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**Publication date**

2012

**Document Version**

Final published version

**Published in**

Pessoa Plural

[Link to publication](#)

**Citation for published version (APA):**

Pasi, M., & Ferrari, P. (2012). Fernando Pessoa and Aleister Crowley: new discoveries and a new analysis of the documents in the Gerald Yorke Collection. *Pessoa Plural*, 1, 284-313. [http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/pessoaplural/Issue1/PDF/11A08.pdf](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/pessoaplural/Issue1/PDF/11A08.pdf)

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# Fernando Pessoa and Aleister Crowley: New discoveries and a new analysis of the documents in the Gerald Yorke Collection

Marco Pasi\* and Patricio Ferrari\*\*<sup>1</sup>

## Keywords

Fernando Pessoa, Aleister Crowley, Yorke Collection, National Library of Portugal [Archive 3], Pessoa "Magick" Collection, Correspondence, Edouard Roditi

## Abstract

The documents concerning the relationship between Fernando Pessoa and Aleister Crowley preserved in the Yorke Collection at the Warburg Institute (London) have been known for some time. However, recent new findings have prompted a new analysis of the dossier. The purpose of this article is to have a new look at the documents that were already known and introduce the documents that have been recently found. The analysis will also be based on a comparison with the related documents from the "Magick" collection, now part of Pessoa's Archive at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal in Lisbon. Photographic images of the documents, together with a new edition of the texts, are also included.

## Palavras-chave

Fernando Pessoa, Aleister Crowley, Yorke Collection, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal [Espólio 3], Colecção "Magick", Correspondência, Edouard Roditi

## Resumo

Os documentos relacionados com a relação entre Fernando Pessoa e Aleister Crowley guardados na Yorke Collection do Instituto Warburg em Londres são conhecidos desde há algum tempo. Contudo, descobertas recentes exigem uma nova análise deste arquivo. Pretende-se com este artigo regressar com um olhar renovado ao material já conhecido e apresentar os documentos recentemente encontrados. A análise será complementada com uma comparação destes com os documentos da colecção "Magick", actualmente pertencente ao espólio de Pessoa à guarda da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Serão incluídas imagens fotográficas dos documentos, bem como uma nova edição dos textos em questão.

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<sup>1</sup> The authors would like to thank Jill Krayer, Philip Young, François Quiviger, and Will F. Ryan (respectively Librarian, Assistant Librarian, Curator of Digital Resources, and former Librarian of the Warburg Institute) for their assistance during our researches on the documents preserved in the Yorke Collection. We would also like to thank William Breeze, Jerónimo Pizarro, and Wim Van-Mierlo for their invaluable help and advice. This article was supported by a Grant from the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIAS).

The documents concerning Fernando Pessoa's relationship with Aleister Crowley are preserved in two major collections. One represents Pessoa's side, and it remained in the hands of his family until recently. It seems likely that originally Pessoa's family – and particularly his step-sister Henriqueta Madalena Nogueira Rosa Dias – considered these documents as being too sensitive, because of Crowley's dubious morality and his reputation as a black magician.<sup>2</sup> Probably, and mostly for this reason, they were kept unpublished and remained virtually unknown for many years. Consequently, they were not included in the main collection of documents that was acquired by the Portuguese State in 1979, and which would become Pessoa's Archive. Between the late 1980s and early 1990s the family decided that the time had come to publish this material and that one of the heirs, Pessoa's nephew Luis Miguel Rosa Dias (writing under the pseudonym of "Miguel Roza") would be directly in charge of preparing the book for publication. The project took longer than expected, but it finally materialized in 2001, when a first edition of the documents was published (Pessoa and Crowley, 2001). In 2010 a second, improved and expanded edition was published (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010).<sup>3</sup> In the meanwhile, in November 2008, the original documents belonging to this collection were put on sale by the family through a public auction (P4 Live Auctions, 2008).<sup>4</sup> The collection was purchased by the Portuguese company Redes Energéticas Nacionais and donated to the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, where it joined the rest of Pessoa's papers. Although this smaller collection has now merged, for all intents and purposes, into the larger one, it is still both useful and historically sound to consider it as a separate set with its own specific identity.<sup>5</sup>

The other collection represents Crowley's side and is the Yorke Collection (YC) held at the Warburg Institute in London.<sup>6</sup> Although the Pessoa "Magick" Collection (PMC) is by far, with respect to the Crowley-Pessoa relationship, the most complete of the two, the Yorke Collection does include some important documents as well, such as the originals of some of the letters Pessoa sent to Crowley and some of the carbon copies of the letters Crowley sent to Pessoa.

<sup>2</sup> In the preface of an edition of these documents, Pessoa's nephew, Luis Miguel Rosa Dias noted that "as cartas de Aleister Crowley e as cópias da correspondência de Fernando Pessoa [...] não foram publicadas há mais tempo porque a irmã do poeta (minha Mãe) [i.e., Henriqueta Rosa Dias] se opôs a tal, enquanto fosse viva" (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 16).

<sup>3</sup> The first edition was anything but rigorous from a philological point of view, and contained a large number of mistakes and problems, which have been only partly solved in the second edition. The lack of expertise of the editor remains however evident in both editions.

<sup>4</sup> The stormy debate raised by the auction in Portugal, with echoes in the international press, lies beyond the scope of the present article.

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that the collection sold through the auction in 2008 included not only the documents concerning Pessoa's relationship with Crowley but also other unrelated Pessoa documents still held by the family. The Crowley-related documents were all included in lot n. 39 (P4 Live Auctions, 2008). Since the lot is now part of Pessoa's Archive without any particular qualification and is divided into several folders (with call numbers going from 190 to 389), the catalogue of the auction still offers a precious testimony of its contents and specific identity, further supported by the two editions of Miguel Roza's *Encontro Magick* (Pessoa and Crowley, 2001 and 2010). We can refer to it as the Pessoa "Magick" Collection.

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the Yorke Collection and its history, see Pasi's other article in the present issue.

Marco Pasi included these letters first in his Laurea dissertation (Pasi, 1994) and then in the book stemming from it (Pasi, 1999).<sup>7</sup> Other interesting documents that had until now eluded Pasi's researches were the three books of English poetry that Pessoa had sent Crowley in December 1929, and which were known to have been part of the Yorke Collection at one point. During a recent visit to the Warburg Institute, Patricio Ferrari has been finally able to locate these books and inspect them. On the same occasion, he has also taken the opportunity to further inspect and take photographs of the Pessoa letters in the Collection, whose reproduction is here presented for the first time.

The purpose of this brief note is not to engage in a deep analysis of the whole Crowley-Pessoa affair, based on a detailed comparison of the documents from the two collections, but rather to have a new look at the documents that were already known (i.e., the letters), and introduce the documents that were thought to be missing (i.e., the books). In both cases, the inspection will provide some interesting new elements for a better assessment of the Pessoa-Crowley relationship. Pasi's edition of Crowley's diary for his Portuguese trip (also in the present issue of *Pessoa Plural*) will offer further elements in the same direction.

As it is known, on 18 November 1929 Fernando Pessoa contacted The Mandrake Press, the London-based publishing house that had just put out Aleister Crowley's *Confessions* (1929).<sup>8</sup> Shortly afterwards a correspondence between the two men began.<sup>9</sup> By the time the British occultist set for Lisbon in the company of Hanni Jaeger to meet Pessoa, in September 1930, they had exchanged a total of seven letters and a telegram. Two of the three letters that Pessoa addressed personally to Crowley before his Portuguese trip (dated 6 January and 25 February 1930)<sup>10</sup> are found in the Yorke Collection (see Letters II and III). As for the letters Pessoa sent to The Mandrake Press only the one dated 4 December 1929 is extant in

<sup>7</sup> These documents were made available to Portuguese readers even before the publication of Pasi's book, when Victor Belém included significant parts of Pasi's dissertation in his booklet *O Mistério da Boca-do-Inferno* (Belém, 1995: 11-17, and 60-64). Pasi's book has also been published in an expanded, updated German edition (Pasi, 2006). An English and a Portuguese edition are now in preparation.

<sup>8</sup> As Marco Pasi has noted elsewhere (Pasi, 2001: 698-699), this was not the first time that Pessoa had bought a book by Crowley. We know in fact that, already in 1917, Pessoa had ordered *777*, the dictionary of occult correspondences that Crowley had published a few years before (Crowley, 1909). Pessoa ordered the book through Frank Hollings, a London bookseller then specializing in the occult, and one of the main distributors of Crowley's works. See Pessoa's letter to Hollings, dated 6 March 1917 (Pessoa, 1999b: 245). It should be noted, however, that *777* was published by Crowley anonymously, so Pessoa was not aware of who the author was when he ordered the book. Apparently, he remained in the dark about Crowley's authorship until 1929, as he makes clear in his letter to The Mandrake Press of 18 November (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 307). Curiously, he found out about it in the same prospectus of The Mandrake Press which informed him of the release of *The Confessions*. Pessoa mentions Crowley in relation to *777* in at least one fragment from the Archive (BNP/E3, 54A-43; see also Dix, 2009: 73). According to Jerónimo Pizarro (personal communication to the authors, 1 May 2012) the fragment probably dates from around 1931, so from after Crowley's trip to Portugal.

<sup>9</sup> See Annex 1 for a general timeline of the correspondence between Pessoa and Crowley.

<sup>10</sup> A typewritten version of the letter to Crowley dated 29 May 1930, originally part of the PMC, is now in Pessoa's Archive (BNP/E3, 207). The autograph version of this letter has not been found in the Yorke Collection.

the London archive (see Letter I).<sup>11</sup> Interestingly enough, all the documents related to Pessoa in the Yorke Collection date from the period before Crowley's trip to Portugal. As far as we can tell, after carefully searching the Collection, no letters to or from Pessoa after this period are preserved in it, and if they have survived at all, their present location is unknown.

The first personal letter from Pessoa to Crowley was published by John Symonds, who had access to the material preserved in the YC, in the third edition of his Crowley biography (Symonds, 1989: 445-47).<sup>12</sup> Later, Marco Pasi published the other documents from the YC, including the letter from Pessoa to Crowley dated 25 February 1930 and other still unpublished letters from Crowley to Pessoa (1999: 192-96).<sup>13</sup> Thus, by 1999 all of the Pessoa-Crowley letters in the YC had been published.

Around that time, things began to move also with the publication of the documents in the Portuguese collection. Two letters from the PMC were included in the catalogue for the year 1997 of the Portuguese publishing house Assírio & Alvim, which then had an exclusive copyright agreement with Pessoa's family for the publication of Pessoa's works.<sup>14</sup> Both these letters were from Pessoa to Crowley. Of these two, one (dated 29 May 1930) was a letter that Pessoa wrote to Crowley before his trip and which, as we noted, is missing from the YC. The other one (dated 10 February 1931) was the first letter to be published from the period after Crowley's trip to Portugal. These two letters were later included in the second volume of Pessoa's correspondence edited by Manuela Parreira da Silva (Pessoa, 1999: 205-06, 232-33). In this same volume, a letter from Crowley to Pessoa, dated 19 May 1930, was published for the first time (Pessoa, 1999: 410-11). Finally, in 2010, Miguel Roza published all the letters and related documents preserved in the PMC in a single volume (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 307-316) (see Annex 2).<sup>15</sup>

When we compare the three Pessoa letters held in the YC with the copies held in the PMC, we notice that the testimonies do not differ significantly in content. However, we can at least point to a couple of material differences that seem to disclose subtle, yet eloquent gestures. Unlike the testimonies held in

<sup>11</sup> Before Crowley's arrival to Lisbon, Pessoa sent three other letters to The Mandrake Press, dated 18 November 1929, 15 December 1929, and 6 January 1930. All of them were extant as carbon copies in the PMC, and are now in Pessoa's Archive (BNP/E3, 190; 197; and 200).

<sup>12</sup> The two previous editions (Symonds, 1951; Symonds 1971) did cover Crowley's trip to Portugal and his meeting with Pessoa, but did not quote the letters.

<sup>13</sup> Pasi also published a letter from Crowley to Pessoa, dated 14 January 1930, that had been photographically reproduced as illustration in a book by Isabel Murteira França (França, 1987). The provenance of the letter was the PMC, to which França, as Pessoa's grandniece, then had access.

<sup>14</sup> Non vidimus. The catalogue was especially prepared for Assírio & Alvim's participation in the Frankfurt book fair in the same year. This is referred to, without bibliographic details in Parreira da Silva's edition of Pessoa's correspondence (Pessoa, 1999: 410, 418).

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that the first edition of Roza's book (Pessoa and Crowley, 2001) only contained Portuguese translations of the documents, not the original texts in English, which were only published in the second edition (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010). The facsimiles of some documents were presented as illustrations, but not transcribed, and, curiously enough, no facsimiles of Pessoa's own letters were included.

Lisbon, the two Pessoa-Crowley letters found in the Yorke Collection are handwritten; the second one on a paper with a unique watermark (see description of materials in Letters). Pessoa seems to have written the handwritten one first, which was destined to Crowley, and then the typewritten copy for his own record.<sup>16</sup> Now, the fact that Pessoa took this extra care (at least with these two letters),<sup>17</sup> together with the choice of such a special kind of paper is an indicator of the importance Pessoa attached to his correspondence with Crowley from the very beginning. This indirectly confirms a point already made by Pasi, namely that Pessoa took a genuine interest in Crowley's work and persona, and was deeply affected by the encounter with him (Pasi, 1999: 152; and Pasi, 2001).

However, even more interesting is the discovery of the three books of English poems that Pessoa had sent to Crowley in December 1929 (Pessoa, 1918; Pessoa, 1921a; and Pessoa, 1921b).<sup>18</sup> Pessoa had informed Crowley, through The Mandrake Press, of their expedition in his letter dated 15 December 1929, and Crowley had immediately acknowledged their reception in his letter dated 22 December 1929.<sup>19</sup> During several extended periods of research at the Warburg Institute, between 1993 and 2001, Pasi had repeatedly searched for these books in vain. That they had been part of the Yorke Collection at one moment was certain, because they were included in an old catalogue.<sup>20</sup> Further evidence of their previous presence was a letter by the British publisher Derek Verschoyle (1911-1973) to Gerald Yorke (YC, NS 49 [d]). In this letter, dated 7 May 1954, Verschoyle expressed his wish to borrow Pessoa's booklets, perhaps with the idea of considering them for a reissue. In spite of this evidence, by the time Pasi was carrying out his researches at the Warburg Institute the books seemed to have vanished. They were not mentioned either in the card catalogue or in the new digital catalogue of the library of the Institute, and even a thorough inspection of the shelves did not yield any result. Together with Crowley's diary for September 1930, they seemed to be yet another document from the Crowley-Pessoa relationship that had disappeared from the Collection. However, during a recent visit to the Warburg Institute (March 2012) Patricio Ferrari has been finally able to

<sup>16</sup> For instance, in the handwritten version of the letter dated 25 February 1930 Pessoa initially writes "horoscope," then strikes the word and substitutes it with "nativity." In the typewritten version, the correction has already been assimilated into the text and we only find the word "nativity." See the two versions below in Letter III; and Annex 2, Letter III bis.

<sup>17</sup> Since the only testimony of the third letter (dated 29 May 1930) is the typewritten copy in the PMC, it is difficult to tell whether this letter had also been first handwritten.

<sup>18</sup> Pasi mentioned these books, and the fact that they seemed to be missing from the Yorke Collection, in his paper "Nouveaux éléments sur l'affaire Crowley-Pessoa," presented at the conference "Fernando Pessoa, o esoterismo e Aleister Crowley," organized by the Câmara Municipal de Cascais in June 2000.

<sup>19</sup> In his letter Pessoa announces that he is actually sending the books twice in two separate parcels: one to The Mandrake Press, the other personally to Crowley. Only Crowley's copies seem to have survived and are, in all likelihood, the ones presently held in the Yorke Collection.

<sup>20</sup> "Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets [...]. All in possession of G.J. Yorke." (YC, NS, 50 [g]). Listed as item no. 22 is Pessoa's 35 *Sonnets*; at no. 38 we find *English Poems I-II*, and *English Poems III*. The catalogue is unfortunately undated but is probably from the early 1950s (the most recent book in the list is from 1949).

locate the books and to have direct access to them. It turns out that the books were found by a librarian of the Warburg Institute on a shelf of the Yorke Collection in 2002, during a process of revision and retroconversion of the catalogue of the Library, in which they were then included.<sup>21</sup> Apparently, the books had been accessioned by the Institute in 1984, which seems to indicate that they belonged to the last batch of documents from the Collection that reached the Warburg Institute, after Yorke's death in 1983.

The three booklets show no marginalia in Crowley's hand, but one of them has a very interesting note in Yorke's hand.<sup>22</sup> It is an excerpt of a letter sent by Crowley to Gerald Hamilton (1890-1970) on 20 January 1936.<sup>23</sup> Yorke's inscription reads thus:

When A[leister] C[rowley] went to Portugal with the Monster [i.e., Hanni Jaeger] in 1932 [sic, but it should be 1930] he stayed with Fernando Pessoa.

A[leister] C[rowley] to Gerald Hamilton 20 Jan[uary] [19]36

"But if you can find Don [sic] Fernando Pessoa you will find him a really good poet. The only man who has ever written Shakespearean Sonnets in the manner of Shakespeare. It is about the most remarkable literary phenomenon in my experience". (see Annex 3)

It should be noted that this excerpt was not previously unknown. It was in fact first quoted in print by the poet and literary critic Edouard Roditi (1910-1992), who has played an important role in introducing Pessoa to readers in the United States.<sup>24</sup> Roditi quoted exactly the same passage of the letter by Crowley in an essay on Pessoa published in the *Literary Review* in 1963 (Roditi, 1963: 380).<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, Roditi did not quote his sources, so we do not know how he could have had access to Crowley's letter, which was then still unpublished and unknown, and whose original we have been unable to locate either in the Yorke Collection or elsewhere. We can only speculate that Gerald Yorke had either the original or a copy of the letter in his collection at the time, and that, supposing he was acquainted with Roditi, he showed it or lent it to him when the latter was writing his essay.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Information kindly provided by Philip Young, Assistant Librarian at the Warburg Institute, in an email dated 3 April 2012.

<sup>22</sup> The note is on the reverse side of the front cover of *35 Sonnets* (Pessoa, 1918).

<sup>23</sup> On Crowley's relationship with Hamilton, see Pasi, 1999: 120-127.

<sup>24</sup> On Roditi and Pessoa see Monteiro, 1998: 28-40.

<sup>25</sup> The only difference between Roditi's and Yorke's transcription is the word "phenomenon", which Roditi reads (apparently incorrectly) as "phenomena". This seems however too slight a piece of evidence for determining the relationship between Roditi's quotation and Yorke's. It cannot be entirely excluded, in fact, that Yorke transcribed the excerpt not from an original in his possession, but from a reading of Roditi's essay. This possibility appears unlikely only in so far as it leaves open the question of where Roditi could have had access to such a letter by Crowley, if the source was not Yorke's collection.

<sup>26</sup> There is some evidence that Yorke, Roditi, and even Crowley himself had at least one acquaintance in common: the heiress, publisher, and political activist Nancy Cunard (1896-1965). The collection of her papers at the Henry Ransom Center, University of Texas (Austin), includes Cunard's correspondence with all three of them. See the inventory available online at:

<http://research.hrc.utexas.edu:8080/hrcxtf/view?docId=ead/00031.xml> (accessed 2 May 2012).

The importance of this excerpt lies in the fact that it confirms Crowley's appreciation of Pessoa's literary gifts. Crowley had of course expressed his appreciation directly to Pessoa when he had acknowledged the reception of the books, but this could be interpreted as little more than a polite gesture towards him after receiving the unexpected present:

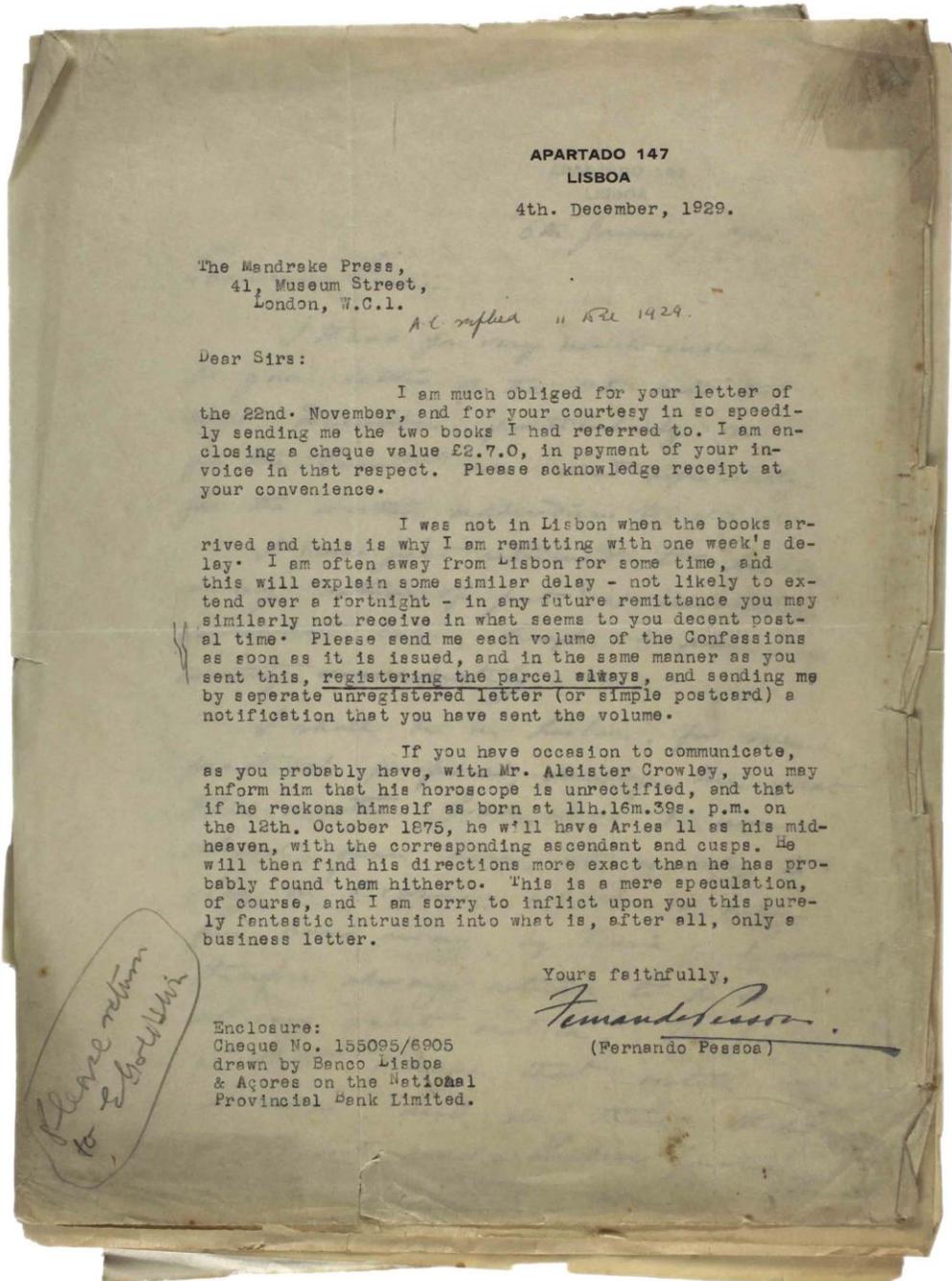
Thank you very much for the three little books. I think they are really very remarkable for excellence. In the Sonnets, or rather Quatorzaines, you seem to have recaptured the original Elizabethan impulse – which is magnificent. I like the other poems, too, very much indeed. (Pasi, 1999: 193)

The fact that Crowley's appreciation of Pessoa's poems was still so intense even several years since his last contact with the Portuguese poet, and that it was mentioned in a letter to a friend who was not acquainted with Pessoa at all, seems to vouchsafe for the sincerity of his judgment.

One final element that can be gathered from the excerpt is rather obvious and not really surprising, but we think it should be mentioned nevertheless. It is the clear fact that Crowley, at least for some time, remained unaware of Pessoa's death, which occurred on 30 November 1935. Only by ignoring this detail could he suggest to Hamilton, almost two months later, to get in contact with his Portuguese friend in case he would pass by Lisbon.

Pessoa's letters in the Gerald Yorke Collection

Letter I. From Fernando Pessoa to The Mandrake Press, dated 4 December 1929.  
YC, OS, E21.



APARTADO 147  
LISBOA

4th. December, 1929.

The Mandrake Press,  
41, Museum Street,  
London, W.C.1.

*A.C. replied "Re" 1929.*

Dear Sirs:

I am much obliged for your letter of the 22nd. November, and for your courtesy in so speedily sending me the two books I had referred to. I am enclosing a cheque value £2.7.0, in payment of your invoice in that respect. Please acknowledge receipt at your convenience.

I was not in Lisbon when the books arrived and this is why I am remitting with one week's delay. I am often away from Lisbon for some time, and this will explain some similar delay - not likely to extend over a fortnight - in any future remittance you may similarly not receive in what seems to you decent postal time. Please send me each volume of the Confessions as soon as it is issued, and in the same manner as you sent this, registering the parcel always, and sending me by separate unregistered letter (or simple postcard) a notification that you have sent the volume.

If you have occasion to communicate, as you probably have, with Mr. Aleister Crowley, you may inform him that his horoscope is unrectified, and that if he reckons himself as born at 11h.16m.39s. p.m. on the 12th. October 1875, he will have Aries 11 as his mid-heaven, with the corresponding ascendant and cusps. He will then find his directions more exact than he has probably found them hitherto. This is a mere speculation, of course, and I am sorry to inflict upon you this purely fantastic intrusion into what is, after all, only a business letter.

Yours faithfully,

*Fernando Pessoa*  
(Fernando Pessoa)

Enclosure:  
Cheque No. 155095/6905  
drawn by Banco Lisboa  
& Açores on the Nacional  
Provincial Bank Limited.

*Please return to E. Bowler*

APARTADO 147  
LISBOA  
4th. December, 1929.

The Mandrake Press,  
41, Museum Street,  
London, W.C.I.

Dear Sirs:

I am much obliged for your letter of the 22nd. November, and for your courtesy in so speedily sending me the two books I had referred to. I am enclosing a cheque value £2.7.0, in payment of your invoice in that respect. Please acknowledge receipt at your convenience.

I was not in Lisbon when the books arrived and this is why I am remitting with one week's delay. I am often away from Lisbon for some time, and this will explain some similar delay – not likely to extend over a fortnight – in any future remittance you may similarly not receive in what seems to you decent postal time. Please send me each volume of the Confessions as soon as it is issued, and in the same manner as you sent this, *registering the parcel always*, and sending me by separate unregistered letter (or simple postcard) a notification that you have sent the volume.

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Yours faithfully,  
[Signature]  
(Fernando Pessoa)

Enclosure:  
Cheque No. 155095/6905  
drawn by Banco Lisboa  
& Açores on the National  
Provincial Bank Limited.

## Materials

*One sheet of thin paper, with letterhead Apartado 147 | Lisboa, typewritten in black ink. The signature is handwritten in black ink. The handwritten note in the upper part of the letter is in Gerald Yorke's hand: "A[leister] C[rowley] replied 11 Dec 1929". The handwritten note in the lower left part of the letter says: "Please return to E[dward] Goldston", and is in Goldston's own hand. Edward Goldston (1892-1953) was one of the two directors and owners of The Mandrake Press, together with Percy Reginald Stephensen (1901-1965). His note must have been written after receiving the letter from Pessoa and before forwarding it to Crowley. Yorke's note, on the other hand, must have been written at the time he got in possession of the document as part of his collection, probably after Crowley's death, and as he was putting the various items in order. The sheet has been folded both horizontally and vertically. The letter was first published by Symonds (1989: 445), and then by Pasi (1999: 192). The facsimile of Pessoa's carbon copy (BNP/E3, 193) was included by Roza in the first edition of his book (Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 65), and then transcribed in the second (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 308-309). On the history of The Mandrake Press, see Munro, 1984.*

Letter II. From Fernando Pessoa to Aleister Crowley, dated 6 January 1930. YC, OS, E21.

APARTADO 147  
LISBOA

6th. January, 1930.

Carissime Frater:

I thank you very much indeed for your letters of the 11th and the 25th. December, particularly so for the second one, and especially for the written addendum to it.

I have just returned to Lisbon, so my "return of post" is inevitably somewhat late, though I am writing immediately.

I shall be in Lisbon, for all practical purposes, during the next three months. Even when I am absent from here, it is only to stay in Evora, which is only four hours away, by train: I can therefore always return to Lisbon at very short notice. The point is that I have that notice in good advance, and, even then, that it does not reach Lisbon just

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when I have left, so I find it only on my return, which may mean anything up to a fortnight, the purpose of an advance notice being thus nullified.

If, however, any month of these first three of the year will serve your time and intention, I should very much prefer to meet you here in March - at any time in this March. I shall not leave Lisbon at all in that month, and I have both the present month and February taken up by matters, of no importance in themselves - either absolutely, or relatively to the present one - which deliver me over to an extraneous attention which I should not like to be clogged with when listening to you.

Apart from this, astrological reasons would counsel me to ref.

got March; and it is indeed  
 the very lapsing of the direction,  
~~which~~ ~~that~~ ~~is~~ makes January and  
 February impeding months, that  
 will make March a propitious  
 one, especially to meet you,  
 the underlying solar direction  
 (pro.  $O \times \Psi$ ) being remarkably  
 attuned to the circumstances.

Furthermore, there is a vague  
 possibility that I may have  
 to go to England in the end  
 of February. If so, I would  
 inform you in full advance  
 and (unless there be some  
 reason I cannot foresee for  
 the place of meeting to be  
 Lisbon) you would be spared the  
 trouble of coming to Portugal.

By the middle of February  
 I shall be able fully to inform  
 you about all this.

4.

I shall, of course, tell no one at all about your visit. Was your warning connected with the receipt by you of a booklet (in French) by Kaul Deak? He is a friend of mine (so to speak, for I am altogether apart from any sort of friendship and from every sort of intimacy); I translated to him some pages, here and there, of the first volume of your "Confessions", and he asked me for the address of the publisher, so as to send you ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> book to their postal care. He now tells me, on my return to Lisbon, that he has received a letter from you and is going to write you a long one "on occult matters". With this, of course, I have no connection, or I have no connection with anything. Please do not take this as a reflection of any kind on Deak, whom I

5

nally like and whose <sup>splendidly</sup> ~~valuable~~ intense  
 metaphysical ability I appreciate.  
 This is a mere statement of fact  
 and, so to speak, a non-juror's note.

I hope to send you in the  
 course of the present month the  
 rectified nativity and the dir-  
 ections reckoned from it for  
 the present time. When away  
 from Lisbon I had no ephemerides  
 or data.

I am registering this letter only  
 that I may be the surer that  
 it will not be likely to go astray.

Yours fraternally,  
 Fernando Pessoa

APARTADO 147

LISBOA

6<sup>th</sup>. January, 1930.

Carissime Frater:

I thank you very much indeed for your letters of the 11th. and the 22nd. December, particularly so for the second one, and especially for the written addendum to it.

I have just returned to Lisbon, so my "return of post" is inevitably somewhat late, though I am writing immediately.

I shall be in Lisbon, for all practical purposes, during the next three months. Even when I am absent from here, it is only to stay in Evora, which is only four hours away, by train: I can therefore always return to Lisbon at very short notice. The point is that I have that notice in good advance,<sup>1</sup> and, even then, that it do not reach Lisbon just [page 2] when I have left, so I find it only on my return, which may mean anything up to a fortnight, the purpose of an advance notice being thus nullified.

If, however, any month of these first three of the year will serve your time and intention, I should very much prefer to meet you here *in March* – at any time within March. I shall not leave Lisbon at all in that month, and I have both the present month and February taken up by matters, of no importance in themselves – either absolutely, or relatively to the present one –, which deliver me over to an extraneous attention which I should not like to be clogged<sup>2</sup> with when listening to you.

Apart from this, *astrological reasons* would counsel me to sug-[page 3]gest March; and it is indeed the very lapsing of the direction, which makes<sup>3</sup> January and February impeding months, that will make March a propitious one, especially to meet you, the underlying solar direction (pro. ☉ [Sun] ✳ [Sextile] ♃ [Neptune])<sup>4</sup> being remarkably attuned to the circumstance<sup>5</sup>.

Furthermore, there is a vague possibility that I may have to go to England in the end of February. If so, I would inform you in full advance and (unless there be some reason I cannot foresee for the place of meeting to be Lisbon) you would be spared the trouble of coming to Portugal.

By the middle of February I shall be able fully to inform you about all this<sup>6</sup>.

[Page 4]

I shall, of course, tell no one at all about your visit. Was your warning connected with the receipt by you of a booklet (in French) by Raul Leal? He is a friend of mine (so to speak, for I am altogether apart from any sort of friendship and from every sort of intimacy); I translated to him some pages, here and there, of the first volume of your "Confessions", and he asked me for the address of the publisher, so as to send you his<sup>7</sup> book to their postal care. He now tells me, on my

return to Lisbon, that he has received a letter from you, and is going to write to you a long one “on occult matters”. With this, of course, I have no connection, as I have no connection with anything. Please do not take this as a reflection of any kind on Leal, whom I [page 5] really like and whose splendidly<sup>8</sup> intense metaphysical ability I appreciate. This is a mere statement of fact and, so to speak, a non-juror’s note.

I hope to send you in the course of the present month the rectified nativity and the directions reckoned from it for the present time. When away from Lisbon I had no ephemerides or data<sup>9</sup>.

I am registering the letter only that I may be the surer that it will not be likely to go astray.

Yours fraternally,  
Fernando Pessoa

#### Materials

Three sheets of thin letterhead paper (only the first) Apartado 147 | Lisboa with watermark Graham’s Bond | Registered handwritten in black ink. The sheets have been folded both horizontally and vertically (twice). Initially published by Symonds (1989: 446-47), and then by Pasi (1999: 194-95). The typewritten copy in the PMC (BNP/E3, 199) has been published by Roza (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 312-313).

#### Genetic Notes

- 1 In the typewritten letter (see Annex 2, letter II bis) Pessoa added good by hand.
- 2 clogged ] in Pasi (1999: 194): “dogged”.
- 3 <that which> [↑ which makes] ] in the typewritten letter (see Annex 2, letter II bis) Pessoa wrote by hand which over that.
- 4 In the typewritten letter in the BNP collection (see Annex 2, letter II bis) Pessoa added the astrological symbols by hand.  
♃ ] Pessoa (2010: 312), which is based on the typewritten version, erroneously has the symbol of Saturn: “♄”.
- 5 pro. ☉ \* ♃ ] in Pasi (199: 194): “Sun, Sextile, Neptune”.
- 5 circumstance ] in Pasi (199: 194): “circumstances”.
- 6 about all this ] in Pasi (199: 194): “about this”.
- 7 <that> [↑ his].
- 8 <really> [↑ splendidly] ] in the typewritten letter (see Annex 2, letter II bis) Pessoa wrote by hand splendidly over really.
- 9 data ] in Pasi (199: 194): “date”.

**Letter III.** From Fernando Pessoa to Aleister Crowley, dated 25 February 1930. YC, OS, E21.

Apartado 147,  
Lisbon, 25<sup>th</sup>. February 1930.

Caro Frater:

My writing you so late implies only that not till the very verge of yesterday was it certain to me that I would not go to England.

I shall not leave Lisbon - unless for an occasional short voyage to Evora, from which four hours can recall me - until the middle of the year, and even then I may not leave.

If, therefore, you wish to come over, or think it within fate to do so, you have but to give me a slight advance notice and I shall be here to see and hear you.

My astrology is in slight means, but I hope to have your ~~corroborate~~<sup>maturing</sup> rectified in no more than a few days.

Yours fraternally,  
Fernando Pessoa

Lisbon, 25th. February 1930.

Care Frater:

My writing you so late implies only that not till the very verge of yesterday was it certain to me that I would not go to England.

I shall not leave Lisbon – unless for an occasional short voyage to Evora, from which four hours can recall me – until the middle of the year, and even then I may not leave.

If, therefore, you wish to come over, or think it within Fate to do so, you have but to give me a slight advance notice and I shall be here to see and hear you.

My astrology is in slight arrears, but I hope to have your nativity<sup>1</sup> rectified in no more than a few days.

Yours fraternally,  
Fernando Pessoa

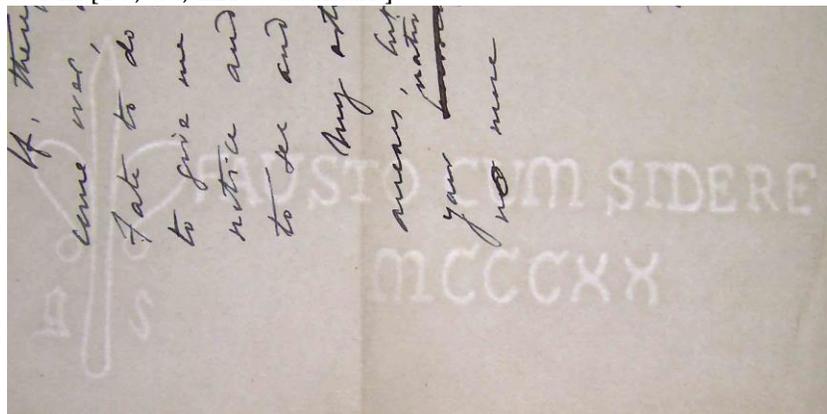
#### Materials

One sheet of paper with watermark Fausto Cum Sidere | MCCCXX, preceded by a symbol with the initials g. and s.; see Annex below) handwritten in black ink. The sheet has been folded twice horizontally and once vertically in the middle. On the verso, in pencil, we read the following allograph note: 71 Harley st | Wel 404. This letter was first published by Pasi (1999: 195-96). Pessoa's typewritten copy (BNP/E3, 204) has been published by Roza (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 315). The motto "Fausto cum sidere" is in all likelihood taken from Catullus's poem LXIV (line 329): "... adveniet fausto cum sidere coniunx" ("soon your wife will come with a happy star").

#### Genetic Notes

1 <horoscope> [↑ nativity]

Detail of letter III [YC, OS, E21- watermark]



## Annex 1. Timeline of the Pessoa-Crowley correspondence

This list offers a chronological overview of the Pessoa-Crowley correspondence, including not only the personal correspondence between the two authors, but also Pessoa's correspondence with other persons related to Crowley, or for the purpose of ordering books by Crowley. All documents that were originally preserved in the Pessoa "Magick" Collection (PMC) are now part of Pessoa's Archive at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (BNP/E3).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Sender</i>	<i>Receiver</i>	<i>First publication</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Notes</i>
6 March 1917	Fernando Pessoa	Frank Hollings	Pessoa, 1996: 147-148	BNP/E3	First order by Pessoa of a book by Crowley.
18 November 1929	Fernando Pessoa	The Mandrake Press	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 307	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 58.
22 November 1929	The Mandrake Press	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 308	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 61.
4 December 1929	Fernando Pessoa	The Mandrake Press	Symonds, 1989: 445-46	YC, PMC	Facsimile of PMC copy in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 65.
9 December 1929	Fernando Pessoa	The Mandrake Press	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 309	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 69.
11 December 1929	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pasi, 1999: 195-96 [earlier in: Pasi, 1994: 328]	YC, PMC	First letter from Crowley to Pessoa. Facsimile of PMC copy in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 72.
15 December 1929	Fernando Pessoa	The Mandrake Press	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 310-11	PMC	Pessoa announces the expedition of his books of English poems to Crowley. Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 75.
22 December 1929	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pasi, 1999: 193 [earlier in: Pasi, 1994: 328-29]	YC, PMC	Crowley acknowledges the reception of Pessoa's books. The PMC copy has a handwritten addendum in Crowley's hand that is lacking in the carbon copy of the YC. Facsimile of PMC copy in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 78.
6 January 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Aleister Crowley	Symonds, 1989: 446-47	YC, PMC	First personal letter from Pessoa to Crowley.
6 January 1930	Fernando Pessoa	The Mandrake Press	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 313	PMC	
14 January 1930	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pasi, 1999: 195 [earlier in: Pasi, 1994: 332-33]	PMC	Facsimile in França, 1987: no p. number.
14 January 1930	The Mandrake Press	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 314	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 87.
25 February 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Aleister Crowley	Pasi, 1999: 195-96 [earlier in: Pasi, 1994: 333-34]	YC, PMC	
9 April 1930	Israel Regardie	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 315	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 94.
19 May 1930	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa, 1999b: 410-11	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 97.

29 May 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Aleister Crowley	Catalogue of Assírio & Alvim, 1997; then Pessoa, 1999b: 205-06	PMC	
28 August 1930	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 317	PMC	Telegram. Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 102.
3 September 1930	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 321	PMC	Erroneously dated by Roza as 15 Sept. 1930 (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 104). Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 122.
11 September 1930	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 321	PMC	Erroneously dated by Roza as 16 Sept. 1930 (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 109). Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 126.
12 September 1930	Fernando Pessoa	The Mandrake Press	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 317-19	PMC	
13 September 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Aleister Crowley	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 319-20	PMC	
14 September 1930	Hanni Jaeger	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 320	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 117.
17 September 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Aleister Crowley	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 322	PMC	
17 September 1930	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 323	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 132.
18 September 1930	The Mandrake Press	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 323-25	PMC	
21 September 1930	Aleister Crowley	Hanni Jaeger	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 325	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 145.
25 September 1930	Karl Germer	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 326	PMC	
29 September 1930	Karl Germer	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 329	PMC	Telegram. Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 159.
30 September 1930	Israel Regardie	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 329	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 160.
1 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 330	PMC	Telegram. Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 163.
1 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 332	PMC	
2 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	The Mandrake Press	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 332-33	PMC	
3 October 1930	Karl Germer	Fernando Pessoa		PMC	Telegram. Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 173.
5 October 1930	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 333-34	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 175.
7 October 1930	The Mandrake Press	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 334-35	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 192-93.

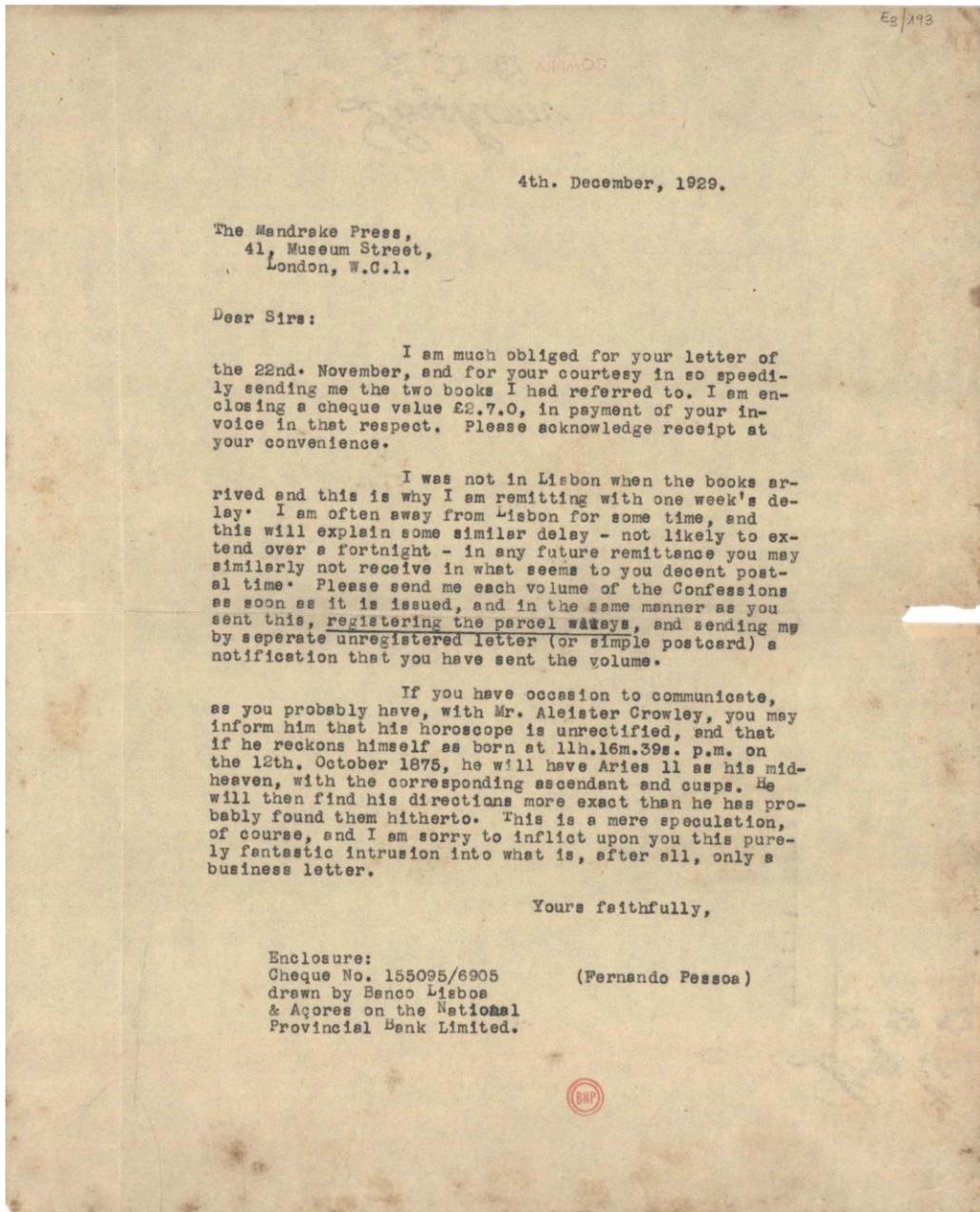
7 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	The Mandrake Press	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 335	PMC	
7 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Israel Regardie	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 336	PMC	
8 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 337-38	PMC	
11 October 1930	The Mandrake Press	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 339	PMC	
12 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 339-344	PMC	
13 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	The Mandrake Press	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 352-53	PMC	
13 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Israel Regardie	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 353	PMC	
13 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 353-54	PMC	
13 October 1930	Karl Germer	Fernando Pessoa		PMC	Telegram. Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 242.
14 October 1930	Hanni Jaeger	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 354-55	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 254.
17 October 1930	Israel Regardie	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 355	PMC	
18 October 1930	The Mandrake Press	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 356	PMC	
20 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 356-360	PMC	
21 October 1930	Israel Regardie	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 361	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 284.
22 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 361-62	PMC	
24 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 362-63	PMC	
24 October 1930	Karl Germer	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 363-64	PMC	
26 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 364-65	PMC	
27 October 1930	Israel Regardie	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 365-66	PMC	
30 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 366	PMC	
30 October 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Israel Regardie	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 366-68	PMC	
30 October 1930	Hanni Jaeger	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 368-69	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 321.
18 November 1930	Israel Regardie	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 369	PMC	
18 November 1930	Karl Germer	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 370	PMC	
3 December 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 370-74	PMC	Facsimile of one page in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 341.
3 December 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Karl Germer	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 375-77	PMC	
3 December 1930	Fernando Pessoa	Israel Regardie	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 377	PMC	

14 December 1930	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 378	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 353-54.
1 February 1931	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 379	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 357.
10 February 1931	Fernando Pessoa	Aleister Crowley	Catalogue of Assírio & Alvim, 1997; then Pessoa, 1999b: 232- 33	PMC	
13 February 1931	Fernando Pessoa	Aleister Crowley	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 380-81	PMC	
22 February 1931	Aleister Crowley and Hanni Jaeger	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 381-82	PMC	Erroneously dated by Roza as 25 Febr. 1931 (Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 284). Facsimile in Pessoa 2001: 372-373.
18 September 1931	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 382	PMC	Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 376-77.
18 September 1931	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 383	PMC	Postcard. Probably sent together with the letter dated 18 September 1931. Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 379.
5 October 1931	Fernando Pessoa	Aleister Crowley	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 383-84	PMC	Last letter from Pessoa to Crowley.
29 November 1931	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 384	PMC	Last personal letter from Crowley to Pessoa. Facsimile in Pessoa and Crowley, 2001: 384-85.
21 March 1932	Aleister Crowley	Fernando Pessoa	Pessoa and Crowley, 2010: 385	PMC	A.: A.: circular and last document. Facsimile in Pessoa 2001: 390.

## Annex 2. Copies of Fernando Pessoa's letters in the Archive

The original text of the PMC copies of these three letters has been first published by Miguel Roza (see timeline in Annex 1), but their facsimile has never been published before and is here presented for the first time.

**Letter I bis.** Pessoa's carbon copy of his letter to The Mandrake Press, dated 4 December 1929. BNP/E3, 193.



Letter II bis. Pessoa's typewritten version of his letter to Crowley, dated 6 January 1930. BNP/E3, 199.

E3/199

COMO

Apertado 147, Lisboa/ 8th. January, 1930.

Carissime Prater:

I thank you very much indeed for your letters of the 11th. and the 22nd. December, particularly so for the second one, and especially for the written addendum to it.

I have just returned to Lisbon, so my "return of post" is inevitably somewhat late, though I am writing immediately.

I shall be in Lisbon, for all practical purposes, during the next three months. Even when I am absent from here, it is only to stay in Avora, which is only four hours away, by train: I can therefore always return to Lisbon at a very short notice. The point is that I have that notice in advance, and, even then, that it do not reach Lisbon just when I have left, so I find it only on my return, which may mean anything up to a fortnight, the purpose of advance notice being thus nullified.

If, however, any month of these first three of the year will serve your time and intention, I should very much prefer to meet you here in March - at any time within March. I shall not leave Lisbon at all in that month, and I have both the present month and February taken up by matters, of no importance in themselves - either absolutely, or relatively to the present one -, which deliver me over to an extraneous attention which I should not like to be clogged with when listening to you.

Apart from this, astrological reasons would counsel me to suggest March; and it is indeed the very lapsing of the direction, ~~which~~ makes January and February impeding months, that will make March a propitious one, especially to meet you, the underlying solar direction (pro.  $\odot * \varphi$ ) being remarkably attuned to the circumstance.

Furthermore, there is a vague possibility that I may have to go to England in the end of February. If so, I would inform you in full advance and (unless there be some reason I cannot foresee for the place of meeting to be Lisbon) you would be spared the trouble of coming to Portugal.

By the middle of February I shall be able fully to inform you about all this.

I shall, of course, tell no one at all about your visit. Was your warning connected with the receipt by you of a booklet (in French) by Raul Leal? He is a friend of mine (so to speak, for I am altogether apart from any sort of friendship and from every sort of intimacy); I translated to him some pages, here and there, of the first volume of your "Confessions", and he asked me for the address of the publisher, so as to send you his book to their postal care. He now tells me, on my return to Lisbon, that he has received a letter from you and is

(BNP)

(2)

Eg/199

going to write you a long one "on occult matters". With this, of course, I have no connection, as I have no connection with anything. Please do not take this as a reflection of any kind on Leal, whom I really like and whose ~~intense~~ intense metaphysical ability I appreciate. This is a mere statement of fact and, so to speak, a non-juror's note.

I hope to send you in the course of the present month the rectified nativity and the directions reckoned from it for the present time. When away from Lisbon I had no ephemerides or data.

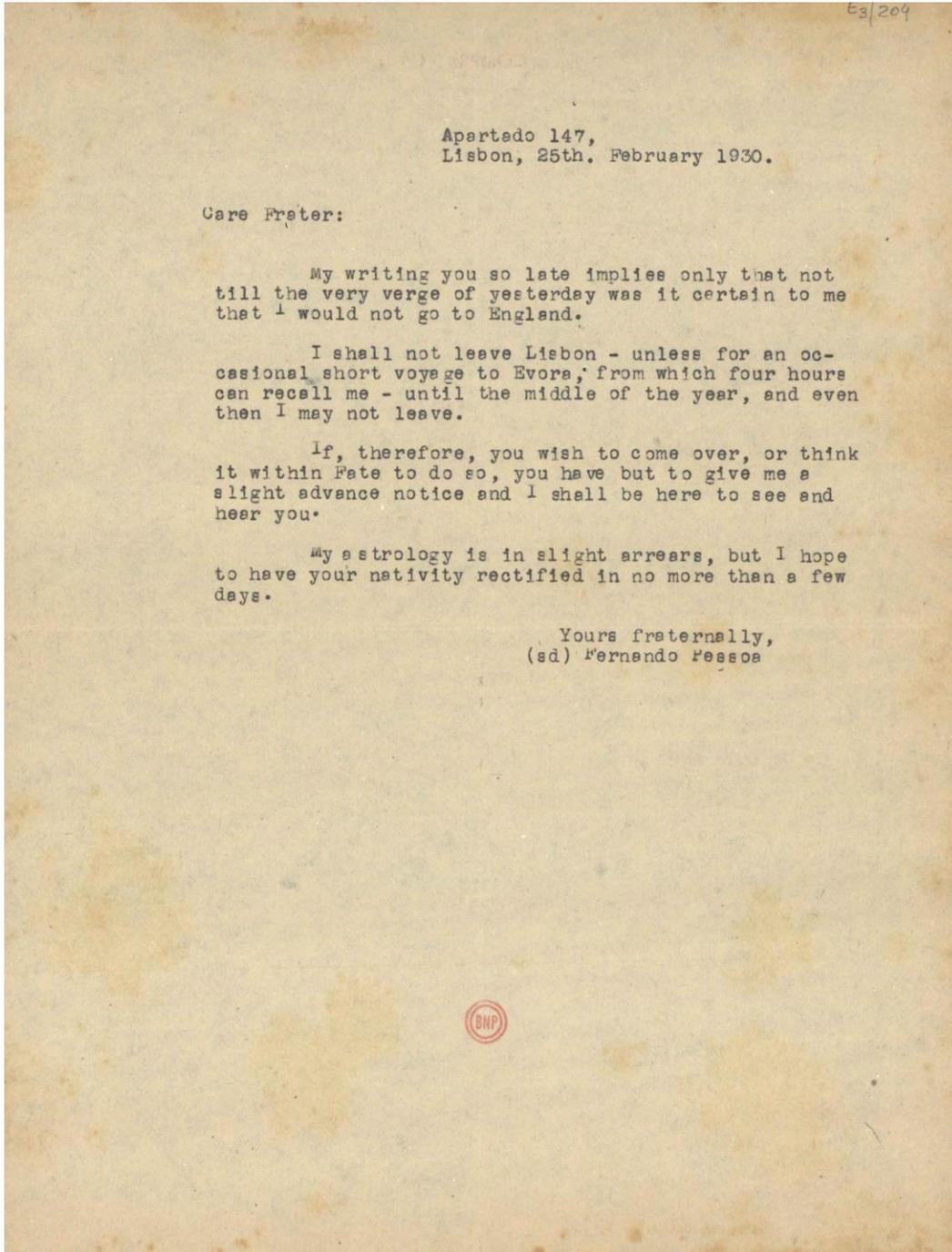
I am registering this letter only that I may be the surer that it will not be likely to go astray.

Yours fraternally,

(ed) Fernando Pessoa.

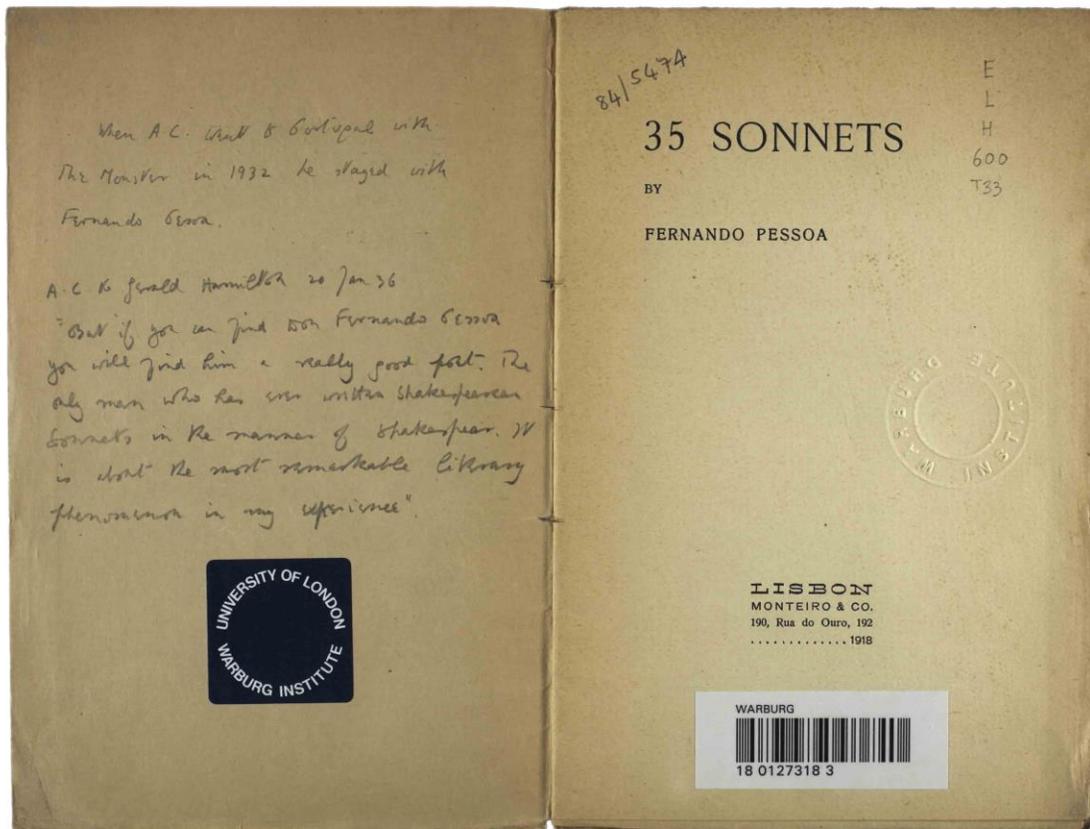


**Letter III bis.** Pessoa's typewritten version of his letter to Crowley, dated 25 February 1930. BNP/E3, 204.



**Annex 3.** Yorke's Annotation in Crowley's Copy of Pessoa's *35 Sonnets* (YC, ELH 600.T33)

In the copy of *35 Sonnets* that Pessoa sent to Crowley in December 1929, Gerald Yorke transcribed an extract of a letter from Crowley to Gerald Hamilton, dated 20 January 1936. The annotation is on the reverse side of the front cover.



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