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Editorial

Facing a difficult year yet again, due to the Covid-19 pandemic that still affects us and severely impacts our lives and work, we are delighted to publish *RES Antiquitatis*' second series' third volume.

The present issue clearly illustrates the main goals of this journal: to promote the discussion and the research results focused on the different Antiquities *per se*; as well as within the Reception Studies regarding these ancient contexts.

The volume opens with a contribution by Jake Colloff, which suggests a new interpretation regarding the use of the griffin motif in ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom. Next, and still focused on the same geography, Carmen Muñoz Pérez addresses the evolution of Egyptian funerary conceptions, by analysing a few amulets currently housed at the Musée du Louvre.

The other two articles of the present volume are framed within the Reception Studies. Firstly, Leonor Santa Bárbara's contribution focuses on the uses of the Hellenistic legacy by early modern authors, such as Alciato and Vænius, in their *Books of Emblems*. Lastly, Anderson Zalewski Vargas reflects on the uses of classical rhetoric in the articles of the journal *Correio da Liberdade* (1831), particularly in what concerns the appropriation of Peisistratos, in a piece about the political regime of Brazil, at that period.

In the past year, a new editor joined RES' team: Guilherme Borges Pires. Professional new challenges, in turn, prevented Maria de Fátima Rosa from continuing her editorial work with us. We express our gratitude for all the efforts and time she dedicated to bringing to life the second series of *RES Antiquitatis*, wishing her the best in her future endeavours.

Lastly, we would like to announce that, from 2022 onwards, the call for contributions will be permanently open. We thus invite all researchers working on any topic/field related to Antiquity and/or its reception to submit their contributions. We will be glad to publish your articles!

The editor-in-chief

Francisco Caramelo



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Reinterpreting the Griffins of the Middle Kingdom

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Reinterpreting the Griffins of the Middle Kingdom

Jake Colloff*

Res Antiquitatis 3 (2021): 2-24

Abstract

In two 2013 articles, Hartwig Altenmüller proposes that the figures on the so-called ‘magical knives’ represent characters from the later Myth of the Sun’s Eye. He further suggests that the griffin depicted on these objects is a zoomorphic form of the syncretised god Shu-Onuris, an idea which is expanded to further explain the contemporary griffins from the tombs at Beni Hassan. Despite numerous flaws, these conclusions have been espoused by various scholars, causing them to adopt a prominent place in the current literature. The present article comprehensively dismembers these arguments, suggesting instead that the griffin is a precursor to a character from the later netherworld texts. Three separate understandings of the different griffins at Beni Hasan are then proposed, based on their varying names and iconography.

Keywords: Griffins; Magical Knives; Beni Hassan; Middle Kingdom; Netherworld Books

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Reinterpreting the Griffins of the Middle Kingdom

Jake Colloff

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Introduction

In his two 2013 articles ‘Der Rettende Grief’ and ‘Anubis mit der Scheibe im Mythos von der Geburt des Gottkönigs’, Hartwig Altenmüller proposes that the figures on the so-called ‘magical knives’ of the Middle Kingdom represent characters from the later Myth of the Sun’s Eye.¹ He further suggests that the griffin depicted on these objects is a zoomorphic form of the syncretised god Shu-Onuris.² At various points, this understanding has also been implemented to explain the contemporary griffins from the tombs at Beni Hasan.³ However, serious shortcomings in the evidence give reason to doubt these conclusions in both contexts. Furthermore, the trend of treating all forms of griffin at Beni Hasan as a single entity should be regarded cautiously, as the separate animals possess not only unique names but individual iconographies. To understand these differences, technical descriptions of the griffins at Beni Hasan are provided below, followed by a detailed study of the knives and tombs that shall inform an alternate interpretation of each of these animals.

Type 1

Location: BH3 (Figures 1-2)

Tomb Owner: Khnumhotep II

Egyptian Name: No name attested in BH3.⁴

¹ Altenmüller 2013a, 15-35; Altenmüller 2013b, 11-27.

² Altenmüller 2013b, 18-19.

³ For example: Altenmüller 2013b, 21-22; Sabbahy 2017, 402-413.

⁴ Though its name is depicted elsewhere (Voss 1999, 390-398) there is some disagreement over its reading (as discussed later in the text)

Description: This griffin possesses the full head and body of a large feline, likely a cheetah due to its spotted coat (including underbelly) and stripy tail.⁵ On its back is a pair of wings, in between which is the head of an Egyptian person,⁶ which is attached to the back of the griffin and faces the same direction as the animal. The griffin itself has both its head and tail lowered to the ground.



Fig. 1. The griffin from the hunting scene of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan (Kanawati 2014, pl.37a)

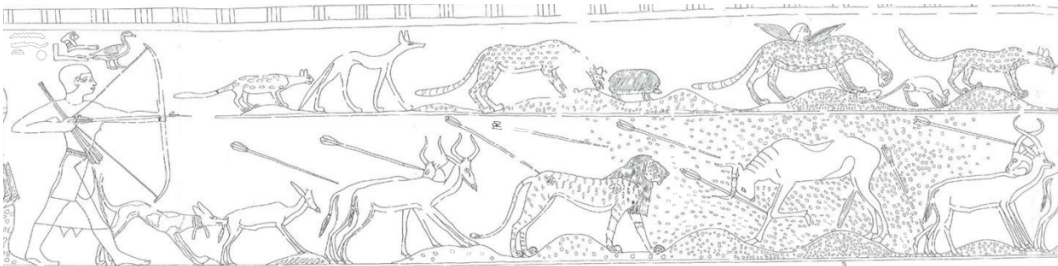


Fig. 2. Facsimile of the hunting scene of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan (Kanawati 2014, pl.124)

Type 2

Location: BH15 and BH17 (Figures 3-4)

Tomb Owners: Baqet III and Khety (respectively)

Egyptian Name: *sfr* (attested in both tombs)⁷

Description: This griffin possesses the head of a falcon and the body of a large feline with wings located on the centre of its back. In both scenes its head is raised, and its tail is

⁵ Castel 2002, 19.

⁶ Altenmüller 2013b, 15.

⁷ WB IV, 115/12.

lowered. Morenz claims that the front legs of this griffin (based on the depiction in BH15) end in bull's hooves as opposed to the back legs which conclude in lion's paws.⁸ There seems however to be no evidence in support of this, with both the concave curvature of the ankles and the lack of differentiation between the skin of the legs and the keratin hooves suggesting that this is not in fact the case. Morenz may have been interpreting the overhanging digits above the paws as dew claws thus leading him to this conclusion, however they are more likely carpal pads which are not uncommonly depicted on the front legs of large felines in Egyptian art.⁹



Fig. 3. The griffin from the tomb of Baqet III at Beni Hasan (Kanawati and Evans 2018, pl.13a)

⁸ Morenz 2002, 24.

⁹ See for example: Kanawati and Woods 2010, photo 39.



Fig. 4. The griffin from the hunting scene of Khety at Beni Hasan (Kanawati and Woods 2010, photo 207)

Type 3

Location: BH17 (Figures 5-7)

Tomb Owner: Khety

Egyptian Name: *s3(w)g.t* (attested in tomb as *s3wg(.t)*)¹⁰

Description: The depiction of this griffin at Beni Hasan has the head of a bird, the body of a feline and no visible wings.¹¹ The underside of the belly is covered in numerous teats and the outwardly erect tail concludes in a lotus flower. There is a checker patterned collar around its neck with a thin line (potentially a leash) attached to it. The colouring of the animal is yellow on all four paws, the forelegs, chest and head, and blue from the back of the forelegs to the end of the tail. On the upper part of the griffin the blue overlaps the collar, continuing until the start of the head, a detail that indicates a cloth draped over the animal. A pattern of vertical and horizontal lines decorates the side of the animal's body starting in-line with the forelegs, possibly also hinting at the presence of some form of clothing.¹²

¹⁰ WB III, 422/8. For the common reading of the name as *sA(w)g.t* see: Quack 2010, 350. For an alternative reading the name as *sAw ns.t* see: Morenz and Schorch 1997, 377-379.

¹¹ Morenz also suggested that the front legs of this griffin ended in hooves (Morenz 2002, 24-25) though this observation can be rejected for the same reasons mentioned above.

¹² At Barsha, only the head and start of the neck remained at the time of Newberry's facsimile (this is now also lost), however one clear difference from the Beni Hasan version is visible, with the Barsha griffin possessing a pair of pointy ears (Figure 7).



Fig. 5. The griffin from the south wall of Khety at Beni Hasan (Kanawati and Woods 2010, photo 208)

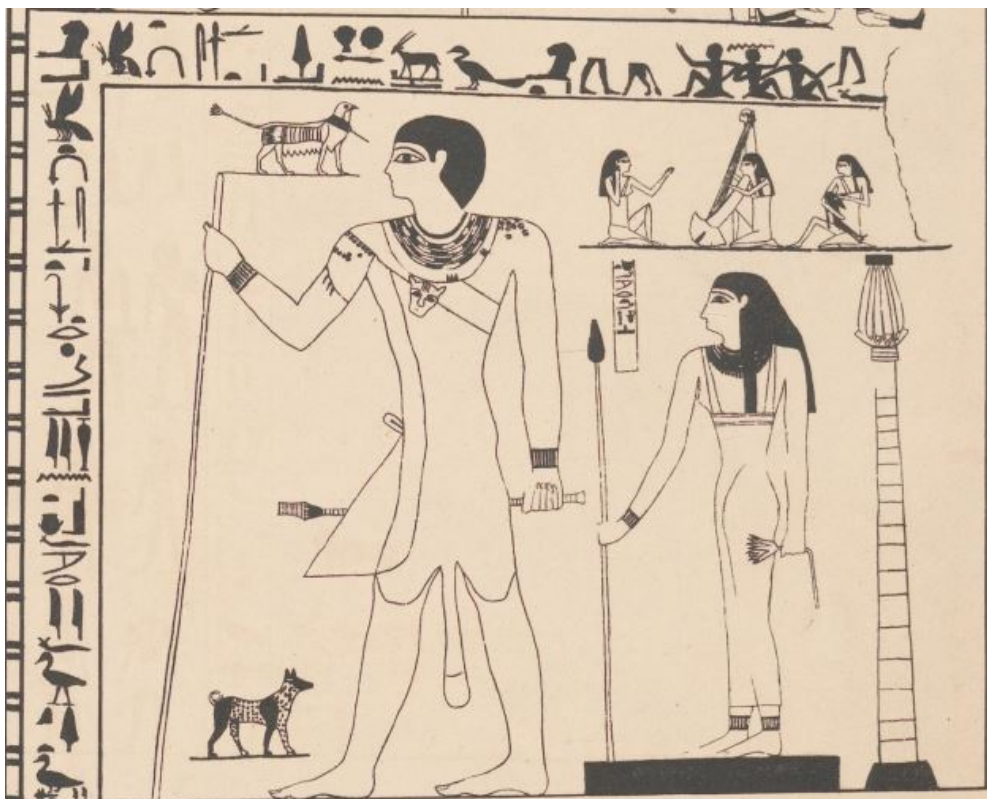


Fig. 6. Facsimile of the griffin from the south wall of Khety at Beni Hasan (Newberry 1893b, pl.16)

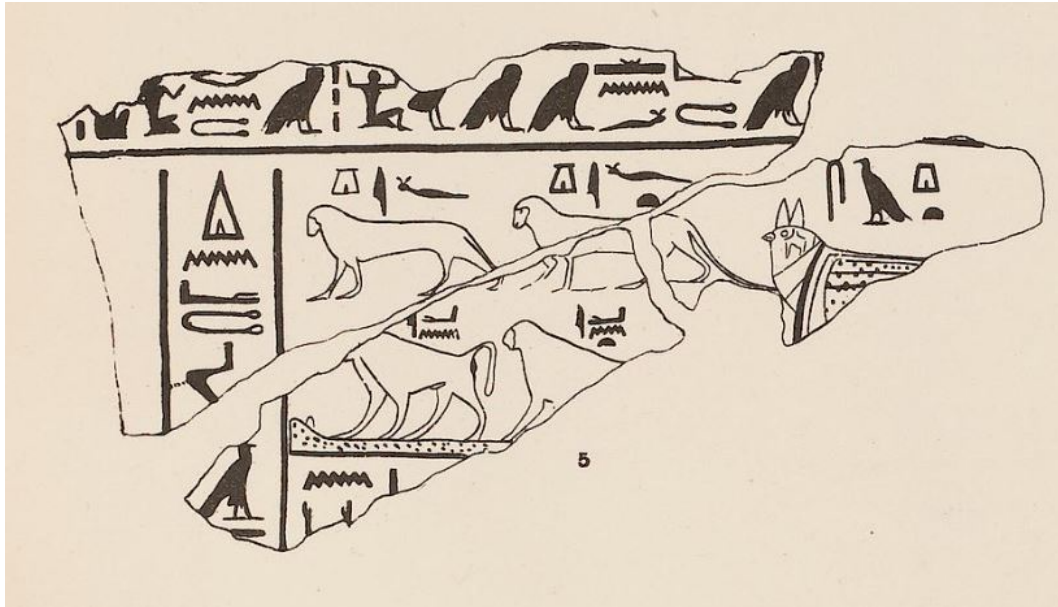


Fig. 7. Facsimile of a fragment of a griffin in the tomb of Nehri I at Deir al-Barsha (Newberry and Griffith 1895, pl. 11)

The Magical Knives

The magical knives of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period are found in the archaeological record from around 2000 BC – 1600 BC.¹³ Used to draw a protective circle around mothers / new-borns,¹⁴ the purpose of the knives was to bestow protection upon children and mothers, before, during and after childbirth.¹⁵ As a secondary, yet unquestionably related function, these items were also placed in tombs in order to help facilitate divine rebirth in the hereafter.¹⁶ The protective function of these objects was achieved through their decorative scheme, which was comprised of various composite and uniform characters,¹⁷ with Péter Hubai recording 72 different figures,¹⁸ across over 150 unearthed knives.¹⁹ Though no two knives exhibit identical decoration, the creatures and symbols present on them are collectively inherited from an identical repertoire of characters, suggesting that they must have been compiled from either a single or collection of standardised mythologies.

¹³ Roberson 2009, 436.

¹⁴ Hayes 1953, 248-249; Ritner 1997, 235.

¹⁵ Quirke 2016, 214.

¹⁶ Altenmüller 1986, 26-27.

¹⁷ The protective aspects of these figures is communicated through passages inscribed on the knives, for example: “Words spoken by The Fighter: ‘I have come so that I may select protection upon Sena-ib, whom the lady of the house Seneb-sema gave birth to, may she live.’” (From Berlin Staatliche Museen object 14207)

¹⁸ The actual number of demons is less than this as, for example, a sitting and striding panther were counted as two different figures despite likely representing the same entity: Hubai 2008, 182.

¹⁹ This figure is now over 200: Vink 2016-2017, 12.

In his original thesis on these artefacts, Altenmüller ascertained a connection between the figures present on the knives and the entourage of the sun god.²⁰ This correlation enabled him to convincingly argue that the knives served an apotropaic function by means of sympathetic magic.²¹ In this proposal, the child represents the sun god whom the entourage protects by repelling evil forces that mean it harm.²² Subsequently, Altenmüller has advocated a connection between the figures on these knives and those present in the later Myth of the Sun's Eye.²³ Expanding this idea, he argues that the griffins from these knives represents the syncretised god Shu-Onuris who fetches the eye (shown in the form of the head of Atum located on the griffins back) from Nubia.²⁴ Despite numerous flaws, these latter conclusions have been espoused by various scholars over the last decade, causing them to become one of the most prominent interpretations of these figures in the current literature.²⁵

The Sun's Eye argument rests on three fundamental claims: the baboon carrying the wedjat eye represents Thoth carrying the Sun's Eye;²⁶ the Jackal headed figure shown in close proximity to solar disks should be interpreted as Anubis fetching the solar eye;²⁷ and the magical knife found in tomb 95.2 at Dra abu al Naga gives the griffin the name *in-hr.t*, the Egyptian term for Onuris.²⁸ Of these claims, the latter two are most dubious and warrant a detailed discussion below.

In the second claim, Anubis is incorporated into the Myth of the Sun's Eye by being paralled with *'wnš-kwḫ'* (literally meaning 'jackal-monkey') one of the protagonists of the story.²⁹ However, across all the inscriptional evidence, there seems to be very little corroborating this link. The most supportive construal for this connection comes from translating *'wnš-kwḫ'* as 'jackal named kufi'.³⁰ This interpretation is however almost unquestionably erroneous due to passages that describe him climbing trees to eat fruit as he looks back towards his homeland, which substantiate the more ubiquitous understanding of *'wnš-kwḫ'* as a primate.³¹ This notion was recently reaffirmed by Luigi Prada's argument that the equivalent character in the Greek version of the text can be translated as 'monkey', as opposed to its previous reading of 'lynx'.³² Additionally, after the two characters (*wnš-kwḫ'* and the Sun's Eye) reach Thebes, *wnš-kwḫ'* is thereafter only referred to as *kwḫ'* (monkey).³³

²⁰ Altenmüller 1965, 136-177.

²¹ Altenmüller 1965, 178-187.

²² Altenmüller 1965, 178-187.

²³ Altenmüller 2013a, 19ff; Altenmüller 2013b, 17ff; Altenmüller 2015, 24ff.

²⁴ Altenmüller 2013b, 16-22.

²⁵ Liptay 2015-2016, 42; Quirke 2016, 356; Vink 2016-2017, 15. Altenmüller and others have also used this theory to interpret certain griffins at Beni Hasan and Deir al-Barsha: Altenmüller 2013b, 21-22; Sabbahy 2017, 402-413.

²⁶ Altenmüller 2013a, 21-22.

²⁷ Altenmüller 2013a, 22.

²⁸ Altenmüller 2013b, 18-19.

²⁹ Altenmüller 2013a, 22.

³⁰ For this understanding see: Smith 1984, 1083; West 1969, 162.

³¹ Smith 1984, 1083; Quack 2010, 342.

³² Prada 2014, 111-114.

³³ This happens in both the Greek and demotic versions: Quack 2010, 342.

Jacqueline Jay suggests that perhaps *wnš-kwf* is a wild form of the domesticated *kwf*-ape,³⁴ which is linked with the ‘cynocephalus’ baboon.³⁵ Finally, Joachim Quack reveals that on the Leiden papyrus (P. Leiden I 384, 22/12) this character is revealed to be the son of Thoth,³⁶ while on the temple inscriptions he almost exclusively represents Thoth himself, often accompanied by Shu, but never Anubis.³⁷ Therefore, despite the existence of various textual accounts of this myth, there seems to be no literary records substantiating Altenmüller’s paralleling of these two figures.

Another unconvincing proposal relates to the magical knife from tomb 95.2 at Dra abu al Naga, which constitutes the only document where the name of the griffin is provided.³⁸ Though the inscriptions are somewhat dilapidated, Voss (who published the original report on the piece) reads this name as *tp.ty idb.wy* ‘First of the Two Banks’ or *tp.ty t3.wy* ‘First of the Two Lands’.³⁹ Altenmüller on the other hand, through a manipulation of the partially erased glyphs, argues that they read *in-ḥr.t*, the Egyptian name for the god Onuris.⁴⁰ This reading however appears questionable as it relies on changing every glyph from Voss’s original transcription without sufficient basis. Whilst an updated publication of the knife would perhaps help to resolve this issue, until such a time one cannot justifiably accept this new interpretation.

Further reasons to doubt this connection may arise when considering the dating of the myth. The first full literary record of this story appears in a demotic papyrus from the second century AD, over two thousand years after the earliest of the magical knives.⁴¹ Whilst it is clear that the original story predates this time, following many Egyptian stories that existed orally before they were captured in writing, there is doubt regarding whether the myth dates far enough back to be contemporary with this corpus of objects.⁴² This suspicion is reiterated in a statement by Quack who expresses the opinion that “its core is definitely rather late for ancient Egypt, not before the first millennium BC”.⁴³ Whilst Jan Assmann and Georges Posener respectively argue that precursors to the core or certain fables from within the core of the story, can be seen during the New Kingdom,⁴⁴ not only

³⁴ This is based on the passage that talks about *wnš-kwf* not wanting “to leave his southern homeland, in which he is said to live “free under the sky in the trees” Jay 2016, 226.

³⁵ Smith 1984, 1083.

³⁶ Quack 2010, 342.

³⁷ Quack 2010, 342.

³⁸ Voss 1999, 396.

³⁹ Voss 1999, 395-396.

⁴⁰ Altenmüller 2013b, 18-19.

⁴¹ Chronology based on: Shaw 2000, 483.

⁴² Gerke 2014, 41.

⁴³ Quack 2010, 341.

⁴⁴ Assmann argues that the ‘Moscow mythological story’ is a late eighteenth dynasty forerunner to the core: Assmann 1985, 48. Whilst Posener connects a fragment of a story on the Ramesside ostrakon ‘O. Deir el-Medina 1598 I’ with the fable of the two jackals: Posener 1978, 78.

are both of these interpretations questionable,⁴⁵ but certain independent fables probably predate the core regardless.⁴⁶

Finally, Altenmüller himself identifies a complication with his argument that he fails to resolve: the fact that Onuris has never otherwise been documented as a griffin.⁴⁷ Whilst one of Onuris's known forms is that of a falcon,⁴⁸ and various other falcon deities take the appearance of a griffin,⁴⁹ in no other known cases is Onuris's appearance in this form substantiated.⁵⁰

An alternative understanding of the griffin can be fashioned from a hypothesis posited by Erik Hornung, who identifies similarities between this beast and a serpent deity depicted in the fifth and eleventh hours of the 'Book of Amduat'.⁵¹ The first of these scenes shows a three headed winged serpent with a human head on its tail, and the falcon-headed god Sokar standing between its wings (Figure 8).



Fig. 8. Facsimile of section from the fifth hour of the Amduat (after Piankoff and Rambova 1954, fig. 78. Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University)

The name of the snake is *ntr-ꜣ-wpi-dnhwy-sꜣb-šwt* “The great god who spreads (his) wings, colourful of plumage”, the last portion of which was often used in the epithets of avian

⁴⁵ Assmann's conclusion is refuted upon lack of evidence by Baines and Jay (Baines 1996, 160; Jay 2016, 227), whilst Posener's hypothesis is contested by Jasnow (Jasnow 1991, 209).

⁴⁶ Jay 2016, 233. Note that another proposed depiction of this myth from the New Kingdom can be seen on Berlin Ostrakon 21443. For an overview of the discussion surrounding this piece see: Braun 2020, 209-217.

⁴⁷ Altenmüller 2013b, 19.

⁴⁸ Altenmüller 2013b, 19.

⁴⁹ In an Old Kingdom griffin from the valley temple of Sahure the griffin is linked with the likes of Horus and Soped: Borchardt 1913, pl.8.

⁵⁰ Altenmüller 2013b, 19.

⁵¹ Hornung 1963, 106, 175.

deities.⁵² In the eleventh hour the snake appears again, though pictured slightly differently with four legs and a sun-disk crowned god grabbing its two wings (Figure 9).



Fig. 9. Facsimile of the winged snake from the eleventh hour of the Amduat (after Piankoff and Rambova 1954, fig. 86. Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University)

In this instance there is an accompanying text which reads:

He exists in this fashion.

When this god calls to him, the image of Atum comes forth from his back.

Then he swallows his images afterwards.

He lives from the shades of the dead, and his corpse (also lives from) the heads.⁵³

This passage indicates that the figure holding the wings is the ‘image of Atum’ who lives hidden in the snake’s body and rises from its back when called forth by the sun god.⁵⁴ If we take this snake to represent a later version of the *tp.ty idb.wy*, the head rising from the griffin’s back should be understood as the ‘image of Atum’ (or a proto form thereof) which is depicted due to the animal’s proximity to the sun god.

⁵² Hornung 1963, 106.

⁵³ Darnell and Darnell 2018, 226.

⁵⁴ Hornung 1963, 175.

Further evidence solidifying the connection between the griffin and this snake deity is visible in a scene from the late twenty-first dynasty mythological papyrus of Bakenmut. This papyrus portrays a six-legged winged snake with the head and torso of a man protruding from between its wings, an almost exact replica of certain griffins from the magical knives (Figure 10).⁵⁵



Fig. 10. Winged snake with bust arising from its back from the mythological papyrus of Bakenmut (Piankoff 1957, pl. 20)

In more recent times, articles have developed this connection by analysing various figures from the knives and their use in later underworld texts.⁵⁶ These appearances occur for the first time in the Book of Two Ways where certain common demons protect paths and doorways in the hereafter (Figure 11).⁵⁷

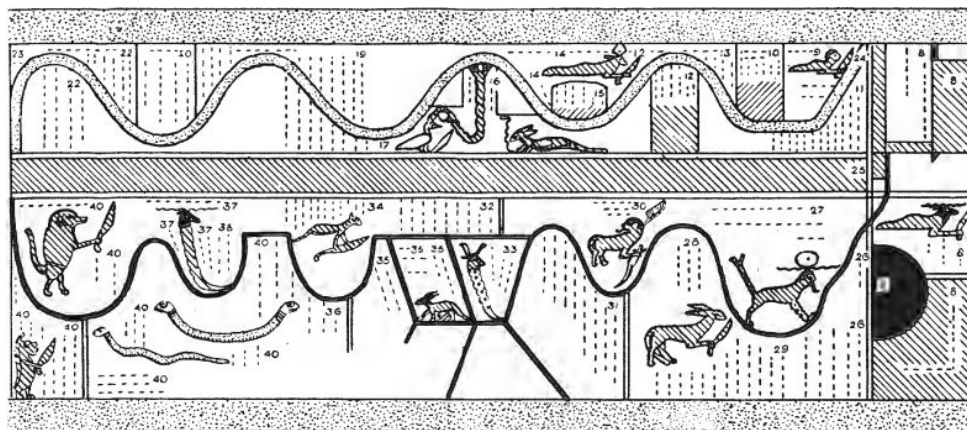


Fig. 11. Demons from the magical knives protecting doorways in the book of two ways (De Buck 1961, plan 1)

⁵⁵ Gerke 2014, 44.

⁵⁶ See: Liptay 2011, 149-156; Roberson 2009, 427-445.

⁵⁷ Hermsen 1991, 137.

In a text from the twenty first dynasty (Louvre Pap. 3110), this connection is even more apparent, as various figures from the knives such as the bipedal hippo and frog goddess appear in tandem with the aforementioned snake deity.⁵⁸ Not only does this reaffirm the role of certain prominent apotropaic demons within the netherworld texts, but also directly links this winged snake to them. This evidence together markedly supports the conclusion that many of the figures on the knives are precursors to characters from the later netherworld books, who help the sun god in his nightly journey so that he may successfully undergo (re)birth.

Whilst there is certainly a link between these apotropaic characters and the figures from the later netherworld texts, caution in directly equating the named deities in these images to the Middle Kingdom griffin should be advised. This is due to the large span of time between the Book of Amduat and the early knives, which may have allowed for an evolution of the iconography in the same way that the griffin gave way to a snake.⁵⁹ The later incorporation of the apotropaic figures into the netherworld books however is unlikely coincidental, and so we may understand them as having retained their religious significance into this time.⁶⁰ One should therefore recognise the griffins on the knives as a demon of the solar entourage, who aides the sun god in his voyage through the hereafter. This is done to aid the rebirth of the sun god and by extension the new-born connected with the knife. The presence of the head between the wings of the griffin indicates the presence of the sun god, which the infant of course embodies.

One complication regarding this theory relates to the few examples in which the heads on the griffins display spurts of blood.⁶¹ Quirke compares these examples to later cursed figurines,⁶² stating that the motif is used in a projective manner to prevent “the possibility of any force becoming inimical, rebelling against the creator.”⁶³ These, along with several griffins that are depicted with no heads between the wings at all, are anomalies in the context of the entire corpus of knives.⁶⁴ Such deviances may have been rendered intentionally or unintentionally depending on how comprehensive the mythology surrounding these beings was at the time. If intentional, they likely serve a similar purpose to the severed heads of the enemy that are also shown on these knives, which likely act in the way which Quirke describes.

⁵⁸ See Liptay 2011, fig. 5.

⁵⁹ Gerke 2014, 45.

⁶⁰ Liptay 2011, 153-154.

⁶¹ Altenmüller 2013b, 14; Quirke 2016, 355.

⁶² For examples of these blood-jets in the cursed figurines see: Posener 1958, 256. Similarly to the griffins, these figures can depict Egyptians (as well as foreigners): Koenig 2007, 224.

⁶³ Quirke 2016, 355.

⁶⁴ Both those lacking heads and the head's spurting blood are vast minorities: Gerke 2014, 143-171.

The Griffins of Beni Hasan

Of all the known tombs dating to the Middle Kingdom, griffins have been found in the decoration at only two different sites: Beni Hasan and Deir al-Barsha.⁶⁵ As these sites are contemporary with the magical knives, the Sun's Eye argument has been used to understand many of these griffins, especially those from the tombs at Beni Hasan. Having rejected his theory, separate ideas shall be posited here, based on the context and iconography of each individual piece.

The tp.ty idb.wy Griffin

The *tp.ty idb.wy* griffin (following Voss's reading of the name) is an exact replica of those from the magical knives except for its feline, as opposed to avian, head. This griffin occurs once in the funerary record, within the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan (BH3),⁶⁶ located in a hunting scene on the first register on the eastern side of the North wall, facing east (Figure 2). The griffin (which occurs unnamed in this scene) is located in front of a bowman titled 'Son of the local prince *nh.t*', however his arrows seem only to be falling on creatures of the second register. The posture of the griffin is not aggressive (both tail and head are lowered) and it is not engaging with any of the other animals around it.

In her comprehensive analysis of this scene, Janice Kamrin concludes that the insertion of Khnumhotep II and his children as hunters, is intended to reflect Khnumhotep in the role of the king, as previous Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom hunting scenes from private tombs never show the owner actively participating in the hunt (as opposed to royal tombs which do).⁶⁷ When these scenes occur in the royal sphere, the king is identified with Horus who pacifies the animals of the chaotic desert (which represent enemies of the gods), thus bringing order to the cosmos.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Kamrin recognises that many of the animals share a solar theme, leading her to conclude that the scene overall acts as a metaphor for the journey of the sun god through the netherworld, with the hunted animals representing the enemies of this god.⁶⁹ As the griffin in this scene is not a subject of the hunt, this understanding corroborates well with depictions on the knives where the griffin is a member of the solar entourage, who helps to protect the sun god on his nightly journey.

Though some scholars reject any connection between the griffins of the magical knives and the nobles' tombs,⁷⁰ a damaged yet comparable scene from the twelfth dynasty tomb of Iti-ibi-iqer at Asyut reaffirms this correlation by repeating various other common figures.⁷¹ In

⁶⁵ For an overview and dating of the tombs at Beni Hasan see: Shedid 1994, 26-29, 32-36, 53-66. For dating the Barsha tombs see: Willems 2014, 79-98.

⁶⁶ For original publication of the tomb see: Newberry 1893a, 39-72. For the most recent publication see: Kanawati 2014.

⁶⁷ Kamrin 1999, 87-88. She also notes that whilst Khnumhotep doesn't wear a SnDw.t kilt in this scene (which is the attire usually donned by the king) some other Middle Kingdom nobles do, for example: Blackman 1915, pl. 8.

⁶⁸ Kamrin 1999, 88.

⁶⁹ Kamrin 1999, 89.

⁷⁰ For example: Gerke 2014, 49.

⁷¹ El-Khadragy 2007, 111-112, 125.

the first register of this scene, a large baboon is present, following a spotted leopard / cheetah. Unfortunately, only the rear end (tail and back legs) and a small portion of the neck of this creature is still visible, however the posture and species make it possible that this originally depicted a griffin. Discarding speculation, the second register shows a frontal facing figure who can undoubtedly (despite the loss of the head) be identified as ḥꜣ ‘the fighter’. This repetition of figures across multiple sites significantly weakens any denunciation of a connection between the hunting scenes and the figures from the apotropaic knives. Given this connection, it seems reasonable to postulate that these figures on the walls act in a similar way to the knives when they are placed in tombs, that is to say, they protect the tomb owner who sympathetically represents the sun god, thus aiding his safe rebirth. In essence then, the griffin should be understood as a protective demon who accompanies the sun god through the underworld, enabling the rebirth of the sun each day and by extension, symbolically assisting the rebirth of the tomb owner in the afterlife.

The sfr Griffin

The *sfr* griffin is found twice at Beni Hasan in the tombs of Baqet III and Khety (BH15 and BH17 respectively).⁷² On both occasions the *sfr* griffins are depicted in a hunting scene on the first register on the western side of the north wall, facing east. In the tomb of Baqet the *sfr* griffin is fronted by a Seth Animal and trailed by a serpopard whereas in the tomb of Khety the same three animals appear in opposite order. In both tombs these animals are located behind an active bowman and are neither being hunted nor are they attacking any lesser animals.

The Sun’s Eye argument avers that these scenes illustrate the tomb owners, together with real and mythical animals, tracking the Sun’s Eye and slaughtering enemies of the sun god as sacrifices along the way.⁷³ The alternative name of this beast is elucidated on account of it not having yet located the Sun’s Eye, as seen through the fact that no head is present between its wings.⁷⁴ In addition to the previous arguments rejecting his interpretation, the orientation of this scene is inconsistent with a depiction of this myth. In both tombs the hunting scene is depicted on the northern wall despite the Sun’s Eye having fled to Nubia in the south. This contradicts the ancient Egyptians’ careful orientation of art to reflect ‘real world’ geography, and further diminishes the strength of this argument overall.⁷⁵

A starting point for the interpretation of this animal can be obtained through its etymology. The name *sfr* is most likely a derivative of the term *srf* ‘to be warm / hot’ as seen through passages in the Coffin Texts:⁷⁶

⁷² For the original publication of the tombs see: Newberry 1893b. For the most recent publication of tomb 15 see: Kanawati and Evans 2018.

⁷³ Altenmüller 2013b, 22.

⁷⁴ Altenmüller 2013b, 22.

⁷⁵ It should be noted also that the Beni Hasan and Asyut scenes all move from west to east, following the same direction that the sun barque moves through the netherworld.

⁷⁶ Translations after: Morenz and Schorch 1997, 372, 374.

CT VII, 222 k-m:

I am your father/image in the midst of your *hm*-shrine; after I have given the *srf* to the throne of heaven, after I have repeated your Ba-shape by your (outer) strength.

CT V, 67 d-f:

I divide / judge the court among the shining ones(?) as the *srf* enters, as the *srf* leaves.

Notably in the first instance, the determinative for the term *srf* is a four-legged creature,⁷⁷ whilst the second example contains a double determinative comprised of a brazier (Gardiner Q7) and a seated god figure (Gardiner A40).⁷⁸ Together these determinatives confirm the link between this beast and a deity connected with heat and warmth.

On account of these associations, perhaps the most sense can be made of this depiction by seeing it as another manifestation of a demon from the solar entourage following Kamrin's interpretation of the similar scene in the tomb of Khnumhotep II. Though different from the *tp.ty idb.wy* griffins without this human head on their back do occur on the magical knives (as mentioned above), and the *sfr*'s presence alongside the Seth Animal and serpopard which also both feature recurrently on the magical knives buttresses this conclusion. This of course summons questions surrounding the different nuances between the *sfr* and the *tp.ty idb.wy* which occupy similar contexts and iconographical meaning, yet were undoubtedly distinct figures in the Egyptian mind. Unfortunately, answers to such questions require additional data, and thus one can only conclude that the *sfr* must not contain the 'image of Atum' and is therefore a separate creature that nevertheless possesses solar connections.

The sꜣ(w)g.t Griffin

The *sꜣ(w)g.t* griffin, following the common reading of the name, is found in both the tomb of Khety at Beni Hasan (BH17) and Nehri I at Deir al-Barsha (Barsha 4).⁷⁹ At Beni Hasan the griffin is found on the eastern half of the south wall facing west, positioned at eye height in front of a large depiction of the tomb owner who faces east (Figure 6). At Deir al-Barsha the griffin is positioned behind a pair of gif monkeys and a pair of *in*-baboons, each made up of a male and a female (Figure 7).

In this instance, the connection between the *sꜣ(w)g.t* and the Myth of the Sun's Eye was posited by Lisa Sabbahy, who links it to the griffin that "swathes himself for you (Hathor)

⁷⁷ Morenz and Schorch 1997, 372.

⁷⁸ Morenz 2002, 29.

⁷⁹ For the original publication of the tombs see: Newberry 1893b, 51-62; Newberry and Griffith 1895, 29.

with his wings”⁸⁰. Even if the connection between Middle Kingdom griffins and this myth was accurate, which has been disputed above, the Egyptian word for ‘griffin’ in this instance is *sfr* which is referred to using the male pronoun ‘*f*’, making this connection (with the female *s3(w)g.t* griffin) undoubtedly erroneous.⁸¹

The *s3(w)g.t* likely depicts a tamed version of the griffin due to its collar and close proximity with Khety himself at Beni Hasan, and portrayal behind two forms of domesticated ape at Deir al-Barsha.⁸² Whilst some such as Gerke reject this idea due to the desert context at Barsha,⁸³ and the possible non-original context of the animal at Beni Hasan,⁸⁴ others expand this argument, claiming that the *s3(w)g.t* is in fact a dog dressed to look like a griffin.⁸⁵ It has even been proposed that this disguise would transform an ordinary hunting dog into a ceremonial and ferocious hunting dog, at the same time increasing the prestige of the owner.⁸⁶ A few pieces of evidence do lend some traction to this theory, as both the teats on the Beni Hasan griffin and the pointed ears on the Barsha griffin are more reminiscent of canine as opposed to leonine qualities.⁸⁷ Despite this, the argument remains unconvincing, especially when one considers the lack of parallels for disguising animals in ancient Egypt.⁸⁸ However if true, this interpretation of the decoration inducing ‘ferocious’ qualities in the otherwise regular hunting dog can be dispelled on account of her swollen teats. Very rarely if at all are active hunting dogs depicted with lactating teats in Egyptian art, a fact which is reiterated in a tentative comparison to modern wild dogs for which hunting whilst lactating is not natural behaviour.⁸⁹

The most credible understanding of this animal originates with von Bissing’s observation that the griffin, as well as the ‘nurse, singer and harpist’ who appear behind the depiction of Khety, all stem from an earlier and separate draft of the scene, thus linking the two representations together.⁹⁰ The musicians here are comparable to those from the Old Kingdom which allude to the temporary return of the deceased to this world.⁹¹ Though wet nurses are not usually incorporated into such scenes, they do often appear in settings of (re)birth (sometimes shown holding apotropaic knives)⁹² which the returning of the

⁸⁰ Sabbahy 2017, 404. For quote see: Quack 2010, 348.

⁸¹ Transcription and transliteration can be seen in Darnell 1995, 80.

⁸² Barta 1973-74, 341; Meeks 2001, 505.

⁸³ Gerke 2014, 54.

⁸⁴ von Bissing and Montet were both of the opinion that the griffin was part of an original scene which predated the current one: von Bissing 1904, 110-111; Montet 1911, 17.

⁸⁵ This thought was originally posited by Davies 1933, 28.

⁸⁶ Meeks 2001, 505.

⁸⁷ Of these two features the teats are slightly less compelling as there exist New Kingdom examples of feline sphinxes with swollen teats (Gardiner 1953, pl. 1), however there also exist winged griffin-like canids with pointy ears which may have originated from this practice if it did exist (Crowfoot and Davies 1941, pl. 20)

⁸⁸ Gerke 2014, 51.

⁸⁹ Creel and Creel 2002, 72; For a general overview of dogs (including their role as hunters) in Egyptian antiquity see: Brewer 2001, 28-48.

⁹⁰ von Bissing 1904, 111; Vasiljević 2003, 435.

⁹¹ Nurses can also be shown playing instruments in such scenes: Vasiljević 2003, 435.

⁹² Altenmüller 1983; Altenmüller 1987.

deceased fulfils.⁹³ One ought therefore to understand the *s3(w)g.t* as achieving the same core function as the other griffins in facilitating rebirth, though the means by which this occurs is clearly different.⁹⁴ This understanding also corresponds best to the symbolic aspects of this griffin whose lotus tail and swollen teats are signs of fertility and (re)birth.

Conclusion

This work advocates that the figures on the magical knives do not represent those from the Myth of the Sun's Eye, but rather portray demons from the solar entourage concerned with ensuring the safe passage of the sun god through the netherworld. By ensuring the rebirth of the sun god, these objects encourage the safe birth of infants (or rebirth of the deceased, in funerary contexts) due to a sympathetic link between the two. Such an understanding can also be applied to the griffins of Beni Hasan, who aid the rebirth of the tomb owner in the afterlife through solar connections. Despite their identical core purposes, each of the separately named griffins has its own particular nuances reflected in both its title and iconography.

In the netherworld texts, a serpentine deity which evolved from the *tp.ty idb.wy* griffin appears. This presents an understanding of the griffin as a figure who ensures an uninhibited rebirth of the sun god each night. This same purpose is attained through the magical knives and in the tomb of Khnumhotep II, with the new-born and tomb owner symbolically inhabiting the position of the solar deity in order to aid their own (re)birth. The head protruding from the back of this animal belongs to a being which lives within the griffin and rises up between its wings when in propinquity with the sun god. In later texts the head or bust is referred to as the 'image of Atum' and the being itself is connected with the god Sokar, however it is impossible to say whether these connections were already present during the Middle Kingdom.

The *sfr* griffin seems to serve a similar role as the *tp.ty idb.wy* due to its appearance in similar hunting scenes, as well as its association with the Seth Animal and serpopard which both feature regularly on the magical knives. There must however have been a difference in the Egyptian understanding of these beings as not only does the *sfr* possess a different name from the *tp.ty idb.wy*, but also a different anatomical representation. The *sfr* is composed in both instances without a head between its wings and therefore can be said not to encapsulate this 'image of Atum'. Possibly the *sfr* can be understood as a powerful animal whose profile, as a deity linked with heat, fitted the role of a member of the solar entourage.

Overall, the evidence seems to support the idea of the *s3(w)g.t* griffin as being a 'tame' animal, though the conclusion that it represents a dog in costume is unjustified and otherwise unprecedented. This griffin accomplishes its rejuvenative purpose through layers of rebirthing iconography, with the swollen teats and lotus tail being pointed symbols of

⁹³ Vasiljević 2003, 435.

⁹⁴ Vasiljević 2003, 435.

fertility and fecundity. This interpretation is ultimately solidified through the animal's connection with nurses and musicians in its original context.

Abbreviations:

ACE Reports = Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports

ANEG = Ancient Egypt: The History, People and Culture of the Nile Valley

ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte

ASE = Archaeological Survey of Egypt

ÄSL = Ägyptologische Studien Leipzig

BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale

BMHBA = Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts

BMMA = The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin

CENiM = Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et méditerranéenne

CHANE = Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

DFIFAO = Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire

JEA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch genootschap "Ex oriente lux"

LÄ = Lexikon der Ägyptologie

MDAIK = Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo

MKS = Middle Kingdom Studies

OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis

OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta

PAe = Probleme der Ägyptologie

SAK = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur

SAK Bh = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur - Beihefte

SIE = Studies in Egyptology

TeG = Tuna el-Gebel

TdE = Trabajos de Egiptología

WA = Writings from the Ancient World

WdO = Die Welt des Orient

WVDOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

ZPE = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Resumen

A pesar de su pequeño tamaño, en el Antiguo Egipto los amuletos eran objetos esenciales para completar el ritual de la momificación y garantizar la resurrección del difunto en el Más Allá. Por ello, se colocaban directamente entre los vendajes que envolvían el cuerpo, con el objetivo de extender sus propiedades mágicas. La elección y la posición de un determinado amuleto no era fruto del azar; sin embargo, en la investigación a menudo se ha subestimado su significado. Este artículo pretende mostrar el interés de un estudio detallado de estos objetos sobre las prácticas funerarias egipcias. Teniendo en cuenta recientes análisis científicos hechos en algunas momias, sobre todo del Período Tardío y de la época greco-romana, queremos presentar la evolución de las concepciones funerarias egipcias a través de algunos amuletos egipcios de la colección del Museo del Louvre.

Palabras clave: Amuletos funerarios; Momias; Simbolismo; Posición de amuletos; Museo del Louvre

Abstract

Despite their small size, amulets were essential to accomplish the ritual of mummification and to guarantee the rebirth of the deceased in the Egyptian afterlife. For this purpose, they were placed directly between the bands that wrapped the body to extend their magical properties. The choice and position of a particular amulet was not the result of chance. However, researchers have often underestimated their meaning. This article aims to present the interest of a detailed study of these objects and the information they can provide on Egyptian funeral practices. By the analysis of recent studies in several mummies, mostly from the Late Period and the Graeco-Roman period, we would like to present the evolution of Egyptian funerary conceptions through some Egyptian amulets from the collection of the Louvre Museum.

Keywords: Funerary Amulets; Mummies; Symbolism; Amulets placement; Louvre Museum

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En búsqueda de la vida eterna - La particularidad de los amuletos funerarios en el Antiguo Egipto

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Introducción

La profusión de amuletos egipcios en todos los museos del mundo, así como su variedad tipológica y estilística, ha favorecido el hecho de que hayan sido a menudo subestimados en la investigación científica. No obstante, estos objetos eran necesarios para llevar a cabo un gran número de rituales en el Egipto antiguo: tanto en la vida diaria, especialmente en el terreno de la medicina y de la religión, como en la muerte y la resurrección del difunto en el Más Allá. El presente artículo forma parte de nuestra investigación doctoral sobre el uso y, sobre todo, el valor que se le acordaban a estos objetos para que fueran utilizados en las prácticas funerarias egipcias, concretamente, en el ritual de la momificación¹. A partir de la comparación de diversas fuentes, tanto antiguas (textuales e iconográficas) como modernas (informáticas), queremos demostrar que la evolución en la mentalidad funeraria egipcia también puede ser tratada a partir de estos pequeños objetos.

La presencia de los amuletos en los rituales funerarios egipcios es notoria. Por un lado, desde el punto de vista teórico, ya que son varios los textos antiguos que nombran su uso: principalmente, el Libro de los Muertos, pero también algunos papiros tardíos. Por otra parte, la teoría es confirmada por la arqueología, ya que los amuletos se siguen encontrando entre los vendajes de las (no tan pocas) momias que se han conservado intactas hasta nuestros días.

Sin embargo, a pesar de esta riqueza de fuentes, los estudios que se han dedicado de manera

¹ Título de la tesis doctoral “Amulettes et momification. Étude illustrée par la collection du Musée du Louvre” (Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3 / École du Louvre), bajo la dirección de Annie Gasse (directora de investigación – CNRS) y de Hélène Guichard (conservadora en el Departamento de Antigüedades egipcias del Museo del Louvre).

exclusiva a los amuletos egipcios no han sido muy numerosos. Esto se debe, principalmente, a su gran variedad, pero también al hecho de que la mayoría sean anepigráficos, lo que dificulta en gran medida su interpretación fuera de su contexto original. En este sentido, debemos destacar el trabajo de uno de los egiptólogos más famosos, Sir William Flinders Petrie, como la obra fundadora de este tema de investigación². En efecto, si bien otros egiptólogos, como Auguste Mariette, plasmaron en sus informes de excavación que los amuletos colocados sobre los cuerpos momificados tenían una posición predeterminada, Petrie fue el primero en dedicarles una obra en particular. Su estudio, centrado en momias de épocas tardías (entre la Baja Época y el Período ptolemaico) y procedentes de varios sitios de Egipto (principalmente, Dendera, Hawara y Abidos), es todavía un referente en este campo.

Es curioso remarcar que, a pesar de su importancia, este trabajo detallado no supuso el nacimiento de una nueva corriente de investigación ya que, desde 1914 (fecha de su publicación) pocos estudios han sido dedicados exclusivamente a los amuletos egipcios. Entre estas excepciones, debemos señalar los trabajos de E. Budge³, C. Müller-Winkler⁴ y C. Andrews⁵, así como otros catálogos más recientes: el de C. Herrmann sobre los amuletos del Museo Bíblico y Oriental de Friburgo⁶, o el de S. Connor y F. Facchetti sobre los amuletos del Museo egipcio de Turín⁷. Sin embargo, estos retoman en gran parte las conclusiones de Petrie, así como su clasificación sobre los amuletos egipcios. En este sentido, es interesante señalar que, a pesar de que Petrie especificara los amuletos encontrados en las momias, no dedicó un apartado concreto en su catálogo a los amuletos funerarios. Otros estudios más recientes tampoco diferencian los amuletos estrictamente funerarios, por lo que su particularidad no ha sido todavía tratada en profundidad.

Actualmente, el desarrollo y la aplicación de la tecnología informática al estudio de la momificación en el Egipto antiguo, especialmente la TC (tomografía computarizada), nos permite hacer una revisión de este tema de investigación. De esta manera, los datos plasmados en los informes de excavación pueden completarse gracias a estos análisis. A través de la comparación de fuentes antiguas y modernas, nuestra intención es mostrar una nueva interpretación de los amuletos egipcios, concretamente, los funerarios.

La necesidad de crear una definición

A pesar de que sean comunes, distinguir los amuletos de otros objetos menores no es una tarea fácil, especialmente si se trata de una gran colección. La principal dificultad reside en que, en la mayoría de los casos, su contexto arqueológico es desconocido, por lo que sólo podemos apoyarnos en su estudio material. Teniendo en cuenta su fabricación, que podemos calificar como “en serie” (consecuencia de su pequeño tamaño - en general menos

² Petrie 1914.

³ Budge 1893.

⁴ Müller-Winkler 1987.

⁵ Andrews 1994.

⁶ Herrmann 2003.

⁷ Connor y Facchetti 2017.

de 10 cm -), el número de tipologías y variantes es enorme. Así, muchos objetos pequeños son a menudo clasificados como amuletos: principalmente joyas, pero también estatuillas (especialmente de divinidades) e incluso elementos de decoración arquitectónica. La cantidad de objetos que se engloban en la categoría de “amuleto” es destacable y su definición, por tanto, necesaria.

La confusión entre amuletos y joyas egipcias es bastante común incluso en los catálogos de museos, pero, sobre todo, en los de las casas de subasta de antigüedades. Debemos considerar que los amuletos suelen aparecer incrustados en joyas: sobre todo en collares, pero también, aunque en menor medida, en anillos y pulseras. Si bien la mayoría son montajes contemporáneos, no hay que olvidar que también en Egipto los amuletos se llevaban como adornos (*fig. 1*).



Fig. 1. Collar compuesto de perlas y algunos amuletos. Museo del Louvre (E 2150). Fayenza egipcia
© 2003 Musée du Louvre/Georges Poncet

Esto se debe a razones prácticas, pues es la mejor manera de tener el amuleto cerca de su propietario y de asegurar así su protección, pero también simbólicas, ya que los amuletos podían ser llevados como objetos de decoración y de prestigio social.

El caso de los escarabeos es particularmente ejemplar. Imitados y exportados en todo el Mediterráneo, gracias sobre todo al comercio fenicio⁸, muchos de estos amuletos aparecen incrustados en anillos. Además de su función en la vida cotidiana (utilizados como sellos en la administración del faraón), su papel en los rituales funerarios era igualmente importante. Uno de los ejemplos más conocidos es el escarabeo de corazón, que se colocaba sobre el pecho del difunto y que solía llevar inscrito el capítulo XXX del Libro de los Muertos para impedir que este órgano delatara al difunto en el juicio frente a Osiris⁹. Esta tipología no era la única funeraria: señalemos el escarabeo con alas que se colocaba en la red de perlas de fayenza que cubrían las momias a partir de la dinastía XXII¹⁰, del cual un ejemplo se conserva todavía sobre la momia de Hor (dinastía XXV, Museo de antigüedades de Leiden)¹¹. Asimismo, escarabeos más pequeños y anepigráficos podían colocarse entre los vendajes de las momias, como los de la momia de Ankhor (dinastía XXVI, Museo de antigüedades de Leiden)¹², o formar parte de joyas, como, por ejemplo, el que llevaba Tutankamón (dinastía XVIII, GEM) en su pectoral¹³.

No obstante, el caso de los escarabeos no es único, pues otros amuletos, como la rana o el ojo-*oudjat*, también se llevaban como anillos. El escáner hecho sobre algunas momias muestra que muchas de estas joyas fueron también añadidas a los amuletos dispuestos entre sus vendajes, a veces, repartidas por todo el cuerpo. Por ello, la diferencia entre estos dos tipos de objetos supone todavía hoy un tema de debate entre los investigadores.

En una tierra regida por el equilibrio universal (*maat*), el uso de objetos mágicos era necesario; no sólo para combatir los posibles males y las fuerzas nefastas, sino también para atraer la buena suerte. Así, los amuletos se utilizaban con el objetivo de tener un cierto control sobre este equilibrio inestable¹⁴. En este sentido, los amuletos que representan la diosa Maat o la pluma se llevaban al cuello para estar bajo su protección; colocados entre los vendajes de las momias, esta divinidad garantizaba su resurrección en el Más Allá. En efecto, “el mundo de los muertos guarda un enorme parecido con el de los vivos, aunque intenta evitar los aspectos más ingratos de este”¹⁵.

El empleo de un determinado tipo de amuleto no era una elección al azar, sino que respondía a un motivo preciso. Por ello, su material y su color, así como su posición sobre el cuerpo momificado tenían intenciones rituales. Es interesante señalar que el episodio del Juicio de Osiris, durante el cual se pesaba el corazón del difunto en una balanza, no era sólo

⁸ Vercoutter 1945, 41-44. En este tema, ver los trabajos de Hölbl, Günther. 1986. *Ägyptisches Kulturgut im phönikischen und punischen Sardinien*. Leiden: E. J. Brill; Padró i Parcerisa, Josep. 1995. *New Egyptian-type Documents from the Mediterranean Littoral of the Iberian Peninsula before the Roman Conquest*. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry; Gordon, Andrée Feghali. 1996. *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Scarabs: A Typology of Steatite, Faience, and Paste Scarabs from Punic and Other Mediterranean Sites*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

⁹ Malaise 1979, 36; Sousa 2011, 47.

¹⁰ Greco 2012, 138 ; Miniaci, Haynes y Lacovara 2018, 177.

¹¹ Raven, Taconis, y Maat 2005, 120-123.

¹² Raven, Taconis, y Maat 2005, 141-145.

¹³ Reeves 2003, 112-113.

¹⁴ Germond 2006, 13.

¹⁵ Barbotin, Dunand, y Gasse 2010, 39.

de carácter religioso, sino también social, puesto que las acciones que hubiera llevado a cabo el difunto durante su vida podían llegar a alterar la *maat*¹⁶.

Por ello, debemos ahondar en el uso que tuvieron los amuletos en el antiguo Egipto. En su estudio, Petrie los definió a partir de su función: “The word amulet commonly means any small object that, due to its shape, material and colour, has magical properties to protect its owner”¹⁷. En efecto, la principal característica de los amuletos reside en su poder apotropaico y en su capacidad de proteger a su propietario. La definición clásica que aparece en el *LÄ*, formulada por A. Klasens, sigue la misma dirección: “In general a small and light object to be worn on the body, an instrument of magic with protective and apotropaic powers”¹⁸.

Las palabras que se han empleado en los textos para referirse a los amuletos se traducen como “protección”: principalmente *s3* (𓄿), var. *ʿ* (𓄿)¹⁹, pero también *mʿkt* (𓄿𓄿𓄿), *nht* (𓄿𓄿) y, en menor medida, *wḏ3* (𓄿𓄿)²⁰. Asimismo, es interesante destacar el empleo de los mismos signos jeroglíficos (V16 y V17) para representar tanto para la idea de protección como el amuleto en general²¹. En otras palabras, el amuleto representa en sí mismo su función.

Mención aparte merecen los amuletos textiles, es decir, tejidos con la representación de una divinidad o de un símbolo apotropaico, que son definidos por otra palabra: *mnḥ.t*²². Tanto por la particularidad de su material y de su marco cronológico, siendo la mayoría tardíos, pero también por la dificultad de estudio²³, pues la mayoría no aparecen en los escáneres, no pueden incluirse en un estudio general sobre los amuletos funerarios.

Partimos de la hipótesis de que un amuleto es un objeto personal, es decir, que fue fabricado con una intención precisa y que estaba íntimamente ligado a su propietario. El análisis de las diferentes palabras utilizadas para describirlos confirma que su principal cualidad era la protección del individuo, que lo utilizó así para defenderse de los peligros que pudiera afrontar, tanto a lo largo de su vida como después de su muerte.

Esta relación íntima entre el amuleto y la persona destinada a beneficiarse de sus poderes llegó a todos los aspectos de la vida en el Egipto antiguo. Así, desde que un niño nacía se colocaban amuletos específicos al lado de la futura madre (representando a las divinidades Taueret y Bes) para ahuyentar las fuerzas malignas y que el parto se desarrollara correctamente. Los amuletos que representan estas divinidades son a menudo encontrados en las tumbas infantiles, con el objeto de seguir protegiendo al infante en el Más Allá²⁴. Más adelante, en el terreno de la medicina, los amuletos se empleaban con fines sanadores y

¹⁶ Greco 2012, 45.

¹⁷ Petrie 1914, 1.

¹⁸ Klasens 1975, 232.

¹⁹ Wb III, 414, 4-8; Ritner 1993, 49.

²⁰ Andrews 1994, 6.

²¹ Muñoz Pérez 2020, 37.

²² Schreiber 2007, 337.

²³ Ver el trabajo de Kockelmann, Holger. 2008. *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden*. SAT 12. Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz.

²⁴ Grajetzki 2003, 82.

apotropaicos (es por ello que muchos amuletos retomaban la forma de las partes del cuerpo que querían sanar). Finalmente, es precisamente a causa de esta capacidad de protección que los amuletos fueron usados en los rituales funerarios, para así extender sus propiedades a la otra vida (como lo demuestra su presencia en los cuerpos momificados)²⁵.

Teniendo en cuenta la variedad de contextos en los que podían emplearse, las propiedades que caracterizan particularmente los amuletos funerarios no son claras. Por ello, nuestra tesis se centra en definir si todos los tipos de amuletos egipcios fueron considerados aptos para los rituales funerarios en el antiguo Egipto.

El poder de los objetos pequeños

El origen de los atributos mágicos de los amuletos es motivo de debate entre los investigadores. Por un lado, algunos egiptólogos proponen que su magia provenía de su forma²⁶, ya que la gran mayoría de amuletos han tomado su imagen de signos jeroglíficos. Así, la magia que contenían los jeroglíficos sobrepasa la escritura, y el amuleto debe ser entendido como la representación visual de una idea²⁷.

Al igual que ocurre en otras civilizaciones antiguas, en Egipto la magia que se le presupone a un determinado objeto venía dada por las inscripciones que portaba. No obstante, como ya hemos señalado, la mayoría de los amuletos son anepigráficos: a excepción de los que estaban inscritos de su correspondiente fórmula del Libro de los Muertos, o del nombre de su propietario, lo más común es encontrar amuletos sin ninguna inscripción jeroglífica²⁸. Sin embargo, esto no significa que no tuvieran propiedades mágicas; el hecho de representar determinados elementos podía, a través de la magia, hacer que existieran²⁹. De esta manera, los amuletos que toman su forma de ofrendas funerarias, como la pata de buey, tenían la intención de hacer perdurar esta imagen y garantizar permanentemente que el difunto pudiera acceder a sus ofrendas.

Por otra parte, determinadas fórmulas podían ser recitadas por los sacerdotes delante de los amuletos para reforzar su magia³⁰: los capítulos 155-160 del Libro de los Muertos evocan las fórmulas que debían ser pronunciadas delante de un determinado amuleto (en este caso, el pilar-*djed*, el nudo-*tit*, el buitro, el collier-*ousekh* y la columna-*ouadj*) antes de ser colocados sobre el cuello del difunto.

Sin embargo, los amuletos también contenían ciertas propiedades intrínsecas. En otras palabras, es en su material de fabricación, así como en la simbología de sus colores, donde reside su magia³¹. En la cultura egipcia, el hecho de fabricar un determinado objeto en un material, e incluso el representarlo en un color concreto, no se basaba en una cuestión

²⁵ Allen 2005, 11.

²⁶ Koenig 1994, 247; Wilkinson 1994, 17-18.

²⁷ Klasens 1975, 234.

²⁸ Señalemos que un 97,50% de los amuletos de nuestro corpus no tenían ningún tipo de inscripción: Muñoz Pérez 2020, 67.

²⁹ Germond 2006, 14.

³⁰ Klasens 1975, 232 ; Elsaeed y Veiga 2012, 15.

³¹ Germond 2006, 22-24.

puramente práctica o estética, sino simbólica. Nuestra investigación doctoral sobre los amuletos egipcios del Museo del Louvre nos ha permitido comprobar la gran variedad de materiales en los que podían ser fabricados³². La mayoría se crearon en fayenza egipcia, por su relativa facilidad de manipulación, similar a la de la cerámica, pero también por sus numerosas connotaciones simbólicas. Por su acabado metálico y sus tonalidades verdes y azuladas, la fayenza se relacionaba con ideas como la vida o la fertilidad y, en contexto funerario, con el renacimiento del difunto³³. Los amuletos también se realizaban en distintos tipos de piedras, así como en materiales preciosos como el lapislázuli, la turquesa, el oro o el vidrio³⁴. Por tanto, la variedad de materiales de fabricación es un criterio de estudio a tener en cuenta, ya que era el uso de un material en concreto lo que garantizaba el poder del amuleto³⁵.

Es por ello que podemos encontrar los mismos tipos de amuletos, de distintas épocas y procedentes de distintas regiones de Egipto, fabricados en un material determinado. Un ejemplo es el amuleto que representa el reposacabezas, que suele fabricarse en piedras de color negro; igual ocurre con el amuleto que representa los dos dedos o la doble pluma, en obsidiana o en otras piedras negras.

Asimismo, el mismo tipo de amuleto podía ser fabricado en materiales distintos. Este caso es frecuente en amuletos que han sido utilizados a lo largo de toda la historia egipcia, como el ojo-*udjat* y el pilar-*djed*. Otro ejemplo claro es el amuleto en forma de corazón (*figs. 2 y 3*). Sólo en la colección del Museo del Louvre encontramos este amuleto en oro y en madera dorada, en fayenza azul y verde, en amazonita verde, en cornalina y jaspe rojos, en lapislázuli y finalmente en piedras y en vidrios de distintos colores... En este caso, la variedad de materiales de fabricación no se basa en la forma externa del amuleto y en su representación, sino también en su simbología³⁶.

³² Otras colecciones presentan la misma característica: Müller-Winkler 1987, 3-4; Andrews 1994, 100-106; Connor y Facchetti 2017, 38-41.

³³ Wilkinson 1994, 107-108.

³⁴ La predilección en el uso de amuletos en metal y en gemas es una constante en los textos funerarios egipcios (Textos de las pirámides, Textos de los sarcófagos, Libro de los Muertos, Libro de las respiraciones, etc.), tema que S. Aufrère había interpretado como la “mineralización” del difunto: Aufrère 1991, 342-245.

³⁵ Ikram y Dodson 1998, 137; Germond 2006, 115.

³⁶ Raven 1988, 237.



Fig. 2. Amuleto de corazón. Museo del Louvre (N 551). Oro. Reino Medio
© 2002 Musée du Louvre / Christian Décamps



Fig. 3. Amuleto de corazón. Museo del Louvre (AF 13493). Piedra. Baja Época
© 2016 Musée du Louvre / Christian Décamps

Aunque la relación entre el uso de materiales más o menos lujosos y las capacidades económicas del difunto son innegables, el factor económico no es el único a tener en cuenta. En efecto, la gran mayoría de los amuletos que protegían el cuerpo momificado de los faraones se realizaron en oro. No obstante, la presencia en estas mismas momias de amuletos en otros materiales menos nobles, como la fayenza egipcia, desmonta esta hipótesis; por ejemplo, el ojo-*oudjat* en fayenza de la momia de Tutankamón (dinastía XVIII, GEM)³⁷. Asimismo, la presencia de amuletos en materiales “nobles” en momias no reales confirma la importancia de su simbología: por ejemplo, el amuleto-*ânkh* en oro de la momia de un profeta de Amón (dinastía XXVI, Museo de antigüedades de Leiden)³⁸ o el pilar-*djed* en madera dorada de la momia de Takerheb (Periodo ptolemaico, Museo arqueológico de Florencia)³⁹.

En este sentido, no hay que olvidar que la palabra egipcia para designar el color (*iwen*) se traduce como “apariencia externa”, pero también como “naturaleza” o “carácter”⁴⁰. Así, muchos amuletos no estaban fabricados en el material que les correspondía, es decir, como estaba indicado en el Libro de los Muertos. Sin embargo, sí que presentan un color determinado: muchos amuletos que representan el buitre alado (capítulo 157) están en realidad hechos en electro, en vez de en oro (*fig. 4*); igualmente, no es raro encontrar muchos pilares-*djed* (capítulo 155) en madera dorada.



Fig. 4. Amuleto de buitre. Museo del Louvre (E 81). Electro. Reino Nuevo
© 2003 Musée du Louvre / Georges Poncet

³⁷ Reeves 2003, 112-113.

³⁸ Raven, Taconis, y Maat 2005, 146-150.

³⁹ Guidotti 2009, 24.

⁴⁰ Wilkinson 1994, 104.

El color en el que se fabricaba un amuleto se relacionaba con una idea simbólica. De esta manera, los amuletos que presentan una tonalidad azul pretendían hacer referencia al cielo, pero también a la crecida del Nilo, así como a las ideas de fertilidad y de renacimiento; los amuletos verdes, como los que representan el tallo de papiro, se relacionan evidentemente con esta y otras plantas, es decir, con la regeneración vegetal pero también con el renacimiento; los amuletos dorados pueden ser relacionados con el sol y con el ciclo solar de la vida, pero muchos de los amuletos que presentan un color amarillento deben ser relacionados con el oro y con la incorruptibilidad que caracteriza este material. Por último, nos gustaría señalar la dicotomía que caracteriza a los amuletos rojizos, ya que este color se relaciona, por un lado, con la sangre y por tanto con la vida, pero también hace referencia al fuego, a la tierra roja del desierto y a las fuerzas peligrosas que deben ser controladas⁴¹. En otras palabras, al igual que ocurre con otros objetos del arte egipcio, un amuleto puede contener varias ideas, incluso aunque puedan parecer ambivalentes⁴². Estas sólo pueden ser analizadas según su contexto original de uso.

La posibilidad de restablecer el contexto arqueológico

Los amuletos han sido a menudo expoliados de los cuerpos que custodiaban, principalmente, por su valor material, lo que explica su ausencia en las tumbas y la ausencia generalizada de contexto arqueológico. Sin embargo, las radiografías hechas a algunas momias intactas muestran que los amuletos han formado parte del ritual de la momificación durante toda la historia egipcia: nuestro corpus de estudio estaba compuesto de una centena de momias, desde la época faraónica (Reino Nuevo) hasta la greco-romana.

La introducción de amuletos entre los vendajes de las momias no tenía una finalidad práctica en la conservación del cuerpo del difunto, sino más bien religiosa y ritual⁴³. Teniendo en cuenta su contribución al renacimiento del difunto en el Más Allá, la elección de un amuleto, pero también su posición, son cuestiones fundamentales. Al igual que ocurre en la arquitectura egipcia, el lugar que ocupaba un determinado objeto (en nuestro caso, un amuleto) en un contexto determinado (el cuerpo momificado) era simbólico y sagrado⁴⁴.

Precisamente por su importancia en el ritual, resulta interesante señalar el vacío de información existente en las fuentes textuales egipcias. Si bien el Libro de los Muertos especificaba en determinados capítulos las fórmulas que los sacerdotes debían recitar frente a determinados amuletos, ningún texto que se conserve actualmente sobre la momificación indica la presencia de amuletos en este ritual. Señalemos que el texto tardío que se conoce como el “Ritual de embalsamamiento” (pBoulaq 3, pLouvre 5158 y pDurham 1983.11), no da ninguna información sobre este tema, a excepción de los amuletos

⁴¹ Andrews 1994, 102; Wilkinson 1994, 106-108.

⁴² Wilkinson 1994, 8.

⁴³ Greco 2012, 62.

⁴⁴ Wilkinson 1994, 61.

dibujados sobre hojas de lino⁴⁵. Tampoco Heródoto, en su descripción del proceso de momificación en esta época, menciona el empleo de amuletos en la momificación⁴⁶.

A pesar de este “vacío” de información, dos excepciones merecen ser remarcadas. Por un lado, una de las paredes del templo ptolemaico de Hathor, en Dendera, indicando la tipología y el material de 104 amuletos utilizados durante la momificación ritual del dios Sokaris⁴⁷. Por otro lado, encontramos la representación de varios amuletos, a modo de esquema, en algunos papiros ptolemaicos, siendo los más conocidos el papiro MacGregor (colección privada inglesa)⁴⁸ y el papiro “de Men” (BM EA 10098)⁴⁹. Además del escaso número de fuentes que mencionan el uso funerario de los amuletos, ninguna hace referencia al momento exacto de su introducción durante el ritual, así como a su posición exacta sobre el cuerpo. Por ello, el principal objetivo de nuestra tesis doctoral era el de distinguir, entre todas las tipologías de amuletos egipcios existentes, cuáles eran realmente utilizadas en la momificación.

En efecto, partimos de la hipótesis de que todos los tipos de amuletos egipcios no fueron aptos para los rituales funerarios. La ausencia de algunos amuletos en los textos y en las momias nos lleva a confirmar esta idea; es el caso, por ejemplo, de los amuletos que representan partes del cuerpo humano (como la mano o la pierna), considerados tradicionalmente como funerarios. Su ausencia de los cuerpos momificados dificulta su interpretación tradicional como sustitutos de las partes que representaban, obligando a reconducir su estudio desde la óptica de la magia o de la medicina.

Aunque los objetos con fines apotropaicos formen parte del ajuar funerario desde el periodo predinástico, los cambios rituales que se produjeron a lo largo de la historia de Egipto afectaron igualmente al uso de amuletos. De esta manera, el Reino Nuevo supone no sólo la democratización de las prácticas funerarias, sino también el “apogeo” de los amuletos, es decir, el aumento considerable de su número⁵⁰. Como ejemplo de esta profusión, debemos señalar que el cuerpo de Tutankamón estaba protegido por más de 140 objetos apotropaicos⁵¹, de los cuales, solo una treintena eran verdaderos amuletos.

Asimismo, también encontramos la aparición de nuevas tipologías, especialmente las figuras de divinidades, tanto humanas como con cabeza de animal. En los periodos siguientes aparecen nuevos tipos de amuletos, como el amuleto de los dos dedos (que aparece a partir de la dinastía XX), así como las triadas de divinidades (a partir de la dinastía XXVI)⁵². Como muestran las momias documentadas por Petrie, entre la Baja Época y el Período ptolemaico, el número de amuletos funerarios aumenta exponencialmente⁵³.

⁴⁵ Töpfer 2015, 253.

⁴⁶ Heródoto, *Historia, Libro II*, 85-89.

⁴⁷ Cauville 1997, 187-191.

⁴⁸ Capart 1908, 14-21.

⁴⁹ Andrews 1994, 8, pl. 2.

⁵⁰ Ikram y Dodson 1998, 142.

⁵¹ Ikram y Dodson 1998, 137.

⁵² Andrews 1994, 12.

⁵³ Petrie 1914, 173.

Hay que señalar que esta “profusión” en el número de amuletos coincide con una nueva manera de ser llevados. A partir de la Baja Época, concretamente a partir de la dinastía XXII, los amuletos se disponen sobre una red, formada de perlas en fayenza egipcia, que se colocaba sobre el cuerpo del difunto⁵⁴. Este cambio en el ritual coincide, además, con innovaciones técnicas en la momificación y el mobiliario funerario, así como con la aparición de nuevos amuletos, como el escarabeo alado y el grupo de amuletos conocidos como los Hijos de Horus⁵⁵. Esta tradición se mantiene hasta la época romana.

El vacío de información existente en este tema de investigación es amplio debido, entre otros factores, a los ladrones que desde la Antigüedad destrozaron las momias para robar sus joyas y amuletos en oro y piedras preciosas. Asimismo, la retirada de las vendas de momias egipcias era un espectáculo entre las clases ricas europeas, motivado por los grandes descubrimientos arqueológicos a lo largo del siglo XIX e incluso principios del XX. Actualmente, la aplicación de las nuevas tecnologías a esta línea de investigación nos permite descubrir los amuletos que contenían las momias, al mismo tiempo que se garantiza su preservación. Concretamente, la tomografía computarizada (TC) permite reconstruir imágenes en 3D y “desenvolver” las momias, sin necesidad de peligrar su conservación. Teniendo en cuenta el interés de estos resultados, muchos museos están llevando a cabo hoy este tipo de análisis⁵⁶.

En el caso que nos ocupa, los amuletos funerarios, este método nos permite no sólo distinguir la tipología de los amuletos que han formado parte del ritual, pero también su posición sobre el cuerpo humano (correspondiendo a cuestiones simbólicas) y su modo de fijación⁵⁷. De esta manera, en el marco de nuestra tesis doctoral, hemos creado una base de datos recopilando más de una centena de cuerpos momificados que han sido analizados con estas técnicas. La comparación entre diversas momias dentro un marco cronológico concreto, sobre todo entre el final del Tercer periodo intermedio y los comienzos de la época romana, nos ha permitido así señalar algunas diferencias interesantes en los amuletos utilizados.

Determinados amuletos han sido a menudo relacionados, desde el punto de vista simbólico, con una parte concreta del cuerpo⁵⁸: por ejemplo, el pilar-*djed* (*fig. 5*) está asociado con la columna vertebral de Osiris. Teniendo en cuenta que a partir del Reino Medio el propio difunto es también considerado como un “Osiris”, estos amuletos deberían colocarse sobre su espalda. No obstante, este amuleto se ha descubierto también en otras partes del cuerpo: la momia de Seramon (dinastía XXI, Museo de Bellas Artes y de Arqueología de Besanzón) llevaba un pilar-*djed* en su cuello a modo de collar⁵⁹, al igual que la de Tutankhamón (dinastía XVIII, GEM)⁶⁰; sin embargo, la momia de Tamut (dinastía XXII, British

⁵⁴ Ikram 2015, 101.

⁵⁵ Andrews 1994, 12.

⁵⁶ Raven, Taconis, y Maat 2005; Taylor, Antoine, y Vandenbeusch 2014; Greco 2012.

⁵⁷ Vanlathem 2001, 49.

⁵⁸ Wilkinson 1994, 72.

⁵⁹ Barbotin, Dunand, y Gasse 2010, 198.

⁶⁰ Reeves 2003, 112-113.

Museum)⁶¹, así como varias de la Baja Época encontradas por Petrie⁶², lo llevaban sobre el abdomen.



Fig. 5. Pilar-*djed*. Museo del Louvre (AF 13601). Madera dorada
© 2018 Musée du Louvre / Christian Décamps

El Libro de los Muertos indicaba que un determinado amuleto debía colocarse en el cuello del difunto, que era considerada por los egipcios como una de las partes más débiles del cuerpo: el capítulo 166, inscrito a menudo en los reposacabezas, impedía que la cabeza del difunto se separara de su cuerpo⁶³. Muchos de estos amuletos se situaban en esta zona,

⁶¹ Taylor, Antoine, y Vandenbeusch 2014, 88.

⁶² Petrie 1914, LI-LII.

⁶³ Andrews 1994, 95.

sobre todo en forma de collar. No obstante, el esquema de Petrie muestra cómo éste y otros amuletos se distribuían por todo el cuerpo en períodos más tardíos.

Tradicionalmente se piensa que la distribución de los amuletos funerarios parece seguir el mismo modelo desde el Reino Nuevo hasta el Periodo ptolemaico, siendo después distribuidos de manera aleatoria⁶⁴. No obstante, debemos señalar que ya durante el Tercer periodo intermedio la posición de los amuletos varía: señalemos, por ejemplo, el escarabeo alado situado en los pies de la momia de Tamut (dinastía XXII, British Museum)⁶⁵. Asimismo, la posición de otros amuletos parece mantenerse hasta la época romana: por ejemplo, una momia anónima del museo de Liverpool (M. 13997) llevaba un pilar-*djed* de madera dorada, sobre el marco de fibras vegetales que se colocaba sobre el cuerpo momificado, a la altura del cuello⁶⁶. Esto demuestra no sólo la continuidad del ritual de la momificación en época romana, sino también la adopción de las creencias funerarias faraónicas.

La repetición del mismo fenómeno en momias de diferentes regiones confirma que no se trataba de un hecho aislado, sino que seguía el ritual funerario. Nuestra hipótesis es que la posición de cada amuleto dependía de su forma, es decir, del motivo que representaba y de su simbología precisa. El hecho de que esta evolucionara a lo largo de diferentes periodos de la cultura egipcia se debe a los cambios que se produjeron en la mentalidad y en las prácticas funerarias. Esta evolución, bien conocida en la técnica de la momificación, puede ser también estudiada a través de los amuletos. En otras palabras, la posición que cada amuleto tenía en el cuerpo estaba bien determinada, según la simbología del amuleto y de su papel en el renacimiento del difunto.

Un tema de investigación en desarrollo

Los amuletos funerarios fueron empleados por sus propiedades mágicas, en función de su forma, pero también su material de fabricación e incluso su color. Por ello, la elección de un tipo concreto de amuleto en el ritual de la momificación no era fruto del azar. En este sentido, debemos señalar la dificultad para distinguir los amuletos que se usaban en un contexto cotidiano de los que se empleaban exclusivamente para rituales funerarios, teniendo en cuenta la diversidad de contextos arqueológicos en los que se han encontrado. No obstante, si todos los amuletos eran aptos para cualquier tipo de ritual es un tema que no ha sido tratado en profundidad.

Las cuestiones que hemos presentado forman parte de nuestra tesis doctoral. Nuestra investigación se desarrolló siguiendo el método comparativo, esto es, entre la teoría funeraria plasmada en los textos egipcios y la práctica ritual, a través de la arqueología. Esto nos ha permitido comprobar que la tipología de los amuletos que protegían a las momias, al igual que su posición, ha cambiado a lo largo de la historia de Egipto⁶⁷.

⁶⁴ Klasens 1975, 235.

⁶⁵ Taylor, Antoine, y Vandenbeusch 2014, 89.

⁶⁶ Gray 1967, 10.

⁶⁷ Ikram y Dodson 1998, 138.

Nuestra investigación nos ha llevado a precisar cuáles son los amuletos que más se han empleado en la momificación. Aparte de los escarabeos, cuya peculiaridad requeriría un estudio aparte, los amuletos más comunes son los indicados en el Libro de los Muertos: el ojo-*udjat* (capítulo 140), que estuvo en uso desde el Reino Antiguo hasta la época romana, el pilar-*djed* de Osiris (capítulo 155), el nudo de Isis (capítulo 156) y la columna de papiro (capítulo 159). No obstante, el quinto amuleto más común es el de forma de corazón (*ib*), en uso a partir del Reino Nuevo, que no hay que confundir con el escarabeo de corazón inscrito del capítulo 30 del Libro de los Muertos. Si tenemos en cuenta su importancia en Egipto, siendo la base del pensamiento, de los sentimientos, de las emociones y de la memoria, así como su papel en el Juicio de Osiris, su presencia en los cuerpos momificados está justificada.

Igualmente interesante es señalar la presencia en las momias de otros amuletos que no aparecen en el Libro de los Muertos: es el caso, por ejemplo, de los dos dedos (*fig. 6*) o de la doble pluma, así como del amuleto del reposacabezas. A pesar de su carácter exclusivamente funerario, el uso de estos amuletos en la momificación no aparece en ningún texto. Finalmente, algunos amuletos que “deberían” ser funerarios no se encuentran en las momias: es el caso de amuletos que representan partes del cuerpo, que ya hemos comentado, pero también de algunas divinidades, como Bes o Ptah, consideradas como apotropaicas⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ Muñoz Pérez 2020, 353.



Fig. 6. Amuleto de los dedos. Museo del Louvre (AF 11406). Obsidiana con restos de oro
© 2009 Musée du Louvre / Christian Décamps

Gran parte de nuestros datos los hemos extraído de las momias que han sido analizadas a través de la TC, de las cuales, la mayoría son de épocas tardías. Estas momias son, en cierto modo, las más “completas”, teniendo en cuenta que la práctica de la momificación estaba totalmente desarrollada. Así, Heródoto nombraba hasta tres métodos distintos de momificación, dependiendo del rango social que tuviera la familia del difunto, esto es, de su poder adquisitivo⁶⁹. Debemos considerar que este rito se vuelve más accesible en la época greco-romana, así como la aparición de nuevos textos funerarios, como el Libro de las respiraciones⁷⁰. Esto coincide, además de la aparición de nuevos amuletos, con su extensión por todo el cuerpo momificado y del incremento de su número: algunas momias llevaban hasta 100 amuletos⁷¹.

Sin embargo, nos gustaría señalar el fenómeno contrario: muchas momias “intactas” no presentaban ningún amuleto entre sus vendajes. Aunque algunas pertenecen al Tercer periodo intermedio y la Baja Época, la mayoría se encuadran cronológicamente en la época greco-romana. Esto podría interpretarse como una modificación ritual de la momificación, basada en la retirada de los amuletos. No obstante, otra hipótesis debe ser contemplada: la introducción de amuletos textiles. En efecto, especialmente a partir de la Baja Época, algunos vendajes de las momias aparecen inscritos, sobre todo, de textos del Libro de los Muertos⁷², pero también de la representación individual de amuletos. El hecho de dibujar amuletos sobre tejidos aparece reflejado en el capítulo 167 del Libro de los Muertos, así como en el capítulo 10 del Ritual de embalsamamiento. Asimismo, la momia de Takerheb (Periodo ptolemaico, Museo arqueológico de Florencia) presentaba, además de vendajes con inscripciones, tres amuletos de lino en su cabeza⁷³. Recientemente, la TC de alta resolución realizada sobre la momia de Nespamedu (Periodo ptolemaico, Museo arqueológico de Madrid) ha permitido el hallazgo de amuletos en placas; análisis posteriores comparativos con otros materiales del museo han permitido precisar que se trata del mismo material que componían el cartonaje de las momias⁷⁴. Estas placas representan el ojo-*oudjat* y divinidades, en este caso, los Hijos de Horus. En otras palabras, la tipología de los amuletos ptolemaicos empleados en la momificación es la misma que en el periodo faraónico; sin embargo, su material cambia y, por tanto, su simbología.

Conclusiones

Algunos amuletos egipcios fueron “perennes”, es decir que, a pesar de ciertas variaciones en su forma y material, han sido utilizados en el ritual de la momificación tanto en época faraónica como en la greco-romana. Como Gessler-Löhr lo ha demostrado en su trabajo, los cambios que se producen en las prácticas funerarias egipcias en época romana parecen

⁶⁹ Heródoto, *Historia, Libro II*, 85-89; Ikram 2015, 56.

⁷⁰ Barbotin, Dunand, y Gasse 2010, 48.

⁷¹ Connor y Facchetti 2017, 17.

⁷² Barbotin, Dunand, y Gasse 2010, 116.

⁷³ Schreiber 2007, 339.

⁷⁴ Greco 2012, 21.

responder no tanto a cuestiones rituales, sino más bien al poder adquisitivo del difunto⁷⁵. En efecto, el contacto de la sociedad egipcia con nuevas culturas supuso cambios en todos los niveles, incluido el funerario. Debemos tener en cuenta que la mentalidad egipcia se basaba en la yuxtaposición de ideas, y no en su sustitución⁷⁶. En el caso de los amuletos, la profusión en su número y su distribución por todo el cuerpo se explican por los cambios en las prácticas funerarias. Asimismo, la introducción de amuletos textiles sería una característica del periodo ptolemaico, lo que explicaría la “ausencia” de amuletos con volumen en las momias tardías. Teniendo en cuenta que estos solo pueden ser descubiertos con un TC de alta resolución, la investigación sobre los amuletos en los cuerpos momificados está todavía en curso. Como muestra la arqueología, el uso de amuletos es una constante durante toda la historia del Egipto antiguo en el camino del difunto a la vida eterna.

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⁷⁵ Gessler-Löhr 2012, 672.

⁷⁶ Germond 2006, 20.

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Representations of Love in the Books of Emblems: The Reception of The Greek Anthology in Alciato and van Veen

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Abstract

During the Renaissance, emblem books, a collection of allegorical illustrations accompanied by an explanatory text, became very popular. They were intended to teach a moral truth in an intuitive way, using an image to apprehend a concept. And for this reason, they were called ‘emblems’, meaning a ‘mosaic work’.

There is a strong connection between the authors of these books and the Alexandrian poets, as it happens with Alciato. He doesn’t only create his emblems based on authors as Athenæus, Aulus Gellius, Ælian, Stobæus, Pliny or Pausanias, but uses several epigrams from *The Greek Anthology*, which he translates into Latin adding a picture to it.

On the other hand, we have Otto van Veen (Vænius). Though he does not translate the epigrams in the anthology, yet he is inspired by them, namely those describing Eros and his power.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the emblems representing the god of love, in order to understand how this deity was seen by the authors of emblem books and how far was this a legacy of the Hellenistic period.

Keywords: Love; Emblems; Hellenistic Poetry; Image; Concept

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In the 16th century a specific kind of book – a collection of allegorical illustrations with an explanatory text – became popular and known as the Books of Emblems. Andrea Alciato (1492-1550) and Otto van Veen (1556-1629), also known as Vænius, are some of the best known authors of those books. Alciato is the author of the first Book of Emblems – *Emblematum Liber*, which *editio princeps* dates from 1531. Vænius is the author of *Amorum Emblemata* (1608) and *Amoris Diuini Emblemata* (1615). Both authors have in common their interest on love, referred to either as the Greco-Roman god of love, or as the Christian love. This article will focus solely on the first one, trying to perceive how the god of love was portrayed by these two authors. Alison Saunders states that “The ‘love emblem’ is normally associated with Dutch tradition, beginning with the well-known and delightful collections of *emblemata amatoria* by Heinsius and Vænius, dating from the early seventeenth century, featuring in witty and often whimsical manner the exploits of winged Cupid”¹. We will be able to see that before Vænius already Alciato represented Love in his Emblems and the differences between both authors.

Before turning to the main subject of this article, a few words should be said on these authors and their works, beginning with the notion of book of emblems and how it started. According to Karl-Ludwig Selig, “By the first third of the 16th century, the wisdom of the ancients can be found codified and crystalized in an extensive literature of maxims and proverbs, of which Erasmus’ *Adagia* is the best known”². Even if Erasmus’ work is different from the Books of Emblems, the intent of publishing a book where ancient wisdom is presented in a simpler way, easier to be perceived by 16th century readers, already shows an opening to what emblem books will become. These books were intended to teach moral truths in an intuitive way, using an image as a way for apprehending a concept: “Alciato brought about the union of *picture* and *poesis*”³. Uniting an image to its translation of 50 epigrams from *The Greek Anthology*, under a specific motto, knowledge was acquired easily without the effort of reading several classical authors. After Alciato, the Books of Emblems met a huge growth in Europe and wide and varied classes of these books can be

¹ Saunders 2007, 13.

² Selig 1990, 4.

³ Selig 1990, 5.

found: moral, religious, military, historical, heroic, among others. In the 17th century authors as Jacobus Bruck (*Emblemata politica*), Justus Reifenberg (*Emblemata politica*) or even the Spanish Saavedra Fajardo, Solórzano Pereira, or Andrés Mendo, as well as the Jesuits, used the emblems for propaganda, or instruction, as it happened in some treatises on the education of a prince.⁴

Vænius published his books of emblems with an educational concern. In 1607, he published, together with H. Verdussen, the *Emblemata Horatiana*, dedicated to Albert VII, archduke of Austria. The epigrams, written in Latin, French, Dutch, Italian and Spanish, reveal a philosophical concern which seems inspired in Stoicism. According to Karel Portman, this publication was “in many senses an innovation in emblem genre. Vænius was the first to present text by a single classical author emblematically.”⁵ Yet, when he published his *Amorum Emblemata*, the texts, or maxims, chosen to illustrate his pictures were not all from Ovid, even if most of them are. Also, *Amorum Emblemata* “was published simultaneously in three different polyglot versions. The first contained Latin, French and Dutch texts (A), the second Latin, Italian and French (B), and the third Latin, English and Italian (C).”⁶ A close look to this book of emblems allows us to perceive an educational concern in Otto van Veen, as there was in the *Emblemata Horatiana*: he intends to prove that, no matter how strong and irresistible Love can be, “it is also a manageable emotion, which must be subject to social control, civilized and adapted to the aristocratic way of life”⁷.

There are several studies on the Books of Emblems. P. Daly is responsible, among other studies, for a *Companion to Emblem Studies* (2008) and for *The Emblem in Modern Europe: Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem* (2016). Together with K. Enenkel’s *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge, ca. 1510-1610* (2019) he contributed to develop our knowledge on the Books of Emblems in Renaissance, even if the last author is more concerned with the educational point of view. Other works focused on the representation of love in the Books of Emblems, as it is the case of Gabriella Zarri’s “Eyes and Heart, Eros and Agape. Forms of Love in the Renaissance” (2015). They are hugely concerned with the existence, or not, of a relationship between love and marriage, comparing the chaste love with the sensual one. Examples in art and literature often show that, though chaste love was considered the most suitable for marriage, it was accepted that the relevance of sensual love was growing, not just in the sense that the wife should please her husband’s needs, but also understanding that she had needs herself that the husband should consider. Yet, this is not what we intend to do here, as our concern is not directly connected with Christian love, but with the representations of the god of Love – Eros or Cupid – both in *The Greek Anthology* and in the Books of Emblems or, in a better

⁴ See Seelig 1990, 6. This is confirmed in Appendix 1, where the author mentions that both Saavedra Fajardo and Solórzano Pereira “used emblems as a vehicle to present their philosophy and ideas on political theory” (Seelig 1990, 129). Also, Núñez de Cepeda imitated Saavedra Fajardo’s *Idea de un príncipe político-cristiano* (1640).

⁵ Vænius 1996, 3.

⁶ Vænius 1996, 1.

⁷ Vænius 1996, 14.

way, how the books of emblems perceived the representation of the Ancient Greek god of Love. Though there are several works on the influence of *The Greek Anthology* in the Renaissance and in the Books of Emblems⁸, their focus is not necessarily ours. Nevertheless, some of these works are of great relevance, as is the case of *Learned Love. Proceedings of the Emblem Project Utrecht Conference on Dutch Love Emblems and the Internet (November 2006)*, being EPU an important project on Dutch Emblems. We cannot finish this brief introduction without mentioning María Helena de Ureña Prieto. Though her studies on the Books of Emblems are a bit distant from our goal, on her contribution to *O Humanismo Português (1500-1600)*, entitled “A emblemática de Alciato em Portugal no século XVI”, referring to Stochamer’s relevance on the dissemination of Alciato’s emblems in Portugal in the 16th century, she is astonished with his complete silence on *The Greek Anthology*. Ureña Prieto points out how important it was for Alciato, who even translated some of its epigrams, particularly those where Eros assumes the leading role.⁹

The Greek Anthology is a collection of epigrams from the 5th century B. C. to the time of Julian, constituted by the *Palatine Anthology*, found at the Palatine Library (Heidelberg) in 1606, and the *Anthology of Planudes*, compiled by Maximus Planudes in the 13th century. Its nucleus seems to have been a collection by Meleager of Gadara, entitled *Stephanos* (The Garland), around the 1st century B. C. This collection had several editions during the centuries, as the one of Constantine Cephalas, in the 10th century. *The Greek Anthology* is constituted by 16 books, organised by themes: Christian epigrams, Christodorus’ descriptions of certain statues, collections of Meleager, Philipus and Agathias, love epigrams, votive inscriptions, funerary epigrams, epigrams of Gregory of Nazianzus, rhetorical and illustrative epigrams, ethical epigrams, humorous and convivial epigrams, Strato’s *Musa puerilis*, metrical curiosities, puzzles, enigmas and oracles, miscellanies and the *Anthology of Planudes*.

Though it has epigrams on several subjects, we are mainly interested in those on love, both heterosexual and homosexual, as they are the ones with more descriptions of the god of love.

Eros is one of the most well-known gods in Classical Antiquity since he was first mentioned by Hesiod. He has been represented in several ways, until in the Hellenistic Age he became mostly a winged boy, with a bow and arrows. Apollonius of Rhodes gives a description of the god (*The Argonautica*, III. 114-145) playing with golden dice with Ganymede and cheating the other child; in order to get him to fulfil her request, Cypris had to promise him a marvellous golden ball, that once belonged to Zeus, when he was a child; finally, when he shot Medea, he “laughed aloud”, amused with the suffering his arrow produced in the girl (*The Argonautica*, III. 275-290). *The Greek Anthology* gives us the same representation of this god: a powerful child, hurting everybody with his arrows, inspiring an unrequited love and thus feared by all. Roman art and literature represented Cupid in the same way,

⁸ See, for instance, Temple 2018; or Saunders 1982; or Bing 2009.

⁹ Ureña Prieto 1988, 447.

therefore it is not surprising that the image has been kept by European art, being common in the Books of Emblems.

Vænius opens his book with a representation of Love holding an arrow in his right hand and the bow in the left one; besides this, just the Latin motto by Seneca: *Amor æternus*. Both the arms and the wings symbolise the power of the god, as expressed in ancient Greek and Roman literature: even Jove fears him, sometimes qualified as a terrible monster (e.g., Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, IV. 33. 1-2). Alciato is aware of this; thus, in Emblem 108 he describes Love with Jove's broken thunderbolt:

The winged god has broken the winged thunderbolt, showing that there is a fire more powerful than fire – and that is Love.¹⁰

This is a translation of *APL. 250*:

See how winged Love is breaking the winged thunderbolt, showing that there is a fire stronger than fire.

The thunderbolt, in Greek mythology, belongs to Zeus, which means that Eros' power surpasses the king of the gods. At the same time, it connects this god with the power of love, which tradition often associates with fire. It symbolises both the power of love and the suffering it provokes. Yet, Love's power is bigger than that, as it is shown in Emblem 107, where Love holds a fish in his left hand and some flowers in the right one, accompanied by a text saying:

Do you see how Love, all naked, smiles, do you see his gentle glance? He has no torches, nor a bow to bend, but in one of his hands he holds flowers, in the other a fish, to impose his rule, of course, on land and sea.¹¹

This has a direct correspondence with *APL. 207*:

Love is unarmed; therefore, he smiles and is gentle, for he has not his bow and fiery arrows. And it is not without reason that he holds in his hands a dolphin and a flower, for in one he holds the earth, in the other the sea.

He is not just the god of Love, but a deity with an infinite power over the whole world. A god who vanquishes all the Olympian gods, as it can be seen either in Vænius (page 21) or

¹⁰ Alciato 1996, 117.

¹¹ Alciato 1996, 116.

in the *Anthology of Planudes* 214 and 215. Seneca's motto – *Vicit et Superos Amor* – is clearly connected with both epigrams, which show how Eros together with the Erotes took over the attributes of several Olympian gods: Zeus' thunderbolt, Dionysus' thyrsus, Ares' shield, Apollo's quiver, or Poseidon's trident. This connection is reinforced by Ovid's quotation:¹²

Love subdueth all
 When Cupid drew his bow bright Phebus brest to wound,
 Althog quoth drew hee to him, thow Python down haest broght
 As beasts farre lesse then Gods in all esteem are thought,
 So thy force lesse then mine know that it shal bee found.

The power of Eros is also shown by comparison with other animals, as it can be seen in Marcus Argentarius epigram (*AP. IX. 221*):

I see upon the signet-ring Love, whom none can escape, driving a chariot drawn by mighty lions. One hand menaces their necks with the whip, the other guides the reins; about him is shed abundant bloom of grace. I shudder as I look on the destroyer of men, for he who can tame wild beasts will not show the least mercy to mortals.

This power also falls over Zeus. Moschus epigram (*APL. 200*), describes the child god menacing the king of all gods, while ploughing the fields:

Curly-haired Love, laying aside his torch and bow, took an ox-driver's rod and wore a bag on his shoulders; coupling the patient necks of the oxen under the yoke, he began to sow the wheat-bearing furrow of Demeter. Looking up he said to Zeus himself. 'Fill the cornfield, lest I put thee, Europa's bull, to the plough'.

Vænius described this epigram in his emblem of page 27, where Eros, a small, winged child, subdued a bull. Under the motto *Pedetentim* (By litle and litle), Vænius describes the image as follows:¹³

The ox will not at first endure to beare the yoke,
 But trayned is in tyme to bee therewith enured,
 So hee likewise that will to loue not be allured,

¹² Vænius 1996, 20.

¹³ Vænius 1996, 26.

Must bee content in tyme that loue shall beare the stroke.

Both texts present a powerful child dominating a strong animal against its will. This is the child we see in several epigrams in *The Greek Anthology* helping shepherds, while they have some rest. Yet, the god is mostly described as a fearful being, as it is expressed in *APL*. 195, describing a statue of a bound Eros, and in *AP*. V. 178, an epigram on the cruelty of the god. Vænius used both in a different way. In page 29, under the motto *Frustra fugam* he presents a man, an arrow in his heart, running away from Love, who goes on his persecution. The text accompanying it shows the uselessness of such a flight. As to the epigram (*APL*. 195), Satyrus puts it this way:

Who fettered thee, the winged boy, who bound swift fire with chains? Who laid his hand on Love's burning quiver and made fast behind his back those hands swift to shoot, tying them to a sturdy pillar? Such things are but chill consolation for men. Did not, perchance, this prisoner himself enchain once the mind of the artist?

To both Satyrus and Vænius Love is a powerful god, whom nobody can escape. Meleager (*AP*. V. 178) points out other traces of the god:

Sell it, though it is still sleeping on its mother's lap; sell it! Why should I bring up the rascal? It was born with a sneer and stubby wings; it scratches lightly with its nails, and even in the midst of crying it often laughs. And besides, it resists feeding; it is always chattering, with a piercing glance, savage, not tame even for its very own mother – a complete monster. In short, it will be sold. If any merchant about to set sail wants to buy a slave boy, let him step forward.

Under the Seneca's motto *Precibus haud uinci potest*, Vænius has an emblem showing two winged boys¹⁴. One goes ahead, holding bow and quiver, insensitive to the prayers of the following one, unarmed, joining his hands as a supplicant. The text accompanying it goes as follows:

As Mars with humayn blood & spoyles and ouerthrowes,
Is not to pittie mou'd, when hee in rage is heated,
So Cupid by no plaints nor teares will bee intreated,
The more that hee is praye the lesse he pittie shewes.

¹⁴ Vænius 1996, 162-163.

In a shortest way, Vænius keeps Meleager's idea, enhancing it by the comparison with Mars. Besides these influences of ancient Greek epigrams in the books of emblems, other relations can be found, this time establishing a connection with Christian virtue. Alciato's emblem 110 (*Anteros, id est amor uirtutis*) pictures Anteros seated under a tree with four garlands:

Tell me, where are your arching bows, where your arrows, Cupid, the shafts which you use to pierce the tender hearts of the young? Where is your hurtful torch, where your wings? Why does your hand hold three garlands? Why do your temples wear a fourth? – Stranger, I have nothing to do with common Venus, nor did any pleasurable shape bring me forth. I light the fires of learning in the pure minds of men and draw their thoughts to the stars on high. I weave four garlands out of virtue's self and the chief of these, the garland of Wisdom, wreathes my temples.¹⁵

Virtues and wisdom, while Christian values, are praised through a figure who looks like Eros, though it is not Eros, but his opposite. Alciato does the same in Emblem 111 (*Anteros, amor uirtutis, alium Cupidinem superans*), picturing two winged figures – Eros and Anteros, the love of virtue; he carries the same symbols characteristic of Eros, yet he uses them in a different way. In this picture, Anteros overcomes the god of love, binding him to a tree and taking his arms away from him. The text accompanying it goes like this:

Nemesis has fashioned a form with wings, a foe to Love with his wings, subduing bow with bow and flames with flame, so that Love may suffer what he has done to others. But this boy, once so bold when he was carrying his arrows, now weeps in misery and has spat three times low on his breast. A wondrous thing – fire is being burned with fire, Love is loathing the frenzies of Love.¹⁶

This emblem follows closely an epigram of *The Greek Anthology* (APL. 251):

Who fashioned a winged Love and set him opposite winged Love? Nemesis, taking vengeance on the bow with the bow, that he may suffer what he did; and he, the bold boy never daunted before, is crying as he tastes the bitter arrows, and thrice he spits in the deep folds of his bosom! Oh, most marvellous! One shall burn fire with fire, Love has touched Love to the quick.

Both in Alciato and in the Greek epigram Nemesis punishes Eros using Anteros, another Love she created. They have the same attributes, but they seem to use them in a different

¹⁵ Alciato 1996, 119.

¹⁶ Alciato 1996, 120.

way. Yet, even if both poems seem alike, they are indeed different, as Alciato uses the same image with a religious meaning. As was mentioned before, emblems serve an educational purpose, which is clear in these two examples from Alciato. This concern with an educational message is also in Vænius' emblems, as we can see in these two. One of them represents Eros as a blind child¹⁷, trying to find his way, leaving aside wisdom and reason. As Seneca's motto says, not even a god can have both love and wisdom. The other one¹⁸ represents the god grabbing Occasion's hair. Plutarch's motto stating how important is for the lover to adjust to the situation. These emblems have no counterpart in *The Greek Anthology*, besides the representation of Love. Vænius, as Alciato before him, used ancient texts and images for a totally different message closer to the values of the 16th and 17th centuries rather than the original ones.

It is impossible to talk about Eros without mentioning an epigram, attributed to Theocritus ('The Honey Stealer'), depicting Eros bitten by a bee, while he was stealing honey from the hive:

When the thievish Love one day was stealing honeycomb from the hive, a wicked bee stung him, and made all his finger-tips to smart. In pain and grief he blew on his hand and stamped and leapt upon the ground, and went and showed his hurt to Aphrodite, and made complaint that so little a beast as a bee could make so great a wound. Whereat his mother laughing, 'What?' cries she, 'art not a match for a bee, and thou so little and yet able to make wounds so great?'

Alciato's Emblem 113 reproduces it, with a few slight differences:¹⁹

While he was taking honey from the hives, a vicious bee stung thieving Amor, and left its sting in the end of his finger. The boy in distress cried out as his finger-end swelled up. He ran about, stamping his foot, showed his hurt to Venus, and complained bitterly that a little bee, that tiny creature, could inflict such grievous wounds. Venus smiled at him and said, 'You are like this creature, my son; small as you are you deal many a grievous wound.'

In both authors it is not the god we see, but the hurt child, wanting to be cuddled by his mother. Despite the god's cruelty, the image we perceive from Hellenistic authors, that remained in Alciato and Vænius, is the one of a child, who can be mischievous, having fun harming the others; but who can also be helpful, and certainly is a powerful one.

¹⁷ Vænius 1996, 60-61.

¹⁸ Vænius 1996, 174-175.

¹⁹ Alciato 1996, 122.

It is not surprising that Alciato and Vænius preserved the same representation of Eros that we have in *The Greek Anthology*. Alciato couldn't know the *Palatine Anthology*, but he probably knew the *Anthology of Planudes*. As to Vænius, he could have had contact with both. One of the things we can notice is that Alciato is more faithful to the Greek epigrams than Vænius. Very often the text accompanying the image is nearly a translation from the Greek, while Vænius prefers to adjust it to his educational purpose. Nevertheless, sometimes Alciato uses his emblems and the Hellenistic representation of the love as a way to illustrate and pass on Christian values.

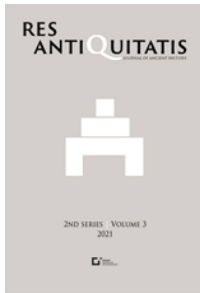
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Rethoric and Reception of Peisistratos' Tyranny in Correio da Liberdade Newspaper (Porto Alegre, Brasil, 1831)

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Rhetoric and Reception of Peisistratos' Tyranny in *Correio da Liberdade* Newspaper (Porto Alegre, Brasil, 1831)

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Abstract

This article is the result of research in progress conducted in connection with a project to study both the Rhetoric as textual analysis tool and the Reception of Antiquity by newspapers from the Brazilian South in the 19th century. I analyze specially articles of the *Correio da Liberdade*, published in the city of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, in the year 1831. I firstly evaluate the classical rhetorical resources used to persuade the readers; secondly, I analyze the peculiar appropriation of the Athenian tyranny of Peisistratos in an article about the Brazilian political regime of that time.

Keywords: Reception History, Appropriation, Rhetoric Analyses, Tyranny, Ancient History

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Rhetoric and Reception of Peisistratos' Tyranny in *Correio da Liberdade* Newspaper (Porto Alegre, Brasil, 1831)

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In memoriam of my colleague Professor Cláudio Pereira Elmir

Introduction

In this text I will analyze two newspaper articles of *Correio da Liberdade* (“Journal of Freedom”), published in the city of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul in a rather distant time: 75 issues from 17 April to 31 December 1831.¹ One of my purposes is to reconcile the History of Reception with Rhetorical Analysis, a fairly unexplored path in Brazil, which was however pointed out by Dominick LaCapra in an article originally published in 1985. Its initial sentence is: “The study of rhetoric is once again on the agenda of humanistic studies”². I consider that the particular chronology of little interest among Brazilian historians regarding this topic is evidenced by the date of translation of that article into Portuguese: 2013. What raises my interest is that by discriminating three major directions in rhetorical studies, LaCapra asserts that the third one, centered on problems of persuasion and audience, could convert the Aristotelian definition of rhetoric³ as a program into an Aesthetic of Reception⁴. Despite the obvious meaning of the word (of passivity), I understand “reception” as an active cognitive principle⁵, as an appropriation that invents, shifts, and distorts⁶.

Another purpose is to demonstrate the importance of Reception of the Antiquity to the Intellectual and Political Brazilian History of the 19th century. I intend to do this by analyzing a journalistic document in a troubled historical context. Four years after the end

¹ The incomplete collection of the newspaper is in the Museum of the Social Communication of Porto Alegre, Hipólito José da Costa.

² LaCapra 1996, 15.

³ One of the Aristotelians definitions, as translated by George A. Kennedy: “Let rhetoric be [defined as] an ability, in each [particular] case, to see the available means of persuasion.” *Rhetoric* I 1355b 25. For a detailed view: Garver 1994, 3-45.

⁴ LaCapra 1996, 17.

⁵ Martindale 2013, 174.

⁶ Chartier 1999, 9.

of *Correio da Liberdade*, Rio Grande do Sul was disturbed by *Farroupilha* Revolution (“Ragamuffin Revolution”, 1835-1845): a rebellion against the central government that ended up establishing a temporary republican regime in the South of Brazil – “The Riograndense Republic”⁷. Its most famous *warrior* was Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) that took the side of the “Farroupilhas”.

This capital event to the identity of inhabitants of that state (the *gaúchos*) was one of the most disturbing in that period before the age of the second Emperor of Brazil, D. Pedro II, sovereign between 1840 and 1889. Since the First Reign - by D. Pedro I (1822-1831) - and during the Regency Era (1831-1834), Brazil was shaken by various conflicts that put the country's political organization in dispute⁸.

The archival research was accomplished by Rafael Santos de Abreu, who also wrote a paper entitled: "Let us be Greeks in Glory / and, in Virtue, Romans': the uses of Classical antiquity by the South Riograndense periodical press in the discourse of building the Nation in *Correio da Liberdade* and *O Noticiador* (1831 - 1835)".⁹ The first part of the title was part the third version of the Riograndense Republic anthem:

Between us revivify Athens
To the astonishment of tyrants;
Let us be Greeks in Glory,
And in Virtue, Romans. ¹⁰

The quotation of tyrants has been considered the cause of exclusion of the whole stanza by the law number 5.213 of 1966 concerning "the form and the presentation of the symbols of the State of Rio Grande do Sul"¹¹: Brazil was in its second year of the last dictatorial regime

⁷ Leitman 1979, 25-48. It is impossible to summarize the bibliography on the “Revolução Farroupilha”. I suggest reading the research of César Augusto Barcellos Guazzelli (2013) and Jaisson Oliveira da Silva (2010). The first one is a relevant study of social and political aspects; the second, from the lines of historical research, in particular from one of the landmarks of the literature on the Revolution: the “História da Grande Revolução” (The History of the Great Revolution) by Alfredo Varela (1933). For a summary view of this last aspect, see Rodrigues 2013.

⁸ Slemian 2008. There is a vast bibliography about the Independence and the Regency Era. João Paulo G. Pimenta (2009) and Marcello Otávio Neri de Campos Basile (2018) offer brief view on main points and trends in historiography of the 20th and 21st centuries.

⁹ The research had the support of my University (Pró-Reitoria de Pesquisa) and of the *Conselho Nacional de Pesquisa* (CNPq).

¹⁰ “Entre nós reviva Atenas
Para assombro dos tiranos;
Sejamos Gregos na glória.
E na virtude, romanos.”

The version with this stanza was composed by Francisco Pinto da Fontoura, after the revolt. Sieburger, Kontz, Leston Jr. 2015.

¹¹ “Establishes the forms and exhibition of symbols of Rio Grande do Sul State, and other measures”. No. 5.213, (1966), <http://www.al.rs.gov.br/site/> (accessed December 5, 2016).

(1964-1985). The proponent of the law, Getúlio Marcantonio, a government supporter at that time, said recently that nobody used to sing that part referring to "people without identification with the people of Rio Grande do Sul." An attempt to reinstate the passage was shelved in 2007, with the support of the president of *Gaúcho Traditionalist Movement* ("Movimento Tradicionalista Gaúcho - MTG), Manoelito Savaris. He said: "The people should talk about themselves in their hymn. I was against it when they wanted to reincorporate [the mention of the Ancients]."¹² The reading of 19th century newspapers shows just the opposite: many of the *gaúchos* of that time had full identification with the Greek-Roman past.¹³

I present here two points to testify this connection. The first one is concerning a specific rhetorical strategy in the relationship between the publisher and the reader of *Correio da Liberdade*. The second one is related to the persuasion of subscribers and possible readers regarding the hot topic of Brazil at that time: should the Brazilian Monarchy be absolute or constitutional? This matter has drawn my attention because the Journal evoked the Athenian tyranny of Peisistratos to defend the constitutional option. For those who are not expert in Ancient Greek History, I clarify that Peisistratos was an Athenian *tyrant* in the 6th century before our era (c. 602-527 BCE) and that the Greek tyrants, at least in the traditional explanation, meant "the usurpation of the rule of Polis by an individual, but in itself it was no proper form of constitution".¹⁴ In any case, the two pieces analyzed are evidences of the vitality of Rhetoric and Antiquity, not only in Brazilian journalism of 19th century, but in the current political reflection of those times.

The History of Reception of Antiquity and rhetorical analysis

The research on History of Reception of Antiquity is relatively recent. Its greatest development in Europe date from the beginning of this millennium¹⁵, despite the fact that Charles Martindale's *Redeeming the text* was published in 1993. *Redeeming* was a

¹² Costa, Leticia. "Você sabia que um trecho do Hino Rio-Grandense foi excluído?" Globo.com. G1. September 2, 2005, <http://g1.globo.com/rs/rio-grande-do-sul/semana-farroupilha/2015/noticia/2015/09/voce-sabia-que-um-trecho-do-hino-rio-grandense-foi-excluido.html> (accessed December 5, 2016).

¹³ Some other evidences. Two sons of Domingos José de Almeida (1797-1871), one of the most important "Farroupilha" leaders, were called *Epaminondas* Piratinino de Almeida and *Junius Brutus Cassius* de Almeida. Alfredo Augusto Varela de Vilares (1864-1943), an intellectual who had begun to turn the memory of Farroupilha Revolution into a public good (Zalla and Menegat 2011, 8), wrote his monumental "History of the Great Revolution" (1933) intending to describe a "New Trojan War." Six of its twenty books are: "The Saturnial Age", "Prometheus Bound", "Ilio Reborn", "Res Gestae", "The Hibernation of the Titans", "Troy in Flames". Varela 1933, 08.

¹⁴ Ehrenberg 1960, 45. Initially, *tíranos* was neither a precise word nor had a negative connotation. It could be synonymous with *basileús*: king (Vial 2013, p. 304-305). The tyrants of classical Sicily (V BCE), for instance, were like to Hellenistic kings for their policy and behavior (Hornblower 1991, p.48). Tyranny could be popular if it opposed the aristocracy and relied on the *dēmos*. This ancient Greek word, *dēmos*, is comparable to people for its imprecision (it can cover all, most, or part of the citizens) and for the connotative ambivalence: it could be used positively or negatively. Sian Lewis (2006) offers a complex view of the Greek and Hellenistic *tyranny*.

¹⁵ Jurado 2015, 12-13.

manifesto for the inclusion of the Reception Theory in the field of Classical Studies.¹⁶ The Reception Theory (also known as "The Aesthetics of Reception") "is commonly used to designate a direction in literary criticism developed by professors and students at the University of Constance in West Germany during the late 1960s and early 1970s".¹⁷ The main goal of Hans Robert Jauss, Wolfgang Iser and others was to restore the vitality of the field of literary studies overcoming the approaches that reduced a work of art to the condition of *epiphenomenon* of socioeconomic contexts or to a timeless essence to be captured by privileged scholars.¹⁸ Any comment on the School of Constance highlights the active role attributed to the observer: even the contemplation of a sculpture or painting implies the act of knowledge. Accordingly, Martindale wrote that:

And, beyond that, my reading of the poem, in the light of reception theory, becomes itself a tiny part of the dialogical processes of its reception and thus of any argument about its meaning. *Meaning*, could we say, *is always realized at the point of reception*; if so, we cannot assume that an 'intention' is effectively communicated within any text. And also, it appears, a writer *can never control the reception of his or her work*, with respect either to the character of the readership or to any use which is made of that work.¹⁹

Different receptions over time would constitute "chain of receptions ", very important notion for the investigation of what we usually call "intellectual traditions".²⁰ These remarks are sufficient for now.

In Brazil, the History of Reception of Antiquity is an area of studies even more recent. *Nuntius Antiquus* - a brazilian revue of Ancient and Medieval Studies - announced the publication of an annual dossier on Classical Reception in 2017 because there were no specific journals on the subject in Brazil and Latin America.²¹ Since then, the publications have multiplied. I emphasize the recent publication of two thematic editions by the magazines: "Heródoto - Revista do Grupo de Estudos e Pesquisas sobre a Antiguidade Clássica e suas conexões Afro-asiáticas" e "Revista Brasileira de História (RBH)", being the last a publication of National History Association (ANPUH).²²

In Portugal, the situation is a little better. *In April 2008 the Portuguese Association of Classical Studies published "Espaços e paisagens: Antiguidade Clássica e heranças*

¹⁶ One of the signs of the importance of Charles Martindale in the Reception Studies was the edition of a special number of *Classical Receptions Journal*, commemorative of the twenties of *Redeeming the Text*. Hardwick 2013.

¹⁷ Holub 1995, 319.

¹⁸ Vargas 2020, 736.

¹⁹ Martindale 1993, 3-4.

²⁰ Rood 2013, 207.

²¹ Barbosa & Silva 2017.

²² I was one of the editors of the *Herodoto's* dossier, which included articles of the Portuguese colleagues José das Candeias Sales, Susana Mota and Maria de Fátima Rosa. In the special number of RBH, I published a Portuguese version of this text.

contemporâneas: Vol.2 Línguas e Literaturas: Idade Média, Renascimento, Recepção".²³ The last section ("Reception") presents 11 texts of a diverse nature, none having the appropriation of Antiquity by the press as an object. There is also no specific theoretical reflection on the subject; There are even few occurrences of the word itself.²⁴ In 2015 the University of Coimbra published "A recepção dos Clássicos em Portugal e no Brasil".²⁵ In this collection, Maria das Gracías de Moraes Augusto presented interesting article on the translation of the Aristotle's *Categories* by the Portuguese Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira (1769-1846). The author demonstrates how such translation was linked to the intellectual enterprise of the constitution of the future Brazilian nation.²⁶ Finally, I highlight the creation of the research group "Antiquity and its Reception of the Center for Humanities (CHAM-UNL)." This group organized, in February 2017, the "International Colloquium Expressions of Antiquity in Modern and contemporary art and literature", in which I presented the first version of this text.²⁷

This article is the result of a research project²⁸ that intends to analyze the reception of Antiquity in newspapers of the first half of the 19th century published in southern Brazil, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. It is an example of the nature of the documentation founded, the potentiality of its analysis and helped to restrict the investigation to the receptions of the ancient tyrannies by the political reflection carried out through the journals. Newspapers are not the usual object of the History of the Reception of Antiquity, but their field is broad enough to include any document in which appropriation of the ancient times occurs. As Charles Martindale wrote:

Reception within classics encompasses all work concerned with postclassical material, much of which in other humanities departments might well be described under different rubrics: for example, history of scholarship, history of the book, film and media studies, performance history, translation studies, reader response

²³ Oliveira, Teixeira and Dias 2012.

²⁴ I found six mentions. The first in the text of Paula Barata Dias, which investigates continuities and ruptures between Dark-Roman space demarcations those of contemporary Europe. It is a question about the *Notitia Dignitatum*: "Would it have the wording relative to the Western part was composed only after receiving the Eastern document?" (2009, 323). The other mentions are even more topical, including three references to the bibliography.

²⁵ Resulting from cooperation between Coimbra University and the Center for Classical and Humanistic Studies (CECH) and the Study Program in Ancient Philosophy (Pragma) of the Federal Universidade of Rio de Janeiro. Silva e Augusto 2015.

²⁶ Augusto 2015, 46-47.

²⁷ The Proceedings were published on a special number, appeared in the previous volume of *Res Antiquitatis. Journal of Ancient History*, edited by Caramelo, Rosa and Almeida 2020.

²⁸ "Directions and itineraries of a lost tradition. The reception of Ancient history in the political debate of the press in Rio Grande do Sul in the first half of XIX (1808-1845): Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil and Portugal". Initially restricted to Brazil, the project currently includes Portugal to better evaluate the appropriation of antiquity by the South Riograndenses newspapers. I have been, as visiting researcher of CHAM (Humanities Center), in the second semester of 2018, carrying out research to make direct contact with the portuguese newspapers, bibliography and the colleagues of the research group *Antiquity and its reception* (CHAM – Centro de Humanidades / Centre for the Humanities), to whom I thank for the welcoming, especially Maria Helena Trindade Lopes, Francisco Caramelo, Marcus Vinicius Carvalho Pinto and André Patrício.

and personal voice criticism, postcolonial studies, medieval and Neo-Latin, and much else besides (...).²⁹

Although Martindale prefers to study “the reception of texts (...) that have, in Kantian terms, been judged ‘beautiful’, or, as people tend to put it today, have been assigned positive aesthetic value” (2010, 72) and even despise the study of objects of popular culture, I believe that this article shows the importance to consider any source and especially the 19th century-press.

The research project also includes a theoretical-methodological investigation of rhetoric, primarily evaluating its hermeneutical alternatives for the historical analysis texts. In this sense, a useful contribution can be considered from this passage of Quintilian on arguments:

I now pass to things: of these actions are the most nearly connected with persons and must therefore be treated first. In regard to every action the question arises either Why or Where or When or How or By what means the action is performed.³⁰

Aelius Théon, in his *Progynásmata*, in dealing with the narration prescribed:

Narrative (*diégêma*) is language descriptive of things that have happened or as though they had happened. Elements (*stoikheia*) of narration (*diégêsis*) are six: the person (*prosôpon*), whether that be one or many; and the action done by the person; and the place where the action was done; and the time at which it was done; and the manner of the action; and sixth, the cause of these things.³¹

Olivier Reboul in his *Introduction to Rhetoric*, probably used these propositions to make a program of "rhetorical reading", presenting these questions as "places of interpretation" of a text and its author: “Who is the author? When was it written? What was he writing against? Why was it written? How was it written? For whom was it written?”³² Add to this the concern with the writing genre, something that in history corresponds to the investigation of the nature of sources, but with attention to the characteristics of textual genres. This short presentation is a small sign of the important contribution which, in my view, rhetoric can offer to certain historical research centered on the analysis of textual meaning. Because History has nothing specific about it.

Beside this. Looking back on his researching path, Claudio Pereira Elmir, a fellow colleague whose doctorate consisted of studying another periodical from Porto Alegre (“Última

²⁹ Martindale 2006, 1-2.

³⁰ Quintilian *Inst.* V 10.32.

³¹ *Aelius Théon Progynásmata* 5. 1-6.

³² Reboul 1998, 140-143.

Hora", 1960/1964), defined two genres of appropriation of such a remnant from the past according to the perspective of its reception by researchers:

The newspaper, from this reception perspective, may be appropriate in a variety of ways. (...). One apparently simplest is to take it (1) as a source of information. The second, apparently more complex, makes him (2) an intellectual object of the research. (...) In this case, it ceases to be (...) a mere continent from which content is extracted and simply transposed from one narrative to another: from the journalistic one to the historiographical one. If the newspaper becomes an intellectual object for the researcher, the questions asked about it change to some extent. Paradoxically, they demand a parallel and oscillating operation by which they expel the researcher out of the text and, at the same time, push him inward.³³

This text is inserted in the second recommended alternative: the newspaper as an intellectual object and not as a simple source for chronicles of the times. I am interested in analyzing the press as a "complex text", as defined by Dominick LaCapra who distinguished between documentary (in a sense quite similar to the Cláudio Pereira Elmir's statement) and "worklike" aspects of the text:

The documentary situates the text in terms of factual or literal dimensions involving reference to empirical reality and conveying information about it. The "worklike" supplements empirical reality by adding to and subtracting from it. It thereby involves dimensions of the text not reducible to the documentary, prominently including the roles of commitment, interpretation, and imagination. The worklike is critical and transformative, for it deconstructs and reconstructs the given, in a sense repeating it but also bringing into the world something that did not exist before in that significant variation, alteration, or transformation.³⁴

In my opinion, a newspaper material like that of *Correio da Liberdade* is a kind of "worklike" text, because, as we will see, those texts also added something to their times through the reflection material regarding political-constitutional context in my country at that time. In this respect, the articles of a newspaper work like the "the so-called 'great' texts of the tradition"³⁵. My investigation also demanded the "oscillating operation" between the documents and other documents and contexts whose clues are signed by *Correio da Liberdade* itself. In this journey we will be back to Ancient Times.

³³ Elmir 2012, 78-80.

³⁴ LaCapra 1980, 250.

³⁵ LaCapra 1980, 240.

Correio da Liberdade: Some Rhetorical Strategies and the Reception of Antiquity

There are a number of studies that clarify the rhetorical quality of the intellectual texts during Brazilian colonial and imperial periods³⁶. Initially, by the action of Jesuits, and with their expulsion taken forward by the reform of Portuguese education led by the Marquis of Pombal, in 1759. Rhetoric, since the first Portuguese arrivals, was present in schools and in pulpits.³⁷

This may seem evident today, but one of the milestones in the multiplying studies on rhetorical dimension of Brazilian intellectual formation in the historical field is the article by Joaquim Murilo de Carvalho: "Intellectual History in Brazil: Rhetoric as a Key to Reading". In this important article, reference is made to the conspicuous quotations of ancient authors and their works.³⁸ This was also highlighted by Álvaro Klafke, author of the noteworthy and very useful thesis on the periodical press of Rio Grande do Sul between 1831 and 1835.³⁹ As Carvalho notes, this could be an argument of authority explained by the absence of scientific practice.⁴⁰ In my opinion, however, the material I discuss in this article reveals the peculiarities of a context when formal education did not exclude the Greek-Roman and even the Biblical Tradition, and the more distant past was conceived in such a way as to sustain a critical reflection on the present and even on the political future of the country.

The first Brazilian periodicals - published after the transfer of the Portuguese royal family to Rio de Janeiro in 1808 due to the French invasion of Portugal - always presented a predominance of political articles and reflection, while persuasive attempts took on the air of political philosophy or science. From north to south, as wrote Marco Morel:

The pamphlet style (rarely well-written and today in disuse in press) reached efficacy due to several rhetoric characteristics interlinked, such as: the capacity to convince and attack, sharp and critical spirit, literary, satirical language, requiring at the same time doctrinal and ideological density and agility to express, in specific situations and circumstances, a general and defined view of the world.⁴¹

Isabel Lustosa's studies show how the newspapers were directly involved in Brazilian independence. *Insultos Impressos* demonstrates their intense participation in the debate on the political definition of the Brazilian nation⁴². After Dom Pedro I's abdication in 1831, the discussion about the nature of central power and its relations with other parts of the country was predominant in the pages of Brazilian periodicals. As José Murilo de Carvalho wrote: "Until the beginning of the Second Reign, the political debate was concentrated in

³⁶ Some examples: Araújo 2010, Duran 2010, 2015, Hansen, 2000, 2006, Martins 2003, Penna 2018, Sousa 1999.

³⁷ Duran 2013, 175.

³⁸ Carvalho 2000, 142.

³⁹ Klafke 2011, 35.

⁴⁰ Carvalho 2010, 145.

⁴¹ Morel 2010, 37.

⁴² Lustosa 2000, 26.

the press and the Parliament Tribune.”⁴³ This also occurred in Rio Grande do Sul until the beginning of the 20th century.

The editions of *Correio da Liberdade* were published on Wednesdays and Saturdays, on double sheets (four pages) in a 22 X 32 cm format, a bit larger than the A4 format we are used to see. The owner *Manoel dos Passos e Figueroa*, Portuguese by birth, was also the publisher. His nickname was *Calcas*, no less than the main diviner in the *Iliad*. Manoel probably intended that the qualities of "far the best of bird-diviners" were associated with him: "who knew the things that were, and that were to be, and that had been before".⁴⁴ Since his target audience was a minority with intellectual training, we may assume that the analogy was likely perceived by the readers.

Knowledge of Latin political philosophy could be inferred from the epigraph that topped all editions of *Correio*: "*Unum debet esse omnibus propositum, ut eadem sit utilitas uniuscujusque et universorum*". (Cic. de Off. Lib. I). "*This, then, ought to be the chief end of all men, to make the interest of each individual and of the whole body politic identical*" is, in fact, a sentence from book III, from *De Officiis* by Cicero, and not from book I.⁴⁵ We must observe the role of this epigraph in the formation of a persuasive *éthos*⁴⁶ or even the intention to constitute such an ethical proof, besides its function as an authoritative argument.

The rhetorical quality can be seen in many opinion pieces in the paper we have at our disposal. The most evident ethical strategy was the reiterated manifestation of self-depreciation of the person in charge of the enterprise, mitigated by the use of the third person plural. In *Prospectus*, a one-page edition that sought for prior funding, this resource was used at the same time as the future political position of the journal was exposed⁴⁷:

We do not promise to the Reader this transcendent instruction, which is necessary for those who devote themselves to educating the public, because we do not get in the sharing a spirit talented and sufficiently educated in the matters on which we

⁴³ Carvalho 2007, 19.

⁴⁴ Homer *Iliad* I, 69.

⁴⁵ Cicero, *De Officiis*, VI, 26

⁴⁶ "[There is persuasion] through character [*éthos*] whenever the speech is spoken in such a way as to make the speaker worthy of credence; for we believe fair-minded people to a greater extent and more quickly [than we do others], on all subjects in general and completely so in cases where there is not exact knowledge but room for doubt. And this should result from the speech, not from a previous opinion that the speaker is a certain kind of person (...)" (Aristotle *Rhet.* I 2 5-10) The Aristotelian notion was intended for oral speeches. Regarding written texts we can consider the contributions of Dominique Maingueneau (2008, 7):

- *éthos* is a discursive notion, it is constructed through discourse, it is not an "image" of the speaker outside his speech;
- *éthos* is fundamentally an interactive process of influence over the other;
- *éthos* is a fundamentally hybrid (social-discursive) notion, a socially evaluated behavior, which cannot be grasped outside a precise communication situation, integrated itself in a certain socio-historical context.

⁴⁷ The translation tries to reproduce in English the peculiarities of Portuguese language in *Correio*.

intend to speak; we will strive to show that our desires are for the good of our fellow citizens, our zeal for freedom, and our aversion to the Despotism of both the great and the little bosses.⁴⁸ (*Prospectus*, April, 1831)⁴⁹

In spite of their manifested lack of education, they promised to "educate" the people, fight for freedom and fight against the "despotism" of all kinds. Self-depreciation would still be a striking feature of first issue of the journal:

Here we are finally putting on our shoulders the *hard and difficult task* that we proposed when we decided to write this Periodical; and although our forces are not like those of the mighty Atlas, so that without unburdening we may submit ourselves to the immense mass which presents itself to us; since we cannot compete in strength with Alcides, so that we may be allowed to extinguish and disrupt the last head of the Lernaean Hydra, which threatens us, we will, however, not fade away from this daring purpose, trusting our ardent desires to be of service to the just cause of our Nation, and useful in what we may, to our fellow citizens who will make up the insufficiency which we recognize in ourselves, and not hesitate to confess, of the *necessary instruction*.⁵⁰ (N^o 01, 17th April, 1831)⁵¹

The desire to obtain the reader's sympathy requires the use of the following strategies: on the one hand, to estimate the tasks assumed as hard, difficult, even superhuman. The publication implied the confrontation of a political threat: the "last head of the Lernaean Hydra", probably the faction that defended Absolutism. This could only be faced by the superior imposition of "patriotic desire". The use of comparisons with heroic figures - Atlas and Heracles/Alcides - are at the same time an erudition sign, contrasting with the assertion of limited intellectual instruction. This strategy is amplified as the text continues:

The title we use imposes upon us sacred obligations. Though they are undoubtedly arduous, we will employ maximum effort so that, as much as possible, we may

⁴⁸ "Não prometemos ao Leitor essa transcendente instrução, que se faz necessária a quem se dedica a instruir o público, por não ter cabido em partilha, hum espírito talentoso e suficientemente instruído nas materias de que pretendemos fallar; nós nos esforçaremos para mostrar quais são nossos desejos pelo bem de nossos Concidadãos, nosso zelo pela liberdade, e nossa aversão aos Despotismos, já dos grandes, já dos pequenos Mandões."

⁴⁹ This is an *estimated* release date. See Klafke 2011, 37.

⁵⁰ "Eis-nos finalmente metendo hombros a *trabalhosa e difficil empresa*, a que nos propoemos, quando deliberamos redigir este Periodico; e bem que nossas forças não sejam semelhante ás do membrudo Atlante, para que sem vergarmos, nos submetamos á immensa mole, que se nos apresenta; bem que não possamos competir em forças com o Alcides, para que nos seja permitido extinguir e desbaratar a ultima cabeça da Hydra Lernea, que nos ameaça, não esmoreceremos com tudo no audacioso propósito, confiando em os ardentes desejos, que temos de ser prestadios a justa causa da nossa Patria, e uteis quando em nós couber, a nossos Concidadãos, supprirão a falta, que em nós reconhecemos, e não duvidamos confessar da necessaria instrucción."

⁵¹ Unless otherwise noted, all italics are mine.

aspire to its glorious performance, seeking to satisfy all our promises, if not with the *pompous eloquence of Cicero, or of Demosthenes*, at least with *honest and intelligible language for all our readers*. May the Heavens allow that through it, and with the incontestable proof of our pure sentiments, we can capture *the benevolent attention, and deserve the indulgence* that we need so much.⁵² (N° 01, 17th April 1831)

The task was hard and even sacred. I highlight that the effort to capture benevolence by expressing modesty of personal virtues was already, as we have seen, in the immediately preceding phrase, which called for the help of "fellow citizens" to supply a confessed lack of education. Now, they said they will never be able to compete with the ancient Greek-Roman eloquence. This limitation, however, would offer two admirable qualities as a counterpart: honesty and intelligibility. To counterbalance such modesty, the very citation of the authorities Cicero and Demosthenes, the appeal for attention and the peculiar use of the Latin *captatio benevolentiae*, perhaps shows to the informed reader their knowledge of the classic Latin rhetorical strategy.

Correio da Liberdade: The Reception of Peisistratos' Tyranny

What I would like to emphasize now is: the rhetorical dimension of discourse is one of the means of articulation with the theory of Reception Aesthetics. Hans Robert Jauss, in discussing his understanding of the three concepts of aesthetic tradition - *poiēsis*, *aísthēsis* and *kátharsis* – which he connects with the three categories of aesthetic fruition (*production, reception and communication*), defines the latter as "that *pleasure of affections* provoked by *discourse* or poetry, capable of leading the listener or spectator to both "the liberation of his psyche" as well as, and I emphasize, "*the transformation of his convictions*".⁵³ This specific pleasure would be the function of transforming the subjective experience into an intersubjective one by the consent to the judgment demanded by the work, or by identification with predetermined norms of action to be made explicit.⁵⁴

The connection between persuasion and pleasure can be directly associated with the rhetorical evidence that gains little attention in the historical field - the *páthos*⁵⁵. In my relationship as the receiver of the following matter, I must confess my emotion in reading it for the first time. I'm used to reading about the Greek tyrants and to treating Peisistratos

⁵² "O título, que tomamos, nos impõe obrigações sagradas, ainda que arduas sem duvida; empregaremos com tudo os maiores esforços, para que da maneira possível aspiremos ao seu glorioso desempenho, procurando satisfazer a todas as nossas promessas, senão com a *pomposa eloquencia de hum Cicero, ou de hum Demosthenes*, pelo menos com *huma linguagem franca, e intelligivel para todos os nossos Leitores*. Permitta o Ceo, que com ella e com as incontestaveis provas de nossos puros sentimentos possamos captar-lhes as benévolas atenções, e merecer a indulgencia de que tanto havemos mister."

⁵³ Jauss 2002, 100-101.

⁵⁴ Jauss 2002, 102.

⁵⁵ "The emotions [*pathē*] are those things through which, by undergoing change, people come to differ in their judgments, and which are accompanied by pain and pleasure, for example, anger, pity, fear, and other such things and their opposites." Aristotle *Rhetoric* II, 1 1378 a 20-22.

in the classroom. I do not remember hearing about this relevant character in a non-professional setting. Therefore, reading this story had a great impact on me, because it is a reflection about Brazilian politics that uses as example an episode from Ancient Greek History, which is currently known by only a restricted few (at least in Brazil).

REGARDING MODERATE MONARCHIES

PISISTRATUS enforced the Laws given by Solon and he himself obeyed them. The Areopagus continued to store them, and the Senate was still, or at least seemed to be, the Advisors of the Prince, as it had been during the Republic. Pisistratus did not have the power to govern in an arbitrary manner. He ruled according to Law, because it was necessary to take advantage of the Areopagus, and the Senate, which watched over his administration: two bodies so feared, that their discontent would have incited all the Citizens. If during Democracy these two Bodies were weak enough to balance the power of the assembled People, one sees that as soon as the Government becomes Monarchic, they are very powerful to balance the power of the Monarch. Therefore, this Monarchy is an example of the Monarchies which can be called moderate.⁵⁶ (n^o 9, 1st May, 1831 – *Correio da Liberdade's* boldface)

When Hans Jauss stated that reception cannot be subordinated to the purpose of composition work⁵⁷, he intended to oppose the thesis of a single, transcendently correct interpretation, as is reasserted by LaCapra (1980), Martindale (1993) and Martindale and Thomas (2006). He was not, I think, attempting to block the judgment of readers as to the correctness or inaccuracy of the various interpretations made over time. The depictions of Peisistratos' tyranny as "moderate monarchy" and of the tyrant as "Prince" are incorrect; likewise, it is wrong to call the Council of the 500 (the *Boulê*) as "Senate." However, this piece, with a title I find absurd at first sight, is also the reception of a tradition that goes back to Antiquity, because Herodotus was the first, among others, to qualify positively the tyranny of Peisistratos.

The Greek historian stated that: "He [Peisistratos] managed the city *in accordance with its existing legal and political institutions* [*epi te toisi katesteōsi eneme tēn polin*], and he

⁵⁶ "Das Monarchias Moderadas. Pisistrato fez respeitar as Leys dadas por Solon, e as respeitou elle mesmo. O Areopago continuou a ter o deposito dellas, e o Senado foi ainda, ou pelo menos pareceu ser o Conselho do Principe, como o havia sido da Republica. Não esteve no poder de Pisistrato governar arbitrariamente. Elle governou pelas Leys, porque se vio na necessidade de aproveitar o Areopago, e o Senado, que vellavão sobre a sua administração: dois Corpos tão temíveis, que o seu descontentamento teria sublevado todos os Cidadãos. Se na Democracia estes dois Corpos erão bastante fracos para equilibrar o poder do Povo reunido, vê-se que logo que o Governo passa a ser Monarchico, são assaz poderosos para equilibrar o poder do Monarcha. Ora esta Monarchia He hum exemplo das Monarchias, a que se dá o nome de *moderadas*. He nestas Monarchias, que verdadeiramente se He livre. A licença do povo tem hum freio nas Leys, que o Monarcha lhe faz respeitar, e a licença do Monarcha tem igualmente hum freio nas Leys, que o Areopago, e o Senado forção a respeitar elle mesmo."

⁵⁷ Jauss 2002, 102.

provided it with moderate and good government [*kosméōn kalōs*].”⁵⁸ This is George C. Macaulay’s translation (1890), revised throughout by Donald Lateiner, which makes clear the original idea of a paradoxical tyrannical government “in accordance with” the Athenian laws. The A. D. Godley’s translation (1920), however, presents an important particularity: “and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but *governing the city according to its established constitution* [*epi te toisi katesteōsi eneme tēn polin*] and arranging all things fairly and well [*kosméōn kalōs*].” A similar notion is found in Thucydides’ comments on the tyranny of Peisistratos’ descendants, Hippias and his sons:

[5] Indeed, generally their government was not grievous to the multitude, or in any way odious in practice; and these tyrants cultivated wisdom and virtue as much as any, and without exacting from the Athenians more than a twentieth of their income, splendidly adorned their city, and carried on their wars, and provided sacrifices for the temples. [6] *For the rest, the city was left in full enjoyment of its existing laws*, except that care was always taken to have the offices in the hands of some one of the family.⁵⁹

In Aristotle’s *Athenian Constitution*, there is another remark that has been translated to English as: “having seized the government proceeded to carry on the public business in a manner *more constitutional than tyrannical* [*mallon politikōs ē turannikōs*].”⁶⁰ And after:

2. Peisistratus’ administration of the state was, as has been said, moderate, *and more constitutional than tyrannic* [*mallon politikōs ē turannikōs*]. He was *kindly* [*philánthrōpos*] and *mild* in everything and in particular he was merciful to offenders, and moreover he advanced loans of money to the poor for their industries, so that they might support themselves by farming. (...) 7. And in all other matters too he gave the multitude no trouble during his rule, but always worked for peace and safeguarded tranquility; so that men were often to be heard saying that the tyranny of Peisistratus was the Golden Age of Cronos; for it came about later when his sons had succeeded him that the government became much harsher.⁶¹

It is not my intention at this time to contrast in detail the older fragments of this tradition with the newspaper piece. This will require further research because the Greek intellectual representation of tyranny, especially after Plato⁶², also has a strong negative bias that is

⁵⁸ Herodotus I, 59, 6.

⁵⁹ Thucydides VI, 5-6.

⁶⁰ Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians*, XIV, 3.

⁶¹ Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians*, XVI, 7-9.

⁶² Lewis 2016, 06; Virgolino 2017, 12.

ignored by *Correio*. In addition, Humanism resumed tyranny *tópos* as exemplified by Thomas Hobbes:

III. The third seditious doctrine springs from the same root, and of old it was by all the Philosophers, *Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and the rest of the maintainers of the Greek, and Roman Anarchies*, held not only [lawful], but even worthy of the greatest [praise]. 2 And under the title of Tyrants, they mean not only Monarchs, but all those who bear the chief rule in any Government whatsoever; for not *Pisistratus only* at Athens, but those thirty also who succeeded him, and ruled together, were all called *Tyrants*.⁶³

I remark the special qualification of philosophers as keepers of Ancient “Anarchies” and the liberty to manipulate the conception of tyranny. But what matters to me at this time is to emphasize that, from a qualification of Peisistratos’ tyranny, *Correio da Liberdade* extrapolated to a theory about Constitutional Monarchy, manipulating the elements from information of a distant past and reworking them through a long intellectual chain, whether *Calcas* had direct knowledge of it or not.

However, I must confess that, initially, my scandalized consciousness made me think that the signature present at the end of the article of *O Correio* was simply an alias of its author (who was maybe embarrassed for heterodox appropriation, I should have supposed). The use of pseudonyms was current at the time. A simple internet search showed that “Condillac” was Étienne Bonot de Condillac, Abbot of Mureau (1715-1780), an important French illuminist philosopher, defending an empirical and sensualist theory of knowledge, appropriated by French *Ideologists*⁶⁴ but equally the writer of a work such as *Le Commerce et le gouvernement considérés relativement l'un à l'autre* (1776). He was not one of the great philosophers of the Enlightenment and can even, according to one Brazilian scholar who studies him, be the object of smaller attention by the philosophical contemporary studies⁶⁵: in recent Brazil, the edition of his capital work *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*, from 1714, was only published in 2018. He enjoyed, meanwhile, considerable prestige in his time and, as we may see, in Portugal and Brazil in the XIX century. Condillac wrote important works in the field of epistemology, as the mentioned *Essai* (which promotes the thoughts of Locke among the French) and mainly the *Traité des sensations* (1754), being admitted to the French Academy in 1768. Contemporarily to us, he was object of attention of Derrida (in *L'archéologie du frivole* - 1913) and of Michel Foucault (in *Les mots et les choses* - 1966). It was thanks to the necessity of understanding the reception of *Condillac* by *Correio da Liberdade* that I discovered that Foucault had called up the Abbot to answer the question: “under what conditions the classical thought was able to reflect, among the things, relations of similarity or equivalence that found and

⁶³ Hobbes *De Cive*, XII, 3.

⁶⁴ Rüegg 2004, 545.

⁶⁵ Silva 2013 270; 2015, 20-21.

justify the words, the classifications, the exchanges?"⁶⁶ And the most relevant for my work: it was widely read, as I said before, in Portuguese and Brazilian land in the XIX century.

The Abbot was cited beside Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Comenius, Erasmus, Leibniz e Descartes in a letter to the priest Francisco Luís Leão, philosopher of the Coimbra University, to the 2nd Count of Ega, Aires José Maria de Saldanha Albuquerque Coutinho Matos e Noronha. This correspondence, analyzed by Renato AmatuZZi⁶⁷, resulted on the hiring of priest Francisco to elaborate a plan of elementary studies for the education of Manoel de Saldanha, the 3rd Count of Ega. It was in 1801 and Portugal was under the aegis of the Lusitanian version of Enlightenment endorsed by Marquis of Pombal. Among the grammars that left "a mark in the Lusitanian grammatical historiography inserting themselves in a European rationalist context", Monica Lupetti highlighted the one written by Crisóstomo de Melo, found in Goa and in Brazil. The *Grammatica Philosophica da Linguagem Portuguesa*, edited in 1818, deserved the highlight of Lupetti for the reference to Condillac, besides other philosophers such as Descartes and D'Alembert⁶⁸.

The search in the platform "DIGIGOV – Digital Government Gazette" that makes available around 30 000 editions of the official gazette of the Portuguese State as of 1820, allowed me to find 15 occurrences of "Condillac" between 1820 and 1851.⁶⁹ One of them - in the *Gazeta de Lisboa (Lisboa Gazette)* dated Dec 9, 1828 (no. 292, p. 1476) - is an advertisement for selling of "The Art of Thinking of Condillac"⁷⁰; the other occurrences are in doctrinal and argumentative articles, as was characteristic of the Luso-Brazilian journalism of the time.

The search on the platform of the Digital Archive of the National Brazilian Library delivered more important results.⁷¹ To give an idea, there are 33 occurrences in 129 newspaper archives between 1820 and 1829, and 109 occurrences in 364 archives between 1830 and 1839. There are articles like the ones of another newspaper in my state, the *Correio da Liberdade*, dated Oct 5, 1831 (no. 50, p. 200), one short note about the various effects that peace and war has on men. And there is also several selling news of works of the *Abbot*. The four occurrences found in the newspaper *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* created by the Portuguese Zeferino Vito Meirelles in 1821 belong to this genre. On Jul 27, 1822 (no. 23, p.

⁶⁶ Foucault 2000, XX.

⁶⁷ AmatuZZi 2013, 2-5.

⁶⁸ Lupetti 2015,66.

⁶⁹ DIGIGOV. Diário do Governo Digital

<https://digigov.cepese.pt/pt/pesquisa/fulltextsearch?offset=0&disptime=1&expression=Condillac&title=&begindate=1820-01-01&enddate=1910-12-31&filter=&orderby=ASC&next=50&nextchar=200> (accessed September 29, 2019).

⁷⁰ DIGIGOV. Diário do Governo Digital

https://digigov.cepese.pt/pt/pesquisa/listbyyearmonthday?ano=1828&mes=12&tipo=a-diario&filename=1828/12/09/D_0292_1828-12-09&pag=4&txt=Condillac (accessed September 29, 2019).

⁷¹ Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira. Biblioteca Digital da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docmulti.aspx?bib=%5Bcache%5Dcarvalho_531810.3357813.DocLstX&pasta=ano%20182&pesq=Condillac. (accessed September 29, 2019).

92), for example, it was advertising the selling of *Ouvres de Condillac* in 31 volumes in the Shop belonging to Francisco Saturnino Veiga, Rua da Alfândega, 395.⁷²

The most relevant, however, was the discovery that this article, published in Rio Grande do Sul and Rio de Janeiro is an accurate translation of the words of Étienne Bonot found in the Eighth Volume of his *Oeuvres Complètes*, relative to *Histoire Ancienne*. It is part of one *Cours d'études*, with 13 volumes, dated of 1775 and written to the young Duc Ferdinand de Parme (1751-1802), grandson of Luis XV, whom he taught between 1757 and 1769. The considerable work encompasses *Grammaire, Art d'écrire, Art de raisonner, Art de penser et Histoire*. In the first paragraph of the first volume devoted to *Histoire Ancienne*, Condillac informs that it is his objective only to teach the prince to study history, limiting it to elementary lessons without having "le projet d'entrer dans tous les détails qui méritent d'être connus."⁷³ The fourth book is divided in three parts with independent themes: the games in Greece, the Jewish people and the laws, in the last part the Peisistratus' tyranny appears as example of "moderate monarchy".⁷⁴ The chapter, like the news in Portuguese, begins thus:

CHAPTER VI.

Des monarchies modérées.

Pisistrate fit respecter les lois données par Solon, et les respecta lui-même. L'aréopage continua d'en avoir le dépôt, et le sénat fut encore, ou du moins parut être le conseil du prince, comme il l'avait été de la république. (CONDILLAC, 1821/1822, p. 76)

As LaCapra noted: "The text is seen as the 'place' where long tradition and specific time intersect, and it effects variations on both. But the text is not immobilized or presented as an autonomous node; it is situated in a fully relational network."⁷⁵ Up to now, the tradition of the view on Pisistratus tyranny is written to Condillac and some of his readers. But I have found other documents in which Peisistratos, much to my surprise, is a character of daily political reflection for Brazilians of the early 19th century.⁷⁶ The reproduction, for instance, of the first Simon Bolivar's speech at the Opening of General Congress of Venezuela in another Brazilian journal (*Correio Braziliense, Londres*). Defending the "Republican Government," Bolivar urged listeners to use history as a guide to avoid the danger of "absolute democracy":

Help us the history to guide on this road. Athenas is the first that gives us the most brilliant example of an absolute democracy, and Athenas itself offers us the saddest

⁷² Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira. Biblioteca Digital da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docmulti.aspx?bib=%5Bcache%5Dcarvalho_41520.3861353.DocLstX&pasta=ano%20183&pesq=Condillac. (accessed September 29, 2019).

⁷³ Condillac 1821, 1.

⁷⁴ Condillac 1821, 76-88.

⁷⁵ LaCapra 1980, 260.

⁷⁶ Other occurrences: Cairú 1820,1835.

example of the extreme weakness of this kind of Government. The wisest legislator of Greece had not seen his *Republic* last for ten years and suffered the humiliation of recognizing the insufficiency of absolute Democracy to govern any kind of society, not even the most cultured, temperate and limited; because it only shines with lightning flashes of freedom.⁷⁷ (*Correio Braziliense*, October 1819, Vol. XXIII, n° 137, p. 367-368)

Readers had to wait for the following month to continue reading the speech, which continued as follows:

The Republic of Sparta, which looked like a chimerical invention, produced more real effects than the ingenious work of Solon. Glory, virtue, morality and, therefore, national happiness was the result of Lycurgus legislation. Although two kings in a state are two monsters to devour it, Sparta had little to fear from its duplicate throne; nevertheless, if Athenas promised the most splendid fate, with absolute sovereignty, free election of its magistrates, often renewed, soft laws, wise and politics, Pisistratus, usurper and a tyrant, was healthier to Athenas than its laws, and Pericles, though also usurper, was the most useful citizen.⁷⁸ (*Correio Braziliense*, November, 1819, vol. XXIII, n°138, p.475.)

Solon (c. 638– c. 558B.C.E.) and Lycurgus (c.IX B.C.E.) were, according to the Greek tradition, Athenian, and Spartan legislators. The former, Solon, preceded Pisistratus and tried to establish a good order (eudaimonia) through a legislative reform. The failure of this reform resulted in the tyranny of Peisistratos. *Correio da Liberdade* praised the Athenian “monarch” due to his respect to the laws; in Bolivar's speech, the praise of the “usurper and tyrant” comes from the criticism of “absolute” democracy instituted by Solon. We do not

⁷⁷ “Sirvanos a historia de guia nesta carreira. Athenas he a primeira, que nos da o exemplo mais brilhante de uma democracia absoluta, e logo a mesma Athenas nos offerece o exemplo mais triste da extrema debilidade desta espécie de Governo. O mais sábio legislador da Grécia não vio conservar a sua Republica dez annos, e soffreo a humiliação de reconhecer a insufficiencia da Democracia absoluta, para reger nenhuma espécie de sociedade, nem ainda a mais culta, morigerada e limitada; porque só brilha com relâmpagos de liberdade. Reconheçamos pois que Solon tem desenganado o mundo; e lhe tem ensinado, quam difficil he dirigir por simples leys aos homens.”

⁷⁸ “A republica de Esparta, que parecia uma invenção chimerica, produzio mais effeitos reaes do que a obra engenhosa de Solon. Gloria, virtude, moral, e por conseguinte a felicidade nacional, foi o resultado da legislação de Licurgo. Ainda que dous reys em um Estado, são dous monstros para o devorar, Esparta teve pouco que sentir de seu duplicado throno: no entanto que Athenas se promettia a sorte mais esplendida, com uma soberania absoluta, livre eleição de seus magistrados, freqüentemente renovados, leys suaves, sábias e politicas. Pisistrato, usurpador e tyranno, foi mais saudável a Athenas, do que as suas leys, e Pericles, ainda que também usurpador, foi o mais útil cidadão.”

think today that Solon actually instituted a democracy, but by the end of the 4th century the Athenian democrats considered him a founding hero.⁷⁹

Finally. If it is correct the idea that examples allow a rule to be based on a particular case⁸⁰, then the historical example implies the acknowledgment of an essential communion between the ages. In *Correio da Liberdade's* argument, the tyranny was an example and proof for Brazil from the beginning of the 19th century:

In Monarchies, such as that of Athens at the time of the Peisistratides, the Monarch cannot do everything; he can do good, but he cannot do evil. He cannot do evil because an injury to a Citizen is enough to stir up the whole people, and the Tyrant is overthrown. Hipparchos and Hippias are proof of this. (*)

(*) To prove this truth, we need not resort to such remote examples: unfortunately, our times have been fertile with similar catastrophes; and right now, we've just seen one of them among us.⁸¹ (nº 9, 1st May 1831)

Hippias and Hipparchus were the sons of Peisistratos and the first succeeded the father as the tyrant. Thucydides criticized the Athenians for worshiping both as heroes of the struggle against tyranny and offered his version of the facts. Hipparchos had sexually harassed Harmodius who was then “in the flower of youthful beauty”; due to this, he has been murdered by the victim and his lover, Aristogiton, “a citizen in the middle rank of life”.⁸² Tyranny, in fact, had been put down by the Spartans.⁸³ Aristotle considered this story as a later invention of the democracy’s partisans in order to denigrate the tyranny of Hippias.⁸⁴ In any case, Aristogiton and Harmodius already had a statue that praised them as “The Tyrannicides” when the second Persian invasion occurred. It was taken by Xerxes as a war booty and was returned to the Athenians by Alexander.⁸⁵

In any case, this last *Correio da Liberdade's* quote is a striking sign of how its authors knew and assumed that their readers knew Athenian political history - even if they simply copied the story from another newspaper or an encyclopedia. Who knows about Hippias and Hipparchos in our days? In order to understand the closing of “Moderated Monarchies”, it is necessary to know the traditional and ancient Attic story of the “Tyrannicides” to infer

⁷⁹ According to Isocrates (436-338 B.C.E), the earlier democracy was instituted by Solon and re-established by Cleisthenes (*Aeropagiticus*, 16), another Athenian tyrant in the end of the 6th century BCE.

⁸⁰ Perelman and Tyteca 2005, 412.

⁸¹ “Nas Monarchias, taes como a de Athenas no tempo dos Pesistratides, o Monarcha não póde tudo; elle póde o bem, mas não póde o mal. Não póde o mal, porque basta huma injuria feita a hum Cidadão para sublevar todo o povo, e o Tyranno está derrubado. Hipparque e Hippias são prova disto (*)

(*) Para provar esta verdade não precisamos recorrer a exemplos tão remotos: infelizmente os nossos tempos tem sido fertis de semelhantes catastrophes; e agora mesmo o acabamos de ver entre nós.”

⁸² Thucydides VI, 54, 2.

⁸³ Thucydides VI, 53, 3.

⁸⁴ Aristotle *The Athenian Constitution*. 18.3.

⁸⁵ Lefèvre 2013, 9.143-155.

that a king was subject to be violently deposed if he attacked a citizen, as Hipparchos had done before.

I have found even more documents in which Peisistratos is a character in daily political reflection of Brazilians from the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were not many people capable of this type of reception, considering the limited range of the intellectual training of that time. However, they are evidence of the vital sense of antiquity in those times, in a way today not more possible. Who, in our time, would think of Peisistratos to think about the Brazilian political future?

The situation was different two centuries ago.

In this article, the analysis of a single journalistic matter served to show the scope of a "chain of receptions" initiated in Antiquity and its importance in the thinking about the political destiny of a young nation.

The press provides important evidence of the nature of the relationship with the ancient past because it is considered a valuable means of assessing the vitality of a work. In Mikhail Bakhtin's interpretation, it is the superior form of "everyday ideology": the totality of the individual's mental activity centered on everyday life and the expression attached to it.⁸⁶ It is one of its higher forms to be in contact with ideological systems - science, morality, law, and history and, I think, rhetoric. These, on the one hand, crystallize out of the "ideology of daily life," and on the other hand, exert a strong influence on the latter. The survival of ideological systems depends on preserving this link, because it is in the *careful regarding* of individuals about their daily life that the critical evaluation of these systems is carried out, and their capacity to be meaningful to a given group, at a given moment. Once this bond is broken, the work will be condemned to remain restricted to the shelves and to the lonesome curiosity of historians and rhetorical scholars. I think that the same can be said about the past and the ancient past, the Antiquity. The reception of the Peisistratos' tyranny in *Correio da Liberdade* is one of the evidences of the importance of that past to think about the present and the future in those times.

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