government that António de Oliveira Salazar headed. Ferro was described as someone who — in political terms — was somewhere 'between Goebbels and Malraux'. He was a young member of the modernist group involved with *Orpheu* (1915) and a close friend of several futurist artists. Bearing in mind that Ferro's 'politics of the spirit' is based on a 'modernist' conception serving political purposes, Barreto's chapter can be seen as an excellent case study on the relationship between modernism and totalitarianism (or Salazarism) in Portugal.

The first part of the book includes **Steffen Dix**'s text on modernist literary magazines prior to *Presença*, **Mariana Gray de Castro**'s text on the *Presença* generation, as well as two essays that expand the timeframe of Portuguese modernisms: **Pedro Lapa** on the early work of Maria Helena Vieira da Silva, and **Fernando J. B. Martinho** on 'The Formation of a Modernist Tradition in Contemporary Portuguese Poetry'.

Dix emphasizes the importance of several modernist magazines, seen as the public face of the first Portuguese modernism and the most important and significant vehicles for the entry of a modernist *Weltanschauung* into the public and cultural sphere of the time. In this chapter, the reader will find a presentation of the key magazines of the first Portuguese modernism (*Orpheu*, *Centauro*, *Exílio*, *Portugal Futurista*, *Contemporanea*, *Athena*, and the like), a brief summary of their history and a discussion of their influence. **Castro**'s article is devoted to the Coimbra-based magazine *Presença* and its creation, which was affirm on its pages and was made up, in part, of the founders of the magazine themselves (José Régio, 1901–1969; João Gaspar Simões, 1903–1987; and Branquinho da Fonseca, 1905–1974) and, in part too, by many of its contributors. As Castro recalls, *Presença* was 'an important vehicle for the visual arts as well as literature', since it was illustrated throughout by artists like Almada Negreiros, Sarah Afonso, Bernardo Marques and Mário Eloy; and, as a magazine, it 'did much to establish the previous *Orpheu* generation firmly at the heart of Portuguese modernism' by publishing unknown writings by Fernando Pessoa, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, José de Almada Negreiros, Ângelo de Lima and Luís de Montalvor.

In the penultimate chapter of the first part of the book, **Pedro Lapa** presents Maria Helena Vieira da Silva (1908–1992) as one of the main figures of the *Jeune École de Paris*, a school that included diverse artists who in the 1930s and especially in the 1940s challenged the foundations of abstraction, without rejecting its principles. 'The essential aim' of these artists, explains Lapa, 'was to investigate questions raised by Paul Klee concerning the ability of art to represent a reality that had been transformed by modern technology and warfare, and, above all, its ability to represent the unrepresentable, that which lies beyond human understanding, as a means of returning to the Romantic sublime.' In the last text, **Fernando J. B. Martinho** reveals the extraordinary artistic influence of leading modernist figures on the following generations, and how their contribution allowed other successors — besides Vieira da Silva — to discover the first and second Portuguese modernisms. Martinho shows that 'there was a process of interaction and exchanges between successive generations' and concludes that the 'modernist tradition played a decisive role in making the twentieth century in Portugal a "golden century" as far as poetry is concerned'.

The second part of the book includes essays that take on a more comparativist and historical viewpoint. In the first text, **Antonio Sáez Delgado** tries to establish what he understands as 'the three principal stages' of the 'plural continuum' of modernity in the Iberian Peninsula: (1) the moment of the Portuguese symbolism / Spanish modernism, and, of the Portuguese *saudosism* / Spanish Generation of 98; (2) the moment of the first Portuguese modernism / First Spanish *vanguardias*; and

(3) the moment of the second Portuguese modernism / Spanish *Veintisiete*. In the second part of his article, Sáez Delgado shows that 'the connections among the Portuguese and the Spanish literatures in the period between 1890 and 1936 owe much to the personal contacts established between the writers from both countries'. In the second article, **Arnaldo Saraiva** mentions many of the differences and similarities between the modernisms of Portugal and Brazil. According to Saraiva, the modernist movements of Portugal and Brazil were not unaware of each other, and the Brazilian movement did not cut itself off from Portuguese literature. In fact, Brazilian and Portuguese modernisms, despite their differences, shared many aesthetic similarities, and the most representative modernist writers of both countries are nowadays read with pleasure and profit on both sides of the Atlantic.

Gianluca Miraglia's article, 'The Reception of Futurism in Portugal,' can also be read, to a certain extent, as an attempt to form a bridge between two countries, namely Portugal and Italy. Miraglia describes the way futurist theories became known in Portugal and how they were received and transmitted, by means of a collection of a wide variety of testimonies, such as quotations, translations, newspaper or magazine articles, letters and personal notes. This article is important for an understanding of the role that futurism played in the first Portuguese modernism. Next, **António Sousa Ribeiro** draws upon a number of texts from Portuguese and other modernisms (particularly Viennese modernism) in order to identify modes of confluence that have their roots in a common Nietzschean tension that no longer allows for any unified structure of feeling and testifies to the loss of any accepted evidence about the subject, the world or the literary object itself. For Sousa Ribeiro, 'Pessoa's "drama em gente" [drama in people] is just the more radical materialization' of the crisis of the relationship between the subject and the world, and between these instances and language and artistic expression.

In 'The Tail of the Lizard: Pessoan Disquietude and the Subject of Modernity,' **Maria Irene Ramalho de Sousa Santos** evokes a collection of essays entitled *Who Comes after the Subject?* (1991), and explains, by way of introduction: 'One of the authors concludes that after the subject comes the citizen (Etienne Balibar). [Jean-Luc] Nancy himself argues that what comes after the subject is the community. Another philosopher offers "situation" or "place" as a reply ([Alain] Badiou). Yet another submits that the question should address *what*, not *who*, the proper answer being death — or nothing ([Philippe] Lacoue-Labarthe). All these concepts ("citizen", "community", "situation", "nothing") will be useful in dealing with the Pessoan *desassossego* below.' Pessoa's *Book of Disquietude* was published posthumously and exists in many versions; in this sense, it is *posterous*, as theory and interpretation.

Maria de Lurdes Sampaio is the author of a comparative essay on Ezra Pound and Fernando Pessoa 'with T. S. Eliot in between'. As Sampaio explains, Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot and Fernando Pessoa left behind not only remarkable literary works but also very important essayistic ones. Pessoa was the Portuguese modernist with the best understanding of the Anglo-American world and this essay endeavours to encapsulate the different critical approaches to these three writers. **Pedro Eiras** in the next essay deals with the question of the act of fragmenting the

subject, common to all modernisms in general. To a certain extent, his essay seeks to explain the paradox at the start. Eiras defends that 'the proposal that the subject is inexistent [...] can be seen to begin in the experimental discourse of Camilo Pessanha,' the main Portuguese symbolist poet.

Inês Alves Mendes contribution is summarized in her introduction: 'This article examines a genre that has received little critical attention: the theatrical works of Almada Negreiros, Fernando Pessoa, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, António Ferro, together with José Pacheco and António Ponce Leão.' Mendes's very well documented article fills a lacuna in modernist studies — that of the theatre. Mendes prefers not to talk about a modernist theatre as it is debatable that such a theatre ever existed, i.e., if all the plays performed during a certain period of time were modernist or not. Subsequently, her text examines the theatrical works of some modernists, irrespective of whether these works can or not be classified as modernist, such as Pessoa's *O Marinheiro* [*The Mariner*], for example, which David Jackson mentions in his article (see below).

In 'The Aesthetics of Nationalism: Literary Modernism and Political Authoritarianism in Early Twentieth-Century Portugal,' **Manuel Villaverde Cabral** argues that in Portugal some of the writers and artists associated with the modernist magazines, *Orpheu* and *Portugal Futurista,* contributed significantly to the 'attitude of mind' (G. L. Mosse) that provided the later totalitarian regime in Portugal with its initial cultural aura. In 'Spiritualism and Poetry in Modernist Portugal', **Kenneth Krabbenhoft** 'examines a central issue of nineteenth-century science and philosophy in light of its influence on Portuguese poetry in the modernist period'; this 'central issue' is the debate over the nature of the human soul, the quarrel between materialism and spiritualism.

Finally, in an article that classifies as modernist many works produced during the modernist period, **K. David Jackson** selects ten 'Important Literary Works of Portuguese Modernism,' and writes an analytic commentary for each of the entries of this final index. This canonical endeavour, as any other, is personal and might need to be refined, but it is a very useful guide to what to read (initially) and a justification of the works selected.

* * * * *

This volume hopes to provide a critical guide to Portuguese modernisms for students and teachers of modernism. We also expect to fill a gap in the bibliographical field of English critical literature on modernism and to suggest the necessity of including Portuguese modernist manifestations in literature and the visual arts in the broader spectrum of multi-continental modernism or 'geo-modernisms'. As we have explained, in the case of Portuguese modernisms, and contrary to what happens in relation to other modernisms, very few books in English have examined it within its social and historical context. There are, for example, many books on Spanish American modernism, Brazilian modernism and Spanish modernism, but there is no single companion or a really comprehensive book on Portuguese modernisms. We hope that different scholars in different countries can benefit from an ongoing dialogue between a sometimes vague and more abstract definition of modernism,

and a specific and more concrete reality, which is, in all of its manifestations, plural. If this book helps to broaden an understanding of Portuguese modernisms and of its plurality in English-speaking countries, it will have achieved one of its main goals.

As with all highly ambitious books that result from a large amount of collective participation, this book would not have been possible without the help of many people. We would like to thank sincerely — in our name and in that of many writers — Carole Garton, Patricia Odber de Baubeta, Vicky Hartnack, Stefan Tobler, Peter Wise, Ana Luísa Amaral, Adelaide Galhano, Pauly Ellen Bothe, Carlos Alvarez, Sofia Patrão, Isabel Carlos, Joana Pizarro, Catarina Almada, Rita Almada, Manuel Gaspar, Manuel Rosa, Luis Filipe Gomes, José Reis Pereira, Maria Andresen de Sousa Tavares, Maria Arlete Alves da Silva, Rui Brito, Hugo Dinis, Ana Hatherly, João Silverio, Inês Pedrosa, Carmo Mota, Jorge Uribe and Nuno Ribeiro.

Notes to the Introduction

1. Peter Gay, *Modernism* (London: Vintage Books, 2009), pp. 3–4.
2. As Michael Bell reminds at the beginning of his article 'The Metaphysics of Modernism', if we approach modernism on an intellectual plane, we are forced to recognize that 'its intellectual formation encompassed a coming to terms with the lines of thought associated with Marx, Freud, and Nietzsche'; see Bell's chapter in *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism*, ed. by Michael Levenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9–32 (p. 9).
3. In relation to the persistence of some traditional values, for instance, modernization represents a cultural change that interacts closely with the structures of the system in which it occurs. In recent years, various celebrated sociologists, such as Shmuel Eisenstadt, Immanuel Wallerstein and Ronald Inglehardt have suggested a revision of the classic modernization thesis in the light of the different forms of modernity.
4. Fernando Pessoa, *Livro do Desasocego*, edited by Jerónimo Pizarro (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2010), 142–43 (p. 143). This is the first and only critical edition of Pessoa's *Book of Disquietude*; it corresponds to vol. XII of the 'Fernando Pessoa Critical Edition,' a national project co-ordinated by Ivo Castro.
5. We keep mentioning these differences because it is important to abandon readings that directly or indirectly approach the various modernisms from the sole perspective of the two or three great 'centres', while neglecting the geographic 'margins' and some local, national and transnational manifestations. In fact, modernity's different paths will not allow a discourse that does not adopt more encompassing and complex perspectives. See *Translocal Modernisms: International Perspectives*, ed. by Irene Ramalho Santos and António Sousa Ribeiro (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), and Sousa Ribeiro's article ('Modernist Confluences') in this volume (Chapter 17).
6. See Fernando J. B. Martinho, 'Terceiro Modernismo,' in *Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo Português*, ed. by Fernando Cabral Martins (Lisbon: Caminho, 2008), pp. 849–50. Martinho considers 'discutível a introdução de uma nova categoria periodológica [Terceiro Modernismo]' [the introduction to a new periodological category [third modernism] debatable],' and that it is preferable to underline 'the persistence of modernism' seen as a megaperiod in poetry of the 1940s, 50s and 60s.
7. Darlene Joy Sadlier, *An Introduction to Fernando Pessoa: Modernism and the Paradoxes of Authorship* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).
8. Irene Ramalho Santos, *Atlantic Poets: Fernando Pessoa's Turn in Anglo-American Modernism* (Hanover, NH, and London: University Press of New England, 2003).
9. *Embodying Pessoa: Corporeality, Gender, Sexuality*, ed. by Anna M. Klobucka and Mark Sabine (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).
10. Octavio Paz, *Los hijos del limo* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1974). Lectures originally given and published in English; cf. *Children of the Mire: Modern Poetry from Romanticism to the Avant-garde*, trans. by Rachel Phillips (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).

11. Fernando Pessoa, *Sensacionismo e Outros Ismos*, ed. by Jerónimo Pizarro (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2009).
12. Botto recalls his encounter with Federico García Lorca (*c.* 1929) and writes: 'Dias, depois, apresentava-o [a García Lorca] no velho Café da Arcada, ao grande [↑ imenso] Fernando Pessoa. Pessoa disse alguns versos seus, mas Lorca não os sentiu. Que eram duros e forçados. Supondo que Federico não tinha gostado porque Fernando Pessoa não sabia recitar, acudi, recitando eu outros que são estes que vou dizer aqui: [*one page is missing*] não haverá um cansaço, | Das coisas. | De todas as coisas, | Como das pernas ou de um braço? || Um cansaço de existir, | De ser, | Só de ser, | O ser triste brilhar ou sorrir... || Não haverá, um cansaço [↑ enfim,] | Das coisas Para as coisas que são, | Não a morte, mas sim | Uma outra espécie de fim, | Ou uma grande razão — | Qualquer coisa assim | Como um perdão?' [Days after, I introduced him (García Lorca), at the old *Café da Arcada*, to the great (↑ immense) Fernando Pessoa. Pessoa said some of his verses, but Lorca did not feel them. He meant they were hard and forced. Supposing Federico had not liked them because Fernando Pessoa could not declaim, I aided declaiming some others that are these I will say, here: [*one page is missing*] Is there no tiredness | Of things, | Of all things, | Like that of the legs and the arms? || A tiredness of existing, | Of being, | Only of being, | The sad being shine or smile... || Will there not be, after all, | For the things that are, |Not death, but fair enough | Another sort of end, | Or a big reason — | Anything maybe | Like a forgiveness?]. See A. Klobucka's article in this volume (Chapter 7).

PART I

Main Figures and Magazines

CHAPTER 1

❖

Portuguese Precursors of the First Modernist Generation

Paula Morão

Today it seems absurd to consider that poets of a certain generation appear spontaneously without the support of a tradition which gives meaning to what they wish to put into practice, even when they intend to present themselves as bringers of the new, demolishing their older contemporaries and their predecessors. Since classical antiquity one has been able to note quarrels between the ancients and moderns (to use the term of the French seventeenth-century polemic), who have differentiated themselves with positions of either imitating the ancient models or staking a claim to innovation and to the use of artistic and poetic forms created *ab initio*. This concept only makes sense in the context of the introduction of ideas and practices by someone arriving on the literary or artistic scene, yet, as we will have the opportunity to see, even defenders of the new end up taking root in strata of the tradition which they wished to delete. This is the case of the Portuguese poets gathered in the 1915 magazine *Orpheu* and is suggested in the very title of that publication, with its desire to be new and different from the literary production of the era. In Greek myth Orpheus symbolizes poetry itself, with its origins in song and in the harmonious mixture of the poetic word and music. So the innovations (and even the ruptures) that the magazine proposes echo a concept of literature which is firmly anchored in an intuitive recognition of the ancestral nature of poetry, whose historicity is recognized and linked to the condition of the poet as *faber*, as a craftsperson who must know his or her trade and its historicity in order to practise it in a full and competent way. This is why, when we read the first two numbers of *Orpheu*, and the third which remained at the proof stage,[1] it is not surprising to find much-used classic forms such as the sonnet, the ode and the elegy alongside modern themes (machines and industry, for example), nor is it scandalous to find, beside traditional metres and versification, prose elements, blank and long-lined verse, etc.

This article seeks, therefore, to discern the elements of a lineage that sustains 'os de *Orpheu*' [those of *Orpheu*] in Portuguese literature,[2] searching for the meeting of voices at the foundations of the poetics of modernity,[3] which, in what is called the first modernism, takes on a stability that becomes apparent to those involved. The most poetically self-aware of the magazine's contributors was Fernando Pessoa, as a number of his writings prove; we will point out a few. A fragment, probably

from 1914, lists 'Influências' [Influences], including poetry in English during his formative years, 1904–05, when he was studying in South Africa. He also adds:

> 1905–1908 (fim) — Edgar Poe (já na poesia), Baudelaire, Rollinat, Antero, Junqueiro (na parte anticlerical), Cesário Verde, José Duro, Henrique Rosa.
>
> 1908–1909 (fim) — Garrett, António Correia de Oliveira, António Nobre.
>
> 1909–1911 — Os simbolistas franceses, Camilo Pessanha.
>
> 1912–1913 — 1) O saudosismo; 2) Os futuristas.[4]
>
> [1905–1908] (end) — Edgar Poe (already his poetry), Baudelaire, Rollinat, Antero, Junqueiro (for his anticlericalism), Cesário Verde, José Duro, Henrique Rosa.
>
> 1908–1909 (end) — Garrett, António Correia de Oliveira, António Nobre.
>
> 1909–1911 — The French symbolists, Camilo Pessanha.
>
> 1912–1913 — 1) The saudosismo movement; 2) The futurists.]

Other stages of Pessoa's work confirm the Portuguese sources (those which interest us here), but it is worth remembering the 'notas que Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues coligiu em 1914 [...] baseadas em dados fornecidos pelo próprio Poeta'[notes which Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues compiled in 1914 [...] based on information provided by the Poet himself].[5] These notes were published 'tal como se encontram' [as they were found] by Joel Serrão.[6] For the period from 1908 to 1911, Côrtes-Rodrigues records the following: 'Influências sobre as poesias portuguesas' [Influences on the Portuguese poems] which Pessoa wrote in that period: 'Garrett — Num impulso súbito, vindo da leitura das *Folhas Caídas* e das *Flores Sem Fruto* [Pessoa] começa a escrever versos portugueses'[7] [Garrett — In a sudden impulse, coming from reading *Fallen Leaves* and *Flowers without Fruit*, he [Pessoa] starts to write verse in Portuguese]. This note corroborates the list entitled 'Influências' [Influences] already quoted.

Knowing now, as we do, of Pessoa's role as mentor to 'those of *Orpheu*', it is not hard to believe that his declared influences constituted, in addition, a *corpus* of Portuguese readings common to all the poets in the group, and the pages of the magazine in fact bear this out. On the other hand, after 1915 each poet followed his own path, in some cases abandoning the intense desire to be new and original that the magazine embodied, in other cases pursuing this desire in various periodicals, with or without Pessoa's collaboration. This article focuses on mapping the Portuguese readings that inform and sustain the poetry of the first modernism, discerning which among those poets were the ones who, for their patent or latent importance, we can designate as the precursors of *Orpheu* and of what follows it.[8] In a second stage the article will examine those authors whom it has become apparent are the most relevant co-ordinates of such a map.

The obligatory first point of reference has to be Almeida Garrett, in whose work can be found many seminal elements of a modern conception of literature in general and poetry in particular.[9] *Lírica de João Mínimo* [*The Poetry of Minimum John*], the 1829 book in which he collects his juvenilia, includes exercises in translating and glossing ancient and modern authors,[10] as well as poems more or less of circumstance, such

as the two odes 'Ao Corpo Académico' [To the Academic Body]. These poems prepare the ground for the mature poetry of this towering figure of Portuguese Romanticism. However, perhaps the most relevant text of Garrett's volume is the preface, 'Notícia do autor desta obra' [Author's Note on this Work] (1828), in which Garrett weaves a fiction around the search for that enigmatic 'Senhor João Mínimo', the author of the work from which Garrett distances himself ironically with regard to its paternity. He documents the poetic types of the early nineteenth century, before distancing himself from all of them, emerging as an *auctoritas* who collects and publishes the poems that have come to him in a crammed chest from that man in whom, under the mask of humility, is hidden a cultured person and the preface writer's *alter ego*. The preface writer, never mentioned by name, allows his authorial condition to be glimpsed, as he distances himself from his juvenile verses. This is a biographical fiction which, on the one hand anticipates by almost twenty years the narrator of *Viagens na Minha Terra* [*Travels in my Homeland*], and on the other hand works with authorial fiction in ways which strongly anticipate those later practised in *Orpheu*. The inventive and self-ironic qualities are also found in the mature writer's two poetry collections — *Flores sem Fruto* (1845) and *Folhas Caídas* (1853) — and in their respective prefaces, metapoetic texts in which the image of a poet (a Romantic poet) is constructed and in which a protocol of reading is established which plays with a vegetal isotopy (the *leaves* are natural elements, but they are also the paper on which the verses are recorded). This trajectory continues in the unclassifiable *Viagens na Minha Terra* (1845–46), a book which is a cornerstone of modern fiction in Portuguese, initiating an impurity in the genre which questions how the borders of fiction (not just the borders of the novel) are defined. These borders are problematized as he recounts 'journeys' taken not only in Portugal but also in the mind of the person who is writing, employing irony, giving his opinion, describing, observing. The books mentioned above are the height of Garrett's work, displaying his mastery of verse techniques and his use of a carefully chosen language, particularly in the interior monologues and the use of orality. But the books above do not exhaust Garrett's importance to modern writing in Portuguese. At the least, one would have to recall the play *Frei Luís de Sousa* [*Brother Luís de Sousa*] (1843) and its themes of individual and national identity in crisis, of masks and guilt. Poetic motifs and issues, such as those mentioned above, as well as Garrett's decisive contribution to a fluid style that owes much to orality and the rhythms of folk poetry, may well be the reason for Pessoa's manifest interest in his work.

Antero de Quental was in the list of Pessoa's 'Influences', and it is worth examining, via a reading of the three articles by Pessoa in *A Águia* [*The Eagle*] in 1912,[11] the reasons why the author of the *Sonetos* was included as a primary influence. In them Pessoa responds to the question of 'quando a nossa corrente principia. O seu *tom* especial e distintivo, quando começa a aparecer?' [when our current started. Its particular and distinctive *tone*, when did it start to emerge?].[12] He establishes a lineage, which we will return to, which passes through António Nobre, some of Eugénio de Castro and the Junqueiro of *Os Simples* [*The Simple Ones*], in other words, 'o começo da última década do século dezanove' [the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century].[13] For now, what interests

us is Pessoa's next comment: he considers that for all of them 'o precursor é Antero de Quental'[14] [their precursor is Antero de Quental]. Further on he becomes more explicit and says that Antero represents 'transcendentalismo, sob forma de emoção' [transcendentalism in the form of emotion].[15] It is a case of emphasizing the metaphysical aspect of Antero's poetry, present above all in the *Sonetos*,[16] in which one can still detect a Romantic vein, although they also open onto the foundational questions of a modernity informed by philosophical readings. So it is that in the *Sonetos* we find a subject who asks questions about the meaning of life and of truth, configuring the search in the figure of a *homo viator*, referring to classical myths, to the motif of a knight errant and to an entity called God ('Ignoto Deo' [Unknown God] or 'Ignotus'). This is a god without religion situated in a plane of metaphysical questioning, of the transcendentalism Pessoa referred to. In Antero, and particularly in the *Sonetos*, the figure of a visionary poet is formed, someone alone against the world and even against himself, who moves in the darkened setting of an individual's consciousness divided between reflection and intervention, between the struggle for the ideas of a nascent socialism and the passivity of an anguished and sorrowful subject. If in Garrett (and in Alexandre Herculano) night becomes the chosen domain of the poet lost in himself and his thoughts, in Antero we see poetry more clearly defined as a soliloquy in search of the Ideal and the Ineffable ('Das Unnennbare' [the Unnameable], this 'quimera' [chimera] or 'misteriosa fada' [mysterious spirit] whose name is unknown). The subject does battle with an *alter ego* named 'o meu coração' [my heart], and so symbolizing the inner division of the hyperconscious ego, which carries in itself 'todos os sonhos do mundo' [all the dreams of the world], as Álvaro de Campos says in the poem 'Tabacaria' [The Tobacconist's]. The symbolic combat in which the subject faces himself, seen in the two aspects of 'Mors-Amor', is also found in 'No Circo' [In the Circus], when the 'monstro' [monster] emerges from inside the *I* 'feito fera' [made wild]. This mortal and eschatological combat could only give way to the sense of being vanquished that can be read in many of the sonnets and in the short poem 'Os Vencidos' [The Vanquished].[17] It does not seem difficult to see here themes that interested Pessoa, Sá-Carneiro and the other *Orpheu* poets, all of whom were attracted to the idea of poetry providing a comment on the meaning of life, even if that response were the technical perfection of its verses, as is characteristic of Antero.

However, from a critical point of view it is worth adding another parallel between Antero and Pessoa: both contributed decisively to the construction of themselves as mythic figures, both left in written form fictionalized autobiographies which met with a resounding, long-lasting response in critical readings which are limited by the deceit of a narrative programme of a biographic nature. In the case of Antero, the texts in question are two letters: to Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos and to Wilhelm Storck.[18] In the first, the poet of the *Odes Românticas* talks about the 'colecção completa dos meus sonetos [...] desde 1860 até agora' [the complete collection of my sonnets [...] from 1860 to the present] — twenty-five years in other words — works which 'têm revestido a forma poética o meu pensar e o meu sentir' [have clothed the poetic form of my thoughts and feelings], and adds a possible title

— '*Memórias duma Consciência*' [*Memoirs of a Consciousness*].[19] In turn, the letter to Storck, which Antero knew would be published, does not only provide in summary the author's biography and the history of his works, but also readings of poets and philosophers who have informed it.[20] He writes of the sonnets that they are 'como a notação dum diário íntimo' [like the notes of an intimate diary], accounting for 'minha vida intelectual e sentimental' [my intellectual and sentimental life], and forming an 'espécie de autobiografia de um pensamento e como que as memórias de uma consciência' [a kind of autobiography of a thought, like the memoirs of a consciousness].[21] These excerpts from the two letters (which should be read in their entirety and in the context of other letters) show the acute poetic self-awareness, as well as the establishment of a clearly defined protocol for reading. A history of thoughts and of feelings, the diary of a consciousness (much more so than the life of the empirical subject), these make us think of what Pessoa often did in his work, particularly in *O Livro do Desassossego* [*The Book of Disquietude*], and invoke the abundant self-reflective correspondence between 'those of *Orpheu*', in which one can find essential contributions to the poetic consciousness the modernists display in what they write and publish.

Another of the great poets of the nineteenth century, and indeed of all Portuguese literature, acknowledged by modernists as a precursor, is Cesário Verde. Alberto Caeiro, who claims to read so little, expressly mentions him in poem III of *O Guardador de Rebanhos* [*The Keeper of Sheep*];[22] Álvaro de Campos invokes him in two emblematic poems;[23] these references are in addition to Pessoa's inclusion of Verde in his earlier cited list of formative reading. In Verde's short life (1855–1886) he published poems in a number of journals, but did not manage to collect them in a single volume, which only occurred in 1887, thanks to his friend Silva Pinto. *O Livro de Cesário Verde*,[24] to which in future editions further poems and an important collection of letters were added, occupies an unequalled place in Portuguese literature for various reasons, among which one should note the perfect pairing of technically impeccable verses and the combination of a problematization of the modern subject, the time in which he lived and the tradition that sustains it. His earlier poems show the apprenticeship of varied reading (of which the most prominent is of Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal*, 1857), not only in motifs such as neurosis, the dandy or the distant and cold *femme fatale*, but also in the metre (above all alexandrines and decasyllables), in the stanza form and in the rhythms.[25] The poems of his maturity (if we can talk of maturity for such a brief life) like 'Num Bairro Moderno' [In a Modern Neighbourhood] (1877), 'Cristalizações' [Crystallizations] (1878), 'O Sentimento de um Ocidental' [A Westerner's Feeling] (1880), allow the emerging voice of modernity in Portuguese poetry to be heard, for example in the thematization of writing itself as an incessant search for the perfection of the lines of verse and of the 'things',[26] the only way of guaranteeing the symbolic permanence of the subject, abolishing circumstantiality and a predatory temporality.[27] In addition to the technical mastery that Álvaro de Campos acknowledges, Cesário Verde is the source of Pessoa's interseccionismo [intersectionism], with its genial leaps between the trivial and the epic, the banal and the sublime. The above-mentioned poems give ample examples of this. One only has to remember how in

'Num Bairro Moderno' a heroic body is imagined and composed from the stimulus of a basket of fruit and vegetables, using the 'visão de artista!' [artist's vision!] and aided by the Apollonian 'luz do Sol, o intenso colorista' [light of the Sun, the vivid colourist] (stanza 7). Within this plasticity and intense visuality what particularly stands out is the construction of a subject who anticipates the division in the *I* that we see in the modernists; the subject is a *voyeur*, in the wake of Baudelaire, but also a visionary and *voyant*, following Rimbaud.

For his visionary conception of the poet, it is also important to consider Gomes Leal, especially his *Claridades do Sul* [*Clarities of the South*].[28] Under the aegis of Baudelaire, but having learnt also from Antero, he marries Satanism to realism to thematize a dandified subject who has a nocturnal and melancholic side, which is sometimes expressed in irony or even in sarcasm. Poems such as 'A Bela Flor Azul' [The Beautiful Blue Flower], 'O Visionário ou Som e Cor' [The Visionary or Sound and Colour] (composed of four sonnets) and 'Nevrose Nocturna' [Nocturnal Neurosis] (with the cascading anaphoric comment of 'Bela!') exemplify the art of his verse and his problematization of the divided subject, whose days — *sub specie* dandy — are marked by tedium and melancholy and whose nocturnal being corresponds to the visionary poet battling a capitalized Sorrow, as is fitting for a symbol in which two aspects cohabit: that of poetry and that of the consciousness of the subject who expresses that poetry. Poems such as 'A Senhora de Brabante' [The Lady of Brabante] deal, in perfect quatrains, with the symbolist tradition of ethereal and falsely happy aristocratic ladies, who — it turns out — hide monstrous children, mirrors of the black flower of evil. On the other hand, this poem and others from *Claridades do Sul* already suggest the dramatic monologue, a source of the *fin-de-siècle* theatre of which the play *O Marinheiro* [*The Mariner*] is the most important example.[29] Pessoa paid homage to the poet in the sonnet 'Gomes Leal', which opens with these lines: 'Sagra, sinistro, a alguns o astro baço. | Seus três anéis irreversíveis são | A desgraça, a amargura, a solidão' [Holy, sinister, to some a tarnished star. | His three irreversible rings are | Disgrace, bitterness, solitude];[30] in this decasyllabic portrait, full of symbols and assonance, Pessoa expresses his debt to the poet of crepuscular clarity and of bitter laughter, who glimpsed the literal, symbolic and poetic 'fim de um mundo' [end of a world],[31] and questioned it in a way that would be taken up by the modernists.

The first of the three lines by Pessoa quoted just above recall another precursor of modernism — Eugénio de Castro. Since his time as a student in Coimbra, as a mentor to one of the magazines of 1889 in which the birth of Portuguese symbolism can be seen,[32] and above all in his books of the 1890s, *Oaristos*, *Horas* and others,[33] Castro theorizes and practises a poetry that presents itself as new and even avant-garde, taking pride in the use of rare vocabulary, sophisticated rhymes and complex verses with innovative themes. Eugénio de Castro's poetic work in the 1890s is an art firmly based on classical poets (above all, Latin poets) and on the Franco-Belgian poets (Théophile Gautier, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Jean Moréas, René Ghil and others) who are putting into practice advances in poetic technique. These new techniques arrive in Portugal in magazines and in books familiar to those Coimbra students who dedicate themselves to poetic experiences shaped by the said magazines. A

high pose is struck by the author of 'Silva esotérica para os raros apenas' [The esoteric forest only for the few],[34] the poet who speaks to the 'Bárbaros' from the 'Torre do Conceito Puro' [Tower of the Pure Idea],[35] and removes himself from them in Horatian manner (as he does in the *Horas* cycle with the title 'Longe dos Bárbaros' [Far From the Barbarians]). He constructs his new poetry on well-established models of various traditions. Thematically, the poetry often treats Old Testament motifs or Greco-Latin mythology, while in his versification he adapts tried and tested models and from them creates his own voice, original and haughtily superior in its craft.[36] The exotic locations populated by hieratic princesses (Salomé, Belkiss and others), which are described in artfully composed and complex lines, in the end serve to create interior scenes marked by the oneiric and a rhetorical *obscuritas*. Arenas are drawn in which the subject questions himself in the midst of the exquisite cascading words. As an example, this author's perhaps most famous text can be cited — poem XI of *Oaristos*, which opens: 'Na messe que enlourece, estremece a quermesse...' [In the crop ripening blond, the fair trembles], a carefully crafted composition that uses three kinds of stanza, two of which repeat to create a mournful melody, woven from lines with a variety of metres and dulling the senses, as befits 'Um sonho' [A dream], the epigraph and key to the poem. The poem is a *morceau de bravoure*, a complete demonstration of technical versatility which inscribes itself in the line of modern aesthesia.

Nor can two contemporaries of Eugénio de Castro be ignored in this respect: António Nobre and Camilo Pessanha. Both were expressly acknowledged by the *Orpheu* generation as strong influences on them: their names can be seen on Pessoa's reading list as cited at the start of this essay, and there are many other proofs of their influence. António Nobre is the author of *Só* [*Alone*], the only book he published in his lifetime.[37] In this book the biography of an exiled subject is constructed. The subject sees himself at a distance and in his poems his memory materializes in a cohesive and melancholy narrative thread. All of this is done with an apparently uncomplicated use of versification that does not resist close analysis. In the poetry one finds the technically flawless use of alexandrines, of decasyllables, and of other metres, and the use both of shorter poetic forms such as the sonnet or elegy and of longer forms such as the paradramatic poem with its elaborate layering of voices,[38] and of perfectly regular, elaborate compositions (such as 'Purinha', 'Lusitânia no Bairro Latino' and 'Males de Anto — I'). Nobre uses language's various registers (from the educated to the popular), and transforms them into poetic materials to express a complex inner universe that takes as its themes childhood as a golden age of innocence; the town/country opposition as suggesting the aesthesia of a subject ironically distanced from himself, on the edge of the inner division that the modernists were to take further. Pessoa wrote about him in a text which has become an essential part of the mythology of that poet, and of Pessoa himself: 'Para a memória de António Nobre'.[39] 'Quando ele nasceu, nascemos todos nós' [When he was born, we were all born], writes Pessoa, in what is both a homage and a fair acknowledgement. For his part, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, in *Indícios de Oiro* [*Traces of Gold*], dedicates to him the poem 'Anto' (whose title cites the ironic pet name given in *Só* to the protagonist's childish and simultaneously dandified side), while

various other passages in Sá-Carneiro's work invoke the figure who in his sonnet 13 wrote a line that anticipates Sá-Carneiro: 'Falhei na Vida. Zut! Ideais caídos!' [I failed in life. Zut! Fallen Ideals!]. On the other hand, the sense of dialogue already referred to, and the meeting of various, non-simultaneous planes, clearly looks ahead to 'intersectionism', which is formed from precisely this difficulty of expressing in a single text the multiplicity of layers in which a restless subject can become dispersed, struggling with himself.

As for Camilo Pessanha, who like Cesário and Nobre is the author of a single book, *Clepsydra*,[40] the importance of his book is expressly acknowledged by 'those of *Orpheu*'. Pessoa wrote on behalf of the magazine to Pessanha in Macau,[41] asking him to collaborate on the third issue, and proposing a number of pages ('entre dez e vinte' [between ten and twenty]) much above the usual number (of around eight pages). The admiration for Pessanha is clear,[42] so much so that the director of *Orpheu* proposes a list of poems that he already knows and which he would like to include, so that it is possible to glimpse his own criteria and taste.[43] The characteristics of Pessanha's *sui generis* poetics make the modernists' interest, to which Pessoa gave voice, perfectly understandable. Symbolist themes and motifs (Ophelia, Venus and other myths; liquid and mineral metaphors; the gloss on *vanitas* and on all-consuming time; life seen as a battle which one leaves in defeat, etc.) are joined by a pre-modernist dissolution of the discursive unit. It has become unstable, fragmentary, by its nature incomplete. The subject retires from the scene, looks at himself as an other, a distanced screen that is glimpsed in the mirror of the still waters,[44] separated from himself and from a rational awareness of things. This dissolution arises, however, in poems which are erudite and perfect from a technical point of view, as if there were in the end a poetic framework to create a solid defence against a world ready to lose its meaning. The meeting of these two tendencies can also be found in Sá-Carneiro and in Pessoa. For example, Ricardo Reis's stoicism, divided between restlessness and serenity, leads to the wisdom of the person who is content with the symbolic journey in search of a deeper *I*; the apparent simplicity of Caeiro's world leads in the same direction. Pessanha's legacy passes, therefore, to the modernists in a complex series of ways, including highly developed stylistic, rhetorical and metrical resources, as well as a universe of themes and motifs continually present in the works the modernists were to write.

Reference must also be made to an author who cannot be left out of this survey of modernism's precursors — António Patrício, above all for his dramatic texts, *O Fim* [*The End*] (1909); *Pedro o Cru* [*Peter the Cruel*] (1918); *Dinis e Isabel* [*Dinis and Isabel*] (1919); and *D. João e a Máscara* [*Dom João and the Mask*] (1924).[45] As allegories of Portuguese history in a time of transition between the monarchy and the Republic, a stage for disbelief and surrender, denunciations and the hope for something new, Patrício's plays take as their themes the decay of values, the agony of an era populated by shades, spectres and phantoms. They embody a Nietzschean pessimism as they conjure up royal personages (Dom Pedro, Dom Dinis and Dona Isabel) alongside emblems of decadence such as a Dom João laden with the decadent symbolism and the traditional density of the figure from *El Burlador de Sevilla*, the trickster of Seville. Allegorical portraits of Patrício's own day, his figures appear in

texts very close to the theatre of the era (Ibsen and Strindberg are major presences), and close to the static theatre that the symbolists practised. Their aim was no longer to represent realistic characters, but to bear witness to the fragmentation of a world full of voices echoing and searching for a meaning. Whether in the stories of *Serão Inquieto* [*Restless Night*] (first edition 1910) or in his poetic oeuvre,[46] there is a continuation of this universe of hurt laughter, of decadent eagles ('Diálogo com uma Águia' [Dialogue with an Eagle]), and of prostitutes visited by bored dandies ('Suze'), where characters fall into an indifference verging on aboulia. The author, a diplomat, was — literally — far from the early Portuguese twentieth-century magazines and movements, but his work serves as a counterpoint to that of his contemporaries in the *Orpheu* group. They are more united by themes and practices than they are divided by them, in a harmony that places them all as cornerstones of Portuguese writing.

This article has not attempted to be exhaustive, nor to consider all the authors Pessoa names; rather it has drawn out those which seem to be of most critical relevance in tracing a Portuguese lineage which Pessoa and his fellow poets recognized. All the authors discussed here are canonical figures, and when seen together in a panoramic view and in chronological sequence they can be read as the foundations of modern writing in Portuguese.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. *Orpheu: números 1 & 2, provas de página do terceiro número* (facsimile edition), preface by Fernando Cabral Martins (Lisbon: Contexto, 1989).
2. I refer to the expression that Pessoa coined in the title *'Nós os de Orpheu'* (*Sudoeste*, 3, November de 1935), p. 3; cf. Fernando Pessoa, *Crítica: ensaios, artigos e entrevistas*, ed. by Fernando Cabral Martins (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 1999), pp. 522–23.
3. For an understanding of this concept, refer to Helena Carvalhão Buescu's entry 'Modernidade', in *Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo Português*, ed. by Fernando Cabral Martins (Lisbon: Caminho, 2008), pp. 467–72.
4. Fernando Pessoa, *Cartas a Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues*, ed. by Joel Serrão (Lisbon: Confluência, 1945), pp. 91–92.
5. Ibid., p. 84.
6. Ibid., p. 84. The notes mentioned are in the appendix, pp. 85–92.
7. Ibid., p. 89.
8. In this regard we must mention one of the critics who contributed so much to the study of modernism's antecedents. Adolfo Casais Monteiro's *A Poesia Portuguesa Contemporânea* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1977) begins with the chapter 'Os Primeiros dos Modernos' [The First Moderns], consisting of three essays, 'Os Precursores', 'Cesário Verde', 'Apontamento sobre António Nobre' [The Precursors, Cesário Verde, Note on António Nobre], which are as indispensable as others in the chapter entitled 'A Transição' [The Transition].
9. Almeida Garrett, *Obras de Almeida Garrett*, 2 vols (Porto: Lello & Irmão, n.d.).
10. They are poems from his formative years, showing the influence of his uncle, Frei Alexandre da Sagrada Família, and his teaching of classics, but also showing evidence of readings from other sources. Taking into account the epigraphs alone, we have verses (quoted in the original languages) by Virgil, Catullus, Horace, Terence and Anacreon; as well as by Racine and Chénier, and by Shakespeare, Thompson, Young, Milton and Byron. These in addition to the Portuguese, Camões and Filinto Elísio.
11. These three essays are 'A Nova Poesia Portuguesa Sociologicamente Considerada' [The New Portuguese Poetry in its Sociological Aspect], 'Reincidindo' [Relapsing] and 'A Nova Poesia

Portuguesa no seu Aspecto Psicológico' [The New Portuguese Poetry in its Psychological Aspect], published in *A Águia*, 2nd series, in (respectively) no. 4 (April 1912), no. 5 (May 1912), and nos. 9, 11 and 12 (September, November and December 1912). We follow the article's text in the following edition: Pessoa, *Crítica*, pp. 7–17, 18–35 and 36–67.

12. Pessoa, 'Reincidindo', in *Crítica*, p. 22.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Pessoa, 'A Nova Poesia Portuguesa no seu Aspecto Psicológico', in *Crítica*, p. 64.
16. Among the many editions of Antero de Quental's *Sonetos* the following can be used: *Sonetos*, ed. by António Sérgio (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1984); *Sonetos*, ed. by Nuno Júdice (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 1994). Both editions reproduce Oliveira Martins's important preface (1886).
17. Along with others of a similar theme, this poem is part of a book that Antero wished to see destroyed; fortunately he had given a copy to Oliveira Martins, who did not respect his good friend's wishes. In this regard see p. lxxviii of Martins' preface to the *Sonetos* in the Sá da Costa edition (1984), and the note by António Sérgio in the Appendix to the *Sonetos* (p. 255). See also: Antero de Quental, *Hino da Manhã e Outras Poesias do Mesmo Ciclo*, ed. by Joel Serrão (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1989).
18. Antero de Quental, *Cartas II: 1881–1891*, ed. by Ana Maria Almeida Martins (Lisbon: Universidade dos Açores/Ed. Comunicação, 1989); 'Carta n.º 465. A Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (Vila do Conde, 7 de Agosto [1885])' and 'Carta n.º 524. A Wilhelm Storck (Ponta Delgada, 14 de Maio 1887)', pp. 747–49 and 833–40.
19. Antero de Quental, 'Carta n.º 465. A Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (Vila do Conde, 7 de Agosto [1885])', in *Cartas II: 1881–1891*, p. 747.
20. Names such as Hegel, Michelet, Proudhon, Hartmann, Leibniz, Kant, Heine, etc.
21. Quental, 'Carta n.º 524. A Wilhelm Storck (Ponta Delgada, 14 de Maio 1887)', in *Cartas II: 1881–1891*, p. 839.
22. 'Leio até me arderem os olhos | O livro de Cesário Verde. | Que pena que tenho dele! Ele era um camponês | Que andava preso em liberdade pela cidade' [I read until my eyes burn | The book by Cesário Verde. | How I pity him! | He was a peasant | Who walked, captive in liberty, through the city]. In Fernando Pessoa, *Alberto Caeiro, Poesia*, ed. by Fernando Cabral Martins and Richard Zenith (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2001), p. 26.
23. 'E que misterioso fundo unânime das ruas, | Das ruas ao cair da noite, ó Cesário Verde, ó Mestre, | Ó do "Sentimento dum Ocidental!"' [And how mysterious the unanimous end of the streets | When the night falls, O my master Cesário Verde, | Who wrote 'A Westerner's Feeling'!], in 'Dois Excertos de Odes (Fins de Duas Odes, Naturalmente) — II' [Excerpts from Two Odes (Ends of Two Odes, Naturally) — II]; 'Há quem olhe para uma factura e não sinta isto. | Com certeza que tu, Cesário Verde, o sentias' [Some people look at an invoice and don't feel this. | Surely you felt it, Cesário Verde], in 'Ode Marítima' [Maritime Ode]. Cf. Fernando Pessoa, *Álvaro de Campos, Poesia*, ed. by Teresa Rita Lopes (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 1998), pp. 95 and 139. Translations from Fernando Pessoa, *A Little Larger Than the Entire Universe: Selected Poems*, trans. by Richard Zenith (London: Penguin, 2006).
24. Quotations here are from the most recent critical edition: *Cesário Verde: cânticos do realismo e outros poemas* [followed by] *32 cartas*, ed. by Teresa Sobral Cunha (Lisbon: Relógio d'Água, 2006). See the critical review by Paula Morão in *Românica*, 16 (2007), 225–29. It is also necessary to consult the *Obra Completa de Cesário Verde*, ed. by Joel Serrão (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1992), or the more recent *Poesia Completa: 1855–1886*, establishment of texts and introductory note by Joel Serrão, revision and notes by Jorge Serrão (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 2001).
25. For example 'Meridional — Cabelos' [Southerner — Hair] (1874; first title: 'Flores Venenosas I — Cabelos' [Venomous Flowers — Hair], a clear allusion to Baudelaire), 'Deslumbramentos' [Dazzlements] and 'Frígida' [Frigid] (1875), or 'Humilhações' [Humiliations] (1887).
26. As early as 'Contrariedades' [Setbacks] one can read: 'E apuro-me em lançar, originais e exactos, | Os meus alexandrinos' [And I perfect myself in launching, original and exact, | My alexandrines]; and in 'O Sentimento dum Ocidental' (section III): 'E eu, que medito um livro que exacerbe, | Quisera que o real e a análise mo dessem; | [...] Não poder pintar | Com versos

magistrais, salubres e sinceros, | A esguia difusão dos vossos reverberos, | E a vossa palidez romântica e lunar!' [And I, who plans a book that provokes, | Would like it to give the real and an analysis; | [...] To not be able to paint | With masterful, salubrious and sincere verses, | The delicate shimmering of your brilliance, | And your moonlit and romantic pallor!].

27. 'Se eu não morresse, nunca! E eternamente | Buscasse e conseguisse a perfeição das cousas!' [If I would never die! And eternally | Could seek and find the perfection of things!] IV, stanza 37.
28. Gomes Leal, *Claridades do Sul*, ed. by José Carlos Seabra Pereira (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 1998). (1st edition 1875; 2nd rev. edn 1901). Of the 'Obras de Gomes Leal' [Works of Gomes Leal] collection, ed. by Seabra Pereira, eight volumes have appeared so far. Their introductions are well worth reading.
29. *O Marinheiro: drama estático em um quadro*, by Fernando Pessoa, had its first publication in *Orpheu* no.1 (pp. 27–39 of the facsimile edition referenced in the first note).
30. 'Gomes Leal', in *Ficções do Interlúdio: 1914–1935*, ed. by Fernando Cabral Martins (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 1998), p. 84.
31. Refers to another work by Gomes Leal: *Fim de um Mundo: Sátiras Modernas*, ed. by José Carlos Seabra Pereira (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2000).
32. *Bohemia Nova e Os Insubmissos*, facsimile reproduction, ed. by Vera Vouga (Porto: Campo das Letras, 1999). Eugénio de Castro was the mentor to *Os Insubmissos*; Alberto de Oliveira and António Nobre published in *Bohemia Nova*.
33. Eugénio de Castro, *Obras Poéticas*, I — *Oaristos* — *Horas* — *Silva* — *Interlúnio* — *Belkiss* — *Tirésias*, facsimile reproduction ed. by Vera Vouga (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2001); *Obras poéticas*, II — *Sagramor* — *Salomé e Outros Poemas* — *A Nereide de Harlém* — *O Rei Galaor* — *Saudades do Céu*, facsimile reproduction ed. by Vera Vouga (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2002).
34. Opening text in *Horas*, 2001, p. 129.
35. Ibid., p. 139.
36. The importance of Eugénio de Castro to the modernists is developed at greater length in the entry by Paula Morão, 'Eugénio de Castro', in *Dicionário de Fernando Pessoa e do Modernismo Português*, coord. by Fernando Cabral Martins (Lisbon: Caminho, 2008), pp. 151–53.
37. First edn (Paris: Léon Vanier Editeur, 1892); 2nd rev. edn (Lisbon: Guillard, Aillaud e Cª, 1898). This article cites the typographic reproduction of the second edition (1898), ed. by Paula Morão (Porto: Caixotim, 2000). It is worth consulting both editions, as they are radically different. This in itself is a fundamental element of Nobre's poetics and authorial consciousness, as can be read in: Paula Morão, 'A edição crítica do *Só*: alguns fundamentos e pressupostos', in *Retratos com Sombra: António Nobre e os seus contemporâneos* (Porto: Caixotim, 2004); pp. 91–124.
38. See 'António', 'Os Figos Pretos', 'Poentes de França', 'À Toa' or section II of 'Males de Anto'.
39. First published in *A Galera*, 5–6, 25 February 1915; cf. *Crítica*, pp. 100–01.
40. Camilo Pessanha. *Clepsydra*, 1st edn 1920. This article quotes from the critical edition: *Clepsydra: poemas de Camilo Pessanha*, ed. by Paulo Franchetti (Lisbon: Relógio d'Água, 1995).
41. Today it has been proven that Pessanha made extended stays in Lisbon during the years he lived in Macau, putting to rest erroneous readings which do not take this into account; in Lisbon he frequented a number of cafés where the *Orpheu* group met up with him. Cf. Daniel Pires and Júlia Ordorica, *Espólio de Camilo Pessanha: inventário* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2008); pp. 114–16. See also Paulo Franchetti, *O Essencial sobre Camilo Pessanha* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2007).
42. 'Logo da primeira vez que [nos] vimos, fez-me V.Exª a honra, e deu-me o prazer, de me recitar alguns poemas seus. Guardo dessa hora espiritualizada uma religiosa recordação. Obtive, depois, pelo Carlos Amaro, cópias de alguns desses poemas. Hoje, sei-os de cor, [...] e são para mim fonte contínua de exaltação estética.' [The first time that (we) met, you did me the honour, and gave me the pleasure, Sir, of reciting several of your poems to me. I treasure that spiritual hour as a religious memory. Through Carlos Amaro I later obtained copies of some of those poems. Today I know them by heart, [...] and for me they are a continual font of aesthetic exaltation]; Fernando Pessoa, *Correspondência 1905–1922*, ed. by Manuela Parreira da Silva (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 1998), pp. 183–84.
43. Pessanha did not reply to the letter, and his poems are not among the proofs for the planned issue no. 3 of *Orpheu*; but they do appear in another of the modernist magazines, *Centauro*, in