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## **AS RECEPÇÕES DO MUNDO ANTIGO NA REVISTA *HERÓDOTO***

O presente número da *Revista Heródoto* apresenta um rico conjunto de contribuições organizado em três partes. A primeira é consagrada ao dossiê intitulado “Recepções da Antiguidade”, organizado com a valiosa colaboração do professor Anderson Zalewski Vargas (UFRGS), que é composta por uma entrevista concedida à revista pelo professor Vargas e por um conjunto de oito artigos que tratam de processos variados de recepção da Antiguidade (a apresentação do dossiê é detalhadamente feita pelo professor Vargas no texto *As recepções e as conformações de passado e presente*).

A sessão “Artigos” é composta por um conjunto de três textos. O primeiro, de Eduardo Aubert, é a releitura de um fragmento de Píndaro acerca de uma passagem mitológica, a partir do qual discute-se a noção controle e violência. O segundo, de Pierre Mbid Hamoudi Diouf, discute procedimentos médicos na Antiguidade, a partir da leitura de obras de autores antigos e explorando exemplos do conhecimento médico, algumas práticas medicinais e cirúrgicas. O terceiro artigo, de Fernando Mattioli Vieira, é um observação crítica do cenário de contribuições da Arqueologia (e seu diálogo com a História) para a interpretação dos Manuscritos de Qumran.

Este número também apresenta um conjunto de três resenhas de publicações recentes. Trata-se de visões gerais sobre diferentes objetos: o mundo cicládico, os vários processos e contextos de recepção da figura de Alexandre, o Grande e, ainda, uma observação autoral sobre a Mesopotâmia Antiga.

Por fim, temos o prazer de anunciar que, partir deste número, a revista conta com um novo editor. Trata-se de Gustavo de Oliveira Junqueira, responsável pela seção de resenhas.

Desejamos a todas e todos uma excelente leitura.

Gilberto da Silva Francisco e Glaydson José da Silva  
Editores

## RECEPTIONS OF ANCIENT WORLD IN *HERÓDOTO* JOURNAL

This issue of the *Heródoto* journal presents a rich set of contributions organized in three parts. The first of them is dedicated to the dossier entitled “Receptions of Antiquity”, organized with the valuable collaboration of professor Anderson Zalewski Vargas (UFRGS). This dossier consists of an interview granted to the *Heródoto* by Professor Vargas and a set of eight papers dealing with different processes of the reception of Antiquity (the presentation of the dossier is made in detail by Professor Vargas in the text *The receptions and the conformations of past and present*).

The section of articles consists of a set of three papers. The first one, by Eduardo Aubert, is the reinterpretation of a Pindar fragment about a mythological passage, from which the idea of control and violence is discussed. The second, by Pierre Mbid Hamoudi Diouf, discusses medical procedures in antiquity, based on texts of ancient authors and exploring examples of medical knowledge and surgical practices. The third paper, by Fernando Mattioli Vieira, is a critical observation of the scenario of contributions from Archeology (and its dialogue with History) for the interpretation of the Qumran Manuscripts.

This issue also features a set of three reviews of recent publications. These are general views on different objects: the Cycladic Archaeology, the processes and contexts of reception of the Alexander the Great and, also, an overall observation on Ancient Mesopotamia.

Finally, we are pleased to announce that, starting with this issue, *Heródoto* has a new editor. This is Gustavo Junqueira Duarte Oliveira, responsible for the section of reviews.

We wish you an exciting and insightful reading experience.

Gilberto da Silva Francisco e Glaydson José da Silva  
Editors

## RECEPTIONS AND THE SHAPING OF THE PAST AND PRESENT

Anderson Zalewski Vargas<sup>1</sup>

The term *Reception*<sup>2</sup> has been multiplied in recent times in the field of historical studies in general, and studies on Antiquity, in particular. It can be easily found in the titles of books, papers and presentations at academic events, and even in dissertations and PhD theses. This theme issue of *Herodotus* is also a sign of this phenomenon. But there is still much to be done before considering the term as a designator of a particular field of studies. Maybe it would be fanciful to expect the emergence of a uniform universe of studies. In the case of history, one of the reasons for this is the problematic relation between historiographical work, on the one hand, and historiographical theorizing, on the other. The existence of practically autonomous sectors of theory and methodology in the departments of history of the universities is indicative of the unnecessary relation between systematic theoretic reflection and the practice of historians. Such relation may be relevant, but it is not essential.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, a certain level of reflection is always welcome, even when it does not provide tools or point to productive paths. As Norma Cortês has pointed out, in a particular reception of the ancient Greek term, *theoria*:

Theory is not aimed at establishing scientific methods (procedural models that regulate and guide historical research practices). And, at most, it includes a contemplative matrix that reached the excellence of its best finishing in the world

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<sup>1</sup> Professor of the Graduate Department and Program of History at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), Brazil.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise specified, the emphasis through italics on specific words and expressions in this text were added by its author.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, such dissociation can be presented as the sign of a negative judgement regarding the historiographical context. This is how I see the well-known disappointment of Carlos Ginzburg in the mid-1990s, published in the early 2000s: "The skeptical theses based on the reduction of historiography to its narrative or rhetoric dimension have been circulating for some decades – although their roots, as we will see, are older. As usual, the historiography-theoreticians who propose them are little concerned with the concrete work of historians. But historians, in turn – after their conventional praise of the *latest linguistic or rhetorical trend* [emphasis in original] are also little inclined to reflect on the theoretical implications of their craft. *The distance between methodological reflection and effective historiographical praxis was rarely as wide as it has been in recent decades*" (2002, p.13-14).

of *Sophia*. (...) In a few words, I'd say that it only serves to make us think – though this does not distinguish it, since all disciplinary fields also do it! All in all, a *Theory of History calls us to contemplate and attentively observe ourselves* [emphasis in original] (2009, p. 14).

I believe the accuracy of concepts, the explicit use of certain conceptions, and theoretical reflection itself may have additional practical implications, as long as they are not merely illustrative or based on an argument from authority.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, the point is not one of an inner, silent learning that could not be conveyed to others.<sup>5</sup> At once as a part of the *invention* of the historian's craft and constituting it, new objects of study can be created by simply giving distinct names to one and the same set of documents; by establishing principles, theoretical reflection can prompt us to ask questions we would not otherwise realize, thus leading us to new answers.

An *Aesthetics of Reception* dates back to the 1960s, but a *History of Reception* was born, I believe, in the late 1990s with the work of Charles Martindale (*Redeeming the text*, of 1993). In his own words, it is a "historicizing version" of the aesthetics inaugurated by Hans Robert Jauss<sup>6</sup> still in the 1960s. It was allegedly conjugated with Jacques Derrida's *Deconstruction*, with New

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<sup>4</sup> This is what Norma Cortês seems to allude to in the section from which the citation above was extracted: "Therefore, it [theory] *neither conveys* generalist methodologic formulas, *nor has* it any primacy or precedence over the other disciplinary fields and forms of expertise. Theory of History *does not serve* to teach how to do research projects; *it does not* validate the methodological procedures adopted by other fields of historic interest; *nor does it ensure* any objectivity to the intellectual choices of historians (2009, p.14).

<sup>5</sup> I am not fully disregarding more personal aspects linked to the meaning and impact of theoretical reflections. However, I affirm this is not a religious issue, such as indicated by Karen Armstrong in her analysis of the distinctions between Eastern and Western Christianity: "A distinction between esoteric and exoteric truth will be extremely important in the history of God. It was not to be confined to Greek Christians but Jews and Muslims would also develop an esoteric tradition. The idea of a 'secret' doctrine was not to shut people out. Basil was not talking about an early form of Freemasonry. He was simply calling attention to the fact that not all religious truth was capable of being expressed and defined clearly and logically. Some religious insights had an inner resonance that could only be apprehended by each individual in his own time during what Plato had called *theoria*, contemplation (...)" (1994, p. 122, 123, 126 and 127).

<sup>6</sup> In 1979, Luiz Costa Lima published a collection of texts on Reception Aesthetics, reissued in 2002 in a context in which historians (such as me) could read with an interest in knowing their contribution to the internal analysis of texts. The prefaces to both editions are useful in many ways, including in the sense of knowing the other names of specific schools, their propositions and divergences. The collection includes texts by Wolfgang Iser, Kahrtheinz Stierle, Harald Weinrich and an author well-known by Brazilian students, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht.

Criticism and Mikhail Bakhtin's Dialogism, as well as with Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Hermeneutics* (1993, p. XIII, 01). As it also occurs in other situations, the professional practitioners of the history-field must deal with the task of appropriating a theory that was imagined for another area – in this case, Literature. This is not a simple enterprise, and it does not seem to be finished. For instance, one of the theses of *Redeeming the text* is that there is virtue in recognizing the transient nature of our analytic procedures (1993, p. XIV).

But there are other schools linked to history of reception, in such way that its genesis may also be pinpointed in this century. This was done by Anastasia Bakogianni (2016, p. 5) in regard to the seminal text of Lorna Hardwick (2003). We found some considerable distinctions and variations. Despite the deference to the School of Constance, Hardwick – who is particularly concerned with the appropriations of Classicism –, points to the existing diversity of theory and investigation methods to approach a wide variety of objects, themes and spheres of reception.<sup>7</sup> Such diversity can be found, as James Tatum (2014, p. 90) has done, by reading the preface to the *Classics Reception Journal*, which was created in 2009 to serve as a specialized outlet for a field of studies that is still in stage of consolidation:

*Classical Receptions Journal* covers all aspects of the reception of the texts and material culture of ancient Greece and Rome from antiquity to the present day. It aims to explore the relationships between transmission, interpretation, translation, transplantation, rewriting, redesigning and rethinking of Greek and Roman material in other contexts and cultures. It addresses the implications both for the receiving contexts and for the ancient, and compares different types of linguistic, textual and ideological interactions.

The journal promotes cross-disciplinary exchange and debates at the interface between subjects. It therefore welcomes submissions from researchers in Archaeology, Architecture, Art History, Comparative Literature, Film, Intellectual History, History of Scholarship, Political Science, Theatre Studies and Translation Studies as well as from those in Classics and Ancient History".<sup>8</sup>

We cannot, therefore, expect to find a uniformly agreed topic and approach in the texts of this theme edition. Yet, we can read them with a consideration for which alternatives they reveal to us *vis-à-vis* studies of a similar genre (for instance, regarding the "Uses of History"), thus contributing to the emergence of a subfield of historical studies, namely

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<sup>7</sup> Instead of a theory or method, Hardwick presents *key assumptions* (2003, p. 16-17).

<sup>8</sup> Available at: <https://academic.oup.com/crj/pages/About>. Access on Feb. 25, 2020.

## Reception of Antiquity.

Despite the astonishing variety pointed by Tatum and confirmed by the articles of this issue, I believe there are still some assumptions that must be highlighted. First, *reception* means an active appropriation, which highlights the central role of a text's reader or interpreter. In other words, this is an acknowledgment of the fact that the meanings of a particular work are not definitively established at the moment when it is produced, i.e., they do not exist in themselves. It is a central principle of the Aesthetics of Reception – accepted by Martindale and Hardwick – that seems to be expressed by Alberto Manguel in his appreciation of reading:

It is, however, in each case the reader who sees the meaning while reading; the reader ascribes a possible legibility to an object, place or event, or recognizes it in them: it is the reader who must ascribe meaning to a system of signs and, then, decipher it (1997, p. 19).

Of course, it is necessary to take into consideration the existence of at least one additional side in every act of reception: the work, either in the form of a newspaper article, a novel, a film, a sculpture... Do these two sides exist independently, and may the appropriation be considered in terms of correspondence or adjustment, or would a reception consist in the interaction of both sides? Since it has been asserted against the idea that a work simply reflects its time (its society, economy, class...) or has an immanent truth, the Aesthetics of Reception (and many histories that derive from it) purported that meaning is a reality constructed by the interaction of the two sides.<sup>9</sup> In this dialogue, the observer's imagination organizes, filters and selects its features, thus creating them (LIMA, 2002, p. 16).

This assertion has many relevant implications. There is not a "tradition" in itself, affecting or shaping posterity. Thus, there is no such thing as a "legacy" either, unless it is considered as a heteroclite set of interpretations - which are always, in turn, subject to changes and even ruptures, for instance, when the majority's attention is turned from one topic to another, or undergoes a revolutionary shift in the understanding of a particular aspect of the past. The elimination of the idea of a solid point of reference for interpreting the vestiges of history confers a new meaning and new relevance to the judgments regarding its distinct appropriations, because

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<sup>9</sup> According to Luiz Costa Lima, at least initially, Jauss maintained the separation between object and observer and had not yet learned the "Gadamerian lesson" (2002, p. 18-19).

we are always evaluating (however much in distinct degrees and forms) what is said about the past and what is done based on its receptions. On the other hand, we miss the blinkers that prevent us from exploring appropriations at first sight unacceptable, since they seem to be either wrong or ridiculous. Because we are not interested in the truthfulness of a reception; instead, we are interested in the reception itself. And we may still ask ourselves about how it reshaped the view of the past to establish a new reality.

While leaving aside our eventual agreements or disagreements, we may now dedicate ourselves to understanding and exploring the meanings of heterodox views on Ancient Egypt, such as the ones of *Egyptomania*, which stand behind the Louvre-pyramid and the movie series *The Mummy*. This is available in the article of Portuguese colleagues José das Candeias Sales and Susana Mota – the former, a professor at the Open University in Lisbon, and the latter, a researcher of the Centre for the Humanities (CHAM) at NOVA University Lisbon and member of research group *Antiquity and its Reception*. The main goal of these two colleagues is to evaluate the set of notions and terms used in the reception of Ancient Egypt. “Tutankhamun in Portugal. Narratives of the Portuguese press (1922-1939)” is a “Contribution to studies on the reception of Ancient Egypt” indeed, since it carries out an admirable conceptual discussion and presents a set of conclusions that may be surprising to many, as they were to me. The article exposes its research *corpus* and presents the Portuguese newspapers of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as artificers of the reception of Ancient Egypt. An additional aspect to be highlighted is that this is a study on the appropriation of Eastern Antiquity, a topic that has not yet been object of the general attention of experts on this field.

The individual article of Susana Mota also approaches the Ancient East based on an analogous theoretical and methodological concern. Its title, as well as the other titles of this theme issue, is indicative of the diversity of study objects enabled by the studies on reception. “The reception of Ancient Mesopotamia in the cinema” examines silent films, which have been largely unknown (by me and, assumingly, most readers of this edition). Its subhead indicates its complexity: “A journey through the universe of writing at motion and its artistic and literary predecessors”. Besides considering a current notion of context, Mota reaches out for other written and imagistic narratives that include film appropriations of Ancient Mesopotamia, from the Biblical narratives and other ancient sources to the philosophical receptions of modernity. Along this path, she

evidently reveals what can be found in most other articles of this theme issue: it is important to be an expert in Ancient History to carry out a quality study of the appropriation of Antiquity. This is a relevant attribute for identifying the invocations of that past, which may slip by unnoticed by other experts, and also for selecting the ancient sources and making a good use of the bibliography on the theme. These features increase the chances of satisfactorily exploring the potential of analysis - which will never be exhausted, considering the infinity of possible paths.

Camilla Ferreira Paulino da Silva holds a PhD degree in History of Ancient Rome from the Federal University of Espírito Santo. This training background is essential for her article “Analysis of Octavian’s *ethos* in the *Rome*-series (HBO)”, since she sets out to show that Octavian’s image conveyed by the TV series is tributary to an ancient “literary tradition” - which points to the importance of knowing the Latin texts that constitute a specific representation of his character. The term *ethos* points to a rhetoric analytic path, and da Silva correctly conciliates the Aristotelian notion - linked to oral discourses - with Dominique Maingueneau’s notion of *discursive ethos* as she analyzes the TV series. An attentive reader will observe the contradiction that exists between my own criticism to the idea of “tradition” and its use in this article. He or she will also remember what I wrote about the field of History of Reception: this field is considerably uneven due to the amplitude of its investigations and to the variety of its constitutive conceptions.

Currently a postdoctoral student at UNIFESP with a research on the “reception of ancient statues in the Islamic world and Al-Andalus, and current connections with the destruction of antiquities in Syria and Iraq by DAESH”,<sup>10</sup> Jorge Elices Ocón wrote “Memories from Africa: the superiority of blacks over whites (*Kitāb Fakhr al-Sūdān ‘alā al-Bīḍān*)”. In this theme issue, Ocón analyzes a work by Abū Ūthman ‘Amr ibn Bahr al-Jāḥiẓ (c. 781-868), an Arab intellectual of the first centuries of the Muslim domination of the Mediterranean. Having lived in a time when many Greek and Latin works were translated, al-Jāḥiẓ wrote over two hundred works on a diversity of topics that include philosophy, theology, rhetoric and zoology. The central aim of Jorge Ocón’ study shows its considerable relevance in the present, as he sets out to show black protagonism in the history of that society via a work that heretofore had been seen as a satirical piece only. Readers who are ignorant of Arab history (as I am) will be

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<sup>10</sup> According to the information available at: [encurtador.com.br/mpJ35](http://encurtador.com.br/mpJ35). Access on March 19, 2020.

surprised to know that blacks were considered “dumb, ugly, horrible” and without distinctive virtues or feats; and that al-Jāhīz, a black man from modest origin, opposed such views and produced a re-elaboration of a particular Antiquity, close to the expansion of Islam, and including African and Arab kingdoms, as well as the Sassanid Empire in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The article “From Athens to Pataliputra: a historiography of the contacts among Greeks and Indians during the Hellenistic Period” may be also characterized as unique, on account of its object of study: the historiography about the relations among Greeks and Indians, starting from the Macedonian invasion. Without mentioning the idea of reception, Professor Ezequiel Martín Parra, from the National University of Córdoba, comparatively examines the visions of a British author, (Sir) William Woodthorpe Tarn (1869-1957), of Indian historian Awadh Kishore Narain (1925-2003) and of Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) – the well-known politician of the early days of independent India. We find, therefore, a comparative analysis of a colonial historian and two post-colonial Indians in their works about the contacts among Greeks and Indians in Antiquity. It will not be a surprise to learn that these studies on a period in the remote past also dealt with the times of British conquest and domination over the Indian subcontinent. But the proposition put forward by Ezequiel Parra will certainly surprise our readers.

The other articles of this issue also contain their unique surprises.

The opening lines of “A Latin poet and a *Paulista* lyre: a forgotten translation of an epigram by Martial”, written by Fábio Paifer Cairolí (Professor of Latin Language and Literature at the Fluminense Federal University) points to how the reception of Antiquity hinges on the intention of the researcher while identifying the nature of its appropriation. It is likely that many scholars investigated the São Paulo newspaper *O Pirralho* without noticing the – to our current eyes – unexpected translation of Issue 11, published on October 21, 1911. There is no reason for reproach, for if there were other investigating readers at all, their aims were certainly distinct and, for this reason, their issues must have prompted another sort of appropriation of the text.

History scholars know one of the maxims of the *Annales* School, which states that the past depends on the issues of those with an interest in it (FEBVRE, 1971, p. 70). The reception-intention is even somewhat more daring: a reciprocal constitution of the present and past. Martindale (2007,

p. 298) maintains this idea based on a small text by T.S. Elliot (*Tradition and the individual talent*, of 1919); the same notion is expressed by the concept of *Allelopoese* proposed by the members of project *Imperial Interpretations: The Imperium Romanum as a Category of Political Reflection*. *Allelopoese* is a junction of the Greek terms *allelon* (reciprocal) and *poiesis* (creation) (HAUSTEINER; HUHNSHOLZ; WALTER, 2010, p.15).<sup>11</sup> The idea seems to be present along the section in which Marc Bloch criticizes the “privilege of self-intelligibility” of the present in his work *The apology of history*. Considering the context in which the text was written,<sup>12</sup> I highlight the following excerpt:

[...] For here,<sup>13</sup> in the present, is immediately perceptible that vibrance of human life which only a great effort of the imagination can restore to the old texts. I have many times read, and I have often narrated, accounts of wars and battles. Did I truly know, in the full sense of that word, did I know from within, before I myself had suffered the terrible, sickening reality, what it meant for an army to be encircled, what it meant for a people to meet defeat? In the last analysis, whether conscious or not, it is always by borrowing from our daily experiences and by shading them, where necessary, with new tints that we derive the elements which help us to restore the past. The very names we use to describe ancient ideas or vanished forms of social organisations would be quite meaningless if we had not known living men. The value of these merely instinctive impressions will be increased a hundredfold if they are replaced by ready and critical observation. A great mathematician would nor, I suppose, be less great because blind to the world in which he lives. But the scholar who had no inclination to observe the men, the things, or the events around him will perhaps deserve the title, as Pirenne put it, of a useful antiquarian. He would be wise to renounce all claims to that of a historian (2001, p.66).

Therefore, the project is not new, but it seems not to have been effectively carried out, considering the permanence of the vocabulary linked to the objectivistic conception of historical knowledge and the coeval rejection of subjectivity and relativism.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> I am thankful to my colleague Fábio Faversoni for bringing this notion to my attention a few years ago.

<sup>12</sup> For readers unacquainted with historiography, the work was written between the defeat of France and 1941. Marc Bloch was shot by the Germans in 1944.

<sup>13</sup> These are accretions to a previous version, which is included in the Brazilian edition.

<sup>14</sup> As a result of its theoretical assumptions, the Aesthetics of Reception – even when imagined for *Literary Theory* – is evidently important for *Historical Theory*. Luiz Costa Lima affirms, in this regard: “not on account of a circumstantial failure, but of a consequence of its own objectivistic method, History has been unable to escape the cobwebs that tie it to its temporal ambience. The failure of objectivism is the historian’s failure inasmuch as it belongs to all human creatures: the impossibility to become

I suggest that readers consider the articles of this theme issue in terms of a joint constitution of the present and past, including the article of Luís Carlos Passos Martins – “*Historia Magistra Vitae: Rome as a topic of Universal History in the interpretation of contemporary Brazil*”, which resulted from a project on the Brazilian re-appropriation of topics of Roman politics in the didactic and pedagogical discourse, and in contemporary politics. Martins is a professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (PUC-RS), and his article reveals the existence of a moralist and conservative version of the Brazilian present and of Roman past in Internet postings of the turbulent times in which we are living. The main element of his set of documents is the “unauthorized expressions”, that is, non-scholarly postings – which increase the relevance of his work. In such postings, decadence continues to be the key notion of the reciprocal constitution of the present and past: Martins briefly recapitulates the appropriation of the theme in the “intellectual history of the West”. The text defines its concepts and presents the documents and methodological procedures involved in its analysis, which will be quite useful for those interested in similar investigations. The difficulties of such an enterprise are not small, starting from the definition of Google’s research settings.

Fábio Vergara Cerqueira and Isabel Halfen da Costa Torino, on their turn, point to the placement of a statue of Mercury on top of the tower of the Central Market of the city of Pelotas in the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a “phenomenon of the Reception of Antiquity”. In “The statues of ‘Flying Mercury’ in Pelotas and Brazil”, the colleague from the Federal University of Pelotas (UFPEL) and the doctoral student of the Graduate Program on Social Memory and Cultural Heritage at the same institution approach the troubled history of the statue, in addition to other representations of Mercury in Pelotas and other Brazilian cities. The article reflects on such appropriation and affirms that it evinces a purported identity between the once prosperous city in the Brazilian south and a particular conception of Antiquity. It is even more relevant inasmuch as it inserts what could seem to be a secondary event into the history of the civilizational pretense that exuded in Brazil in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was not a case of “imitation”, but of an act linked to the urban identity of particular sectors of the Brazilian society. The entire text is illustrated by images and reproductions of other Mercury statues installed in the same

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conscious and then to extricate oneself from the *effects* [emphasis in original] of the way in which the historical circumstances, including their values, uses, customs and traditions, are constituted” (2002, p. 23).

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period by other urban elites of the country.

The article by Fernando Mattioli Vieira, professor at the Federal University of Pernambuco, is the final contribution of this issue of *Heródoto*. It contains a relevant evaluation of the conflict between Archaeology and History in regard to the relations between the manuscripts and settlement(s) from Qumran. "History and Archaeology, and the debates on the Qumran Manuscripts" is not a piece in the field of Reception, but it is an admirable addition to this issue, due to its quality and relevance as a text that shows the inaccuracies of historical analyses, which are often comprehensible on account of the impossibility of breaking free from our significant participation in the times in which we live. This work-genre is also important so we may – in the words of Norma Cortês – "attentively observe ourselves". Such *theorization* can only be effective if we abandon the illusion of being blessed with an epistemic privilege that could exempt us from what makes us human, and also historians.

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## **TUTANKHAMUN IN PORTUGAL. REPORTS IN THE PORTUGUESE PRESS (1922-1939): A CONTRIBUTION TO ANCIENT EGYPT RECEPTION STUDIES**

José das Candeias Sales<sup>1</sup>

Susana Mota<sup>2</sup>

### **Abstract**

In any science or field of knowledge, the conceptual and terminological definition is essential for understanding the issues under study and for communicating the related research results. This, of course, also applies to the field of reception of ancient Egypt.

The main goal of this text is to analyse, define and organise the set of concepts, notions and terms existing within the reception studies of ancient Egypt, namely Egyptomania, Egyptophilia, Egyptian Revival, Tutmania, Mummymania and Amarnamania. At the same time, resorting to our Research Project *Tutankhamun in Portugal. Reports in the Portuguese press (1922-1939)*, we intend to demonstrate how the press, in this case of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, constitutes simultaneously a manifestation and an agent of the reception of ancient Egypt in Portugal.

### **Keywords**

Reception of ancient Egypt; Terminology; Egyptomania; Tutankhamun; Portuguese Press

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## Resumo

Em qualquer ciência ou área do saber, a definição conceptual, nocional e terminológica é essencial para o entendimento das problemáticas em estudo e para a comunicação dos respectivos resultados de investigação. Tal é também, obviamente, válido para a área da Recepção do antigo Egipto.

O objectivo principal deste texto é analisar, definir e organizar o conjunto de conceitos, nocões e termos existentes no âmbito dos estudos de Recepção do antigo Egipto, designadamente Egiptomania, Egiptofilia, Renascimento Egípcio, Tutmania, Mumiamania e Amarniamania. Paralelamente, a partir do nosso Projecto de Investigação *Tutankhamon em Portugal. Relatos na imprensa portuguesa (1922-1939)*, pretendemos demonstrar como a imprensa, neste caso do início do século XX, constitui uma manifestação e um agente de recepção do antigo Egipto em Portugal.

## Palavras-chave

Recepção do antigo Egipto; Terminologia; Egiptomania; Tutankhamon; Imprensa Portuguesa

## Introduction

It is no exaggeration to say that for centuries the civilization of ancient Egypt has captured the attention and imagination of scholars (more dedicated or more dilettantes) and of the general public. Consequently, the reception of ancient Egypt throughout the ages, in various dimensions (art, literature, exhibitions, theatre, cinema, the media, etc.), has been very extensive, to which contributed the monumentality and durability of the old Egyptian buildings, the distinctive iconography and pronounced visual and aesthetic codification of their messages and the strong and almost omnipresent notion of spirituality-immortality associated with them.

However, the paths of the appropriation of the Egyptian existential models have not always been the most scientifically correct, coexisting a more rigorous, formal, and academic vision with others more creative, mainly fixed on exotic, symbolic and esoteric elements.

Nevertheless, in terms of cultural based research or, if we prefer, in the field of Egyptological research, all these aspects and contributions must be included and considered, because the intricate phenomenon of the study of the past *per se*, and the study of the images and configurations of that past, and its use that was built and transmitted demands it. In this context we include the study of the reception of ancient Egypt and the attached cultural phenomena developed over time in various contexts under multiple pretexts and motivations.

The impact of the reception of ancient Egypt remains, nevertheless, a major challenge for Egyptologists and reception specialists. On the one hand, the tradition of the reception of Egyptian civilization is very old, since it dates back to Antiquity; and, on the other hand, it encompasses diverse aspects, from artistic styles to religious cults, so there is a need to establish some conceptual premises that allow an effective communication between scholars.

Thus, the main goal of this text is to analyse, define, and organise the set of concepts, notions, and terms existing within the reception studies of ancient Egypt, namely Egyptomania, Egyptophilia, Egyptian Revival, Tutmania, Mummymania, and Amarnamania. At the same time, resorting

to our Research Project *Tutankhamun in Portugal. Reports in the Portuguese press (1922-1939)*, we intend to demonstrate how the press, specifically the one from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, constitutes simultaneously a manifestation and an agent of the reception of ancient Egypt in Portugal.

### **Reception or receptions of ancient Egypt: a theoretical framework**

Reception, as an area of study particularly devoted to the perception and analysis of the ancient world, has been constituted, developed and conceptualized in recent decades, having as its central and primordial object of work the literature and literary criticism of the Greek and Roman classical cultures (Hardwick, 2003: 2; Martindale, 1999: 1294; 2007: 298; Squire, 2015: 638-9). As Hardwick and Stray (2008: 1) state: "By 'receptions' we mean the way in which Greek and Roman material has been transmitted, translated, excerpted, interpreted, rewritten, re-imagined and represented."

It is not the aim of this paper to explore this issue in detail. We consider, however, relevant to understand that, as a rule, when we mention Reception Studies, as a sub-area of classical studies, we refer to works on how the classical texts were received over time, that is, the reception of the classics, leaving out other cultures, chronologies, and geographies (Vargas, 2019: 754).

Despite this well-defined and delimited starting point, the fact is that Reception Studies are now much broader, more multifaceted and more inclusive. Over time, this area of study, focused only in literature, has broadened, diversified, fragmented, and opened to other sources and approaches, and even to varied epistemological problematisations (Brockliss et al, 2012: 1; Hardwick, 2003: 1-2; Moser, 2015: 1266; Squire, 2015: 637-8). Therefore, talking about reception can no longer be understood in the traditional way. Accordingly, for us, Moser's<sup>3</sup> (2015: 1265) stand is a reference of problematisation: "Since its introduction in literary theory, many disciplines have created their own versions of reception analysis to address how 'texts' (including material objects) are received and how the engagement with such sources plays a part in generating knowledge."

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<sup>3</sup> We should highlight the contribution of Stephanie Moser's work in clarifying the Reception of ancient Egypt. The author, who works specifically on Reception and Archaeological Representation, focuses her studies on ancient Egypt and has helped to establish the parameters of this area.

In this paper, our focus is on the reception of ancient Egypt, an emerging field of study that only in the late 20<sup>th</sup>/early 21<sup>st</sup> century began to earn some attention from scholars. We will begin by outlining a brief theoretical framework of a research area which we still find unclear – even ambiguous – regarding the domain of concepts, notions and terminology, despite its already great diversity of papers and books<sup>4</sup>. As Moser (2015: 1279) states: “It is vital to address issues of terminology as they apply to the reception of ancient Egypt because so many different terms are used to describe the subject, and there is little consensus on the types of receptions included.”

In fact, resorting to the abovementioned conceptual logic of Hardwick and Stray (2008: 1), the truth is that when we intend to study the way ancient Egypt was, over time, transmitted, translated, extracted, interpreted, rewritten, re-imagined, and represented, we come across a panoply of terms, concepts, ideas, and designations that point to markedly different strands but, at the same time, fade the boundaries that apparently separated them. Moreover, the scholars themselves do not always seem to be able to explain clearly and consensually what each one of the concepts means, which leads to a very uncomfortable sense of confusion. Thus, we propose an organization and classification of the existing terminology, presenting a brief explanation/definition of each concept, starting, obviously, with the one that has more visibility and use in the reception of ancient Egypt: Egyptomania.

### **The concept of Egyptomania**

According to Doyle (2016: 122), the concept of ‘Egyptomania’ dates back to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, between 1808 and 1810. Moser (2015: 1279) associates the beginning of its actual use to the French Egyptologist Jean Leclant in *En quête de l'Égyptomanie*, from 1969. Even with the ambiguity that many point out (Aufrère, 1997: 28), the simplest view of the concept defines it as the fascination, obsession, or enthusiasm for the ancient Egyptian civilization and its mysterious and exotic culture, and the mythical expression of this fascination. (Fritzer, 2016; Dobson, Tonks, 2018: 311;

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<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Moser (2015: 1277-8). Despite an increasing development of the theme, Ebeling (2017:1-2) considers that a complete, organized and systematized study of the history of the reception of ancient Egypt is still missing, and Moser (2015: 1278) states that, given the phenomenon's longevity and its many facets, there are still many areas to be explore.

Fazzini, McKencher, 2001: 458; Moser, 2015: 1288)<sup>5</sup>. A broader perspective defines Egyptomania as the adaptation or emulation of Egyptian aesthetics, forms, and themes and a phenomenon historically dating back to the Greek, Ptolemaic, and Roman times<sup>6</sup> (Lloyd, 2010; Fritze, 2016; Jarsaillon, 2018: 359; Lupton, 2013: 2340).

Whether in the context of a conception of universal fascination with Egypt, or even passion/love for Egyptian things, or in the context of a compulsive and obsessive, almost paranoid, behaviour for the objects and values of the Pharaonic past, Egyptomania presents itself as an ambivalent concept, simultaneously positive and negative. What is highlighted in the narrative of historical appropriation sometimes depends on the scholar and even on the traditions of Egyptomania.

In the specialised bibliography, the name Jean-Marcel Humbert is unavoidable when one studies the phenomenon of Egyptomania, specially his foundational and ground-breaking work of 1989, *L'Égyptomanie dans l'art occidental*<sup>7</sup>. According to Moser (2015: 1277), it was this author who most explicitly defined and applied the concept. For Rice and MacDonald (2009: 11), “[h]e gives a respectable status to ‘Egyptomania’, divesting it of its often pejorative<sup>8</sup> applications, which tend to emphasize the manic elements, rather than the Egyptian.”

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<sup>5</sup> The obsession with ancient Egypt, its cultural achievements, or its emblematic monuments (pyramids, sphinxes, obelisks), when irrationally taken to an extreme, can be considered a form of mental illness. Some authors go as far as to classified those that demonstrate this unhealthy appreciation for the ancient Egyptians and their achievements as ‘Egyptopaths’ (Fritze, 2016: 10). In this context, we may include the pyramidologists or, more accurately, the pyramidolaters, those who, unscientifically, with an esoteric and transcendental touch, speculate on the powers of the pyramids with sensational and inaccurate theses.

<sup>6</sup> For an Egyptomania diachrony, see Fazzini and McKercher (2001: 458-65), and Moser (2015: 1281-86).

<sup>7</sup> Among the works and authors in which and with whom the Egyptomania phenomenon gained status, these deserve special mention: Erik Iversen, *The myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (1961), Jurgis Baltrusaitis, *La quête d'Isis. Introduction à l'Égyptomanie. Essai sur la légende d'un mythe* (1967), Richard Carrot (*The Egyptian Revival: its sources, monuments and meaning 1808-1858* (1978) e James Stephen Curl, *The Egyptian Revival. An introductory study of a recurring theme in the History of Taste* (1982), *Egyptomania. The Egyptian Revival: ancient Egypt as the inspiration for design motifs in the West* (2005). About other authors and their contributions, see Moser, 2015: 1278 and 2014: 243, 244.

<sup>8</sup> Whitehouse (1997: 158) speaks about these pejorative uses with an inelegant term and with a connotation of madness for Egypt. This view about Egyptomania is certainly one

On Egyptomania, Humbert himself (1989: 10) defines it quite broadly: “Ce concept recouvre toutes les reutilisations d’éléments décoratifs et de thèmes empruntés à L’Égypte ancienne dans des formes et des objets variés, sans rapport avec leur utilisation et leurs raisons d’être d’origine.” For him, Egyptomania is not simply a copy of the Egyptian art but a use, a recreation, an adaptation, an expression of Egyptian symbols, ideas and concepts in ways that may even have no connection with the original Egyptian (Humbert, 1989: 12). And he says, peremptorily: “L’Égyptomanie est donc loin d’être seulement la manie de l’Égypte.” In fact, Egyptomania implies a reinterpretation of ancient Egypt, with new meanings, within different contexts and sensibilities, and it is a more or less creative mental framework of acceptance and reconstruction of the Egyptian past.

In his analysis, the Author privileges the visual aspects in which he includes architecture, interior and exterior decoration, sculpture, iconography, painting, furniture, jewellery, music, drama, scenic and cinematographic performances (such as opera), comics, fashion, and advertising (Humbert, 1989: 14-6). As Humbert decisively states: “Car toutes les manifestations de l’Égyptomanie quelles qu’en soient les composantes, font partie d’un fonds commun.” (Humbert, 1989: 14).

However, Humbert's perspective, while commonly accepted, is not without its criticism. Moser (2015: 1280), for example, considers the exclusion of copies to be wrong, as she admits that a copy may have a different purpose from the original, and she also refuses to exclude exhibitions of Egyptian antiquities, since they too can produce new meanings and interpretations. Similarly, Venit (2002: 261) criticizes Humbert's division of Western responses to ancient Egypt. Humbert (1989: 11) believes that it is essential to understand the differences between Egyptomania, Egyptophilia, and Orientalism/Exoticism. To Venit (2002: 261-2), this division is much less effective than Humbert intends, and for

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of the justifications for the strong tension that existed, since the beginning, between Egyptomania and Egyptology, that is, a posture of opposition between academic discipline, the scientific perspective, and a phenomenon associated with popular culture, seen as inferior (Dobson e Tonks, 2018: 311; Jarsaillon, 2018: 359; Versluys, 2018: 163). However, this antagonism is currently quite diminished: “*Egyptomania and Egyptology are not opposing phenomena, but rather two different yet interacting ways of promoting ancient Egypt.*” (Dobson e Tonks, 2018: 311; Jarsaillon, 2018: 360). Ultimately, this means that Egyptology, the academic discourse, must admit within its problematization the contributions and reflections from other cultural manifestations, from other perspectives on ancient Egypt and, instead of separating, rejecting or underestimating them, it should integrate them into the scientific discourse.

her these expressions also fit the designation of Egyptomania: “I am taking Egyptomania to mean simply the use<sup>9</sup> of Egyptian antiquity, whether it is by replication, or appreciation, or adaptation, since in all cases the agent using Egypt is far removed either culturally or temporally (or both) from Egypt it is using.” That is, Venit understands the concept of Egyptomania in a much broader way. Indeed, this idea of comprehensiveness is also highly valued by Moser (2015: 1281): “Although Egyptomania is a pejorative word that evokes a sense of disproportionate and unconstrained passion for ancient Egypt, it is nevertheless the most encompassing term we have for the reception of ancient Egypt.”

This scope of Egyptomania is, however, a relatively recent perspective, as the phenomenon was mainly associated with artistic manifestations (art, architecture, decorative arts, etc.). However, according to Moser (2014: 244-5), Egyptomania eventually evolved into a term capable of encompassing the Egyptian influence not only in the cultural imagination and in various artistic expressions, but also in the most varied expressions of ideas about ancient Egypt, highlighting, for example, the cinema<sup>10</sup>.

In short, Egyptomania, as a popular phenomenon and a cyclic movement, dates back to the Classical Antiquity<sup>11</sup> and although with different moments or phases of illusion and heyday – as in the Renaissance period, following the return of Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt (1798-1801) and the publication of *Description de l'Égypte* (1809-1829), with the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and after the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb<sup>12</sup> – was always present in western culture (Lupton, 2013: 2340; Dobson, Tonks, 2018: 311, 312; Moser, 2015: 1288, 1289). Sometimes it is presented simply as the conceptual designation for an imaginary, romantic, dreamlike vision, for a fascination,

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<sup>9</sup> Terms such as ‘use’ or ‘consumption’ of ancient Egypt often occur in the context of the Reception Studies of this civilization (Venit, 2002: 262; Stienne, 2017: 18-26; Lloyd, 2010: 1067; Rice, MacDonald, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Note that Humbert (1989: 14) also included cinema as an expression of Egyptomania.

<sup>11</sup> In a sense, Herodotus, the ‘father of history’, can also be considered the ‘father of Egyptomania’, such was the interest and enthusiasm with which he related the mysteries, wonders and eccentricities of ancient Egyptian uses and traditions. (Holt, 1986: 60).

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Fryxell (2017: 516-42). To Aufrère (1997: 28), these sporadic moments should be defined as ‘waves of Egyptomanism’, a need to develop Egyptomaniac tendencies of varying duration and importance, although of apparent cyclical tendency.

or even a craze, for ancient Egypt, and is most commonly accepted as a set of Egypt's different appropriations, adoptions, or adaptations over time.

Egyptomania is one of the multiple avatars of Orientalism that evolved according to the interests of the moment (Aufrère, 1997: 30) and, contrary to what one might suppose, it did not disappear with the emergence of Egyptology (deciphering hieroglyphics in 1822); on the contrary, it experienced a resurgence with its foundation<sup>13</sup>. But even this broader notion, which accepts that all different expressions can fit in this designation, is not consensual or at least does not exclude the use of other terminologies.

### **The concepts of Egyptophilia and Egyptian Revival**

It is also common to find, in this context, the use of other synonymous or alternative expressions, without the suffix '-mania' due to its potential derogation, such as Egyptophilia, Egyptolatry, Egyptian Revival, Egyptian Style, Egyptian Taste, Nile Style, Neo-Egyptian, Pharaonicism, Egyptosophy, *Aegyptiaca*, etc. (Moser, 2015: 1279; Fritzer, 2016: 10; Humbert, 1989: 10). If the first two are relatively common, the others have occasional occurrences (e.g. related to artwork, architecture, and interior decoration using Egyptian motifs or of Egyptian inspiration, or Egyptian wisdom as a source for mystical and hermetic traditions) and we referred to them here solely in order to highlight the terminological diversity.

In practical terms, it is quite complicated to clearly outline how Egyptophilia and Egyptian Revival differ from Egyptomania. Egyptophilia is usually presented as an intense appreciation, fascination, or taste for Egypt and all that is Egyptian (Jarsaillon, 2018: 359; Lupton, 2013: 2340; Humbert, 1989: 11), which, unlike Egyptomania, will not necessarily be expressed by a 'use' of ancient Egypt, though they have in common the

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<sup>13</sup> On the 'meeting points' between Egyptology and Egyptomania, two different ways of promoting ancient Egypt, see Jarsaillon, 2018: 359, 360. As this author states, Egyptology and Egyptomania are neither opposite phenomena, chronologically and academically, nor mutually excluded. Their influences are reciprocal, bilateral, and the lines that separate them very blurred (in methods, agents and purposes). The tension between them should not be seen in a pejorative or fanciful way but rather one must acknowledge that Egyptomania provides the background that encourages the affirmation and recognition of Egyptology as a historical science and that it in turn inspires and motivates Egyptomaniac productions - a relationship of mutual emulation. (Jarsaillon, 2018: 360).

idea of fascination. Humbert (1989: 11; note 1) refers to Leclant's paper (1985) as the best way to understand the difference between Egyptophilia and Egyptomania. Notwithstanding, Leclant's path from Egyptophilia to Egyptology is unclear, and we only realise that he understands, for example, the collection/exhibition of Egyptian vestiges or the works published by travellers as demonstrations of Egyptophilia that ended up also contributing to the development of the scientific side, the scientifically conducted study of the Egyptian past according to methodologies identified with the secular-rationalist paradigm of knowledge, that is, of Egyptology (Bednarski, 2010: 1087, 1088; Meltzer, 2001: 448). Assmann (1998: 18-9) considers that the concept is essentially applicable to the Renaissance period but does not explore the issue in order to explain what he understands to be the difference between Egyptophilia and Egyptomania.

In our understanding, the essential difference lies in the fact that Egyptomania designates concrete realities, elements of the most diverse nature that are somehow inspired by ancient Egypt; while Egyptophilia is an abstract, theoretical taste and appreciation for Egypt and for what is Egyptian that does not necessarily have expressions of adaptation, always preferring the original (the very suffix of the word '-philia' gives us the notion of affection, taste or preference).

The notion of 'Egyptian Revival', which Moser (2015: 1281) considers that, in appearance, it would be better than the term Egyptomania since it does not have the same pejorative connotation, seems to cover exactly the same manifestations of 'use' of ancient Egypt. However, the application of this notion is, even more than the one of Egyptomania, very limited to artistic expressions, that is, Egyptian Revival is, above all, a term very connoted with history of art, understood as an artistic movement with expression in art and architecture (Curl, 2005), which inherently would leave out all other manifestations of Egyptian influence or expressions of interest in ancient Egypt.

### **The concepts of Tutmania, Mummymania and Amarnamania**

In this analysis of the multiple terminology used in the field of ancient Egyptian Reception, it is also interesting to refer to expressions that are generally understood as subgenres of Egyptomania: Tutmania, Mummymania e Amarnamania (Day, 2006: 3; Lupton, 2009: 23).

'Tutmania' expresses all the fascination and admiration developed around Pharaoh Tutankhamun after the discovery of his tomb by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November of 1922. Although everything about the Pharaoh, his tomb and treasures was of great interest, it was the 'mummy's curse or revenge', particularly developed after Carnarvon's death on the 5<sup>th</sup> of April of 1923 – truly caused by a mosquito bite that led to septicaemia –, that most motivated the development of enthusiasm and fascination for this ancient Egyptian figure and the authentic veneration from fans from all geographical quarters<sup>14</sup> (Lupton, 2009: 23; Day, 2006: 3; Holt, 1986: 62).



**Figure 1:** Allegorical representation of the interest around the Pharaoh Tutankhamun (Holt, 1986: 61).

The mummies are a topic of fascination generated by ancient Egypt, from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the present. This interest sometimes mingles the morbid and scientific curiosity and also the appeal of talismans, amulets and miraculous effects, with distinguished representations in the cabinets of public and private collectors from Europe and the Americas, and, as a result, present themselves as a testimony to the interest in the history of ancient civilizations, the reinterpretation and reinvention of Egypt in the West.

According to Lupton (2009: 23), from Tutmania derives the development of the obsessive and ardent popular interest in the Egyptian mummies, the

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<sup>14</sup> As an example of the manifestations of Tutmania, see Forman's (1978) paper illustrating his presence in the fashion world.

'Mummymania' (Day, 2006: 1)<sup>15</sup>, and highlights as an example the film *The Mummy* (Figure 2), from 1932 (Lupton, 2009: 23)<sup>16</sup>. Chronologically, the cinema (fictional or documentary) and the audio-visual (multimedia educational resources and computer games) are the last testimonies of the attraction of large audiences by Egyptian mummies, interspersing in the tour of time the competitions between the European consuls for access and possession of the mummies and the large exhibitions in prominent rooms of the European museums that preceded them.

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<sup>15</sup> Baber (2016) considers that the interest in Egyptian mummies is much older and it is associated with the discovery of this civilization by, for example, 19<sup>th</sup> century European travellers, some of them intrepid 'mummy hunters'. He highlights, among the works that resulted from the popular obsession with mummies, the literary works that explore the themes of death, immortality and resurrection (for example *Le Roman de La Momie*, authored Théophile Gautier, from 1858), as well as the appreciation for sarcophagi and other mummy materials (amulets, ushabtis, beetles, jewellery). The author also alludes, as worthy examples of Mummymania, to the trading of real mummies, whole or in parts, of 'pharaohs', 'princes', 'military commanders', and 'priests' taken from tombs and mummies pits, carried out by antique dealers from Luxor and Cairo; to the manufacture and sale of fake mummies as souvenirs from travels to Egypt; and to the supposedly scientific mummies unwinding parties, sometimes for large audiences, in spectacles in close contact with ancient preserved bodies. See also Moser, 2015: 1286, 1287; 2004: 246, 247.

<sup>16</sup> The 1932 Karl Freund's film *The Mummy*, starring Boris Karloff, is considered the definer and founder of the films on this subject. It was not, however, the first. Cinema, early on, showed interest in the Egyptian mummies. At least 26 films (American, English and French) have been made since 1901, being *The Haunted Curiosity Shop* (United Kingdom, 1901, directed by Walter R. Booth) the first one. Freund's film was followed by many others, in black and white, or in colour, silent or with sound, made in different countries and with different approaches, demonstrating an interest that endures to this day. We highlight, for example: *The Vengeance of Egypt* (France, 1912); *The Magic Mummy* (USA, 1933, dir. John Foster and Vernon Stallings); *The Mummy's Hand* (USA, 1940, dir. Christy Cabanne); *The Mummy's Tomb* (USA, 1942, dir. Harold Young); *The Mummy's Ghost* (USA, 1944, dir. Reginald LeBorg); *The Mummy's Curse* (USA, 1944, dir. Leslie Goodwins); *Pharaoh's Curse* (USA, 1957, dir. Lee Sholem); *The Mummy* (UK, 1959, dir. Terence Fisher); *The Curse of the Mummy's Tomb* (USA, 1964, dir. Michael Carreras); *The Mummy's Shroud* (USA, 1967, dir. John Gilling); *The Mummy and the Curse of the Jackals* (USA, 1969, dir. Oliver Drake); *Dawn of the Mummy* (USA, 1981, dir. Frank Agrama); *Legend of the Mummy* (USA, 1998, dir. Jeffrey Obrow; fourth film adaptation of Bram Stoker's novel, *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, also known as *Bram Stoker's Legend of the Mummy*); *The Mummy* (USA, 1999, dir. Stephen Sommers, starring Brendan Fraser and Rachel Weisz); *The Mummy Returns* (USA, 2001, dir. Stephen Sommers, starring Brendan Fraser and Rachel Weisz); and *The Mummy* (USA, 2017, dir. Alex Kurtzman, starring Tom Cruise). For more details, and other movies, telefilms, series, etc., see: <http://www.ancientegyptfilmsite.nl/>.

The powerful, easily identified and recognizable impact of Egyptian iconography blends seamlessly with the use of moving image, sound and visually recreated environments of audio-visual expressions, to what has been added in modernity, especially through mass-use videogames, the interactivity that places the player/'man of the present' as a direct participant in scenes and actions of the past (Moser, 2008: 1071). The inherent action of videogames grants a dimension of 'reality' that surpasses the imaginative dimension associated with other forms of past representation (exhibitions, literature, documentaries, films).



**Figure 2:** Film Poster of *The Mummy* (1932) (<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0023245/mediaviewer/rm2286536960>).

'Amarnamania', on the other hand, is the excited and emotive fascination with Pharaoh Akhenaton's controversial figure, and with the art, architecture, religion and cultural expressions of his time (Fritzer, 2016: 10). The elements of rupture, particularly in the spiritual-religious field, are overrated and the 'heretical' pharaoh is raised to a luminous and brilliant status, and his presumed productions, such as the Great Hymn to Aton, are elevated to a philosophical, mystical and universal dimension. As a result of the monotheistic outbreak associated with his theological proposal, he is given an idealistic uniqueness that is often exaggerated and

therefore unweighted<sup>17</sup>. The *damnatio memoriae* which he was later condemned in Egypt because of the trauma of the Amarnian experience, increases in many the excessive sympathy for his figure, as if they intended now to reposition him in the history of the past and make up for the 'revenge' that fall upon him.

Likewise, the naturalism and realism features of the artistic manifestations of the Amarna Period are praised as the result of an innovative, precursor and visionary conception. Consequently, the idealized vision about the reign of Akhenaten has been used as a context for historical novels and films, whose main repercussion is precisely to amplify the seduction and almost unhealthy sentimental interest from the public for the pharaoh of Amarna.

While it is true that Tutmania, Mummymania and Amarnamania are topics derived from or associated with Egyptomania, it is no less true that they have demonstrated a huge impact and attractiveness mostly on the non-academic audiences ('popular consumption') by clearly shaping, albeit sometimes biased, the appreciation and understanding of ancient Egypt, its culture and productions. Nevertheless, they are important contributions and expressions of the existence and coexistence of multiple readings and forms of apprehension of the Egyptian past and should therefore be considered in the context of the evolution of Egyptomania studies, on the one hand, and Egyptology itself, on the other. Its effective power of influence in the development of ideas and representations about ancient Egypt cannot be concealed but on the contrary it has to be recognized.

### **The methodological concept of 'mnemohistory'**

The reception of ancient Egypt cannot be approached without mentioning Jan Assmann's contribution and impetus to the development of its history, not only considering the terminological issue but also the methodological aspect, since, according to Ebeling (2018: 5), with the development of the concept of 'mnemohistory', created by Assmann, the methodological basis has been established for much of today's research.

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<sup>17</sup> We should keep in mind that Akhenaton is considered by the Order of the Rosicrucians as the founder of their tradition (Metzer, 2001: 456).

In the book *Moses the Egyptian* (1998: 9), Jan Assmann applies the concept of 'mnemohistory' - history of memory<sup>18</sup> -, explaining that this "is concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered", what, according to the author, corresponds to the theory of reception applied to History (Assmann, 1998: 9). In this sense, 'mnemohistory' can be considered as a method for studying the functioning of cultural memory, that is, the continuous process of shaping an identity, reconstructing its past. In many situations, more important than what actually happened in a given historical conjuncture or the associated succession of events, is what and how it was remembered, recounted, recorded, elaborated, codified, and canonized. The errors, the misinterpretations, the misrepresentations, the distorted conclusions found by the application of this methodology are as illuminating as the 'facts that actually occurred', since they allow us to detect and perceive influences, orientations, senses, and tendencies in the reception and appropriation of the past.

This change of perspective (from the past 'as it really happened' to the way it is remembered) is very significant, both individually and for the social and cultural self-image that is retained and built, in this case, of ancient Egypt. Assmann's proposals also include a modification of historical, social, philosophical, and theological analysis in order to understand the meaning that Western discourse attributes to the reception of Egypt and its culture.

However, refusing the logic of a passive reception<sup>19</sup>, that is, limited only to the transmission of the past to the present without an active role of the present and its agents, Assmann eventually recognizes (1998: 9): "[...] but there is much more involved in the dynamic of cultural memory than is covered by the notion of reception." In short, 'mnemohistory' investigates and works the history of cultural memory (Assmann, 1998: 15).

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<sup>18</sup> See also Assmann (2017). This is not the only work by Jan Assmann that analyses the memory and reception of ancient Egypt. In fact, it can also be found in *Weisheit und Mysterium: Das Bild der Griechen von Ägypten*, München: Beck, 2000; *Erinnertes Ägypten Pharaonische Motive in der europäischen Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2006; *Thomas Mann und Ägypten. Mythos und Monotheismus in den Josephsromanen*, München: Beck, 2006; *Religio duplex - Ägyptische Mysterien und europäische Aufklärung*, Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2010.

<sup>19</sup> This discussion about the passivity in Reception also exists in the literary reception of the Classics. Take, for example, Martindale (2007:300).

Interestingly, although Assmann defends and applies a new methodological approach to his work model on ancient Egypt, more specifically on the 'reception' of the figure of Moses, the truth is he is one of the few authors who establishes an ordering of the terminology. In this ordering, we perceive that the reception of ancient Egypt is, for him, composed of Egyptomania or Egyptian Revival, with no apparent distinction between the concepts, associating them to two essential moments of history: Renaissance and Napoleon's expedition to Egypt (Assmann, 1998: 17-8).

Assmann defends a serious and non-marginal consideration of Egyptomania and sees it as part of the 'mnemohistory' of ancient Egypt. For him, there is really only the possibility of drawing a distinction and separation between Egyptology (based on primary sources, historical access to the past) and Egyptomania (based on secondary sources and memory, 'mnemohistorical' access to the past) after deciphering the hieroglyphics, by Champollion, in 1822 (Assmann, 2017b, 3).

### **Theoretical framework: conclusion**

In short, the expression Egyptomania, although sometimes still misunderstood as a disproportionate and misguided passion and fantasy for ancient Egypt, and appearing to be too limited to artistic manifestations, presents itself as the concept with the greatest ability to condense the different facets of the reception of ancient Egypt. Nevertheless, there are two questions that must be asked:

- a) Are all manifestations of Egyptomania considered reception of ancient Egypt?
- b) Is all reception of ancient Egypt Egyptomania?

The manifestations of reception are seen as ways of producing knowledge about, in this particular case, ancient Egypt<sup>20</sup> (Bednarski, 2010: 1108; Moser, 2015: 1267; 1274). So, taking into account this perspective, we consider that yes, all manifestations of Egyptomania are reception of ancient Egypt, since all of them bring this civilization to different audiences who thus receive it and have the possibility to know and apprehend it. But the reception of

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<sup>20</sup> Lloyd also points to the understanding and knowledge of Egypt as expressions in Reception but reinforces the idea of "use" of this knowledge (2010: 1067).

ancient Egypt may go beyond what fits under the designation of Egyptomania.

### ***A case study: Tutankhamun in Portugal. Reports in the Portuguese press (1922-1939)***

The Research Project *Tutankhamun in Portugal. Reports in the Portuguese press (1922-1939)*, initiated by us in 2016, aims to identify, gather and analyse the news and reports published by Portuguese newspapers and magazines about the discovery and excavation of the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun (1336-1327 BC)<sup>21</sup>, in the Valley of the Kings in Western Luxor, by Howard Carter (1874-1939) and by his financier, George Edward (1866-1923), commonly known as Lord Carnarvon. The Project has as its chronological beacons the years of 1922 (year of the archaeological discovery) and 1939 (year of the death of Howard Carter and of the discovery, by the French archaeologist Pierre Montet, of other intact Egyptian royal tombs in Northern Egypt, in Tanis, the Eastern Delta).

We knew in advance how, by virtue of the extensive and continuing coverage of the international press, especially the English and French newspapers, the adventures of the sensational discovery of that Saturday morning of the 4<sup>th</sup> of November of 1922 (a stone stairway of 15 steps), the official opening of the tomb in the presence of Lord Carnarvon and his daughter Lady Evelyn Herbert on the 29<sup>th</sup> of November of the same year, and the ten years of excavation that followed them in the four small rooms, which brought to light thousands of artefacts (over 5000), capturing the attention and imagination of various audiences. Our purpose was, then, to ascertain the impact of this discovery and the consequent opening of that tomb in the Portuguese periodicals.

### ***The Corpus***

Between 1922 and 1939, 79 newspapers and magazines were published in Portugal, and among them, 28<sup>22</sup> published news with different typologies

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<sup>21</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> Pharaoh of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty - New Kingdom (1550 - 1069 BC).

<sup>22</sup> Newspapers: *A Capital, A Época, A Imprensa Nova (Série I), A Pátria, A Tarde, A Tribuna, A Vanguarda, Correio da manhã, Diário da manhã, Diário de Lisboa, Diário de Notícias, Jornal de Notícias, Novidades, O Comércio do Porto, O Comércio do Porto – Ed. da Tarde, O Dia, O Mundo, O Primeiro de Janeiro, O Radical, O Rebate, O Século, O Século – Ed. da noite, República*

- from short, undeveloped agency news, to full-blown and illustrated news<sup>23</sup> - on the discovery of Pharaoh Tutankhamun's tomb and the various events associated with it. In total, 234 news were identified. Of these, 117 were published in 1923, and 94 in 1924, that is, 90% of the news was published in the first two years of the seventeen under analyse<sup>24</sup>.

This overwhelming preponderance is fully justified by the fact that these two years were the ones with the greatest number of events surrounding the discovery: in 1923 was the official opening of the tomb and the death of Lord Carnarvon; in 1924 the work on the tomb continued and the problems between Howard Carter and the Egyptian government concerning the continuation/ operation of this excavation work were highlighted.

As important as the presences are the absences, and two are worth mentioning: in 1922, the year of the tomb's discovery, we have only one text (*O Século*, 03.12.1922); and, in 1925, the year when the most iconic piece of the tomb was found: the pharaoh's burial mask (JE 60672). In 1925, only nine news were published, none of which reported the most important archaeological discovery of that year. This means that no news had been published in the Portuguese press about this discovery or that presents an image of Tutankhamun's famous funerary mask, which would surely have achieved the same success with the Portuguese public as they it had with other European readers.

The 234 news cover a wide range of subjects, which we have organized by themes and subthemes (and, where necessary, topics). Thus, the *corpus* is classified into 12 themes and 33 sub-themes (table 1 - organized by number of news) that allow us to understand more easily which were the subjects the Portuguese newspapers and magazines gave the most attention to.

Theme	Number of news	Sub-themes	Number of news
Opening/	54	Official opening of the tomb	24
		Opening the sarcophagus	15

(*Série I*) e *República (Série II)*); Magazines: *ABC: Revista Portuguesa*, *Dyónisos*, *Ilustração Portuguesa* e *O Domingo Ilustrado*.

<sup>23</sup> The corpus consists of: 143 news from 'news agencies'; 38 unsigned original(?) texts; 23 texts or images copied/ adapted from foreign publications; 12 news copied from other Portuguese newspapers; 8 'scientific' articles; 4 signed original(?) texts or images; 4 opinion articles and 2 curiosity articles.

<sup>24</sup> The last year featured in our research, 1939, comes in third, though with only 10 news, all dedicated either to the death of Howard Carter (3 news) or to the new discoveries that then took place at Tanis, under Pierre Montet's Supervision (7 news).

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closing of the tomb		Opening of the tomb to the tourists	7
		Closing of the tomb	4
		Protests against the English	3
		Reopening of the tomb	1
Problems between Howard Carter and the Egyptian government	49	Suspension of the work in the tomb/ Cancellation of Carters' license	23
		Suspension of entrances and works at the tomb/ Case against Howard Carter	11
		New agreement/ Continuation of excavations with Carter	7
		Case in court	5
		Duel	2
		Failed negotiations	1
Death/ translating of Lord Carnarvon' dead body	43	With curse	26
		Without curse	17
Other related issues	27	Other discoveries	19
		Scrooge / Irony	2
		The fashion in ancient Egypt	1
		The Queen Nefertiti	1
		Statue of Senuseret III	1
		The worship of animals	1
		The construction of pyramids	1
Without sub-theme	1		
Works at the tomb	25	Riches / Treasures	16
		Transport and exhibition	4
		With curse	1
		Interest of journalists	1
		Furniture	1
		Sarcophagus	1
Curse	9	Pharaoh's threat	3
		The curse of Pharaoh's daughter	3
		Victims	3
Howard Carter disease	7	With curse	6
		Without curse	1
"Small essays"	6	Without sub-theme	4
		History of the tomb; Theory on the occupation of the tomb - Usurpation; Riches / Treasures	2
Lord Carnarvon's disease	5	Without curse	5
Discovery of the tomb	4	(Possible) contributions to the study of the past	3
		Authors	1
		Riches / Treasures	1
Tomb reproduction exhibition (Wembley)	3	—	
Death of Howard Carter	3	—	

**Table 1:** News themes and sub-themes.

This organization of the news showed that the theme with the highest number of occurrences is "Opening/ Closing of the Tomb" with 28 news published in 1923, 24 in 1924 and 2 published in 1925, present in 21 of the 28 publications, being the most addressed theme in 6 of them.

The second most common theme is the "Problems between Howard Carter and the Egyptian Government" with 48 news published in 1924, and one published in 1925, in 16 of the 28 publications. This theme comprises 6 subthemes. This news made it possible to follow, in some detail, the problems and disagreements between Howard Carter and the Egyptian

government at the beginning of the second year of works after the discovery. The archaeologist and the institutions quarrelled about the continuity of the work after the death of Lord Carnarvon, and Carter was even replaced by Pierre Lacau. However, the problem was overcome, and it turned out to be Carter, the discoverer, who led the work to completion.

The third most frequent theme was “Death/translating of Lord Carnarvon’s dead body” with 41 news published in 1923, and 2 in 1924, being present in 20 of the 28 publications. This theme comprises only two subthemes: with curse and without curse. More specifically, the news reports about Lord Carnarvon's death and subsequent situations, referring to the curse that was supposedly the cause of his death, and the news in which there is no mention to the curse. Regarding the topics, the curse sub-theme comprises situations that speak of the pharaoh's anger/vengeance, that evoke black magic, that blame poisonous gases, that allude to the ‘mysterious powers’, and one that only refers to a beetle as the agent of the curse. In the sub-theme without curse, there are only two topics, one that speaks of the infection, and another that refers to an insect.

In short, we can say that the *corpus* of the 234 news contemplates a vast and diverse set of themes and sub-themes that demonstrates the interest of the Portuguese press in the archaeological discovery and associated facts, and also shows how the periodicals brought this manifestation of ancient Egypt to its readers and listeners<sup>25</sup>.

### **Newspapers as an expression and active agent of the reception of ancient Egypt, in Portugal, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century**

From the abovementioned, it is clear that the Portuguese press, especially in 1923 and 1924, followed closely what was happening in the distant Valley of the Kings, in Egypt, informing regularly, and with detail, their readers about the most interesting things that were happening.

The Portuguese press is, then, both an expression and an active agent of the reception of ancient Egypt in Portugal since, on the one hand, newspapers and magazines are, by themselves, examples of how ancient

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<sup>25</sup> Marques (1980, 90) states: “Em pequenas vilas e aldeias, era frequente ler-se o jornal em voz alta perante uma assistência heterogénea de povo, que ouvia e comentava.” [In English: “In small towns and villages, the newspaper was often read aloud in front of a heterogeneous people who listened and commented.”]

Egypt was received, demonstrating, from what they chose to publish, a look and an understanding of this civilization; and, on the other hand, the periodicals were an active agent of the reception, as their news brought ancient Egypt closer to its readers, thus giving them the opportunity to know it, experiment it, and even adapt it. In other words, newspapers and magazines are an expression of a certain knowledge of ancient Egypt and appreciation in its transmission, and, at the same time, an agent of creation of attraction and fascination on their readers. Egyptophilia and Egyptomania come together in a peaceful way.

The analysis of our *corpus* allows us to conclude that as an expression of the reception of ancient Egypt, in the context of the dissemination of the discovery and excavation of Tutankhamun's tomb, the Portuguese periodicals focused on three main ideas:

- a) Historical knowledge and learnings provided by the discovery (Figure 3);
- b) The heritage and artistic value of discovery (Figure 4)
- c) The 'mummy's curse', the 'Pharaoh's revenge', or 'Tutankhamun's revenge' (Figure 5)



Figure 3: *A Capital* (30.01.1923).



Figure 4: Ilustração Portuguesa (19.02.1924).



Figure 5: A Capital (11.02.1924); A Capital (05.04.1923); Diário de Notícias (07.04.1923).

The attention given to these questions reveals a standpoint that looked at the discoveries in ancient Egypt as propitiators of historical knowledge,

especially in their relation to biblical history<sup>26</sup>; that valued what was excavated not only for its material wealth, but mainly for its artistic and civilizational value<sup>27</sup>; but, at the same time, a standpoint that sees ancient Egypt as a civilization of magic, mystery, superstitions, and curses so powerful that could cross millennia to punish those who supposedly disturbed the Pharaoh's eternal rest. In other words, a careful reading of the Portuguese newspapers and magazines of the time shows that, on the one hand, there was an ability to value the History and Art of the civilization of ancient Egypt; on the other hand, the periodicals did not resist the idea of the curse of the mummy and embarked on the phenomenon of "Mummymania" that followed the discovery of Pharaoh Tutankhamun's tomb.

Mummymania is not, however, the only example of Egyptomania we can find in Portuguese newspapers and magazines. Although, in general, the analysis of the periodicals positions them more as examples of reception than of Egyptomania, the truth is that they have not escaped this phenomenon. See, for example, the news published by the magazine *ABC - Revista Portuguesa* (05.04.1923) entitled "*Tutankamen e a moda do proximo Verão*"<sup>28</sup> (Figure 6), where we can read: "O venerando Tutankamen, há quasi quatro mil anos enfaixado e encaixotado no profundo Vale dos Reis, tem direito incontestável, desde que lhe foram perturbar o prolongado sono, ás homenagens da moda. Senhoras e senhores, o egipcianismo vai

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<sup>26</sup> The news from *A Capital* (30.01.1923) states: "Mas já, graças as investigações feitas, se poderão preencher certas lacunas da historia do antigo Egipto; vão permitir, notoriamente, jullga-se que se fixe a data do exodo do povo de israel, Veem portanto corroborar duma maneira frisante, as narrativas do Pentateuco. Tudo leva a crêr que Tut-auh-Amon fosse aquele pharaó de que a Escritura diz que «não conhecera José» e que oprimiu os israelitas." [In English: But already, thanks to the investigations made, we can fill , certain gaps in the history of ancient Egypt; they will allow to supposedly set the date of the exodus of the people of Israel; They therefore corroborate in a striking way the Pentateuch narratives. Everything suggests that Tutankhamun was that pharaoh that Scripture says that he 'had not known Joseph' and that oppressed the Israelites.]

<sup>27</sup> In a news from *Diário de Lisboa* (08.02.1923) we can read: "O que haverá ainda? Que novas surpresas estarão reservadas aos felizes investigadores? Que novas provas do antiquissimo espirito da Arte, sempre moça e sempre bela, surgirão ainda, documentando a já existente e agora quasi desconhecida perfeição da obra humana?" [In English: What is still there? What new surprises will be in store for the happy investigators? What new proofs of the age-old, ever-young, ever-beautiful spirit of Art will yet emerge, documenting the existing and still almost unknown perfection of human work?]

<sup>28</sup> In English: "Tutankhamun and next summer's fashion"

preponderar! [...] Assim, do fundo do seu tumulto milenário, Tutankamon, o simpático faraó que se deixou descobrir, governará e influenciará na vida contemporânea através da moda toda poderosa, no verão deste ano da graça de 1923.”<sup>29</sup>

This is a clear example of the emerging Tutmania we mentioned earlier, and, in this case, its application to a fanciful ‘fashion world’.



Figure 6: ABC - Revista Portuguesa (05.04.1923).

By publishing regular, detailed, and very appealing news about the discovery of Pharaoh Tutankhamun's tomb, the Portuguese periodicals brought the distant - in time and space - ancient Egyptian civilization

<sup>29</sup> In English: “The venerating Tutankhamen, wrapped for almost four thousand years and boxed in the deep Valley of the Kings, has an undeniable right, since they were disturbing him his long sleep, to fashion tributes. Ladies and gentlemen, Egyptianism will prevail! [...] Thus, from the depths of his millennial tomb, Tutankhamun, the sympathetic pharaoh who has been discovered, will rule and influence contemporary life through all-powerful fashion this summer of 1923.”

closer to the Portuguese of the years 20 and 30 of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and positioned themselves thus, as agents of the reception of ancient Egypt.

The understanding of what would have been the impact of this discovery and the news about it in the press is a work that has yet to be done in the reception of the ancient Egypt/Egyptomania in Portugal. However, in the course of our investigation we came across what we consider to be an unavoidable example of the effect of this media phenomenon: the publication, in 1924, in Lisbon, of the book *A Profecia ou o mistério da morte de Tut-Ank-Amon*, authored by Fernando Val do Rio de Carvalho Henriques (1897-1962).

F. de Carvalho Henriques, as he usually signed his works, was an unknown Portuguese writer who, shortly after the discovery and official opening of the tomb, wrote what our research reveals to be the first work to be published worldwide inspired by Pharaoh Tutankhamun, with 150 pages, 36 of them dedicated specifically to ancient Egypt from Tutankhamun's time, thus being a unique work in the Portuguese national panorama, but also, by its precedence, in the international context. Before the Portuguese book there is only one tale (4 pages) of Agatha Christie, starring Hercule Poirot, entitled *The Grey Cells of M. Poirot: No. I. The Adventure of the Egyptian Tomb*, published on 26<sup>th</sup> of September of 1923, in the London magazine *The Sketch*.

The link between the news published in the newspapers and the creation of Fernando's work is established by the Author himself. In the chapter IX, in full development of the fiction underlying the novel, there is a passage in which the main character (the engineer José Miguel de Oliveira), draws on his drawing board a new type of alternator when he receives, in the morning, from the hands of an employee, "um maço de correspondência e de jornais"<sup>30</sup>. Unfolding one of the newspapers, and skim reading the headlines of the various news, he fixes his attention on the two columns of the "secção da última hora"<sup>31</sup>, particularly "no fim da segunda"<sup>32</sup> in the published text of a short telegram:

Londres. — Dizem do Cairo que no Vale dos Reis próximo do túmulo de Ramsés VI, foi descoberto o sepulcro dum rei da XVIII dinastia, supondo-se que seja o de Tut-Ank-Amon, genro do faraó Kuen-Aten.

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<sup>30</sup> In English: "a pack of mail and newspapers"

<sup>31</sup> In English: "last minute section"

<sup>32</sup> In English: "at the end of the second"

Esta descoberta de grandíssimo valor arqueológico, pois que ao contrário do que até hoje tem acontecido, o sarcófago do rei parece não ter sido violado, foi devida a Mr. Howard Carter que sob os auspícios de Lord Carnarvon, desde 1906 procedia a metódicas escavações no Egípto.<sup>33</sup>

We have no way of knowing if Carvalho Henriques ‘made up’ the text of the telegram that features in his work from reading an authentic telegram published by the Portuguese press, or if he replicated directly one of those telegrams. In the *corpus* that we gathered composed by news published by the Portuguese press, that is only one news (published by the *O Século*, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December of 1922, page 3 – the only news of 1922 published by the Portuguese press, entitled “*Antiga Tebas. Uma grande descoberta arqueológica*”<sup>34</sup>) that could have been read by the Author, or in which he may have drawn inspiration to write this telegram.

What seems to be interesting and important to point out is the fact that the Author shows through this excerpt a clear conscience and knowledge of the information about the great archaeological discovery in the Valley of the Kings that features the Portuguese newspapers of the time, and that he strategically puts this news, in this case, a telegram from London, so the main character of his novel can come into direct contact with Tutankhamun, the pharaoh of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, of whom, as Carvalho Henriques writes, he “[n]unca ouvira falar”<sup>35</sup> but that was the trendy pharaoh, as the Author was well aware<sup>36</sup>.

## Conclusion

Since the Antiquity to our days, the material elements from Egypt, scattered all over (squares, urbane spaces, public museums, private collections, etc.), and the intellectual presence of ancient Egypt conveyed through various means and by many processes are a core element in

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<sup>33</sup> In English: “London. - From Cairo they say that in the Valley of the Kings, near the tomb of Ramesses VI, the tomb of a king of the eighteenth dynasty was discovered, supposedly the one of Tutankhamun, son-in-law of Pharaoh Kuen-Aten. This discovery of great archaeological value, since contrary to what has been happening to this day, the king's sarcophagus seems to not have been violated, was due to Mr. Howard Carter who, under the auspices of Lord Carnarvon, had been carrying out methodical excavations in Egypt since 1906”.

<sup>34</sup> In English: “Ancient Thebes. A great archaeological discovery”.

<sup>35</sup> In English: “had never heard of”.

<sup>36</sup> For more details about the Author and the Book see Sales & Mota (2019).

western culture, in which history, cultural memory and material memory intersect.

It is, then, no surprise that the problematic of the reception of ancient Egypt is a core matter, trying to uncover areas, impacts, points of contact, moments and personalities, and determine the real contribution of each one of them to the continuous growth of the general knowledge about Egypt: “The reception of ancient Egypt [...] is not passive or derivative (from scholarly traditions), but has played a driving role in the creation of knowledge about Egyptian antiquity” (Moser, 2015: 1264).

Nevertheless, it is better to talk about receptions of ancient Egypt than to talk about reception or, at least, we must consider that when we talk about reception we do not talk about an uniform and unified phenomenon, but rather a multitude of ways to see, learn and conceive ancient Egypt. Many of them coexist. In this sense, the cultural phenomenon of reception of ancient Egypt integrates and generates different ideas about the ancient civilization of the Valley of the Nile, all of them results, constructions, and representations that help to understand it and, in a way, they are all equivalents and legitim, regardless of its more sophisticated, academic or esoteric modes.

The relative importance of the receptions of ancient Egypt derives essentially from the questions and problems that they formulate and solve; from the theoretical and/or methodological frame of production or not, of knowledge that they contain; from the critical analyses that they establish; and, thus, from the impact that they have in the understanding of the Egyptian past. The receptions of ancient Egypt, with their inherent traditional charge that they bear, are cultural answers to that past.

In our Research Project, centred in the reports of the Portuguese press (1922-1939) about the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun, we can see that the Portuguese periodicals helped to create a favourable climate of Egyptophilia (an intense appreciation, fascination or taste for everything related to ancient Egypt), Egyptomania (reinterpretation of ancient Egypt, with new meanings, in different contexts and sensibilities, creating accepting and reconstruction environments, more or less creative, of the Egyptian past), Tutmania and Mummymania. This atmosphere was maintained by the regularity, quantity, variety, and detail in the information that the press compiled and disseminated, and that reached, amongst others, Fernando de Carvalho Henriques and, through him and his creative novel, many other Portuguese readers.

Even when the 'historical knowledge' divulged do not comply with the more rigorous and scientific aspects, the historical memory about ancient Egypt is convened, and through it we establish an effective communication link with the readers. The Portuguese newspapers and magazines from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the 1924 novel by F. de Carvalho Henriques are then also remarkable examples of 'mnemohistory'. Tutankhamun was seen and was present in Portugal in that time; not in person, obviously, but through the reception of ancient Egypt that these sources brought to millions of readers.

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