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

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

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## Abstract

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

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

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

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*In memoriam of my colleague Professor Cláudio Pereira Elmir*

### **Introduction**

In this text I will analyze two newspaper articles of *Correio da Liberdade* (“Journal of Freedom”), published in the city of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul in a rather distant time: 75 issues from 17 April to 31 December 1831.<sup>1</sup> One of my purposes is to reconcile the History of Reception with Rhetorical Analysis, a fairly unexplored path in Brazil, which was however pointed out by Dominick LaCapra in an article originally published in 1985. Its initial sentence is: “The study of rhetoric is once again on the agenda of humanistic studies”<sup>2</sup>. I consider that the particular chronology of little interest among Brazilian historians regarding this topic is evidenced by the date of translation of that article into Portuguese: 2013. What raises my interest is that by discriminating three major directions in rhetorical studies, LaCapra asserts that the third one, centered on problems of persuasion and audience, could convert the Aristotelian definition of rhetoric<sup>3</sup> as a program into an Aesthetic of Reception<sup>4</sup>. Despite the obvious meaning of the word (of passivity), I understand “reception” as an active cognitive principle<sup>5</sup>, as an appropriation that invents, shifts, and distorts<sup>6</sup>.

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

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

<sup>2</sup> LaCapra 1996, 15.

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

<sup>4</sup> LaCapra 1996, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Martindale 2013, 174.

<sup>6</sup> Chartier 1999, 9.

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

This capital event to the identity of inhabitants of that state (the *gaúchos*) was one of the most disturbing in that period before the age of the second Emperor of Brazil, D. Pedro II, sovereign between 1840 and 1889. Since the First Reign - by D. Pedro I (1822-1831) - and during the Regency Era (1831-1834), Brazil was shaken by various conflicts that put the country's political organization in dispute<sup>8</sup>.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***The History of Reception of Antiquity and rhetorical analysis***

The research on History of Reception of Antiquity is relatively recent. Its greatest development in Europe date from the beginning of this millennium<sup>15</sup>, despite the fact that Charles Martindale's *Redeeming the text* was published in 1993. *Redeeming* was a

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

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

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

<sup>15</sup> Jurado 2015, 12-13.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>17</sup> Holub 1995, 319.

<sup>18</sup> Vargas 2020, 736.

<sup>19</sup> Martindale 1993, 3-4.

<sup>20</sup> Rood 2013, 207.

<sup>21</sup> Barbosa & Silva 2017.

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

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

This article is the result of a research project<sup>28</sup> that intends to analyze the reception of Antiquity in newspapers of the first half of the 19th century published in southern Brazil, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. It is an example of the nature of the documentation founded, the potentiality of its analysis and helped to restrict the investigation to the receptions of the ancient tyrannies by the political reflection carried out through the journals. Newspapers are not the usual object of the History of the Reception of Antiquity, but their field is broad enough to include any document in which appropriation of the ancient times occurs. As Charles Martindale wrote:

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

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<sup>23</sup> Oliveira, Teixeira and Dias 2012.

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

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

<sup>26</sup> Augusto 2015, 46-47.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>29</sup> Martindale 2006, 1-2.

<sup>30</sup> Quintilian *Inst.* V 10.32.

<sup>31</sup> *Aelius Théon Progynásmata* 5. 1-6.

<sup>32</sup> Reboul 1998, 140-143.

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>33</sup> Elmir 2012, 78-80.

<sup>34</sup> LaCapra 1980, 250.

<sup>35</sup> LaCapra 1980, 240.

### ***Correio da Liberdade: Some Rethorical Strategies and the Reception of Antiquity***

There are a number of studies that clarify the rhetorical quality of the intellectual texts during Brazilian colonial and imperial periods<sup>36</sup>. Initially, by the action of Jesuits, and with their expulsion taken forward by the reform of Portuguese education led by the Marquis of Pombal, in 1759. Rhetoric, since the first Portuguese arrivals, was present in schools and in pulpits.<sup>37</sup>

This may seem evident today, but one of the milestones in the multiplying studies on rhetorical dimension of Brazilian intellectual formation in the historical field is the article by Joaquim Murilo de Carvalho: "Intellectual History in Brazil: Rhetoric as a Key to Reading". In this important article, reference is made to the conspicuous quotations of ancient authors and their works.<sup>38</sup> This was also highlighted by Álvaro Klafke, author of the noteworthy and very useful thesis on the periodical press of Rio Grande do Sul between 1831 and 1835.<sup>39</sup> As Carvalho notes, this could be an argument of authority explained by the absence of scientific practice.<sup>40</sup> In my opinion, however, the material I discuss in this article reveals the peculiarities of a context when formal education did not exclude the Greek-Roman and even the Biblical Tradition, and the more distant past was conceived in such a way as to sustain a critical reflection on the present and even on the political future of the country.

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

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

Isabel Lustosa's studies show how the newspapers were directly involved in Brazilian independence. *Insultos Impressos* demonstrates their intense participation in the debate on the political definition of the Brazilian nation<sup>42</sup>. After Dom Pedro I's abdication in 1831, the discussion about the nature of central power and its relations with other parts of the country was predominant in the pages of Brazilian periodicals. As José Murilo de Carvalho wrote: "Until the beginning of the Second Reign, the political debate was concentrated in

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

<sup>37</sup> Duran 2013, 175.

<sup>38</sup> Carvalho 2000, 142.

<sup>39</sup> Klafke 2011, 35.

<sup>40</sup> Carvalho 2010, 145.

<sup>41</sup> Morel 2010, 37.

<sup>42</sup> Lustosa 2000, 26.

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

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

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

The rhetorical quality can be seen in many opinion pieces in the paper we have at our disposal. The most evident ethical strategy was the reiterated manifestation of self-depreciation of the person in charge of the enterprise, mitigated by the use of the third person plural. In *Prospectus*, a one-page edition that sought for prior funding, this resource was used at the same time as the future political position of the journal was exposed<sup>47</sup>:

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

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<sup>43</sup> Carvalho 2007, 19.

<sup>44</sup> Homer *Iliad* I, 69.

<sup>45</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, VI, 26

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>49</sup> This is an *estimated* release date. See Klafke 2011, 37.

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

<sup>51</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all italics are mine.

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

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

### ***Correio da Liberdade: The Reception of Peisistratos' Tyranny***

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

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

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

<sup>53</sup> Jauss 2002, 100-101.

<sup>54</sup> Jauss 2002, 102.

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

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

### **REGARDING MODERATE MONARCHIES**

**PISISTRATUS** enforced the Laws given by Solon and he himself obeyed them. The Areopagus continued to store them, and the Senate was still, or at least seemed to be, the Advisors of the Prince, as it had been during the Republic. Pisistratus did not have the power to govern in an arbitrary manner. He ruled according to Law, because it was necessary to take advantage of the Areopagus, and the Senate, which watched over his administration: two bodies so feared, that their discontent would have incited all the Citizens. If during Democracy these two Bodies were weak enough to balance the power of the assembled People, one sees that as soon as the Government becomes Monarchic, they are very powerful to balance the power of the Monarch. Therefore, this Monarchy is an example of the Monarchies which can be called moderate.<sup>56</sup> (nº 9, 1st May, 1831 – *Correio da Liberdade's* boldface)

When Hans Jauss stated that reception cannot be subordinated to the purpose of composition work<sup>57</sup>, he intended to oppose the thesis of a single, transcendently correct interpretation, as is reasserted by LaCapra (1980), Martindale (1993) and Martindale and Thomas (2006). He was not, I think, attempting to block the judgment of readers as to the correctness or inaccuracy of the various interpretations made over time. The depictions of Peisistratos' tyranny as "moderate monarchy" and of the tyrant as "Prince" are incorrect; likewise, it is wrong to call the Council of the 500 (the *Boulê*) as "Senate." However, this piece, with a title I find absurd at first sight, is also the reception of a tradition that goes back to Antiquity, because Herodotus was the first, among others, to qualify positively the tyranny of Peisistratos.

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

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

<sup>57</sup> Jauss 2002, 102.

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

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

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

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

It is not my intention at this time to contrast in detail the older fragments of this tradition with the newspaper piece. This will require further research because the Greek intellectual representation of tyranny, especially after Plato<sup>62</sup>, also has a strong negative bias that is

<sup>58</sup> Herodotus I, 59, 6.

<sup>59</sup> Thucydides VI, 5-6.

<sup>60</sup> Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians*, XIV, 3.

<sup>61</sup> Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians*, XVI, 7-9.

<sup>62</sup> Lewis 2016, 06; Virgolino 2017, 12.

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

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

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

However, I must confess that, initially, my scandalized consciousness made me think that the signature present at the end of the article of *O Correio* was simply an alias of its author (who was maybe embarrassed for heterodox appropriation, I should have supposed). The use of pseudonyms was current at the time. A simple internet search showed that “Condillac” was Étienne Bonot de Condillac, Abbot of Mureau (1715-1780), an important French illuminist philosopher, defending an empirical and sensualist theory of knowledge, appropriated by French *Ideologists*<sup>64</sup> but equally the writer of a work such as *Le Commerce et le gouvernement considérés relativement l'un à l'autre* (1776). He was not one of the great philosophers of the Enlightenment and can even, according to one Brazilian scholar who studies him, be the object of smaller attention by the philosophical contemporary studies<sup>65</sup>: in recent Brazil, the edition of his capital work *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*, from 1714, was only published in 2018. He enjoyed, meanwhile, considerable prestige in his time and, as we may see, in Portugal and Brazil in the XIX century. Condillac wrote important works in the field of epistemology, as the mentioned *Essai* (which promotes the thoughts of Locke among the French) and mainly the *Traité des sensations* (1754), being admitted to the French Academy in 1768. Contemporarily to us, he was object of attention of Derrida (in *L'archéologie du frivole* - 1913) and of Michel Foucault (in *Les mots et les choses* - 1966). It was thanks to the necessity of understanding the reception of *Condillac* by *Correio da Liberdade* that I discovered that Foucault had called up the Abbot to answer the question: “under what conditions the classical thought was able to reflect, among the things, relations of similarity or equivalence that found and

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<sup>63</sup> Hobbes *De Cive*, XII, 3.

<sup>64</sup> Rüegg 2004, 545.

<sup>65</sup> Silva 2013 270; 2015, 20-21.

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

The Abbot was cited beside Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Comenius, Erasmus, Leibniz e Descartes in a letter to the priest Francisco Luís Leão, philosopher of the Coimbra University, to the 2nd Count of Ega, Aires José Maria de Saldanha Albuquerque Coutinho Matos e Noronha. This correspondence, analyzed by Renato AmatuZZi<sup>67</sup>, resulted on the hiring of priest Francisco to elaborate a plan of elementary studies for the education of Manoel de Saldanha, the 3rd Count of Ega. It was in 1801 and Portugal was under the aegis of the Lusitanian version of Enlightenment endorsed by Marquis of Pombal. Among the grammars that left "a mark in the Lusitanian grammatical historiography inserting themselves in a European rationalist context", Monica Lupetti highlighted the one written by Crisóstomo de Melo, found in Goa and in Brazil. The *Grammatica Philosophica da Linguagem Portuguesa*, edited in 1818, deserved the highlight of Lupetti for the reference to Condillac, besides other philosophers such as Descartes and D'Alembert<sup>68</sup>.

The search in the platform "DIGIGOV – Digital Government Gazette" that makes available around 30 000 editions of the official gazette of the Portuguese State as of 1820, allowed me to find 15 occurrences of "Condillac" between 1820 and 1851.<sup>69</sup> One of them - in the *Gazeta de Lisboa (Lisboa Gazette)* dated Dec 9, 1828 (no. 292, p. 1476) - is an advertisement for selling of "The Art of Thinking of Condillac"<sup>70</sup>; the other occurrences are in doctrinal and argumentative articles, as was characteristic of the Luso-Brazilian journalism of the time.

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

<sup>66</sup> Foucault 2000, XX.

<sup>67</sup> AmatuZZi 2013, 2-5.

<sup>68</sup> Lupetti 2015,66.

<sup>69</sup> DIGIGOV. Diário do Governo Digital

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

<sup>70</sup> DIGIGOV. Diário do Governo Digital

[https://digigov.cepese.pt/pt/pesquisa/listbyyearmonthday?ano=1828&mes=12&tipo=a-diario&filename=1828/12/09/D\\_0292\\_1828-12-09&pag=4&txt=Condillac](https://digigov.cepese.pt/pt/pesquisa/listbyyearmonthday?ano=1828&mes=12&tipo=a-diario&filename=1828/12/09/D_0292_1828-12-09&pag=4&txt=Condillac) (accessed September 29, 2019).

<sup>71</sup> Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira. Biblioteca Digital da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional. [http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docmulti.aspx?bib=%5Bcache%5Dcarvalho\\_531810.3357813.DocLstX&pasta=ano%20182&pesq=Condillac](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docmulti.aspx?bib=%5Bcache%5Dcarvalho_531810.3357813.DocLstX&pasta=ano%20182&pesq=Condillac). (accessed September 29, 2019).

92), for example, it was advertising the selling of *Ouvres de Condillac* in 31 volumes in the Shop belonging to Francisco Saturnino Veiga, Rua da Alfândega, 395.<sup>72</sup>

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

#### CHAPTER VI.

##### Des monarchies modérées.

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

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

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

<sup>72</sup> Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira. Biblioteca Digital da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional. [http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docmulti.aspx?bib=%5Bcache%5Dcarvalho\\_41520.3861353.DocLstX&pasta=ano%20183&pesq=Condillac](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docmulti.aspx?bib=%5Bcache%5Dcarvalho_41520.3861353.DocLstX&pasta=ano%20183&pesq=Condillac). (accessed September 29, 2019).

<sup>73</sup> Condillac 1821, 1.

<sup>74</sup> Condillac 1821, 76-88.

<sup>75</sup> LaCapra 1980, 260.

<sup>76</sup> Other occurrences: Cairú 1820,1835.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finally. If it is correct the idea that examples allow a rule to be based on a particular case<sup>80</sup>, then the historical example implies the acknowledgment of an essential communion between the ages. In *Correio da Liberdade's* argument, the tyranny was an example and proof for Brazil from the beginning of the 19th century:

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>80</sup> Perelman and Tyteca 2005, 412.

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

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

<sup>82</sup> Thucydides VI, 54, 2.

<sup>83</sup> Thucydides VI, 53, 3.

<sup>84</sup> Aristotle *The Athenian Constitution*. 18.3.

<sup>85</sup> Lefèvre 2013, 9.143-155.

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

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

The situation was different two centuries ago.

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

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

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<sup>86</sup> Bakhtin 1990, 118-20.

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