

Sá-Carneiro and Caeiro: Two Types of Cult **/Sá-Carneiro e Caeiro: Dois Tipos de Culto**

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Abstract:

While Pessoa is in Lisbon creating a shepherd (Alberto Caeiro) that expresses himself in an allegedly natural form, Sá-Carneiro is in Paris further cultivating paulism, which is described, in pessoan texts, as an “intoxication of artificiality” and a “sincere cult of artificiality”. Does such a cult really exist? And does the inverse insincere cult of naturalness also exist?

Keywords: Mário de Sá-Carneiro, Fernando Pessoa, Alberto Caeiro, Paulism, Caeirism, Artificiality.

Resumo:

Enquanto Pessoa está em Lisboa e lhe surge um pastor (Alberto Caeiro) que se exprime de forma alegadamente natural, Sá-Carneiro está em Paris e continua a cultivar o paulismo, que é descrito, em textos pessoanos, como uma “intoxicação de artificialidade” e um “culto sincero da artificialidade”. Existirá realmente esse culto? E existirá também o seu inverso, o culto insincero da naturalidade?

Palavras-chave: Mário de Sá-Carneiro, Fernando Pessoa, Alberto Caeiro, Paulismo, Caeirismo, Artificialidade.

Sá-Carneiro and Caeiro: Two Types of Cult

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The recent edition of Mário de Sá-Carneiro's letters to Fernando Pessoa (*Em Ouro e Alma* [In Gold and Soul], 2015) and of the *Obra Completa de Alberto Caeiro* [Complete Works of Alberto Caeiro] (2016) brought me to reread, almost at the same time, two authors with quite different poetics: Sá-Carneiro, who was born in Lisbon in 1890 and committed suicide in Paris in 1916, and Caeiro, who was born in 1889 in Pessoa's "soul"¹, as "a joke on Sá-Carneiro"², and died in that same "soul" and same city (Lisbon) in 1915, although the date of his death might have been decided in 1916, as a result of Sá-Carneiro's death, leaving a mark in Fernando Pessoa's work. Caeiro and Sá-Ca[rne]iro are not only related because the name of the first derives from the second, but also because of the moment in which their poetical works were conceived. Most of Caeiro's works were written between 1914 and 1915, just as a great deal of Sá-Carneiro's were written between 1913 and 1916. During those years, previous to the dada movement, but coinciding with other movements of the modernist vanguard, Pessoa created and discussed with Sá-Carneiro many isms: *paulismo* [paulism], *interseccionismo* [intersectionism] and *sensacionismo* [sensationism], among others, but also, as may be read in an "extracto de carta para S[á]-C[arneiro]" [excerpt from a letter to S-C], *Caeirismo* [Caeirism]. Around the 28th of July 1914, Pessoa had the purpose of sharing the following points with Sá-Carneiro:

(1) O paulismo é o mais super-popular possível. Também o é o Caeirismo. E o saudosismo, ainda que (especialmente pelas tendências) menos, já p' era.
(2) Lançando a Europa abrimos (1) um conflito entre o Caeirismo e o paulismo; (2) um conflito entre estes dois cosmopolitismos e o saudosismo; (3) um conflito entre estas três correntes, literatura grande, e a tacanha literatura representativa do nosso actual período - Dantas-príncipe, etc.
(3) Com os estudos sociológicos que tenciono fazer irei tratando d'isto.

- (1) *Paulism* is as super-popular as possible. Just as *Caeirism*. *Saudosism*, even if less (specially because of the tendencies), was already popular.
- (2) Launching *Europa* we began (1) a conflict between Caeirism and paulism; (2) a conflict between these two cosmopolitanisms and saudosism; (3) a conflict between these three currents, great literature, and the despicable literature that

¹ See the text "Vida e obra" [Life and works], in Pessoa (2016b, pp. 351-352).

² See the letter to Adolfo Casais Monteiro (13th of January 1935), in Pessoa (2013, p. 646).

represents our current period – Dantas-prince, etc.

(3) With the sociological studies I intend to carry out I will give an account of these issues.

(Pessoa, 2009, p. 350; classification number, BNP/E3, 92I-5v)

Today, I am interested in analyzing two of the isms considered by Pessoa as “super-popular”, paulism and Caeirism, among which —according to Pessoa— conflict could have aroused following the appearance of *Europa*. This conflict never took place, because the journal was never launched; instead, it gave place to the project of *Orphen*, which created no conflict at all, because paulism had lost its protagonism between 1914 and 1915, and because Caeiro remained unpublished until 1925, when a selection of his poems was published in the *Athena* journal). Paulism and Caeirism were opposed movements, but their opposition was never very noticeable, because only the first of these “cosmopolitanisms” transcended Pessoa and Sá-Carneiro’s collected letters. In what did —and does— their antagonism reside? A note from 1915 found in one of Fernando Pessoa’s notebooks may be helpful in this respect:

O paúlismo é, como nos disse, na Brasileira, o J[oa]o C[orrêa] d’O[liveira], uma *intoxicação de artificialidade*.

[...]

O paúlismo é o culto sincero da artificialidade.

[Paulism is, as J[oa]o C[orrêa] d’O[liveira] once told us at the Brasileira an *intoxication of artificiality*.

(...)

Paulism is a sincere cult of artificiality.]

(Pessoa, 2009, pp. 338-339; classification number, BNP/E3, 144D²-32r)

Taking the last definition, and trying to clarify the opposition, could it be suggested that Caeirism is the insincere cult of naturalness? Let us revisit both “cults” and approach some examples. (Could Caeirism be seen as a movement of the modernist vanguard? I think so. Bucolics³ were already an ism and it could be, as it was, genially renovated.)

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The only conflict really documented started with the break up between Fernando Pessoa and the *Renascença Portuguesa*, which occurred with a letter Pessoa wrote on the 12th of November to Álvaro Pinto, the secretary of the movement. As Pinto had not reacted several months after the delivery of his static drama *O Marinheiro* [The Seaman] to *A Águia*, the *Renascença* movement’s journal, Pessoa wrote to him saying: “Sei bem a pouca simpatia que o

³ In Portuguese the word for Bucolic poetry is *Bucolismo*.

meu trabalho propriamente literário obtém da maioria daqueles meus amigos e conhecidos, cuja orientação de espírito é lusitanista ou saudosista” [I am aware most of my friends and acquaintances who profess a lusitanist or saudosist spiritual orientation have little sympathy for my actual literary work]. Not much later, changing the I, “Cessei” [I stopped], for a royal plural, he concluded: “Não podendo ter a maravilhosa e natural saúde de não ter opiniões nem sonhos, esforcemo-nos ao menos por adquirir a artificial saúde da renúncia” [“Not being able to have the marvelous and natural healthy state of not having opinions nor dreams, let us at least try to attain the artificial health of renunciation”] (1998, pp. 129-130)⁴. Irritated, after having announced in 1912 the appearance of a super-Camoens in the pages of *A Águia* —which represented a challenge, because he was speaking of himself and not of Teixeira de Pascoaes—, Pessoa ended his collaboration with the journal, not renouncing, however, to one of the main conclusions of his sociological studies of 1912. Consequently, in the “excerpt of a letter to S[á]-C[arneiro]” the following parenthetical observation may be found:

oportuna consciensização d'essa corrente. (Excuso quasi de lhe explicar que, tendo eu por representativo de um maximo periodo de vida nacional o apparecimento de um phenomeno aristocratico como lhe expuz, a constatação de que caminhamos para lá é altamente satisfactoria e profundamente de accordo, em Ouro e Europa, com as conclusões-que, salvo quanto, ao papel do Saudosismo n'essa Nova Renascença, absolutamente mantenho - dos meus artigos n' *A Águia*).

(I may almost excuse to explain that I regard, as I have already expounded, the appearance of an aristocratic phenomenon as representing the highest period of national life. The confirmation that we are walking in that direction is highly satisfactory and profoundly in accordance, in Ouro and Europa, with the conclusions – that, except for the role of Saudosism in that Nova Renascença, I absolutely sustain – of my articles in *A Águia*).

(Pessoa, 2009, 349; classification number, BNP/E3 92I-5r)

Pessoa believed, as the movement that began in the North of Portugal, in a new Renaissance, but he no longer believed in the role of saudosism for that possible historical renewal. In 1915, in a preface to the *Orpheu* journal that remained unpublished, he expressed himself clearly about the future he projected.

Consigne-se desde já e d'antemão a adesão completa e a manutenção integral que o autor d'este prefacio dá ás suas theorias expostas n' *A Águia*. Continua elle a sustentar que o periodo de maxima vitalidade nacional é aquelle em que uma nação mais se entrega a si propria e á sua alma. Nacionalismo fundamental, portanto. Mas ha trez generos de nacionalismo.

⁴A draft of the last lines of this letter may be found, in an appendix, in the final notes to the critical edition of the *Livro do Desasocego* (Pessoa, 2010, vol. II, pp. 638-639).

[...]
 Nacionalismo tradicionalista — eis o inferior.
 Nacionalismo integral — eis o medio.
 Nacionalismo cosmopolita — eis o supremo.

[Take note in advance of the complete adhesion and integral maintenance with which the author of this preface supports the theories he expounded in *A Aguia*. He still sustains that the highest period of national vitality is that in which a nation worries most about itself and its own soul. That is to say, fundamental nationalism.

But there are three kinds of nationalism.

(...)

Traditionalist nationalism — inferior.

Integral nationalism — middle.

Cosmopolitan nationalism — supreme.]

(Pessoa, 2009, pp. 66-67; classification number, BNP/E3 87A-20^e)

Bocage and “the arcades in general, until Castillo” would represent the first nationalism; the second, would be represented by “Bernardim Ribeiro, in its inferior level”, and “Teixeira de Pascoaes, in its highest level”; the third, Camoens, in an inferior level, and a super-Camoens, in the superior (*ibidem*). The former would have many faces, and be many persons, and his work would integrate many currents, even antagonistic. Naturally, I am referring to Pessoa, who imagined two “super-popular” currents that were opposed to saudosism; paulism was one of them, and the other was Caeirism, even though it is true all three currents surpassed the literature of Julio Dantas and of so many other conventional authors of the time. Pessoa appreciated the works of his “lusitanist and saudosist” “friends and acquaintances” (1998, pp. 129-130), but he intended to create a work that was different to theirs. What did paulism and Caeirism represent? Would they have something to do with evangelism?

*

Paulism is associated to the poem “Paues de roçarem ancias pela minha alma em ouro...” [Paues of cravings lightly touched by my soul in gold...], published alongside “Ó sino da minha aldeia” [The church bell of my town], in February 1914, under the general title “Impressões do Crepusculo” [Twilight Impressions]. Caeirism is inseparable from the appearance of Alberto Caeiro, who Pessoa is “writing” or constructing by means of his writing throughout March 1914, and of course, after. Caeiro could have been, in the beginning, a paulic poet or a poet much closer to Cesário Verde and the Portuguese neo-panteists —Pessoa observes that those “founding influences” are evident, for example, in a poem from the 7th of March 1914, “No meu prato que mistura de Natureza!” [In my plate what mixture of Nature!] (Pessoa, 2016a, p.51)— but he finally managed to differentiate himself and find his own “voice”. This may

explain a note Sá-Carneiro wrote to Pessoa in a letter on the 27th of June 1914: “(É verdade: embora ache justo, confesso-lhe q[ue] tenho pena q[ue] o Caeiro não entre para o paulismo.)” [(It is true: even though I think it is just, I confess I am sad Caeiro won't be part of paulism.)] (Sá-Carneiro, 2015, p. 219). Finally, in a previous letter, from the 23rd of June, Sá-Carneiro called himself, “confrade em paulismo e lugar-tenente interseccionista” [“a brother of paulism and an intersectionist lieutenant”] (2015: 215). But Caeiro, as it already has been explained, not only never joined paulism, but became non-paulic poet or não-paulist.

In the first prose fragment explicitly attributed to Álvaro de Campos, the poet is very clear:

Em todas as épocas e em todos os paizes debatem-se, uma contra a outra, duas correntes, uma nacional e outra cosmopolita. [...] Em Portugal hoje debatem-se duas correntes, antes não se debatem por enquanto, mas em todo o caso a sua existencia é antagonica. Uma é a da Renascença Portuguesa, a outra é dupla, é realmente duas correntes. Divide-se no sensacionismo, de que é chefe o snr. Alberto Caeiro, e no paulismo, cujo representante principal é o snr. Fernando Pessoa. Ambas estas correntes são antagonicas áquella que é formada pela R[enascença] P[ortuguesa].

[In all times and in all countries two currents oppose each other, one is national and the other is cosmopolitan. (...)
Today in Portugal two currents oppose each other, they are not confronting each other yet, but in any case their existence is antagonistic. One is the Portuguese Renaissance movement / Renascença Portuguesa, the other is double, it is actually two currents. It divides into sensationism, leaded by Mr. Alberto Caeiro, and paulism, represented by Mr. Fernando Pessoa. Both currents are antagonistic to the current formed by the Renascença Portuguesa.]
(Pessoa, 2014, pp. 491-492; classification number, BNP/E3 20-85^o)

Following this excerpt, it seems Campos would like Caeiro to join sensationism, denying the existence of a Caeirism and leaving Pessoa as the “main representative” of paulism. Sensationism would be the authentically modern current of Portuguese literature, “a great progress over what is done in the same line out there”, whereas paulism would just be “a huge progress over all the symbolism and neo-symbolism abroad” (*ibidem*). But this is only the opinion of Campos. Sá-Carneiro and other orphic poets would also come to be considered paulic, and during the second half of 1915, Pessoa thought of giving paulism the name of “Escola de Lisboa” [“The School of Lisbon”], to underline the opposition between Lisbon’s paulism and Porto’s saudosism (Pessoa, 2009, p. 309), because in 1915 the poets of that school —Caeiro, Reis and Campos— were still understood as being from Lisbon (Campos will be said to come from Tavira in a later stage).

To understand the definition of paulism, that is not given to us by Sá-Carneiro, some notes Pessoa took in a notebook – prior to *Orpheu* – are useful:

Paulismo:

Requinte da sensação.
Requinte da expressão.
Requinte do pensamento.

[*Paulism:*

Refinement of sensation.
Refinement of expression.
Refinement of thought.]

(Pessoa, 2009, p. 281; classification number, BNP/E3, 144C-9º)

No *Paulismo* ha:

- (1) Poesias de estranheza, como os *Paues*.
- (2) Poesias de rhythm, como *Hibernal*.
- (3) Poesias de perturbação metaphysica, como *A Voz de Deus*.
- (4) □

In *Paulism* there are:

- (1) Poems of strangeness, as the *Paues*.
- (2) Poems of rhythm, as *Hibernal*.
- (3) Poems of metaphysical perturbation, as *God's Voice*.
- (4) □

(Pessoa, 2009, p. 281; classification number, BNP/E3, 144C-10º)

There is also a French text in which Pessoa highlights a text by Sá-Carneiro, “Au-Delá”, this is, “Além” [Beyond], for which we found a first reference in a letter from the 25th of March 1913 (Sá-Carneiro, 2015, pp. 123-124).

In sum, different types of refinements and texts as the above mentioned (“Paues”, “Hibernal” and “God’s Voice” from the first three months of 1913) may help to give an idea of what paulism could be. This is the definition proposed by Jacinto do Prado Coelho in 1957:

O estilo paúlico define-se pela voluntária confusão do subjectivo e do objectivo, pela “associação de ideias desconexas”, pelas frases nominais, exclamativas, pelas aberrações de syntaxe [...] pelo vocabulário expressivo do tédio, do vazio da alma, do anseio de “outra coisa”, um vago “além” (“ouro”, “azul”, “Mistério”), pelo uso de maiúsculas que traduzem a profundidade espiritual de certas palavras [...]

[The paulic style is defined by the voluntary confusion of the subjective and the objective, by the “association of disconnected ideas”, by noun phrases, exclamations, by aberrations of syntax [...] by vocabulary that expresses tedium and emptiness of the soul, the yearning for “something else”, an ill-defined “beyond” (“gold”, “azure”, “Mystery”), attained using capital letters that convey the spiritual depth of certain words (...)]

(*apud* Pizarro, 2011, p. 27)

Paulism is also used to describe many passages from the first stage of *Livro do Desassossego* [*The Book of Disquiet*] and, actually, to embrace a great deal of Pessoa’s production during 1913 and 1914. The creation of his three heteronyms, Caeiro, Reis and Campos, would have diminished

the force of the paulic current, because none of them were affiliated to it.

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In the largest text known about paulism, —which begins remembering the morbid elements Max Nordau judged to have found in French symbolism, which is not free from irony— we may read as follows:

Se o movimento symbolista francez é uma manifestação morbida, faltam palavras para dizer o que será o movimento literario que presentemente se esboça em Portugal. Se bem que vá ainda em começo —praza a Deus que nunca de ahí passe!— é já uma escola nitidamente caracterizada e diferente das outras.

[...]

Será difícil dar ao leitor uma ideia sequer aproximada do que seja essa nova escola, tanto porque por enquanto pouquissimos livros ha publicados della, como porque é de si tão complexa, tão confusa que não ha maneira de a definir.

O chefe da escola não sei bem quem seja, mas ou é o sr. Fernando Pessoa ou o sr. Mario de Sá-Carneiro. Pelo modo como os iniciados fallam, é o primeiro. O sr. F[ernando] P[essoa] não tem livro nenhum publicado. Não sei se é para fazer o papel de um Mallarmé portuguez, ou se é porque não tenha conseguido, o que se pode acreditar, que algum editor lhe publique uma obra. O snr. Mário de S[á] C[arneiro] tem tres livros, o primeiro fóra da nova escola ainda [“Principio”], os dois segundos, publicados simultaneamente ha pouco, plenamente nella [“A Confissão de Lucio” e “Dispersão”]. São mesmo, com o livro de versos “Distancia” de um outro adepto, o sr. A[lfredo] P[edro] G[uisado], os únicos livros que a nova escola tem.

[...]

Quase o mesmo se pode dizer dos livros de versos dos srs. Guisado e Sá-C[arneiro]. Sofrem de requinte exagerado, do abuso de introspecção da escola.

[...]

Mas, segundo todos me dizem em Lisboa, nada dá tão bem o exagero da escola do que a poesia seguinte [“Paues”], que traduzimos inteiramente e que o sr. F[ernando] P[essoa] publicou numa revista *A R[enasceça]*, que morreu á nascença.

[...]

Não sejamos injustos. Apesar de tudo o de doentio e de perigoso — pela facilidade com que se insinua — desta escola, forçoso é reconhecer aos seus adeptos incontestavel talento e uma manifesta superioridade sobre quantos outros novos aparecem em Portugal, e talvez não só em Portugal. O que é lamentavel é que a própria essencia da inspiração delles seja doentia até mais não poder ser.

[If the French symbolist movement is a morbid manifestation, words are missing to say what the literary movement insinuating itself nowadays in Portugal will turn into. Even though it is only starting – and may God keep it from growing! – it is already a school clearly different to all others.

(...)

It is difficult to give the reader even an approximate idea of what that new school could be like, not only because it has published few books, but because it is so complex in itself, so confusing, that there is no way to define it.

I am not sure who the leader of the school may be, but surely it is or Mr. Fernando Pessoa or Mr. Mario de Sá-Carneiro. Most likely the first, considering the way in which the initiates speak of him. Mr. Fernando Pessoa has no published books. I am not sure if he intends to play the role of a Portuguese Mallarmé, or if he has just not been able to publish, which is easy to believe, because no editor would have ventured with a work like his. Mário de Sá-Carneiro has three books, the first does not pertain to the new school yet (“Begging”), the next two, published simultaneously not too long ago, pertain to it fully (“Lucio’s Confession” and “Dispersion”). These are, together with the book of verse “Distance” of another adherent, Mr. Alfredo Pedro Guisado, the only books the new school has.

(...)

Almost the same can be said of the books of verse of Mr. Guisado and Mr. Sá-Carneiro. They suffer from excessive refinement, from the abuse of the school’s introspection.

(...)

But, as all tell me in Lisbon, nothing shows so well the excess of the school than the following poem (“Paues”), which we translated entirely and which Fernando Pessoa published in the journal *A Renascença*, that died at birth.

(...)

Let us not be unfair. Apart from the sickness and dangerousness —because of the suggestiveness— of this school, we must recognize in its adepts an undisputed talent and a manifest superiority over all other new writers appearing in Portugal, and maybe even those out of Portugal. What is unfortunate is that the essence itself of their inspiration is as sick as can be.]

(Pessoa, 2009, pp. 98-100; classification number, BNP/E3 144-1 e 2^a)

Pessoa, who many times wrote critically about himself and his generational colleagues to create an atmosphere of discussion and criticism —imagined, more than real, because he hardly ever published his autocritical texts—, gives in these pages a polemic presentation of paulism, exactly to generate debate. Thus, he laments the “excessive refinement” and “abuse of the school’s introspection”.

Curiously, Pessoa notices the morbid elements of paulism in 1914, but it is only in 1915, when the current has almost past, that he reacts against it, as if it were some kind of cult to artificiality, reducing poems as “Paues” almost to a joke:

- Em nenhuma obra minha, feita a serio e com idéas de grandeza, ha uma unica phrase paúlsta.
- Necessidade de dominar o elemento páulico⁵.
- O culto das cousas secundarias.
- Como tudo quanto é grande causa pasmo, o artificial desata a querer causar pasmo para dar a si-proprio a impressão de ser grande.
- Como tudo quanto é novo irrita, o A[rtificial] desata a querer irritar. Mas além do novo ha uma cousa que irrita também: é o absurdo, o meramente irritante. Confusão.
- Como para abrir um caminho a uma nova arte é preciso audacia, o A[rtificial] limita-se a ser audaz, sem ter razão de alma para o sêr.

[– There is not a single paulist phrase in any of the works I have composed

⁵ In the original text, the line above writes “paúlsta” with an acute accent on “u”.

seriously and with ideas of greatness.

- The need to dominate the paulic element.
- The worship of secondary things.
- As everything that is great it causes amazement, that which is artificial tries to cause amazement to give itself the impression of being great.
- As everything that is new is irritating, so the Artificial tries to irritate. But behind novelty there is something irritating too: the absurd, or merely irritating. Confusion.
- As to open a way to new art audacity is necessary, the Artificial limits itself to being audacious, with no deep reason to be so.]

(Pessoa, 2009, p. 340; classification number, BNP/E3 144D2-32v)

The apparent pessoan contempt for artificiality, which he also holds for Oscar Wilde—who, in the opinion of Pessoa, would have cultivated artificiality as a philosophy (Pessoa, 2009, p. 339)—would have also met Sá-Carneiro who, on the 16th of February 1916, when he sent Pessoa his poem “Quando eu morrer batam em latas” [When I die kick tin cans], describes his desolation and says: “Creia o meu Amigo que é absolutamente assim — sem literatura má, sem paülismo, afianço-lhe. A verdade nua e crua” [Believe me my friend that things are absolutely as I say – with no bad literature, with no paülism. The naked truth] (Sá-Carneiro, 2015, p. 469). The truth against the artifice. But is there really a “um culto sincero da artificialidade” [sincere worship of artificiality] (Pessoa, 2009, p. 339), and vice versa: an insincere worship of naturalness?

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For Pessoa, artificial is comparable to what intends to astonish, to irritate and be audacious. It would be like a kind of joke, a concept with which he condemned Sá-Carneiro’s poem “Manucure”, for whose typography he contributed himself (cf. Vasconcelos, forthcoming). But does not all artifice contain a certain degree of artificiality and is not all artificiality a kind of artifice? And why would the poet of fabrication feel the need to debate the question of artificiality along with that of sincerity?

Before answering these questions, I underline a passage from the presentation of the *Complete Works of Alberto Caeiro*:

Mas que tipo de poeta é Caeiro? O mais natural ou o mais artificial que jamais existiu? Um poeta que desdenha a técnica, que poderia dizer, com Keats, “if Poetry comes not as naturally as the Leaves to a tree it had better not come at all” [se a Poesia não nos acontece tão naturalmente como as Folhas a uma árvore, melhor seria que não acontecesse de todo] (Keats, 2005, p. 97); ou um poeta para quem a técnica é inevitável, que poderia dizer, com Wilde, “Nature is no great mother who has borne us. She is our creation” [A Natureza não é uma portentosa mãe que nos deu à luz. É uma criação nossa] (Wilde, 1991, p. 91). A nosso ver, Caeiro ocupa um lugar central no universo pessoano, porque, sendo a imagem do poeta mais natural é, ao mesmo tempo, a encarnação do

poeta mais artificial.

[But what kind of a poet is Caeiro? The most natural or the most artificial ever? A poet that disdains the technic, who could say with Keats, “if Poetry comes not as naturally as the Leaves to a tree it had better not come at all” (Keats, 2005, p. 97); or a poet for whom technic is inevitable, who could say, with Wilde, “Nature is no great mother who has borne us. She is our creation” (Wilde, 1991, p. 91). For us, Caeiro has a central place in Pessoa’s universe, because, being the image of the most natural poet, he is, at the same time, the incarnation of the most artificial.]

(Pessoa, 2016a, p. 15)

Caeiro is a keeper of game, but the game are his thoughts! Caerism is a kind of concretism (materialism, Pessoa would say), that depends less on the “sincerity” of feeling as a shepherd, than on the “artificiality” of an ultraempirical philosophy for which a stone is a stone and a tree a tree (without time, without mystery and without symbology).

Coming back to the concepts of the beginning: Pessoa seems to have wanted to soften his late criticism to paulism, describing it as “um culto sincero da artificialidade” [a sincere cult of artificiality] (2009, p. 339). But the value of artificiality is independent from the degree of sincerity, which is a form of expression that is difficult to measure in a work of art. To confirm this, we may revisit Pessoa’s poem “Autopsychographia” [Autopsychography], count the number of pains he refers to and pay attention to the dates: it was told on All fools’ day. Now, if paulism was only “a cult of artificiality”, Caerism would be only a “cult of naturalism”. Are these sincere or insincere cults? I need to repeat: it does not matter. What is relevant is not so much to determine if the creation is sincere (how could we?, but establish if it is a new reality and if it is an achievement. In short, just as Pessoa said: “Sentir? Sinta quem lê!” [Feel? Leave the reader feel!]) (Pessoa, 1933, p. 7).

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Bio

Jerónimo Pizarro is professor at the Universidad de los Andes and holds the Camões Institute Chair of Portuguese Studies in Colombia. He has a Ph.D. in Hispanic Literatures (2008, Harvard University) and a PhD in Portuguese Linguistics (2006, Universidade de Lisboa). He contributed seven volumes to the critical edition of Fernando Pessoa’s works (INCM), the last one being the first critical edition of the *Livro do Desasosiego* [*Book of Disquiet*]. *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa* (D. Quixote, 2010) was prepared with Patricio Ferrari and Antonio Cardiello, the other two coordinators involved in digitizing Pessoa’s private library at Casa Fernando Pessoa. Together with Steffen Dix, he co-organized *Portuguese Modernisms in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Legenda, 2011); they also co-edited a special issue of *Portuguese Studies* (2008) and a book of essays, *A Arca de Pessoa* [*Pessoa’s Trunk*] (2007). Pizarro was the Editor-in-Chief of two new Ática’s series (1. Fernando Pessoa | Works; 2. Fernando Pessoa | Studies), and contributed with more than ten volumes. Currently he is in charge of Tinta-da-China’s “Coleção Pessoa”. In 2013 he was the Program Director of Portugal’s visit to the International Book Fair of Bogotá and won the Eduardo Lourenço Prize.

Jerónimo Pizarro é professor na Universidad de los Andes e titular da Cátedra de Estudos Portugueses do Instituto Camões na Colômbia. Tem um doutoramento em Literaturas Hispânicas (2008, Harvard University) e outro em Linguística Portuguesa (2006, Universidade de Lisboa). Contribuiu com sete volumes à edição crítica da obra de Fernando Pessoa (INCM), sendo o último a primeira edição crítica do *Livro do Desasosiego* [*Book of Disquiet*]. *A Biblioteca Particular de Fernando Pessoa* (D. Quixote, 2010) foi preparado com Patricio Ferrari e Antonio Cardiello, os outros dois coordenadores responsáveis pela digitalização da Biblioteca à guarda da Casa Fernando Pessoa. Com Steffen Dix, co-organizou *Portuguese Modernisms in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Legenda, 2011); também coeditaram o número especial de *Portuguese Studies* (2008) e

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