

# Pessoa

Edition  
Notes  
Introduction

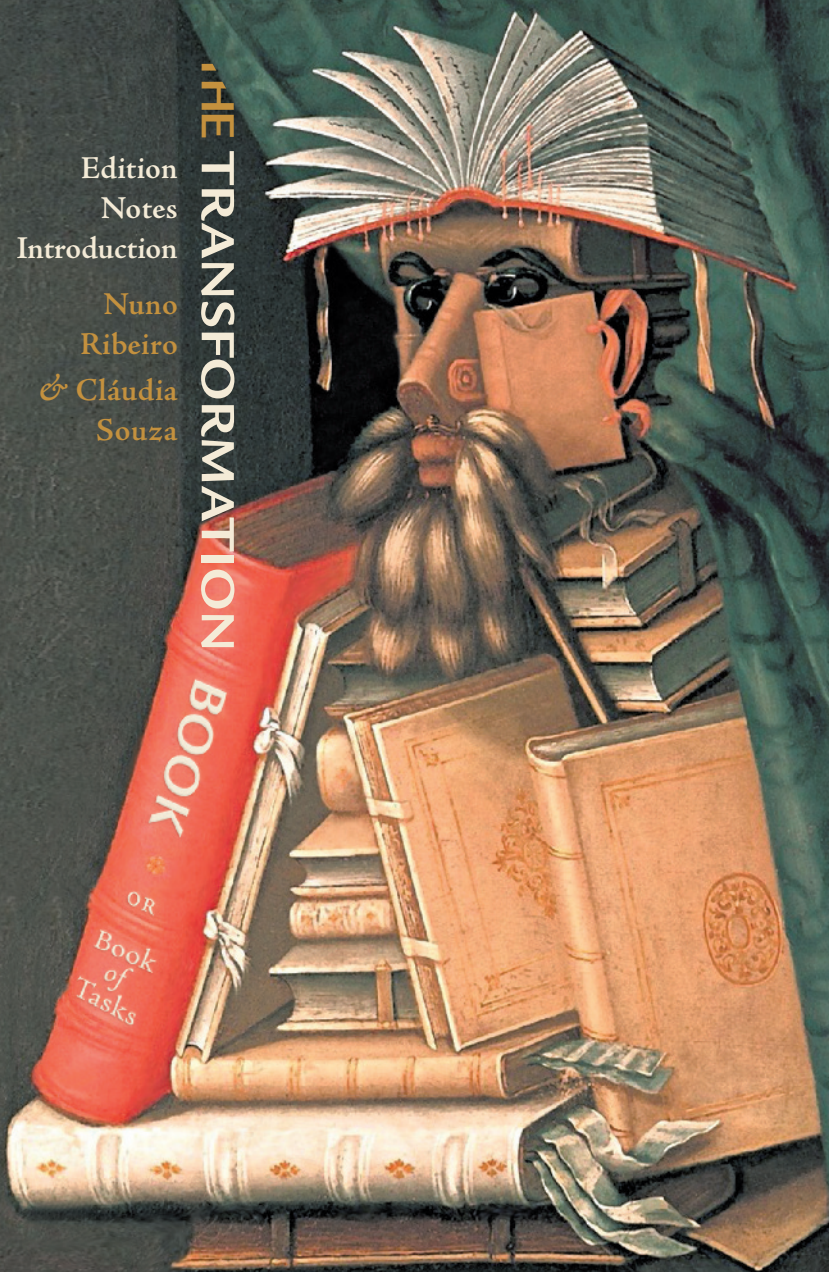
Nuno  
Ribeiro  
& Cláudia  
Souza

THE TRANSFORMATION BOOK

BOOK

OR

Book  
of  
Tasks



# Fernando Pessoa

*The Transformation  
Book*

THE TRANSFORMATION BOOK

Edition  
Notes  
Introduction  
Nuno  
Ribeiro  
& Cláudia  
Souza

*Selected Other Works by*

Fernando Pessoa

*Mensagem*

*Tales of a Reasoner*

*The Book of 'Disquietude'*

*The Keeper of Sheep*

*The Education of the Stoic*

*Philosophical Essays*

*Alexander Search*   *Charles James Search*   *Jean Seul de Méluret*   *Pantaleão*

TRANSFORMATION BOOK  
Book of Tasks, edited by  
Sandro Aguiar & Cláudia Souza

DE LA TRANSFORMATION  
des Tâches, édité par  
Sandro Aguiar & Cláudia Souza

A TRANSFORMAÇÃO  
das Tarefas, editado por  
Sandro Aguiar & Cláudia Souza



Contra Mundum Press   New York - Berlin

Fernando  
Pessoa

*The Transformation  
Book*

THE TRANSFORMATI  
— or the Book of Tas  
Nuno Ribeiro & Clá

LE LIVRE DE LA TRAI  
— ou Livre des Tâche  
Nuno Ribeiro & Clá

O LIVRO DA TRANSF  
— ou Livro das Taref  
pela Nuno Ribeiro &

*The Transformation Book*  
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Introduction © 2014 by Nuno Ribeiro & Cláudia Souza

Book design © 2014 by  
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First Contra Mundum Press  
edition 2014. The main text of  
this edition is a transcription  
of material from the Fernando  
Pessoa Archive, catalogued at the  
Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal:  
E3 (Espólio 3: 3<sup>rd</sup> Archive).

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quote brief passages in a review.

Library of Congress  
Cataloguing-in-Publication Data  
Pessoa, Fernando, 1888–1935  
[The Transformation Book.  
English. French. Portuguese.]  
The Transformation Book or  
Book of Tasks / Fernando Pessoa

—1<sup>st</sup> Contra Mundum Press  
Edition  
512 pp., 5×8 in.

ISBN 9781940625041

- I. Pessoa, Fernando.
- II. Title.
- III. Ribeiro, Nuno.
- IV. Souza, Cláudia.
- V. Introduction.
- VI. Segalini, Alessandro.
- VII. Book design.

2014932358

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# INTRODUCTION

## 0.1 — The Project of *The Transformation Book*

This edition of Fernando Pessoa's *The Transformation Book* — or *Book of Tasks* is a transcription and collocation of a series of fragments that were never published during Pessoa's lifetime and are held at The Pessoa Archive in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. *The Transformation Book* provides significant insight into the construction of Pessoa's plural literary universe and is, in many senses, a plural book. Its fragments are written in three languages (English, Portuguese, & French) & move between a number of literary forms (and even include translations by Pessoa): poetry, fiction, & satire accompany essays on politics, philosophy, & psychiatry. One element that makes *The Transformation Book* particularly unique is that it is not per se written by Pessoa himself but is attributed to four of his "pre-heteronyms": Alexander Search, Pantaleão, Jean Seul de Méluret, & Charles James Search.

Pessoa's pre-heteronyms are literary personalities created prior to his full-blown "heteronyms," each of which has his own authorial personality, biography, œuvre, vision of the world, and so on. In his "Bibliographical Notice," published in 1928 in the Portuguese

literary review *Presença*, Pessoa introduced Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, & Álvaro de Campos as his only heteronyms. The first public appearance of one of these heteronyms occurred in the modernist Portuguese review *Orpheu*, when Pessoa published the “Opiary” and the “Triumphal Ode” of Álvaro de Campos — but by that time he had already written under the names of dozens of pre-heteronyms.<sup>1</sup> *The Transformation Book* belongs to this so-called pre-heteronymic period, and Alexander Search, Pantaleão, Jean Seul de Méluret, & Charles James Search can be counted among Pessoa’s pre-heteronyms. These four figures already constitute a plural literary microcosm — a world that Pessoa makes, but that is occupied by a multiplicity of authors — and clearly anticipate the emergence of Pessoa’s heteronyms.



1. The number of Pessoa’s literary personalities and, therefore, pre-heteronyms (as a kind of literary personality), remains a matter of dispute. In the book *Pessoa por Conhecer*, Teresa Rita Lopes counts 72 literary personalities, most of which are produced in the pre-heteronymic period (that is, before 1915). Recent studies have radically revised that number, claiming there are over 100 literary personalities. Regarding this subject, see also: Fernando Pessoa, *Teoria da Heteronímia*, ed. by Richard Zenith & Fernando Cabral Martins (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2013); José Paulo Cavalcanti Filho, *Fernando Pessoa: uma quase autobiografia* (Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo: Ediora Record, 2011); Fernando Pessoa, *Eu sou uma antologia: 136 autores fictícios*, ed. by Jeronimo Pizarro & Patricio Ferrari (Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2013).

*The Transformation Book* was conceived by Pessoa in 1908, a year of great social & cultural transformation in Portugal — on February 1<sup>st</sup> of that year, King Carlos & his heir, Luís Filipe, the Royal Prince, were both assassinated. This double-assassination set off a series of political convulsions that led to the rapid dissolution of the Portuguese monarchy after the revolution of October 5, 1910 — and thereafter, to the ratification of the Constitution of the First Portuguese Republic. The projects and text-fragments Pessoa created for *The Transformation Book* were written, for the most part, in the period that begins with the Portuguese regicide & ends with the fall of the Portuguese monarchy. Animated by the revolutionary spirit following the regicide, *The Transformation Book* was designed to reflect and advance social and cultural transformation in Portugal — and even beyond its borders. This work, then, is the singular result of an intersection of Pessoa's personal intellectual trajectory with his hopes for fomenting cultural transformation.

Although Portuguese by nationality, Pessoa spent most of his childhood and early youth in South Africa, where his stepfather, João Miguel Rosa, began to serve as Portuguese consul in 1886. As a result, Pessoa had an English education & immersed himself in English poetry & prose, which deeply affected the development

of his work.<sup>2</sup> In 1905, Pessoa returned to Portugal to study at the *Curso Superior de Letras* (Superior Course of Letters) at the University of Lisbon, between 1905 and 1907. In this period, Pessoa read books by and about numerous figures and movements in the philosophical tradition, from the pre-Socratics to early twentieth-century philosophers such as Henri Bergson.<sup>3</sup> In addition, probably as a result of his proximity to his grandmother Dionísia — who suffered from mental disorders — Pessoa also began to study human psychism (phrenology & psychiatry), reading the texts of psychiatrists such as Cesare Lombroso, Charles Feré, Charles Binet-Sanglé, Max Nordau and Théodule-Armand Ribot, among others.<sup>4</sup> Coupled with the social & cultural changes that followed the Portuguese regicide, the English education Pessoa had received in

- 
2. For further information regarding Pessoa's English education, see the "Introduction" to: Fernando Pessoa, *Philosophical Essays: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Nuno Ribeiro (New York: Contra Mundum Press, 2012).
  3. For other analyses of Pessoa's interest in philosophy, cf. Nuno Ribeiro, *Tradição e Pluralismo nos Escritos Filosóficos de Fernando Pessoa / Escritos Filosóficos de Fernando Pessoa* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012); Fernando Pessoa, *Philosophical Essays*, *ibid*; António de Pina Coelho, *Os Fundamentos Filosóficos da Obra de Fernando Pessoa, Vols I e II* (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1971); Pablo Javier Pérez Lopez, *Poesía, Ontología y Tragedia en Fernando Pessoa* (Madrid: Editorial Manuscritos, 2012).

South Africa — as well as his interest in philosophy and the sciences of human psychism — would deeply affect the construction of *The Transformation Book*. Pessoa outlines biographies for each of the four pre-heteronyms involved in that project — with the exception of Pantalão, whose identity Pessoa purposefully conceals — while he also enumerates the literary tasks assigned to each of them. The complex history of these four pre-heteronyms necessitates a brief review of their characters, œuvres, & inter-relationships.

### 0.1.1 — Alexander Search

The first pre-heteronym one encounters in *The Transformation Book* is Alexander Search, and Pessoa's creation of him has a very intricate structure and history. He appears at the crossroads of the definition of other literary pre-heteronyms — and even, of Pessoa himself. According to the biographical data in *The Transformation Book*, Alexander Search was “Born [on] June 13<sup>th</sup> 1888,



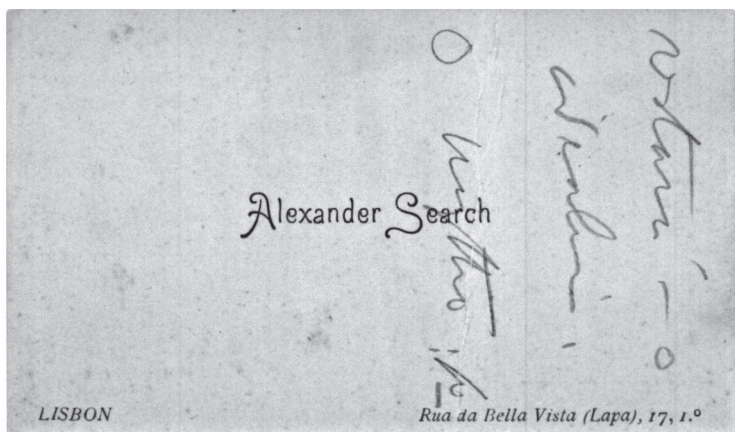
4. For a detailed discussion of Pessoa's readings related to human psychism, cf. Cláudia Souza, *Ciências do Psiquismo Humano, Política e Criação Literária no Espólio de Fernando Pessoa (1905–1914)* (Belo Horizonte: PUC — Minas Gerais, 2011); Kenneth Krabbenhoft, *Fernando Pessoa e as Doenças do fim de Século* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2011); Jerónimo Pizarro, *Fernando Pessoa: entre génio e loucura* (Lisbon: Imprensa-Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2007).

at Lisbon,"<sup>5</sup> and his task is "not the province of the other three," that is, it does not pertain to the other three pre-heteronyms of this book. In addition, Pessoa assigns five different literary tasks to Search: first, a political essay ("The Portuguese Regicide and the Political Situation in Portugal"); second, an essay on philosophy ("The Philosophy of Rationalism"); third, an essay on psychiatry ("The Mental Disorder(s) of Jesus"); and finally, two collections of poems ("Delirium" and "Agony").

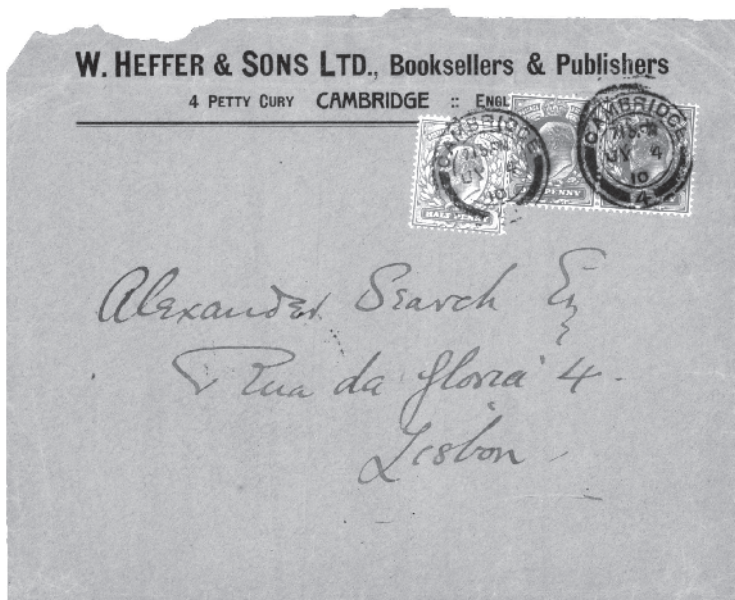
The resemblance between the biographical data of Alexander Search and Pessoa is immediately apparent. Alexander Search is born (we are told) in the same city & on the same date as Pessoa. Pessoa attached so much importance to this pre-heteronym that he even created a business card for him and received letters addressed to Alexander Search, which reveals the proximity between Pessoa & the interests he delegated to Alexander Search.

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5. BNP/E3, 48C – 2.



[BNP/E3, 26 – 65<sup>v</sup>]

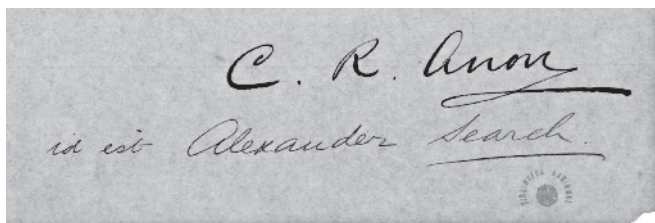


[BNP/E3, 35 – 25<sup>v</sup>]



But the problems related to the definition of this pre-heteronym are far more convoluted than this obvious proximity to Pessoa's own biography might suggest, for Pessoa also establishes the proximity — *ô*, in a certain period, the identity — between Alexander Search and another of his pre-heteronyms: Charles Robert Anon.<sup>6</sup> In fact, at the end of a humorous English poem entitled "Elegy," one reads this enigmatic signature:

C. R. Anon  
id est Alexander Search.



[BNP/E3, 78B – 55<sup>r</sup>]

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6. We have explored in detail the problems related to the Anon–Search relation elsewhere: Nuno Ribeiro, Cláudia Souza, “Charles Robert Anon *ô* Alexander Search: filosofia e psiquiatria,” in *Revista Filosófica de Coimbra*, Vol. 21, Nº 42 (Coimbra: Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012) 541–556.

This signature may suggest that Pessoa intended, in a certain period of his literary production, to establish a parity between Charles Robert Anon and Alexander Search. These two pre-heteronyms do share a number of works found in The Pessoa Archive. Although it is true that there are marked resemblances between these two pre-heteronyms & their respective outputs, there are dissimilarities between them too. They have different biographies & were created at different periods. Charles Robert Anon appears in the 1903 notebooks, while Alexander Search's earliest poems date from the beginning of 1904 — though Search inherits, in many cases, Anon's works. This is probably why Pessoa decided, at least for a time, to establish the “identity” of these pre-heteronyms.

Moreover, Pessoa casts Alexander Search as the character in his theatrical play *Ultimus Jocularum*, under the name of Cæsar Seek. In the cast of this play, one reads the following:

*Ultimus Jocularum.*

*Persons:*

*Cæsar Seek* (= Alexander Search) whose character is without laughter, moving from deep thought & torturing to bitterness (bitterly joking sometimes ???)

*Dr. Nabos:* whose character goes from bitterness to open mirth

*Ferdinand Sumwan* (= Fernando Pessoa, since Sumwan = Some one = Person = Pessoa) A normal, useless, lazy, careless, weak, individual.

[BNP/E3, 48C – 18]

In this cast, corresponding to some of the characters of a play that Pessoa intended to write but never completed, Alexander Search is described as Caesar Seek, a character who is “without laughter, moving from deep thought and torturing to bitterness.” This description of Caesar Seek catches the spirit of Alexander Search’s poetry quite well. Curiously, Pessoa himself appears as one of the characters of *Ultimus Jocularum* — Ferdinand Sumwan. Pessoa provides an intriguing explanation for the surname Sumwan, since “Sumwan” is not — as it might appear — a pseudo-Japanese name, but rather a phonetic mask for “some one,” thus for “Person,” the English word for “Pessoa.” Regarding Pessoa’s description of Alexander Search (i.e., Caesar Seek), it also rather precisely fits an autobiographical text signed by Search:

No soul more loving or tender than mine has ever existed, no soul so full of kindness, of pity, of all the things of tenderness *♣* of love. Yet no soul is so lonely as mine — not lonely, be it noted, from exterior, but from interior circumstances. I mean this: together with my great tenderness *♣*

kindness an element of an entirely opposite kind enters into my character, an element of sadness, of self-centeredness, of selfishness therefore, whose effect is two-fold: to warp and hinder the development and full *internal* play of those other qualities, and to hinder, by affecting the will depressingly, their full *external* play, their manifestation.

[BNP/E3, 20 – 1<sup>r</sup>]

### 0.1.2 — Pantaleão

The second pre-heteronym of *The Transformation Book* is Pantaleão. Pessoa purposefully omits Pantaleão's biographical data, saying only this: "(if necessary give true name)." <sup>7</sup> Pessoa attributes four literary texts to this pre-heteronym: first, an essay that includes a psychiatric analysis of the Portuguese social context, "A Psychose Adeantativa" (The Advancing Psychosis); second, a satirical text in oracular style, "As Visões do Sñr. Pantaleão" (The Visions of Mr. Pantaleão); third, a seemingly banal political essay, "A Nossa Administração Colonial" (Our Colonial Administration); and fourth, a collection of verses, "Versos do Sñr. Pantaleão" (The Verses of Mr. Pantaleão).

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7. BNP/E3, 48C – 3<sup>r</sup>.

The fact that Pessoa omits all biographical data for Pantaleão seems to indicate that this pre-heteronym is in fact a pseudonym of one of his *other* pre-heteronyms. Indeed, Pessoa's practice of giving pseudonyms to his pre-heteronyms dates to one of the earliest literary journals of his youth, written between 1902 & 1905, *O Palrador* (*The Twitter*). The series of journals titled *O Palrador* — together with the single, even earlier journal *A Palavra* (*The Word*) — preserves Pessoa's earliest stage of experimentation. In this series of journals, one finds a group of literary personalities who cooperate with each other. Adolph Moscow is entrusted with the task of writing a romance, *Os Rapazes de Barrowby* (*The Boys of Barrowby*); Marvell Kisch is the author of a romance titled *Os Milhões de um Doido* (*The Millions of a Crazy Man*); and Eduardo Lança is a Brazilian poet, to whom Pessoa attributes the authorship of several books of poems. These are just a handful of the pre-heteronyms dating from Pessoa's first pre-heteronymic period. One of the *O Palrador* manuscripts, dated July 1903, already includes pseudonyms of Pessoa's pre-heteronyms: Pad-Zé, for instance, a pseudonym of Roberto Kóla; & Dr. Pancrácio, a pseudonym of Francisco Páu. Similarly, we may assume that Pantaleão is the pseudonym of one of Pessoa's more mature pre-heteronyms.<sup>8</sup>

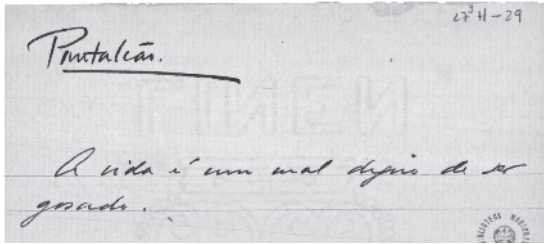
Pessoa's choice of the name Pantaleão is itself illuminating, considering the task of social criticism this pre-heteronym is given: *Pantaleão* is Portuguese for "Pantaloen," a stock character in the Italian *Commedia dell'arte*.

“Pantaloön” was a critical character, usually a greedy merchant (and advisor) from Venice — and both criticism and instruction are elements that define Pantaleão,<sup>9</sup> who is characterized as a pessimistic pre-heteronym. He maintains a critical attitude towards life and his own epoch, as can be seen in an aphorism attributed to him:

*Pantaleão.*

Life is an evil worthy of being enjoyed.

[A vida é um mal digno de ser gosado.]



[BNP/E3, 27<sup>3</sup>H – 29<sup>r</sup>]

- 
8. Pseudonyms were one of the commonest means employed by Pessoa's contemporaries when they feared persecution by the government, and it seems reasonable to assume that Pessoa created Pantaleão as the pseudonym of a pre-heteronym who was politically engaged in current events and a caustic critic of the Portuguese monarchy.
9. For discussions on the relation between the creation of Pantaleão & its roots in the character of Pantaloön of the *Commedia dell'arte*, cf. Cláudia Souza, *Ciências do Psiquismo Humano, Política e Criação Literária no espólio de Fernando Pessoa (1905–1914)* (Belo Horizonte: PUC — Minas Gerais, 2011); Aníbal Frias, “Pessoa à Coimbra et Coimbra dans Pessoa,” *Bíblôs, VII* (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2009) 363–387.

### 0.1.3 — Jean Seul de Méluret

The third pre-heteronym of *The Transformation Book* is Jean Seul de Méluret, who was “supposed to [have] be[en] born in 1885 on the 1<sup>st</sup>. [of] August, [and is] one year older than Charles Search and three [years] older than Alexander.”<sup>10</sup> Pessoa specifies that Méluret’s task is to write “in French — poetry & satire or scientific works with a satirical or moral purpose.”<sup>11</sup> Pessoa explicitly attributes the authorship of three scientific and satirical fictions to this pre-heteronym, all of which are created with a moral purpose: first, “Des Cas d’Exhibitionnisme” (The Cases of Exhibitionism); second, “La France en 1950” (France in 1950); and third, “Messieurs les Souteneurs” (Gentlemen Pimps). Animated by Pessoa’s readings on psychiatry, Méluret was meant to deliver a critique of the French society of Pessoa’s day: Méluret regarded early twentieth-century France as a decadent & degenerate society.<sup>12</sup> The following fragment, originally written in



10. BNP/E3, 48C – 4<sup>r</sup>.

11. Ibid.

12. On the relation between Jean Seul de Méluret and the critique of French society, cf. Cláudia Souza, *Ciências do Psiquismo Humano, Política e Criação Literária no espólio de Fernando Pessoa (1905–1914)* (Belo Horizonte: PUC — Minas Gerais, 2011); Teresa Rita Lopes, *Pessoa por Conhecer, Vol. I* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1990); Fernando Pessoa, *Obras de Jean Seul de Méluret*, ed. by Rita Patrício and Jerónimo Pizarro (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2006).

French, is representative of Méluret's critique of French society:

The case of France is sad in an entirely different way. Despite its enormous vitality, it is already in a state of decadence — decadence of such order that its vitality can't hide it — and be that cause either social or political, the hope of □ is much weaker and without basis.

[BNP/E3, 92E – 43<sup>r</sup>]

Though Pessoa says in *The Transformation Book* that Méluret has the task of writing poetry in French — along with scientific & satirical fictions — one doesn't find any explicit reference to poems in the enumeration of Méluret's works to be included in the project. Pessoa presumably thought it better to leave them out, but in *The Pessoa Archive* one finds this example of the poetic activity of Méluret (also originally written in French):

Seul

Nothing is; everything passes

Everything is its own flow,

The day gives up

On being day.

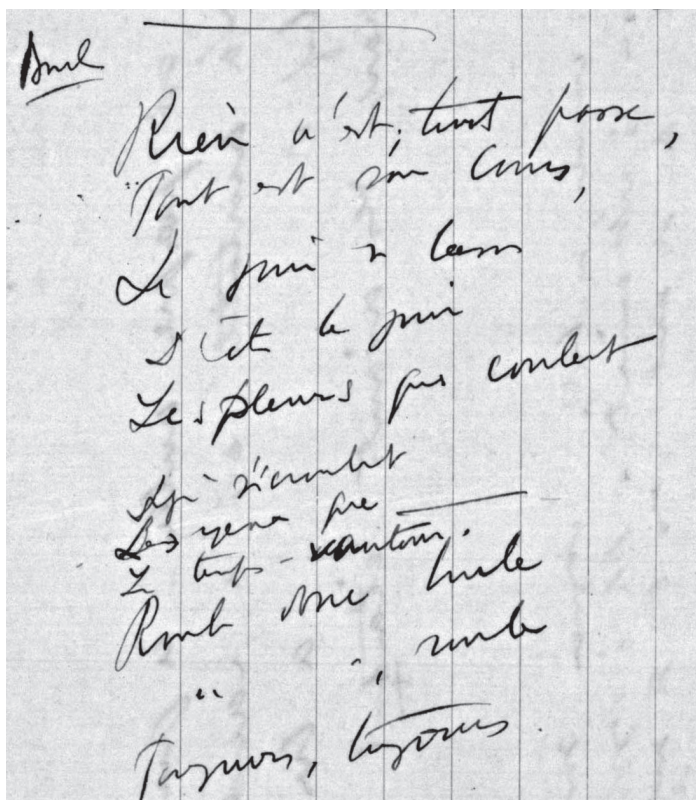
The tears that roll

Already fall



The eyes that □  
 The times — culture.  
 Roll then ball  
 " " roll,  
 Always, always.

[BNP/E3, 50A<sup>1</sup> - 14<sup>r</sup>: detail of the fragment below]



### 0.1.4 – Charles James Search

The fourth pre-heteronym of *The Transformation Book* is Charles James Search, the elder brother of Alexander, who is “supposed to [have been] born in 1886 and therefore to be two years older than Alexander.”<sup>13</sup> His task is an accessory one: “solely that of translation.” But Pessoa explains further that Search may “write the prefaces to his translations if these do not involve analysis, etc., when they will be written by Alexander.”<sup>14</sup> Charles Search is assigned a list of nine translations: one from the Spanish Romantic poet, José de Espronceda, & eight from various Portuguese sources:

1. Espronceda’s “Student of Salamanca.”
2. Anthero de Quental’s “Complete Sonnets.”  
(together with pessimistic pieces – ?–).
3. Couto Guerreiro’s “Epigrams.”
4. Sonnets (chosen) of Camoens.
5. Guerra Junqueiro — Choice.
6. Eça de Queiroz’s “The Mandarin.”
7. “Some Sonnets from Portugal.”  
(excluding those separately translated).



13. BNP/E3, 48C – 5<sup>r</sup>. Charles’s precise date of birth, indicated by Pessoa, is “18<sup>th</sup> April 1886.”

14. Ibid.

8. Henrique Rosa's Poems (some).
9. Almeida Garret — Choice.<sup>15</sup>

[BNP/E3, 48C – 5<sup>r</sup>]

Considering that Pessoa worked as a translator throughout his life, handling commercial letters for several companies, the creation of a pre-heteronym exclusively devoted to the task of translation is especially significant. The task of translation assigned to Charles Search anticipates, in many respects, the kind of task that will later be delegated to other personalities created for the purpose of translating and disseminating Portuguese authors. In the heteronymic period, for instance, Pessoa fabricated Thomas Crosse with the purpose of translating Portuguese works — among them Alberto Caieiro's (one of Pessoa's heteronyms) *The Keeper of Sheep* — and in many cases, of writing prefaces to these translations. A comparison of the above list of Charles James Search's translations and the following list of Thomas Crosse's translations clarifies the importance of Charles Search for Pessoa's future personalities:

- 
15. José de Espronceda (1808–1842); Anthero de Quental (1842–1891); Miguel do Couto Guerreiro (ca. 1720–1793); Luís de Camões (1524–1580); Abílio Guerra Junqueiro (1850–1923); Eça de Queirós (1845–1900); Henrique dos Santos Rosa (1850–1924); João Baptista de Almeida Garrett (1799–1854).

Thomas Crosse: Some Portuguese Poets <sup>↓</sup>Writers

I have chosen rather lesser known, & unjustly unknown, poets:

1. The Poetry of the Song-Books.
2. Cristovam Falcão & Bernardim Ribeiro.
3. José Anastácio da Cunha.
4. Anthero de Quental.
5. Guerra Junqueiro.
6. Cesario Verde.
7. Decadents & Pessimists.
8. The "Sensationists."<sup>16</sup>

The list attributed to Thomas Crosse is not an exact replica of Charles' list. Since Charles Search's list was written around 1908 & Thomas Crosse's around 1915, they reveal the evolution of Pessoa's literary interests.



16. Cristovão Falcão (1512–1557); Bernardim Ribeiro (1482–1552); José Anastácio da Cunha (1744–1787); Cesário Verde (1855–1886).

Thomas Case: Some Portuguese Poets  
 143-5.  
 writers

than does rather better known, & unjustly  
 unknown, poets:

1. The Poetry of the Song. Poets.
2. Christvam Falcao & Almeida  
 Ribeiro.
3. José Anastasio da Cunha.
4. Antunes de Azevedo.
5. Juana Freixo.
6. Casimiro de Azevedo.
7. Decadents, and Positivists.
8. The "Sensationalists".



## 0.2 — The Genesis of Pessoa’s “Drama in People”

*The Transformation Book* marks one of the fundamental stages in Pessoa’s elaboration of a new conception of literary space, one that he came to express as a “drama in people.” With his creation of heteronyms and his labors in a plurality of literary genres and styles, Pessoa constructs a heterogeneous image of literary space, dramatically inhabited by a plurality of figures. Thus, in a text titled “Aspects,” which Pessoa wrote as an introduction to a collection of works by his heteronyms that he intended to publish (but never did), we read this:

The Complete Work is essentially dramatic, though it takes different forms — prose passages in this first volume, poems & philosophies in the other volumes. It’s the product of the temperament I’ve been blessed or cursed with — I’m not sure which. All I know is that the author of these lines (I’m not sure if also of these books) has never had just one personality, & has never thought or felt except dramatically — that is, through invented persons, or personalities, who are more capable than he of feeling what’s to be felt.

There are authors who write plays & novels, and they often endow the characters of their plays and novels with feelings and ideas that they insist are not their own. Here the substance is the same, though the form is different.<sup>17</sup>

This excerpt from a fragment of “Aspects” indicates how Pessoa sees his “drama in people.” The notion of drama — of dramatic play — is the point of departure for Pessoa’s constitution of a new literary space. Dramatic play is the *substance* of his literary production, although he alters its typical structures or *forms*. In Pessoa’s “Essay about Drama,” he elaborates on this:

The drama, as an objective whole, is organically composed of three parts — the people or characters; the interaction of those people; and the action or fable, by which & through which that interaction occurs and those people appear.<sup>18</sup>

What here specifically characterizes drama is the fact that the characters, their interactions, and the ‘fable’

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17. Fernando Pessoa, *Selected Prose of Fernando Pessoa*, ed. & tr. by Richard Zenith (New York: Grove Press, 2001) 1.

18. Fernando Pessoa, *Obra Poética e em Prosa, Vol. III* (Porto: Lello & Irmãos — Editores, 1986) 106. We are responsible for the translations, in which we quote directly from the Portuguese.

through which their interactions occur, are all gathered into a unique text that constitutes the play's organic form. With the creation of the heteronyms, Pessoa changes that form. He not only develops a multiplicity of styles but roots each style in a certain personality that bears its own name and biography, authors its own texts, expresses distinctive ideas, and espouses literary & philosophical points of view. In the "Bibliographical Notice" Pessoa published in 1928 in *Presença*, he outlines these ideas in part:

The heteronymic works of Fernando Pessoa were produced, until now, by three people — Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, & Álvaro de Campos. These three individuals must be considered as distinct from their author. Each one forms a kind of drama; & all together they form another drama.<sup>19</sup>

In the sequence of the text Pessoa adds:

The works of these three poets form, as said, a dramatic set; and the intellectual interactions among these personalities, as well as their own personal relations, are studied in detail. All this will contain biographies to be made, together,

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19. Fernando Pessoa, "Tábua Bibliográfica," *Presença* Nº 17 (1928) 10.



when published, with horoscopes and, maybe, with photos. It is a drama in people, instead of a drama in acts.<sup>20</sup>

In this way, Pessoa fractures dramatic form. His construction of a heteronymic literary space as a “drama in people” is created through a progressive establishment of differences among the various heteronyms. Similarly, among the biographies created by Pessoa for the various pre-heteronyms in *The Transformation Book*, one finds several ‘dramatic’ cross-references. In Alexander Search’s biography, for instance, Pessoa delimits his work as being “not the province of the other three.” Then, in Pessoa’s description of Charles James Search, one reads that he “may write prefaces to his translation if these do not involve analysis, etc., when they will be written by Alexander.”

*The Transformation Book* can then be seen as the genesis of Pessoa’s elaborate “drama in people.” Pessoa’s pre-heteronyms are defined — much as in his later, heteronymic “drama in people” — in this book by progressive differentiations among their lives, styles, and concerns. In this way, *The Transformation Book* is a crucial text for understanding Pessoa’s gradual creation of the heteronyms.



20. Ibid.

### 0.3 — *The Transformation Book*: Previous Announcements & Publications

Although some of the texts conceived as part of *The Transformation Book* have previously been published in isolation or as fragments, this is the first complete and critical edition of *The Transformation Book*, and most of the texts in this edition are published here for the first time.

The first and, perhaps, most important announcement of *The Transformation Book* occurs in Teresa Rita Lopes' *Pessoa por Conhecer*. In the context of enumerating several of Pessoa's literary personalities (heteronyms, semi-heteronyms, pre-heteronyms, etc.), Lopes presents the biographies of various pre-heteronyms contained in *The Transformation Book* and refers to some of the fragments that Pessoa regarded as forming a part of it.<sup>21</sup>



21. Other recent studies provide further important data regarding the personalities contained in the project of *The Transformation Book*. Cf. Cláudia Souza, *Ciências do Psiquismo Humano, Política e Criação Literária no Espólio de Fernando Pessoa (1905–1914)* (Belo Horizonte: PUC — Minas Gerais, 2011); Nuno Ribeiro, *Tradição e Pluralismo nos Escritos Filosóficos de Fernando Pessoa / Escritos Filosóficos de Fernando Pessoa* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012); Nuno Ribeiro, *Fernando Pessoa e Nietzsche: O pensamento da pluralidade* (Lisbon: Verbo Editora, 2011); Fernando Pessoa, *Teoria da Heteronímia*, ed. by Richard Zenith and Fernando

Other publications contain some of the titles of texts meant to be included in *The Transformation Book*, but none of them present the book as a whole. And even where there have been previous publications of texts from the project, the presentation of these texts differs considerably. Not only does our critical edition include both “Part I” and “Part II — Addenda” (containing previously unknown fragments),<sup>22</sup> but here, wherever possible, texts are arranged according to the indications Pessoa left in his papers (which are not always accurately reflected in previous editions). Moreover, in a number of places, our edition includes corrections of previous transcriptions, hopefully making for a more accurate if not definitive version.

*Poemas Ingleses*, an edition of Pessoa’s English poetry attributed to Alexander Search,<sup>23</sup> includes poems that



Cabral Martins (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2013); José Paulo Cavalcanti Filho, *Fernando Pessoa: uma quase auto-biografia* (Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo: Ediora Record, 2011); Fernando Pessoa, *Eu sou uma antologia: 136 autores fictícios*, ed. by Jeronimo Pizarro & Patricio Ferrari (Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2013).

22. It is impossible to state exactly the precise number of unpublished texts considering the amount of articles and books concerning new aspects of The Pessoa Archive that have been and are currently being published. Many editions risk asserting the amount of unpublished fragments they are offering and afterwards discover that some of them had already been published. As a guide, we refer to the main editions of Pessoa’s works.
23. See: Fernando Pessoa, *Poemas Ingleses — Poemas de Alexander*

Pessoa designed for his projects “Delirium” & “Agony.” That edition collocates Pessoa’s texts according to the lists of poems that he left with the titles just listed, but in our view, this criterion is unreliable. Pessoa left several lists for the same group of poems, many of which have only an experimental character and are, in a number of places, inconsistent among themselves (i.e., giving different numbers and titles). A clear example of this appears in the lists that Pessoa left for “Delirium,” as is evident by looking at the lists transcribed in the addenda to our edition (Part II, 1.2). In Pessoa’s list for “Agony” (Part II, 1.3), problems arise again, since it only indicates the title of a single poem, while The Pessoa Archive houses many more poems signed by Search that evidently belong to the same project. Consequently, we have decided to include here all of the documents containing poems signed by Search & explicitly assigned to “Delirium” & “Agony.”

*Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, which appeared in 2006, reproduces some of Pessoa’s fragments on “The Mental Disorder of Jesus.”<sup>24</sup> In our edition (Part I, 1.3), however, these fragments are ordered according to the numerous indications left by Pessoa in his manuscripts



*Search*, Tomo II, Vol. V, ed. by João Dionísio (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1997).

24. See: Fernando Pessoa, *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, Vols I and II, ed. by Jerónimo Pizarro (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2006).

— indications not always honored in *Escritos*. Also included here are texts related to the subject of “The Mental Disorder of Jesus” but which are absent in *Escritos*, among which one, titled “Character of Christ,” specifically deals with the problem of Christ’s degenerative stigmata.

The fragments included in our edition under the title “The Philosophy of Rationalism” also appeared in our 2012 critical edition of Pessoa’s *Philosophical Essays*.<sup>25</sup> This is the only instance of a re-publication from that book.

Pantaleão is perhaps the least known of the pre-heteronyms encountered in *The Transformation Book*, which is likely due to the fact that his texts — namely, the “Visões” (Visions) (Part I, 2.2) — can be counted among the most difficult to transcribe in The Pessoa Archive. In Teresa Rita Lopes’s *Pessoa por Conhecer*, one finds a transcription of only one segment of the preface to “Visões,” and part of Pessoa’s project for that work.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, in *Escritos*, one finds a transcription of the few remaining fragments of Pantaleão’s text, “A Psicose Adeantativa” (The Advancing Psychosis), which are also published in our edition.<sup>27</sup>



25. Fernando Pessoa, *Philosophical Essays*, *ibid.*

26. Teresa Rita Lopes, *Pessoa por Conhecer*, Vol. II (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1990) 211.

27. Cf: Fernando Pessoa, *Escritos sobre Génio e Loucura*, Vol. I, 237–241. In this case, there was not much to change regarding the structure presented in *Escritos*, since the remaining fragments are very brief and appear, in The Pessoa Archive, in almost the exact order they should be published.

Jean Seul de Méluret is the subject of *Obras de Jean Seul de Méluret* (2006),<sup>28</sup> which includes a detailed collocation of the French texts attributed or attributable to that pre-heteronym. Our edition differs from *Obras* in terms of the organization of Méluret's texts, as well as — in some cases — their transcription. As announced in the introduction to *Obras*, the editors risked a “conjectural” organization of certain fragments that do not bear any indications regarding their placement. In our edition, Méluret's French fragments are collocated according to Pessoa's own indications, while fragments that provide no indication regarding their placement, or are only conjecturally attributed to one of Méluret's French texts, are placed in the “Addenda.”

Finally, Charles James Search is — alongside Pantaleão — one of the lesser-known pre-heteronyms in *The Transformation Book*. The fact that Charles Search is only given the task of translation resulted in Pessoa scholars' cool indifference towards this pre-heteronym. However, recent studies about Pessoa's role as translator have prompted scholars to reevaluate the role of Charles James Search. *Pessoa Inédito*,<sup>29</sup> for instance, includes a

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28. See: Fernando Pessoa, *Obras de Jean Seul de Méluret*, ed. by Rita Patrício and Jerónimo Pizarro, (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2006).

29. Maria Rosa Baptista, “2.3. ... e fez traduções...” in Teresa Rita Lopes (org.), *Pessoa Inédito* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1993) 76–80; Maria Rosa Baptista, “2.5. Tradutor” in Teresa Rita Lopes (org.), *Pessoa Inédito* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1993) 212–225.

— THE TRANSFORMATION BOOK  
OR BOOK OF TASKS

[48C – I<sup>r</sup>]<sup>1</sup>

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The Transformation  
Book —

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OR

Book of Tasks

F. Nogueira *Pessoa*.

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- I. The numbers in square brackets preceding the transcription of each section correspond to the original numbers identifying those documents in The Pessoa Archive (E<sub>3</sub>), kept at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP). The numbers always precede the transcriptions they belong to.



## 1.0 — Alexander Search

[48C — 2<sup>r</sup>]

*Alexander Search.*

Born June 13<sup>th</sup>. 1888, at Lisbon.

Task: all not the province of the other three.

1. "The Portuguese Regicide and the Political Situation in Portugal."
2. "The Philosophy of Rationalism."
3. "The Mental Disorder(s) of Jesus."
4. "Delirium."
5. "Agony."



## 1.1 — The Portuguese Regicide and the Political Situation in Portugal

[79A — 7I-82]

The Portuguese Regicide  
and the Political Situation  
in Portugal.

Alexander Search.

[72<sup>r</sup>]

Introduction.

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National & Institutional  
Decay.

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[73<sup>r</sup>]

Introduction.

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National & Institutional Decay.

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I.<sup>2</sup>

Bichat<sup>3</sup> defined life as the sum-total of functions which resist death. The definition — all admit — is correct though it has not the comprehensive clearness<sup>4</sup> that is required in a definition. But it is pregnant.<sup>5</sup> What is necessary is to define, or, at least, to outline a definition<sup>6</sup> of death. In itself death is nothing, that is, cannot be defined so as to be understood; absolute extinction, unless it be the absolute extinction of form, the notion of which<sup>7</sup>

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2. The segments from 79A–73 (Introduction. / National and Institutional Decay. ...) to 75<sup>r</sup> (... what is called vitality.) ~~or~~ from the end of 80<sup>r</sup> (IV/ From the considerations...) to 77a<sup>r</sup> (... by sloth and carelessness.) are struck-out in the original documents, which seems to indicate that Pessoa intended to reformulate those segments signed by Search. But, since the stricken segments enable one to understand the sequence of the argument developed in “The Portuguese Regicide ~~or~~ the Political Situation in Portugal,” we’ve decided to leave those sections in the main text, according to the way they are presented in the original documents.
  3. Marie François Xavier Bichat (1771–1802) was a French anatomist and physiologist, known for being the first person to introduce the notion of “tissue” in anatomical descriptions of bodies and in the study of how diseases attack the organs.
  4. it is <sup>↑</sup>has ~~not explicit nor has~~ the <sup>↑</sup>comprehensive clearness
  5. pregnant / <sup>↑</sup>suggestive \.
  6. necessary / <sup>↑</sup>supernecessary \ / it renders necessary \ is to define, or, at least, to ~~give a shadow of~~ <sup>↑</sup>outline a definition
  7. <sup>↑</sup>the notion of which

we derive directly from experience, cannot enter into our comprehension. From a material standpoint, death can almost be defined as decay. When an organism decays, it tends to die. Death is more: it consists in *absolute* decay. Decay means disintegration. Death means absolute, pure disintegration, *disintegration unintegrated*.

We are now in a position to understand what the French medical philosopher meant by his definition: this, that life is the sum-total of functions that resist total disintegration. If for "life" we put "vitality," wishing to define this, the definition is, naturally, not simply disintegration, because,<sup>8</sup> as we shall see, this is a condition of life little changed: Vitality is the sum-total of functions [74<sup>r</sup>] that resist disintegration — not now total disintegration, but disintegration itself, any disintegration at all. "Disintegration," of course, can be translated by "decay."

It is necessary to understand in what sense this is meant. Disintegration is a condition of life; the life of organisms is a perpetual disintegration, a perpetual change, a perpetual decay.<sup>9</sup> But life is more than disintegration: it includes integration also. All must change except (for a time, of course — till death) the unity that we call the organism. This is what is called life. The elements must pass — it is the law — but the mould, the form,

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8. ∴ [because]

9. tendency to decay.

that there may be life, must remain. We arrive then at a simple definition of life: Life is disintegration integrated. We do not deny the extreme conciseness of this definition. But we do not intend to give a complete and comprehensive definition. For our purpose — to give an exact one — it<sup>10</sup> is sufficient.

We have not yet abandoned that phrase of Bichât. The suggestiveness of it, its pregnancy, consists in its peculiar tune. All life — it indicates — is a battle; the words “resist-death” are most often true & conclusive.<sup>11</sup> That definition of ours — “disintegration integrated” — is correct but not representatively comprehensive;<sup>12</sup> it evokes no vivid<sup>13</sup> and large idea. The French philosopher’s<sup>14</sup> phrase does; it betrays a comprehension of the perpetual organic effort, of the perpetual struggle of the organism for its own conservation.

All life consists indeed in *resisting* disintegration, in the *combat* against dispersion and loss of the organic unity. All things tend to disintegrate the organism and the organism’s whole attempt is to resist that

10. ~~th~~ it

11. ~~more than~~ <sup>†</sup>most often true, ~~more than apt some than~~ <sup>†</sup>and conclusive.

12. <sup>†</sup>representatively comprehensive;

13. ~~such~~ vivid

14. philo-[75<sup>r</sup>]sopher’s, in the original. In general, and most especially if a document reference splits a word, we have placed such references in the margins for the sake of elegance & greater reading fluidity.

disintegration. The *power of resisting* disintegration is what is called vitality.

Let us carry our analysis further. If the organism be, as it is, capable of integration and of disintegration, it is evident that it must contain a force that makes or tends to make it, to keep it *one*, as well as another force that tends to make it many, that is, to disintegrate it, to kill it. Now it is easy, relatively easy, to determine what these are.

The organism is indeed *one*, but it is not simple, indivisible as the "soul," according to the spiritualist notion of it in philosophy. The organism is composed of a great number of elements — cells, finally, within<sup>15</sup> biology. Now all multiplicity, all lack of proper unity involves disintegration. This is why theologians argue that the "soul" being one and simple, it is immortal; they, from their standpoint, are right: if the soul be admitted to be one & simple, it cannot but be allowed to be immortal, since it contains not the element of decay, of death, of disintegration, and that element is *composition*, multiplicity in its unity. This the organism has: hence the force of disintegration. [75a]

The force of integration is more mysterious; in it lies the problem. It is not that unity is mysterious; it is *unification* that is. The organism is indeed composed



15. ~~hen~~ the within

of many elements. But it is not a *sum*, it is a synthesis. To borrow chemical language, the organism is a combination, not a mixture. The combination of the elements in the organism produces something more<sup>16</sup> than is contained in the elements, though the nature of that we ignore, as fully indeed as we ignore the nature of the chemical change. Whatever that "something more" is, & all we know of it is that it rises out of the union of the elements and is dependent on them, we are sure that it is in it that the integrating force of the organism lies. The peculiar synthesis that is life, that is the organism, indicates the integration, and the force, whatever it is, that makes the organism a synthesis of its elements & not a sum of them, is the integrating force. We cannot go further because no science can take us.

Thus, to put things in a fitting manner, the organism is liable to disintegration because it is *many* (that is, composed of elements) and capable of integration because it is *one*, that is, because those elements are unified.

[74a] But it should be remembered that the organism is fundamentally *many* (that is, composite) and not *one*. This melancholy truth must be learned of life (and it is this that gives such exactness to the definition of Bichât): the essence of it is disintegration, tendency to decay. Because the essence of the organism is

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16. ↑ some things more

not unity but multiplicity (though it exists by being a unity), which is easily seen when we, considering its dual nature of one and multiple, examine whether it can be described as “unity made multiplicity” or better as “multiplicity made unity.” Obviously the latter is the better phrase. Hence<sup>17</sup> the preponderance of the disintegrating over the integrating tendency. Hence the tendency of all things to decay, hence the decay of all things that live, hence, in a word, the sad law of death. That paradoxical definition — “life is death” — remains the best.

## II.

These simple facts, being true of life in itself, are susceptible of application to all lives & forms of life, not only to organisms proper, but also to those other species of organisms — societies and nations.

If we concern ourselves with the state, with a nation, seeing that it is an organism, we are bound to find it obey the law of organisms, of life: it must contain a force that integrates and a disintegrating force.

Let us apply to the organism called the state the general law of life. Which are the elements (compos- [73a] ing the cells) of this organism? Obviously the people,

17. <sup>†</sup>Unto Hence



that is, the individuals composing the nation. Which is then, in the state, the force that integrates, which the force that disintegrates? There is an exact analogy — how could there not be, since both are living “bodies”? — with the individual organism. Thus, in the state, obviously, the disintegrating force is that which makes the people *many* — their *number* — and the integrating force is that which makes them *one*, a people — the unification<sup>18</sup> of sentiments, of character brought about by identity of race, of climate, of history, etc. The disintegrating force is in the fact that the people are *many*; the integrating force in the fact that they have a collective opinion and will, better, a collective sentiment.<sup>19</sup>

Since all vitality consists in the power of resisting decay, the vital energy of all states consists in avoiding individualization of opinion, and this individualization has two forms: one by faction, and the other by carelessness and sloth, one by extreme division of opinions, the other by growing lack of interest in the duties of a citizen.<sup>20</sup> All government — at least, all good government — supposes a more or less great consciousness of opinion, that is, a thing that can be called a popular will.



18. ~~whole~~ unification

19. will, †, better, a collective sentiment.

20. sloth, †one by †extreme division of opinions, or †the other by growing lack of interest in the duties of a citizens.

What is <sup>21</sup> said, more limitedly, of opinion, can be said, more □ of sentiment, all nationality supposes an active collective <sup>22</sup> character, collective sentiment, when this grows proportionate, the individual begins to totter.

The expression of the popular will is the government: that is the highest manifestation of the integrating tendency (just as the brain is the highest integration [72a] of the organism). The individual, *qua individual*, is, in the state, the expression of the disintegration tendency.

The government representing the will of the people (we have been speaking, of course, of an internally free <sup>23</sup> country) and the “will of the people” representing the integrating tendency in the state, that which gives it, though composed of a large number of elements, its unity; if the government (in the exact sense of the governing, not of the *governors*) be consistently incapable,<sup>24</sup> troubled, incoherent, the conclusion to be drawn is that the activity of disintegration is becoming greater in the state than <sup>25</sup> the contrary force of activity, and that the country is in decay. The death of the state — it is hardly necessary to add — were where everyone should do as

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21. All nationality supposes What is

22. ↑ active collective

23. ↑ internally free

24. ↑ exact sense of the governing, not of the *governors*) be ↑ consistently incapable,

25. ↑ in the state than

he liked, following his will to its end. Why? Because this were the abolition of the collective will and substitution of the individual one: hence complete disintegration.

All this we have said of the decay of the states may mean or not the decay brought about merely in their governing powers. If we deal with a free state,<sup>26</sup> obviously the decay in the governing powers means a decay in the whole nation; if in a nation not free, the decay of governing powers, of powers proper, does not of necessity involve national decay, but certainly the decay of the institutions, of the groups that command, and whose state does not of necessity represent the state of the people. We will now proceed to study institutional, as contrasted with national, decadence.

[71a]

### III.

Power has three forms — force, authority and opinion. All the evolution of nations & of societies is fundamentally an ascension on the scale of those, from the first to the last. First came the state of violence, rising slowly out of its pure form in the savage tribes and groups.

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26. nation <sup>↑ state</sup>,

Then comes the rule of authority, begotten of force. And all tends to, or is at,<sup>27</sup> the sway of opinion, this word meaning, of course, "popular will," "democracy." (The persistence of monarchy, authority's best □, is proof that our □)

All this evolution represents the gradual approach to the government of the nation by the nation. It begins virtually at an anarchical or semi-anarchical state of things: it is the empire of force, the government of the weak by the strong & of the strong by the stronger. The state of society is then one of [\*intermissive| strife (if this word may here be used), one of |latent| or every-day war. Then gradual integration begins; first it is partial. The selection of the fittest begins to split the tribe or nation (no matter how it is called) into two parts. Monarchy and aristocracy are born. This means that |force| is transformed with authority. "Transformed" — be the word noted, for it must not be forgotten — and this is of sovereign importance — that the original basis of authority is force; nor would there be any other basis,<sup>28</sup> any other origin to authority; authority would not *become* authority in any other way.

The chief or leader of savage tribes is not always [76<sup>r</sup>]  
(being often considerably less in possession of power, because authority is not yet sufficiently evolved from force)



27. as <sup>↑</sup>is at,

28. <sup>↑</sup>other basis,

an earlier type<sup>29</sup> of the absolute monarch, but he contains the † essence of him. The presence of a chief indicates [the] existence of the element [of] “authority” in the tribe. Time works the further transformation and force is gradually changed into authority. Superstition becomes religion. The king is “god-ordained.”

The essence of the idea of monarchy is, we see, *authority*. But authority involves other ideas. Monarchy is<sup>30</sup> but one manifestation of it. The authoritarian or conservative spirit has three forms: it is monarchical, it is religious, and it is militarist.

The superstitious veneration or respect for the chief in lower tribes becomes the monarchical spirit, and the superstition remains, the sacred nature of the king remains, he being considered ordained, given his rights, by God. With a religion like that of ancient Rome he may be considered a god,<sup>31</sup> or of the family of the gods, or an embryo deity. Hence the close union, the inseparable nature of monarchy & of religion.

We have seen that the spirit of authority rises out of the spirit of force by a superficial transformation, deepening more or less afterwards, not at all by anything resembling an elimination or a substitution of its



29. † earlier type

30. (~~includ~~ is

31. religion ~~like~~ like that of ancient Rome he may be considered a  
god god,

characteristics. The savage superstitious veneration for a chief had become the less savage but quite as<sup>32</sup> superstitious respect for a monarch conceived as ordained by God. Similarly the oppressive and ferocious spirit of the earlier age is turned down with the *spirit of conquest*, that is, of *external violence*. But the basis of both forms of aggressiveness is the same; they are both aggressiveness, and this contains all.

Authority introduces into force, or, rather, into the instincts and passions that characterize the period of force, the factor "order." Authority is but force made, not orderly, but *ordered*. We believe these words impart something of the significance we mean them to convey. But the essence of authority is still force. Hence what goes is the "externals" of savagery, the incoherent superstitious instinct that, in one of its two forms, almost<sup>33</sup> makes an idol of the chief,<sup>34</sup> the open fierceness and constant pugnacity of the age of force; all these, which bear the brand of disorder, became by the introduction of order, the religious, monarchical, militant instinct. We can now see how the psychology of conservation, of authority, involves in its very essence these three instincts, really but three forms of itself, entirely inseparable from it, entirely

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32. ~~more~~ † quite as

33. † in one of its two forms, ~~almost~~

34. ~~king~~ chief,

constitutive of it: monarchy, militarism, religion. And the last is not the least.

[78<sup>r</sup>] Then comes the degeneration of authority and the formation of the rule of opinion. History tells us that this is always obtained by a revolution of the same kind. Let us grasp the process of degeneration of which we have spoken.

The result of the system of authority is to establish and to eradicate a monarchy and aristocracy, a religion and a militarist and warlike spirit, for authority rests still fundamentally on force, showing thus its origin. The system of authority finds it easy to exist so long as it imposes itself — morally, not by force, for when it needs force it is not its end. To impose itself morally it needs two things: dignity on its side & ignorance, “superstition” as that of the peoples,<sup>35</sup> the second more necessary than the first. Now as the fate of all things is to decay, it happens always that the system of authority degenerates. But at the same time the people, by gradual education and natural development, rise out of their ignorance and *fetichism*. The less dignity authority has, the more strength opinion obtains. The decadence of the one aids the evolution of the other. It<sup>36</sup> becomes evident that one will eliminate or substitute the other; and it is easy to see that it is opinion that will eliminate authority.



35. ↑ “superstition” on that ↑ of the peoples

36. ↑ The decadence of the one aids the evolution of the other. It

By their degeneration monarchy & aristocracy become imbecile, base and cruel. The system of authority begins to totter. Corruption & oppression then come into the scene. The army, which had been used for war (that is, for external violence) becomes (unless it shortens matters by placing itself on the people's side) used for internal violence. Corruption<sup>37</sup> normally accompanies [79<sup>r</sup>] violence. The reason why is clear. There is an excellent reason for it. The system of authority begins to loose its grip on the popular mind, but as that mind is not raised yet to large civic consciousness, the system of authority hangs over those it can, those yet unconscious of the baseness of being bought. And at the same time as it buys those or corrupts them in the innumerable ways there are of corrupting (some of them so honest!), the system of authority falls upon the others, those that cannot be bought, the clear-righted of the rising "middle" or "lower" classes. Corruption for some, violence for others — oppression for all. The revolutionary spirit is the immediate product.

The story ends differently in different countries, it is even radically different in various nations, owing to the other influences, but a revolution or an attempt at one is sure to come; what follows it is also, of course, not the same in all cases.



37. Corrup-[79<sup>r</sup>]tion, in the original.



The last phrase leads us naturally to closing this section with an explanation as owed the reader. Of course the *collaborating* causes of the institutional decay or regeneration of a country are many, complex and interactive — the race, the character of the people, etc.,<sup>38</sup> or accidental circumstances. The natural decay of institutions is but the central fact, but it may be controlled by causes which differ in various countries, just as the [80<sup>r</sup>] primary origin of that institutional decay may not be a different one in each country, for though the fate of the system of<sup>39</sup> authority is to degenerate (as is the fate of all things) yet the efficient cause of that degeneration is not one in all instances.

We have been considering *independently* of all these other elements, the *pure* action, the *general* nature of the decay of the system of authority. We do not assert — we repeat — that the degeneration of institutions takes that road in all nations; we know well that the revolutionary movement is not always republican, but may be but<sup>40</sup> liberal within a monarchy. But we feel justified in presenting a picture of institutional decay as we have done, seeing that our purpose was<sup>41</sup> to present it ab-



38. ~~the climate~~, the character of the people, “~~an~~ etc.,

39. ~~the~~ a different one in each country, for though the fate of ~~monarchy and~~ <sup>↑ the system of</sup>

40. <sup>↑ be</sup> but

41. was /<sup>↑ is</sup>\

stracting from all the influences & counterinfluences of race,<sup>42</sup> character, etc., that may hasten, check, or turn in another direction the decadence of the system of authority. The *fundamental* characteristics of such decay will<sup>43</sup> be found to be those we have shown. As we have been concerning ourselves purely with institutions, we have abstained from considering other causes of decay: that were to depart from the subject and from our purpose in making these preliminary observations. But we give this explanation lest the reader should object to a dogmatic statement of a generality.

## IV.

From the considerations we have made the reader will already<sup>44</sup> have<sup>45</sup> drawn a fair idea of what is national, [80a<sup>r</sup>] what institutional decay. We have not yet however sufficiently indicated their points of similarity and their differences.

In the first place since both are decay they must have a resemblance. In what does that consist?

42. ~~climate~~ ↑ race,

43. ↑ of such decay will

44. al-[80a<sup>r</sup>]ready, *in the original*.

45. IV / ~~From the considerations we have made the reader will al-~~  
[80a<sup>r</sup>]ready have

All decay in question is direct political decay — we are at present concerned with no other. Now the sentiments that are legitimate in the sphere of government are, on the part of the citizen, a feeling of citizenship, of responsibility as [a] member of a state, part indeed of his personal dignity and, fundamentally, a branch of his instinct of preservation of life & of happiness, depending much<sup>46</sup> on the preservation of the state; hence the duty every citizen feels of defending his country and of having interest & taking part in its government by his vote. On the part of the man who governs the legitimate, the same state of mind consists in the sentiment of public good, of responsibility towards the nation, mingled with the half-selfish desire of winning approbation thereby.

Now we have shown that all political degeneration consists in an *individualization* (so we will call it, for want of a more expressive word), & this means absorption of the sentiments of the *citizen* in those of the *man*, substitution of these for those. Thus in the citizen, carelessness of public matters takes the place of interest, & so on. And another thing may occur, really as [79a<sup>r</sup>] expressive of national decadence, but in an opposite way. The former is more characteristic of the higher classes (we are speaking of free nations, and therefore “higher classes” here means the bourgeois); the other, of which

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46. on much

we shall treat, of the lower. For since the higher or middle classes, having degenerated, become careless of public good and consequently tyrannical & contemptuous of those below them, disdainful of them and of their rights, usurpers of their work, of their health, of their lives; this weeds in the lower class sentiments of revolt which, seized by [the] degenerative spirit of the country, finds vent in extravagant and dangerous ideas of utopical reform, based partly on a legitimate hatred, thoughts of subverting the whole social nature and order, instead of attacking the immediate<sup>47</sup> and eradicable order of things. We say this *may* happen; if it do[es] there is yet a certain hope of regeneration in the county, for a revolutionary instinct (however strange and distorted) is still a sign of a certain amount of vitality. In extreme and complete national decadence, there is no protest (that is, no protest worthy of note) anywhere, no strength, no dignity, no vitality for such a protest.

Thus, in nation decay, in the citizens, in the higher & lower classes, selfishness takes the place of the "collective feeling," of the feeling of citizenship, producing, in those whose life is easy, carelessness, sloth & unconcern, and in those whose life is hard, either, in the better case, fierceness, revolt or revengeful hatred, or, in the worse, an incurable apathy & depression.

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47. the the immediate, *in the original*.

[78a<sup>r</sup>] We turn now to public men, to those who govern, for we have been dealing but with those who are governed, with the body of the nation. In times of social health the politician finds two sentiments more or less balanced in his mind: the desire of public good and the desire to distinguish himself, his personality by contributing to it. No sooner does decadence begin, however, than in the politician the first sentiment is overthrown by the second: the public man becomes merely ambitious, unscrupulous, aiming at interest or at effect, accordingly as he represents one or the other section of the degenerate people. The conservative politician nourishes feelings of oppression, of harsh ambition of power; the more liberal politician tends rather to dishonesty, to care in personal aggrandisement alone, and the popular representative, the revolutionary, aims at mere verbal attraction of the masses, careless of all results of his speaking, unthinking<sup>48</sup> in  $\square$   $\mathcal{C}$  in expression.

Thus, the citizen sunk everywhere in the man, in the two forms of this — faction and inaction — the whole community sinks in a wave of disorder.

This is national decay.<sup>1</sup> [NOTE.<sup>1</sup> This, the reader will understand, is to be taken with an explanation identical to that given by us at the end of the third section of this Introduction.]

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48. unrep<sup>↑</sup> thinking

From these observations it might seem that only free nations are liable to national decadence. No: extremes meet. It may take place also in a nation under absolutism. For when in a country under absolute government the people are either so base as in their great majority to submit, to abdicate from their natural rights, or so weak as to be unable to overthrow or resist the oppressors, it is just as if they consented in the government, as if they gave it their aid, making their common cause with it. "He who is not for me is against me" seems<sup>49</sup> an old phrase, here it is "he who is not against me is for me." There is a Portuguese proverb that says — "He who says nothing gives his consent"; it is applicable here. Between this kind of national decay & the other there is, as will be better understood further on, a radical<sup>50</sup> difference: the first is pure national decay; the second is institutional decay become national decadence. [77a<sup>r</sup>]

Analysing the matter well, we find that the true and complete national decay is this last, for that taking place in free nations is more want to be manifested<sup>51</sup> by faction rather than by sloth & carelessness.

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49. ~~says~~ ↑ seems

50. ~~one~~ ↑ a radical

51. ~~among~~ manifested

## IV.

We are now in a position to compare and distinguish national and institutional decay. The essential distinction between them is easy to make and easier to understand. In the second section we studied the decay of states in its general features: in the third we showed how institutions enter into decadence. What we call national decay remains then to be examined.

The distinction, we have said, is not difficult. National decay is essentially and initially *social* decay; institutional decay is essential and initially *political* decadence. [76a<sup>r</sup>] In these words lies the whole distinction. In the term "social decay" we embody of course the decadence of all activities that upkeep a society — industrial, moral, etc. The decadence of government in free countries is *produced by* the social decay. In countries not free yet in decay or going thither, the decadence of government *produces* the other forms of decay that we have called social decadence.

|It is obvious, we believe|, that the expression <sup>52</sup> "national decay" conveys the idea of an *origin* & not of a *condition*; that is to say, what we call "national decadence" does not mean that the decay is complete or incomplete,

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52. |It is obvious, ~~next~~ <sup>↑</sup>we believe|, that <sup>↑</sup>the expression

advanced or not — it means merely that such decay has a *national* (or, social), as opposed to *institutional* origin, be it noted.

This genetic classification of decadences made, we have to consider the classification according to [an] *extension* of decay, and this is simpler yet, the divisions being naturally decay complete and incomplete. To this we might add — why, will soon be seen a “semi”-complete decadence.

Complete is distinguished from incomplete decay by the presence (in the latter) of sufficient elements of regeneration, elements tending to integration.

Two roads lead to complete decadence. One — the direct and national one<sup>53</sup> — is that of national decay; the other is by institutional. The reason is simple. Institutional decadence involves slightly a national decadence, because to be possible it needs that the people be not perfectly healthy & conscious, and this contains<sup>54</sup> the genus of national decay. If the system of authority seemed [to be] either in crushing a public resistance or in having none at all, it will contaminate the whole people & the decay of the institutions will thus become [the] decay of the whole nation. This is the case of the Roman Empire. [81<sup>r</sup>]

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53. direct ↑ and national one

54. con-[81<sup>r</sup>]tains, *in the original*.



Incomplete decay is purely institutional; it never can be national. It is always less serious. When the institutions of a country are in decadence and there is an opposite and strong current of opinion, coherent & sane, there is incomplete decay, for the forces of regeneration exist and the first step to regeneration is simple — the overthrow of the monarchy.<sup>55</sup>

Semi-complete decay is not so easy to explain. It may be national or institutional in origin. When originating in institutional decadence its meaning is this: the decay of the monarchy has produced that of the people and these are turned passive, but nevertheless there exists, within the monarchy, a man or men, capable of regenerating the country. When national in origin, semi-complete decay has this meaning: these are indeed in the nation forces of regeneration, but their *end*, their *program*, is impracticable, utopical; whence ultimately violence, which violence, though it cannot, of course, result in the carrying out of ideas essentially impracticable, yet shakes the nation and wakes it from its passiveness. This may also happen in cases of prolonged institutional (but always combined with some national) decay, as, in the best known examples, in the case of the French Revolution.

[82<sup>r</sup>] There is this difference to be noticed in the characteristics of regenerating forces in incomplete & semi-

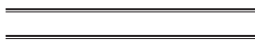
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55. monarchy /↑institution\.

complete decay: that in the first the regeneration (almost always sure) comes from the *purpose* of those forces — their correct, positive, in[di]vidual program; while [in] the second the regeneration (not always sure sometimes [of] a hastening of decadence) comes from the *action* of those forces and *not* at all from their *purpose*, which purpose, utopical & ill-conceived,<sup>56</sup> bears in itself traces of the national decadence whence it arises.

## V.

We believe to have here indicated, in as |clear yet| succinct a way as possible, the general laws, or lines<sup>57</sup> of the decay of states. The precise examination of them, of their apparent exceptions, of their complications with other conditions, were matter, of itself, for a book and not for an introduction to one. Our end in opening this work with the present chapter is merely to guide the uninitiated reader in the comprehension of the situation of Portugal, a country, as will be seen, in<sup>58</sup> institutional, incomplete decay, in which the forces of regeneration are in daily growth. This however is here out of place.




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56. ~~unthought~~ ↑ ill-conceived,

57. or, rather, lines

58. with in

### 1.3 – The Mental Disorder of Jesus

[134B – 26<sup>r</sup>]

Preface *Ieschou*<sup>158</sup>

We had always thought that the most terrible adversary of the Christian Religion<sup>159</sup> would be, when it grew to its strength, medical psychology.

[26B – 29<sup>r</sup>]

This<sup>160</sup> pamphlet aims at being no more than an explanatory criticism of Dr. Binet-Sanglé's<sup>161</sup> astonishing book<sup>162</sup>



158. Effects of an insane man's preaching on *the people*

No normality.

Man a hysteric animal.

etc. \_\_\_\_\_

Preface-~~C~~ *Ieschou*

159. Christ[ian] Rel[igion]

160. ~~The~~ of This

161. Charles Binet-Sanglé (1868–1941) was a French psychiatrist and doctor. He became known, in his time, by his book *La folie de Jésus*. Pessoa's Private Library contains volume II & volume III of *La folie de Jésus* [CFP, 1–9].

162. Dr. B[inet]-S[anglé]'s astonishing book

— the first volume of a complete □ — on the insanity of Jesus. An explanatory commentary and a reasoning one this aims at being — this and no more.

English readers are little<sup>163</sup> acquainted, we believe, with the modern psychiatric account, especially in its applications to the psychology of criminals, of men of genius & of madmen.

[26A — 50-51]

I.

Man is a hysteric animal. That is to say, man is an animal far more impressionable than the others in thought<sup>164</sup> (that is, comprehending more), in feeling (□) & in will (□) — we meaning here by impressionable excitable, irritable.<sup>165</sup>

Animals differ less from one another than man from man; indeed, enormous differences<sup>166</sup> part some men from others.

Thus what we call normality, which does not exist even in<sup>167</sup> the animal & about which all oscillates, still

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163. ~~have been~~<sup>↑ are</sup> little

164. ~~both~~ in thought

165. ~~will to~~ irritable

166. diff[eren]ces

167. <sup>↑ even</sup> in

less exists in man. What we call normal men are those that oscillate near to a certain hyper-real type<sup>168</sup> — not an ideal type, but a type of perfect man, according to nature, of a man with faculties perfectly balanced.

Our commonest experience of life, what we call intuition[,] teach[es] us that there are no degrees of normality in men, but only degrees of abnormality, that the normal is only the less abnormal.

[50<sup>v</sup>]

All this is comparatively true.

Man is an animal more full of abnormality.

No where is that *abnormality* (as we have called it) more evident than in the psychological life. The perpetual change, oscillation □ is specially great in those facts which are studied by psychology.

Now one side<sup>169</sup> of “abnormality” is “*susceptibility*” to *external influences*. The more *Abnormal* the body, the more diseases it is open to.

Similarly with the mind, the more oscillating □ it is, the more it lends itself to □. Illness need[s] that there be a predisposition, a condition of the body or mind making it possible. This is obvious.

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168. ~~unreal~~ ↑ hyper-real superior type

169. ~~phase~~ ph face side

[51<sup>r</sup>]

In proportion to “abnormality,”<sup>170</sup> “oscillation” is great, so is susceptibility to disease or aberration great.

Now as the mind is more “abnormal” than the body, the mind is more prone to aberration, nay, *more prone to disease*.

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We are now aware of the reason why madmen and abnormal people can so easily dominate crowds.

etc.

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Mankind [is] easily led (1) by emotions (2) by recently *found* sent[imen]ts, more prone to irritability (Ribot),<sup>171</sup> such as the religious sense.

(later sentiments are *less* easy to awake[n] — the religious (e.g.) than the sexual sense.)

*But more liable to instability?*

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170. as ~~suggestibility~~ “abnormality,”

171. Théodule-Armand Ribot (1839–1916) was a materialist French psychologist & thinker. His psychiatric work was devoted to the study of inherited elements in the constitution of mental life, ignoring all spiritual explanations.

172. B[inet]-Sanglé

[134B — 23-25]

Binet-Sanglé — *Comment.*<sup>172</sup>

II — (?)

Since some time & especially since Lombroso<sup>173</sup> published his “Man of Genius” and Max Nordau<sup>174</sup> his



173. Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909) was an Italian psychiatrist, influenced by the study of phrenology. He wrote several books on criminology, madness, and other related subjects, defending the idea that an analysis of the somatic characteristics of a person would enable one to foresee criminal tendencies in them. In Alexander Search’s reading notebook [BNP/E3, 144–20], one finds references to six of Lombroso’s books: *L’Homme criminel*; *La femme criminelle et la prostituée*, written by Lombroso and Ferrero; *Le crime politique et les revolutions*, written by Lombroso and Laschi; *L’Anthropologie criminelle et ses récents progrès*; *Nouvelles recherches d’anthropologie criminelle et de psychiatrie*; *Applications de l’anthropologie criminelle*.
174. Max Nordau (1849–1923) was a physician and social critic, as well as the co-founder of the World Zionist Organization. His most relevant work is *Entartung*. In this work, Nordau establishes an analysis of the literature and art of the *fin de siècle*, revealing, through the application of a psychiatric method, that the artistic & literary productions of this period were symptoms of ‘degeneration.’ In Alexander Search’s reading notebook, one finds references to four of Nordau’s books, three in French and one in English: *Psycho-physiologie du genie et du talent*; *Dégénérescence*; *Œus du dehors*; *Conventional Lies of Our Civilization*.

“Degeneration” — admirable<sup>175</sup> in □, but more admirable still in the impulse it gave — a conviction has been drawing, conviction not yet quite clearly expressed, that the importance of nervous mental diseases<sup>176</sup> in history has been great. As a matter of fact, the history of mankind,<sup>177</sup> in part the biography of great men, in part [23<sup>v</sup>] (little being left beside) a history<sup>178</sup> of great deeds and of great decadences is no more than the history of several neuroses, [neuropathies]. The history of literature seems<sup>179</sup> a history of Decadence. (Here partly enumerate — □ Nordau.)<sup>180</sup>

(cite)

The French revolution is a public neuropathy, where no form of degeneration — from genius to criminality — is lacking. Napoleon was not sane.

[24<sup>r</sup>]

Thus history is but the chronicle of a succession of neurotic □ — public or personal — those of great men or

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175. since ↑ Lombroso published his “Man of Genius” & Max Nordau published his admirable “Degeneration” — admirable

176. ↑ mental diseases

177. ↑ the history ↑ of mankind,

178. history /↑ relate \

179. literature /↑ literary biography \ seems

180. N[ordau]



those of nations. Not the least interesting study is that of the |propagation| or the propaganda of neurosis — the influence of great madmen in people and nations, the public irradiation of a personal neuropathy.

[24<sup>v</sup>]

That history should be so is evident. To be great, to be important something — personal or public — must be not the usual, not<sup>181</sup> of the normal.

But history is<sup>182</sup> not the chronicle of greatness properly, but of *abnormalness*. Nero was not great, he was abnormal.<sup>183</sup>

[25<sup>r</sup>]

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Theory that men are all abnormal & that the religious unbalance is natural.

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The unnatural is also natural; else it would not exist. All that exists is natural, because it<sup>184</sup> exists — no more

181. be not

182. Because a <sup>↑</sup>But history is

183. unless in <sup>↑</sup>he was abnormal.

184. ∴ [because] it

proof is needed. Parricide is unnatural, but bec[ause] unnatural was abnormal. But it is quite natural, in the temperament<sup>185</sup> that produced it, else it would not have been.

[26B — 14-15]

— II (b).

The fact is that Dr. Binet-Sanglé,<sup>186</sup> having found a fine case of madness in the 4 gospels, is as desirous of retaining them and of being able to believe these authentic as any Christian believer. But<sup>187</sup> — it may be at once remarked — are not to him the 4 gospels obviously proved<sup>188</sup> true by their *biologic truth*? Is it not certain that the 3 synoptics & the gospel according to Johanan (or John) are correct, exact[ly] because<sup>189</sup> they are mutually psychiatrically confirmative? Dr. Binet-Sanglé<sup>190</sup> himself says that the evangelists invented, they must have been neurologists, to be able to invent a case of insanity<sup>191</sup> with all its symptoms. Does not this seem exact? Is it not obvious that another species of proof of the



185. temp[eramen]t

186. Dr. B[inet]-S[anglé]

187. ~~To him~~ But

188. are not to him obviously the 4 Gospels proved, *in the original*.

189. ∴ [because]

190. B[inet]-S[anglé]

191. insanity / ↑madness \

authenticity of the gospels must be admitted — the [14<sup>v</sup>]  
 “biologic proof,” as Prof. Binet-Sanglé<sup>192</sup> calls it — in  
 the fact that they constitute a *living* case, a *whole* case  
 of madness? Surely this is self-evident?

No; it is self-evident<sup>193</sup> only to those unacquainted  
 with the real nature of the question.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> place, if it were proved that this or that  
 passage of this or that gospel |were| inauthentic, no  
 professor<sup>194</sup> of psychiatry could call it back to authentic-  
 ity with the |magnet|<sup>195</sup> of “psychiatric necessity.” Confirm  
 what it might confirm — if inauthentic, it must remain so.

The only alteration that the consideration of such  
 a passage presenting a symptom □ could induce us to  
 make was to be slower in admitting the inauthenticity of  
 the passage, at most to put<sup>196</sup> “psychiatric necessity” into  
 the balance as an aid to an argument for genuineness.<sup>197</sup>  
 This ∅ no more.

[15<sup>r</sup>]

But this is not all, nor is this anything but a preliminary  
 consideration. We came to the principal question. Jesus

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192. B[inet]-S[anglé]

193. ~~not~~ self-evident

194. ~~psy~~ ↑ professor

195. |magnet| /↑iman\

196. inauthenticity ~~but~~ of the passage, ↑at most to p put

197. ~~authenticity to~~ genuineness.

is, according to Dr. Binet-Sanglé<sup>198</sup> — no matter here the diagnosis he is aiming at — a “mental degenerate.” Now modern theories of medicine do not permit us to admit a *mental* degeneracy without some concomitant *physical* degeneracy. Degeneracy however, mental or physical, is known by what we called<sup>199</sup> stigmata, physical or mental, of it. “Stigmata” means much the same as symptoms, but is applied to degeneration only. Now the list of physical & mental stigmata of degeneration has been made so large by modern psychiatric science that every man acquainted with them can manage, if he wishes it, to discover degeneration in anybody. This is no jest, no criminal statement — for this is not the place for jests or crimes. This is absolutely true. Not only is there no evident limit to the number — even,<sup>200</sup> it seems, to the hitherto discovered number — of stigmata, psychical and mental, of degeneration, but the objective idea<sup>201</sup> of a degenerate & the description of one in any medical work — and mental degenerates more than physical — is extremely vague. We say “objective idea” because<sup>202</sup> all psychiatrists and many other people also have<sup>203</sup>

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198. Dr. B[inet-]S[anglé]

199. is<sup>↑we</sup> called

200. even t̅,

201. ↑ objective idea

202. ∴ [because]

203. ↑ and many other people also have

more or less an intuition of what a degenerate is — physically & mentally — but no adequate description, nor any description approaching to adequate has ever been given — that we know — of the type or types. That drawn by Gilbert Ballet, in □ (quoted by Dr. Binet-Sanglé, and therefore, considering his knowledge, a<sup>204</sup> good one if not the best) is conspicuously vague and insufficient!<sup>205</sup> The very word “degenerate,” in<sup>206</sup> its psychiatric mental sense, of course, has not yet been properly defined. Insufficiencies and incorroborations we do not hold to be all or part of a lucid definition.<sup>207</sup>

The greatest □ of all physical stigmata is Prof. Lombroso, that<sup>208</sup> eminent and erratic man of science, full of marvellous intuitions and of absurd generalisations □ & confusedly great. Modern science owes much to him, both in impulse & help, but this cannot make us forget that by his method of finding stigmata □

What Lombroso has done for the physical stigmata, Nordau has done for the mental. The appalling number of neurotics, madmen that crop up under Nordau’s □

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204. B[inet]-S[anglé], & therefore, considering ~~the~~ <sup>↑</sup>his knowledge, ~~of~~ a  
 205. Dr. Galloffer in his luminous preface to □ ~~has~~ <sup>↑</sup>gives, ~~by far, to be~~  
 in my opinion, by far the best idea of what degeneration is &  
 degenerates are. [Author note.]

206. ~~we~~ in

207. a lucid / <sup>↑</sup>what can be called a \ definition.

208. ~~that we~~ that

## [26A — 70-72]

The meaning of this semi-digression is that the type of the mental degenerate is as yet vaguely established, that mental stigmata are superabundant, that consequently it is not hard to degeneratize any creature provided any exterior data are supplied<sup>209</sup> about him, where some stigma[ta] or another is sure to be found. Now narratives involving supernatural events, *although invented*, are<sup>210</sup> generally full of facts that lend themselves splendidly to the net of the psychiatrist.

Suppose we interpolate<sup>211</sup> in one of the gospels saying[s] like these, with<sup>212</sup> the end of making Christ preach lines insane:

“I am the son of the Lord & the Lord also is great” &c.

The conclusion is “megalomania.” But really there is nothing of the kind; there is only an invention, an interpolation.

[70<sup>v</sup>]

Words purporting supernatural things can generally if not always be made<sup>213</sup> to enter into some species of delirium — whereas they may be mere<sup>214</sup> fabrications.

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209. ~~provid~~ supplied

210. ~~tend to~~ are

211. <sup>↑ we</sup> ~~invent~~ interpolate

212. ~~what~~ with

213. ~~put into the mouth of an individual~~ can generally <sup>↑ if not always</sup> be

214. ~~invent~~ <sup>↑ mere</sup> [made]

We are perfectly convinced that if any man sat down and wrote from his imagination a gospel of some Christ of his invention, that a □ of <sup>215</sup> psychiatry could easily prove that a madman is in question.

What are <sup>216</sup> the deductions from this? The 1<sup>st</sup> one is that all expressions naturally invented to represent supernatural things or missions *resemble delirium*. The conclusion is too obvious. That any man's belief in a supernatural mission is proof of his insanity.

But this can be denied. We have no right it may be said — to deny *revelation* because <sup>217</sup> it resembles insanity. If any ideal representation of revelation in supernaturalism appears naturally one of insanity, the conclusion is simply that both are abnormal — no other is legitimate. Because if revelation exists, if there be supernaturalism, it must be its own proof. <sup>218</sup>

[71<sup>r</sup>]

It would be natural, for instance, for a man *inventing* (this is the purest hypothesis) a sort of gospel: <sup>219</sup>



215. the a scientist □ of

216. is. ↑ are

217. ∴ [because]

218. if ← revelation exists, if there be supernaturalism, it must be its own proof.

219. a ↑ sort of gospel: æ-

- (1) To indicate the hearty character of a Teacher by making a division between him & his family — as, for instance, treating his mother as “woman.”
- (2) To □

Believers might then ask us, since we prove all insanity, to include the resurrection, for instance, in delirious phenomena.

[7I<sup>v</sup>]

We are entirely ignorant of any reply made to Dr. Binet-Sanglé's<sup>220</sup> book. We know there have been contradictors of it, but we have not read anything — either in favour or against — nothing, as a matter of fact, regarding the book, except advertisements & the book itself. We do not know therefore if this — the only possible apologetic retort — has been made. We have deduced it ourselves. We will ourselves destroy it.

We shall destroy it absolutely and relatively — absolutely in regard to any case at all; relatively with regard to the special case of Jesus.

---

220. Dr. B[inet]-S[anglé]'s



[72<sup>r</sup>]

All gospels — all as our hypothesis contain 3 elements:

- (1) Supernatural phenomena — miracles.<sup>221</sup>
- (2) Abnormal<sup>222</sup> phenomena — speeches,<sup>223</sup> acts of the Teacher that are not natural.
- (3) Normal facts of his life — as of any life — voyages &c.

We are not concerned with the normal of course. Let us take 1<sup>st</sup> the abnormal, then. Consider it together with the supernatural.

Any madman is abnormal — not supernatural at all.

What, for instance, is a vision? This, apparently supernatural, is undoubtedly normal. Not only is it common, □

Now what is the type of the supernatural? A miracle.

[72<sup>v</sup>]

The 1<sup>st</sup> thing in a miracle is its evidence, □

The supernatural is only the *collective abnormal*, the *social abnormal*.



221. as miracles.

222. ~~Abnormal~~ ↑ Abnormal

223. as speeches

A miracle<sup>224</sup> is either a collective error or a collective hallucination.

---

The only difference<sup>225</sup> between miracles and visions is the fact that vision[s] come to one, miracles to many.

If it can be proved that miracles, □ one characteristic of □<sup>226</sup>

[26B — 22]

— II —

Jesus being insane what<sup>227</sup> is his historic part?

A madman cannot create.

Properly speaking no man can. But a man of genius.

A madman may create<sup>228</sup> discordant things — things incapable of practice. — But religion is one of these.

---

A genius is no more than a *sane madman*, or a *clear madness*.

---

224. A miracle

225. diff[eren]ce

226. proved ↑proved that miracles, □ one characteristic of various

227. J[esus] being insane he-a what

228. ↑may create

But, it will be asked, how can a man not a genius fill such a plan in history? Can any analogous case of epoch-making insanity<sup>229</sup> be found?

[26A — 84-86]

## II.

The idea that |Christ| was insane, far from being a thing incapable of being obtained<sup>230</sup> except under scientific examination, can, on the contrary, be deduced in a manner that can be classified as *a priori*.

Critics having determined — Strauss, Renan, etc. — the error of *Christ* being the son of God, the following argument naturally follows such a determination:

|Christ| once conceived as a man and not as the son of God, few seemed to see what conclusion was to be drawn from this mere fact.

Christ, son of God, was conceived, of course, as a perfect<sup>231</sup> man, as a being of sovereign and unequal benevolence and goodness. Being conceived as a man, it is strange how none could make this simple reflection: being a man, a human being, obviously he could not have been, because no man can be a perfectly good, a perfectly perfect creature.

---

229. of <sup>↑</sup>making epoch-making insanity

230. ~~can~~ obtained

231. ~~man~~ perfect

[85<sup>r</sup>]

In the midst of our rationalism we still considered Jesus — by an [atavism] and □ subjective — as a man whose life was the perfection of goodness. We did not see, we repeat, that this perfection of goodness pertained, could pertain to no one but a being higher than man, a god, a son of God. Strauss, Renan, all other biblical critics fall into this error.

We were Christs ever; <sup>232</sup> we remained worshippers of Christ. It was owing to this that so many rationalists, atheists and free-thinkers had moments of return or almost return — mental[ly], unspoken at least — to a belief of the divinity of Christ. Considering him as a perfect man in goodness and love of mankind, the mind unconsciously reasoned — and it reasoned well — that such goodness and perfection or love of man could be only the characteristic of a God. The unconscious <sup>233</sup> reasoning of those rationalists, atheists & free-thinkers was better than the conscious one.

[85<sup>v</sup>] In a few words, the critics having determined that Jesus was no god, that he was a man, it becomes impossible to hold the theory that he was that perfect being we believe. He must have had faults, however few, he must have had defects.

But the deductions do not stop here. There is more.

---

232. ~~in the~~ ever

233. ~~unconscious~~ ↑unconscious

Christ considered as a man and therefore as a being that must have some defects, — Christ conceived (of) as a being of this earth, the theory he exposed, the conceptions he had — which seemed indeed natural in a being<sup>234</sup> not of this earth, in one not of the stuff of men, being thus another thing inducing the side of his godship — assume, considered as a man's, a manifest character of intense abnormality & extravagance.

It becomes impossible to conceive these ideas as other thing than delirium, so little natural are they to mankind, except to morbid and certain pathologic conditions of mind.

The very incompatibility of such a system<sup>235</sup> of ethics with that natural to men, of its flushed coldness of morality to our other [\*violated] social warmth gives a verdict,<sup>236</sup> which Christ was to be a god, if his divinity<sup>237</sup> becomes, he [was] known as a man, an abnormal<sup>238</sup> and inhuman, non-human-code.

[86<sup>r</sup>]

Thus from the mere conception of Christ as a man & not as a god, we have drawn, purely by reasoning, the following conclusions: that he must manifestly have been

---

234. ~~were~~ <sup>↑ seemed</sup> indeed natural in a ~~human~~ being

235. ~~morality~~ system

236. ~~an-idea~~ verdict

237. ~~divinity~~ divinity

238. a abnormal

an abnormal, a very abnormal man, secondly, that that being the case, his code of ethics is an abnormal, a very abnormal code & must become subject to examination ere some think of it as a thing to be put into practice.

Mental abnormality is either insanity or what Grasset<sup>239</sup> calls half-insanity (demifolie) and Trelat "lucid insanity" (folie lucide), both<sup>240</sup> meaning a degree of mental abnormality that did not absolutely exclude a more or less normal life among men.

[26C — 29]

J.C.

III —

No man<sup>241</sup> is "normal" in an absolute sense. There is no dividing line between the normal and the abnormal, or between sickness and<sup>242</sup> health. Those expressions are relative & our interpretation of them, as we are about



239. Joseph Grasset (1849–1918) was a French psychiatrist who developed his work in the fields of neurology & parapsychology. In Pessoa's Private Library, there are two of Grasset's books: *L'occultisme hier et aujourd'hui* & *Morale scientifique et morale évangélique devant la sociologie*.

240. and both

241. ~~There~~ No man

242. sickness /<sup>↑</sup>illness\ and

to use them, is wide and obviously plain intuition<sup>243</sup> rather than exact. The nearest we can go to a positive definition is observing<sup>244</sup> that men are abnormal physically and mentally, in proportion as they are easily led into disease, as in them the manner of cellular activity called health can<sup>245</sup> easily be turned into the manner of organic activity called illness.

There is no man, for instance, who cannot be made insane. The question is one of more or less difficulty in doing it, of more  $\mathcal{C}$  more out-of-the-way methods having to be employed to produce insanity.<sup>246</sup> The man lives not who cannot be tortured — this way or that — into madness.

[29<sup>v</sup>]

---

We have to enter into a consideration of the psychology of ignorance.

An ignorant man is generally emotional,  $\mathcal{C}$ , in a sense, imaginative — intensely emotional and imaginative.

---

243. ~~widely~~ relative  $\mathcal{C}$  our interpretation of them, as we are about to use them, is <sup>↑</sup>wide and obviously plain intuition

244. ~~We~~ The nearest we can go to a positive definition is ~~saying~~ observing

245. as <sup>↑</sup>in them the manner of cellular /<sup>↑</sup>organic\ activity called health ~~is then~~ can

246. ~~it~~ insanity

[26A — 69]

— end —

Men of the west, practical dreamers, □

You have lifted temples to Christ.

Men of the west — for 20 centuries you have adored a  
*madman!*





## 1.4 — Delirium

[78 — 1-7]

*Delirium*

*To a Hand.*

Give me thy hand. With my wounded eyes  
I would see what this hand contains. —  
Ah, what a world of hopes here lies!  
What a world of feelings and doubts & pains!  
Oh to think that this hand in itself contains  
The mystery of mysteries.

This hand has a meaning thou dost not know,  
A meaning deeper than human fears;  
This hand perchance in times long ago  
Wiped off strange and unnatural tears;  
Perhaps its gesture was full of sneers,  
Perchance its clenching was full of woe.

There is that in thy hand my soul doth dream  
And the shades that haunt my mind;  
The howl of the wind & the flow of the stream,  
The flow of the stream & the howl of the wind,  
All that is horrible and undefined  
Of things that are in the things that seem.

[2<sup>r</sup>]

As I look at thy hand my mind is rife  
 Of thoughts and memories deeper than rhyme;  
 Thy hand is a part of my soul's deep life,  
 And I knew thy hand ere the birth of time,  
 And in ages past it led me to crime,  
 In dim praying | ages | of [ dark ] | castled | strife<sup>247</sup>  
 A world of woes and of fears & sighs  
 And love that better had been hate,  
 And crimes and wars and victories,  
 And the painful fall of many a state —  
 All these & more that the heart abate  
 My rowing soul in thy hand describes.

No painter mad, not a fetichist  
 O'er thy hand would be thus held blind.  
 At mere blank I thought of its being kissed  
 By my lips I thrill with a fear none find  
 In the waking thoughts of a human mind  
 Save when reason by its own self is miss'd.<sup>248</sup>

Thy hand has a meaning thou dost not know,  
 A meaning deeper than human fears;  
 It has aught of the sea and of the sun's glow  
 And the seasons too and the months & years,  
 And the colour hidden in human tears  
 And the form and number in human woe.

[3<sup>r</sup>]

Thy hand was a lofty and empty home,  
 A collar of pearls and a castle keep;  
 Thy hand knows well all the thoughts that roam;  
 Thy hand is the music eternal and deep  
 That long ere birth held my soul asleep  
 In a palace quaint with a curious dome.

How finely made is this hand of thine  
 With its fingers tapering and white,  
 Soft and palely warm and fine;  
 There is something in it of day & night.  
 Ah, dearest child, could I read aright  
 The text before me deep and divine.

There's a kind of Fact that persists and hangs <sup>249</sup>  
 O'er thy hand, as on a scratched scroll;  
 'Tis as if some thought had buried its fangs  
 In an unknown part of my soul.  
 In a land far in me a bell doth toll,  
 And my heart aches wild as it shrinks or clangs.

---

247. ~~And in ages dark it led me to~~ <sup>↓</sup>In an obscure dim praying |ages| of [dark]  
 |castled| ~~civil~~ strife

248. ~~finds~~ <sup>↑</sup>by its

249. <sup>← +</sup> There's

[4<sup>r</sup>] There is aught of new and wild and unreal  
 In thy hand where my look is pained:  
 'Tis as if thy hand in itself could see all —  
 Horrible thought, where fear is gained  
 By a drollness mad and dimly sustained  
 As of some wide hint out of the Ideal.

There is aught of Personal, of It, of Such  
 In thy hand and o'er me there steals  
 A sense of dread like a |murderer's| clutch;<sup>250</sup>  
 I know not how, my hand in thine feels  
 An eternal thing and my mad brain reels  
 As if eternity we could touch.

I see that hand not a hand, but whence  
 This horrible Fact that creeps in me?  
 |Ah, I have thy hand the seeing intense|  
 But aught more than hand in that place I see  
 That abrupt elision did make to be  
 Between thought of things & what we call sense.

My thought doth look at thy hand direct  
 Without eyes or sense or aught of this,  
 And my reason at such a thing is wrecked  
 Into such a fear that both pain and bliss  
 Are plunged in conscious unconsciousness  
 For that is no hand that my dreams detect.

---

250. a |murderer's| /↑an unseen\

[5<sup>r</sup>]

And I gaze yet more and I shake from me  
 The dream of time and the dream of space,  
 And as a drowner who sinks in the sea  
 I dream of the wonders of all we trace  
 In everything and I plunge full-face  
 In the sense of what more than seems to be.

There is aught of lovely, wild & unbrute  
 In thy hand, and I lose it well;

For fearing more than firm thoughts of hell  
 By a sudden portal in the Visible  
 I have a glimpse of the Absolute.

The sight of thy hand of a horrible heaven  
 The portals mute throws open again

Thy hand is like music, in it I gain  
 Passing a wild fear & a bitter pain  
 Weird things more weird than the sense of Seven.<sup>251</sup>

All things stare mystery at my mind,  
 But thy hand most, to oblivion conn'd;  
 Thrilled with a mute life not all defined,  
 What is thy hand in itself beyond [6<sup>r</sup>]  
 The scope of sense where the heart is fond,  
 The realm of thought where the soul is blind?

---

251. ←<sup>x</sup>Weird

Where is the soul that thy hand reveals  
 In its own *there* — self till its thought affrights?  
 What bells are those that say HAND in peals  
 That traverse impossible infinites?  
 What fills with lightnings of hands the nights <sup>252</sup>  
 Where the sense of dread into thoughts congeals?

Take thy hand away; for I now shall dream  
 Of strange and grotesque and unnatural lands  
 Watered by many a painful stream  
 Whose waves are hands, whose banks are hands,  
 Of gardens with trees whose leaves are hands <sup>253</sup>  
 And a white stiff hand covering the sun's gleam. <sup>254</sup>

And troops of hands all in sight scent and sound  
 In their touch but felt to the visual mind  
 Dance and howl and mix interwound  
 In mere visual wise <sup>255</sup>  
 Yet never shut, always stiff, defined  
 How'er fast they move in their tragic round.

- ═══════════════════════>
252. of words ↑ hands the  
 253. ~~who~~ whose  
 254. ↑ stiff hand  
 255. ← + And troops of hands ↑ all in sight scent & sound / ↑ — no sound — \  
 ← + In their touch & (horror) their soul and — ↑ but felt to / in \ the visual  
 Dance and howl and mix interwound mind  
 In my fearful dreams ↑ mere visual wise

[7<sup>r</sup>]

Then, oh horror worst, they begin to live  
 With a vital life, and to grasp and clutch,  
 And to twitch & squirm till my thoughts unweave,  
 & like worms & snails that my throat should touch  
 My soul qualms and retches at horror such  
 At fear's transcendent superlative.

And what more doth follow I cannot say,  
 But it seems that madly I traverse, lone,  
 Tracts of hells where a hand doth *stay*  
 In such a manner that if a groan  
 Of a madman could in its soul be known  
 It would be to it as night is to day.

And my thoughts drag on in their weary strain;  
 Wild and grotesque, or quick or slow,  
 Uncouth and unseemly they reel in my brain,  
 Startingly mad as they go,  
 As a sudden laugh in the midst of woe  
 Or a clown in a funeral train.

January, 1906.

Alexander Search.



## COLOPHON

### THE TRANSFORMATION BOOK

was typeset in InDesign.

The text and page numbers are set in *Adobe Jenson Pro*.

The titles are set in *Legacy Sans*.

Book design & typesetting: Alessandro Segalini

Cover design: Contra Mundum Press

Cover image: Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Bibliotekarien*, ca. 1566.

Oil on canvas, 91 x 71 cm. Skoklosters Slott, Bålsta, Sweden.

### THE TRANSFORMATION BOOK

is published by Contra Mundum Press

and printed by Lightning Source, which has received Chain of

Custody certification from: The Forest Stewardship Council,

The Programme for the Endorsement of Forest Certification,

and The Sustainable Forestry Initiative.



Contra Mundum Press New York · Berlin



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Book*

 Contra Mundum Press
ISBN 978-1-9406250-4-1

9 781940 625041
WWW.CONTRAMUNDUM.NET

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Contra Mundum Press