

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

José das Candeias Sales¹

Susana Mota²

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 20th 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

¹ Associate Professor, Universidade Aberta; NOVA University Lisbon

² PhD, Researcher, NOVA University Lisbon

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 20th 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's³ (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."

³ 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 20th/early 21st 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 books⁴. 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 19th 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;

⁴ 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)⁵. 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 times⁶ (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*⁷. 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 pejorative⁸ applications, which tend to emphasize the manic elements, rather than the Egyptian.”

⁵ 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.

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

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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

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 use⁹ 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 cinema¹⁰.

In short, Egyptomania, as a popular phenomenon and a cyclic movement, dates back to the Classical Antiquity¹¹ 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 tomb¹² – 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,

⁹ 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).

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

¹¹ 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).

¹² 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 foundation¹³. 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

¹³ 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 4th 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 5th 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 quarters¹⁴ (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 18th 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

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

'Mummymania' (Day, 2006: 1)¹⁵, and highlights as an example the film *The Mummy* (Figure 2), from 1932 (Lupton, 2009: 23)¹⁶. 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.

¹⁵ 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, 19th 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.

¹⁶ 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).

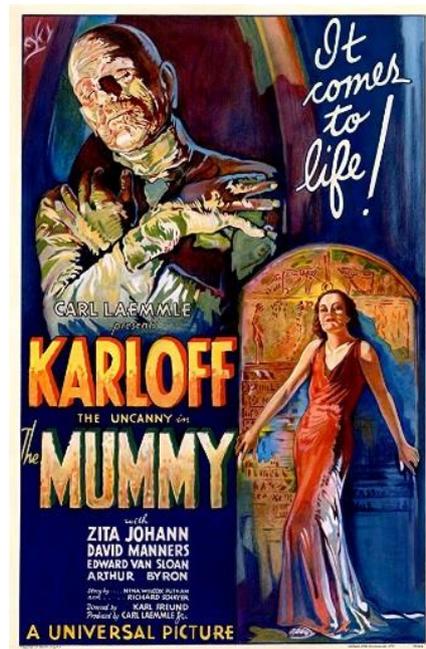


Figure 2: Film Poster of *The Mummy* (1932) (<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0023245/mediaviewer/rm2286536960>).

'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 unweighted¹⁷. 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.

¹⁷ 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 memory¹⁸ -, 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 reception¹⁹, 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).

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ 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 Egypt²⁰ (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

²⁰ 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)²¹, 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 4th 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 29th 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, 28²² published news with different typologies

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

²² 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 news²³ - 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 analyse²⁴.

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*.

²³ 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.

²⁴ 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).

Heródoto, Unifesp, Guarulhos, v. 4, n. 2, 2019.2 p. 27-57

DOI: 10.34024/herodoto.2019.v4.10961

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/revenge, 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 listeners²⁵.

Newspapers as an expression and active agent of the reception of ancient Egypt, in Portugal, in the early 20th 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

²⁵ 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)

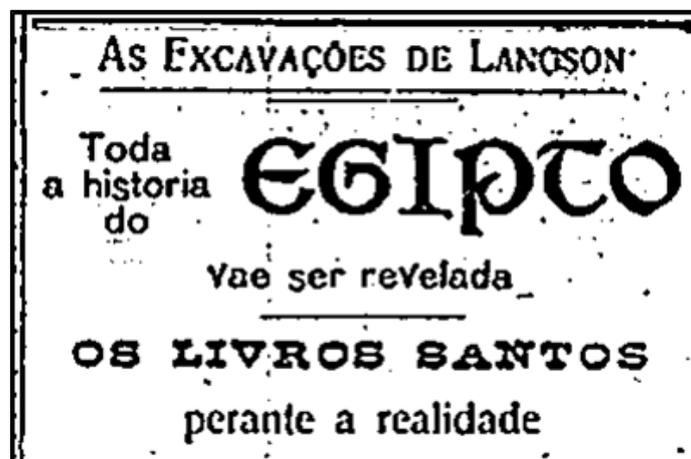


Figure 3: *A Capital* (30.01.1923).



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 history²⁶; that valued what was excavated not only for its material wealth, but mainly for its artistic and civilizational value²⁷; 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*"²⁸ (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

²⁶ 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.]

²⁷ 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?]

²⁸ 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.”²⁹

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

²⁹ 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 20th 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 26th 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"³⁰. 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"³¹, particularly "no fim da segunda"³² 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.

³⁰ In English: "a pack of mail and newspapers"

³¹ In English: "last minute section"

³² 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.³³

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 3rd of December of 1922, page 3 – the only news of 1922 published by the Portuguese press, entitled “*Antiga Tebas. Uma grande descoberta arqueológica*”³⁴) 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 18th dynasty, of whom, as Carvalho Henriques writes, he “[n]unca ouvira falar”³⁵ but that was the trendy pharaoh, as the Author was well aware³⁶.

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

³³ 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”.

³⁴ In English: “Ancient Thebes. A great archaeological discovery”.

³⁵ In English: “had never heard of”.

³⁶ 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 20th 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.

Bibliographic references

ASSMANN, J. *Moses the Egyptian. The memory of Egypt in western Monotheism*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 1998.

ASSMANN, J. Egyptian Mysteries and Secret Societies in the Age of Enlightenment. A 'mnemo-historical' study. *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt*. N^o1, 2017 a , p. 4-25.

ASSMANN, J. Moosese eristus ehk monoteismi hind. [Estonian edition of Jan Assmann's "Die Mosaische Unterscheidung: oder der Preis des Monotheismus"] Tallinn: Tallinn University Press, 2017 b, pp. 211-236.

(Foi consultada a versão em inglês disponível em: https://www.academia.edu/34130404/Ancient_Egypt_monotheism_and_mnemohistory._Interview_with_Jan_Assmann)

AUFRÈRE, S. H. Égyptomanisme et Égyptomanie: une tradition ininterrompue du "mythe" égyptien. *Chronique d'Égypte*. Vol. 72, N^o143, 1997, p.25-40.

BABER, T. Ancient corpses as curiosities: Mummymania in the age of early travel. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*. Vol. 8, 2016, p.60-93.

BEDNARSKI, A. The Reception of Egypt in Europe. In: LLOYD, A. (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*. Vol. II. Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010, p. 1086-1108.

BRIER, B. *Egyptomania: Our Three Thousand Year Obsession with the Land of the Pharaohs*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

BROCKLISS, W., CHAUDHUHI, P., LUSHKOV, A. H., WASDIN, K. (eds). *Reception and the Classics. An interdisciplinary approach to the Classical Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

COLLA, E. *Conflicted antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

CONIAM, M. *Egyptomania goes to the movies. From Archaeology to Popular Craze to Hollywood Fantasy*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2017.

CURL, J.S. *The Egyptian Revival. Ancient Egypt as the Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West*. London, New York: Routledge, 2005.

DAY, J. *The Mummy's Curse. Mummymania in the English-speaking world*. London, New York: Routledge, 2006.

DOBSON, E., TONKS, N. Introduction: Ancient Egypt in Nineteenth-Century Culture. *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*. Vol.40, N° 4, 2018, p. 311-15.

DOYLE, N. The earliest known uses of "L'Égyptomanie"/"Egyptomania" in French and English. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*. Vol.8, 2016, p. 122-25.

EBELING, F. Editorial Note. *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt*. N°1, 2017, p.1-3.

EBELING, F. Editorial Note. Jan Assmann's Transformation of reception studies to cultural history. *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt*. N°3, 2018, p. 1-8.

FAZZINI, R.A., MCKERCHER, M.E. Egyptomania. In: REDFORD, D.B. (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of ancient Egypt*. Vol.1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 458-65.

FORMAN, M. Tutmania. *Dress, The Journal of the Costume Society of America*. Vol. 4:1, 1978, p. 7-16.

FRITZE, R.H. *Egyptomania: A History of Fascination, Obsession and Fantasy*. London: Reaktion Books, 2016.

FRYXELL, A. Tutankhamen, Egyptomania, and Temporal Enchantment in Interwar Britain. *Twentieth Century British History*. Vol.28, N° 4, 2017, p. 516-42.

Heródoto, Unifesp, Guarulhos, v. 4, n. 2, 2019.2 p. 27-57
DOI: 10.34024/herodoto.2019.v4.10961

HARDWICK, L. *Reception Studies. Greece & Rome. New Surveys in the Classics* n°33. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

HARDWICK, L., STRAY, C. Introduction: Making Connections. In: HARDWICK, L., STRAY, C. (eds.). *A Companion to Classical Receptions*. Malden, MA, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008, p. 1-9.

HOLT, F.L. Egyptomania: Have We Cursed the Pharaohs? *Archaeology*. Vol. 39, N° 2, 1986, p. 60-3.

HUMBERT, J-M. *L'Égyptomanie dans l'art occidental*. Paris: Éd. ACR, 1989.

JARSAILLON, C. Modern Egyptomania and Early Egyptology: the Case of Mariette's 1867 Egyptian Temple. *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*. Vol.40, N° 4, 2018, p. 359-76.

JEFFREYS, D. Introduction - Two Hundred Years of Ancient Egypt: Modern History and Ancient Archaeology. In: JEFFREYS, D. *Views of Ancient Egypt since Napoleon Bonaparte: imperialism, colonialism and modern appropriations. Encounters with Ancient Egypt*. London: UCL Press, 2003, p. 1-18.

LANT, A. The Curse of Pharaohs, or How Howard Carter contracted Egyptomania. *October*, Vol. 59, 1992, p. 86-112.

LECLANT, J. De l'égyptophilie à l'égyptologie: érudits, voyageurs, collectionneurs et mécènes. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. 129° année, N° 4, 1985, p. 630-47.

LLOYD, A.B., The Reception of Pharaonic Egypt in Classical Antiquity. In: LLOYD, A. (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*. Vol. II. Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010, p. 1067-85.

LUCKHURST, R., *The mummy's Curse: The True History of a Dark Fantasy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

LUPTON, C. Egyptomania, western. In: BAGNALL, R.S., BRODERSEN, K., CHAMPION, C.B., ERSKINE, A., HUEBNER, S.R. (eds.). *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. Blackwell Publishing, 2013, p. 2340-3.

LUPTON, C. 'Mummymania' for the masses - Is Egyptology cursed by the mummy's curse? In: RICE, M., MACDONALD, S. (eds.). *Consuming Ancient Egypt. Encounters with ancient Egypt*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press Inc., 2009, p. 23-46.

Heródoto, Unifesp, Guarulhos, v. 4, n. 2, 2019.2 p. 27-57
DOI: 10.34024/herodoto.2019.v4.10961

MARQUES, A. H. O. *A Primeira República Portuguesa*, Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1980.

MARTINDALE, Ch. Reception. In: HORNBLOWER, S., SPAWFORTH, A. (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 1294-5.

MARTINDALE, Ch. Reception. In: KALLENDORF, C. W. (ed.). *A Companion to the Classical Tradition*. Malden, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p. 297-311.

MELTZER, E. S. Egyptology. In: REDFORD, D.B. (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of ancient Egypt*. Vol.1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 448-458.

MOSER, S. Archaeological Representation: the Consumption and Creation of the Past. In: GOSDEN, C.; CUNLIFFE, B.; JOYCE, R.A. (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p.1048-1077.

MOSER, S. Legacies of Engagement: The multiple manifestations of ancient Egypt in Public Discourse. In: CARRUTHERS, W. (ed.). *Histories of Egyptology. Interdisciplinary Measures*. London: Routledge, 2014, p. 242-52.

MOSER, S. Reconstructing Ancient Worlds: Reception Studies, Archaeological Representation and Interpretation of Ancient Egypt. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*. Vol. 22, n° 4, 2015, p. 1263-1308.

RICE, M., MACDONALD, S. Introduction - Tea with a Munny: the Consumer's View of Egypt's Immemorial Appeal. In: RICE, M., MACDONALD, S. (eds.). *Consuming Ancient Egypt. Encounters with ancient Egypt*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press Inc., 2009, p. 1-22.

SALES, J. C.; MOTA, S. "A Profecia ou O Mistério da Morte de Tut-Ank-Amon" (1924) de Fernando de Carvalho Henriques. Ecos literários em Portugal da descoberta do túmulo de Tutankhamon. *Cadernos De Literatura Comparada*, n° 40, 2019, p. 287-320.

SQUIRE, M. Theories of Reception. In: MARCONI, C. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman art and architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, 637-61.

STIENNE, A. *Encountering Egyptian Mummies, 1753-1858*. Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, School of Museum Studies, University Leicester, 2017.

VARGAS, A. Z. Charles Martindale. A Recepção da Antiguidade e os estudos clássicos. In: SILVA, G. J., CARVALHO, A. G. (eds.). *Como se escreve a História da Antiguidade. Olhares sobre o antigo*. São Paulo, 2019, p. 750-73.

VENIT, M.S. Ancient Egyptomania: The Uses of Egypt in Graeco-Roman Alexandria. In: EHRENBERG, E. (ed.). *Leaving No Stones Unturned. Essays on the Ancient Near East and Egypt in Honor of Donald P. Hansen*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002, p. 261-78.

VERSLUYS, M.J. “Une géographie intérieure”: The Perpetual Presence of Egypt. *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt*. N°3, 2018, p. 159-166.

WHITEHOUSE, H. Egyptomanias. *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. 101, No. 1, 1997, p. 158-61.