

ON THE ORIGINS OF SPANISH HIEROGLYPHS (I)¹

SOBRE LOS ORÍGENES DE LOS JEROGLÍFICOS ESPAÑOLES (I)

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ABSTRACT: In this paper the Spanish reception of hieroglyphs, and its outcome, is presented as an important aspect of the process of transmission of hieroglyphs in Early-Modern Europe. This change of perspective is important because it gives a general context for the phenomenon in Spain, clarifies its ties with the rest of the continent through the process of diffusion and –perhaps more relevantly– highlights the distinct characteristics that hieroglyphs assumed in Spain as response to a different mentality, culminating with the creation of what the author regards as «classic Spanish hieroglyphs».

KEYWORDS: Hieroglyph, Emblem, Diffusion, Genre.

RESUMEN: En este trabajo, dividido en dos partes, la recepción española de los jeroglíficos y sus desenlaces se presentan como un aspecto importante del proceso de transmisión de los jeroglíficos en Europa. Este cambio de perspectiva es importante porque da un marco general para el fenómeno en España, aclara sus vínculos con el resto del continente a través del proceso de difusión de ideas y –quizás lo más relevante– pone de relieve las características distintivas que los jeroglíficos lograron en España como un reflejo de su adaptación a una mentalidad diferente, que culminó con la creación de lo que el autor se refiere como «jeroglíficos clásicos españoles».

PALABRAS CLAVES: Jeroglífico, Emblema, Difusión, Género.

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1. This paper, which will appear in IMAGO in two parts, is largely based on the eighth chapter of the author's PhD dissertation, *The Invention of Hieroglyphs: A Theory for the Transmission of Hieroglyphs in Early-Modern Europe*, written and defended under the supervision of Prof. Laurence Grove and Prof. Alison Adams at University of Glasgow, 2014. The author manifests his highest gratitude for his supervisors.

The role of hieroglyphs in Spain is a well-studied,² extensive and significant aspect of the «Modern hieroglyphs» which, to my knowledge, has not been included in the main studies of the *hieroglyphic phenomenon* in Europe yet. My hypothesis is that this is related to the general confusion between hieroglyphs and emblems in secondary sources and the impact of the revival of emblem studies in the 20th century, which led specialists to regard the *jeroglíficos* in Spain simply as applied emblems. According to this hypothesis, «emblems» or enigmatic paintings were arbitrarily labelled as «hieroglyphs».

In this paper I would like to demonstrate that the Spanish reception of hieroglyphs, and its outcome, is far more complex than these assumptions, and that it is certainly part of a major *process of transmission* of hieroglyphs in Early-Modern Europe. This change of perspective is important because it gives a general context for the phenomenon in Spain, clarifies its ties with the rest of the continent though the process of diffusion and –perhaps more relevantly– highlights the distinct characteristics that hieroglyphs assumed in Spain as a response to a different mentality. In other words, as the ideas of hieroglyph spread in Europe, they created responses to diverse cultural demands. In England, for example, they were rapidly associated with the alchemical visual expression; in France, they were recognized as a source for the emblematic language; but in the Hispanic world –possibly more than anywhere else– they became a paradigmatic vehicle for ideological discourse and *display*.

THE TRANSMISSION OF HIEROGLYPHS

To explore such a theory, it is fundamental to regard the phenomenon of Renaissance hieroglyphs as a process of *stimuli diffusion*, and not as a mere mistake or confusion of Early Modern scholars. This kind of cultural transmission

occurs in situations where a system or pattern as such encounters no resistance to its spread, but there are difficulties in regard to the transmission of the concrete content of the system. In this case it is the idea of the complex or system which is accepted, but it remains for the receiving culture to develop a new content. This somewhat special process might therefore be called «idea-diffusion» or «stimulus-diffusion» (Kroeber, 1940: 1)

Applying this notion to the case of Egyptian hieroglyphs, it is easy to observe that this cultural system has not been transmitted elsewhere in its entirety –because it cannot be simply dissociated from the rest of the Egyptian culture (such a transmission would demand a similar attitude to Egyptian imaginary and beliefs; copies of Egyptian institutions and other characteristics that are not easily transported elsewhere as a whole). However, different traits belonging to this script have appeared in different cultures. For example, a set of Egyptian signs (preserving their values and iconicity) were adopted in the Kingdom of Meroë (today's Sudan) to create a new script –the Meroitic hieroglyphs; in a very similar way, the principle of phonography and some hieroglyphic signs were employed by Sinai peoples who formed a writing system today referred as «Proto-Sinaitic»– which would become the base for Caanite scripts, which evolved into Phoenician, which be-

2. Campa 1990; García Arranz 2002; Manero and Lorente 2004; Ledda 1992 and their respective bibliographies.

came the source for the invention of the Greek alphabet, which eventually was the foundation of... the Roman alphabet (Gardiner, 1916; Goldwasser, 2010). Obviously this does not mean that our alphabet is a continuum of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, or that we can read them without any further training – however, it would be hard to dispute the fact that the principles of our writing emanated from ideas and signs actually taken from Egyptian hieroglyphs.

The process of transmission described above focuses especially on the phonetic features of the Egyptian script which inspired new phonetic scripts. Still, other grammatological functions took an essential role in that writing system –such as ideography (signs that convey idea), determinatives (signs that create semantic fields) and even mythography (signs that correspond to entire myths and are not supposed to be read linearly)– and there is no reason to suppose that these features could not also be diffused, in favorable circumstances. My doctoral dissertation argues that the phenomenon of hieroglyphs in the European Renaissance was in fact triggered by a process of transmission of *authentic* ideas and grammatological functions of the Egyptian writing (Leal, 2014).

A cultural diffusion often happens in a subconscious level (i.e. without depending on the full consciousness of its social agents –as it often happens with spoken language). But the transmission of writing usually depends on a specific demand. Meroitic, Sinaitic, Caanite, and so on, all had in common a society without any form of linear writing. Phonography, i.e. the idea that

graphic signs can refer to sounds, therefore, would resolve this need with ease. In the case of Meroitic, this was not sufficient: the iconicity or appearance had to be preserved –possibly as a way to connect Meroitic rulers with the neighboring Egyptian dynasties, by emulating their sacred writing. The process of transmission, therefore, is not necessarily a passive product of the meeting of different cultures: but a conscious decision and convention.

In the 15th century, when Europe turned towards Ancient Egypt again, there was already a form of linear writing (the Roman alphabet) in use. The Egyptian capacity of writing complete sentences would not impress any learned person. However, right from first contact, it became clear that Egyptian writing had other features which European culture lacked: these elements created a need for their transmission.

There were essentially two motivating forces at play: first, the fascination with antiquity –well conceptualized by the Erasmus' exhortation that the humanist should hasten *ad fontes* («to the sources»), to the ancient authorities; and second, the new status that images achieved in the Renaissance.

I am aware of the danger of identifying tendencies in whole cultures and then running the risk of creating simplistic dichotomies and generalizations: to say, for example, that medieval culture was oral-based and that the Renaissance represented a major turn to a visual-based culture. Beyond doubt the Middle Ages possessed strong visual traditions,³ just as in the Renaissance orality was not simply put aside.

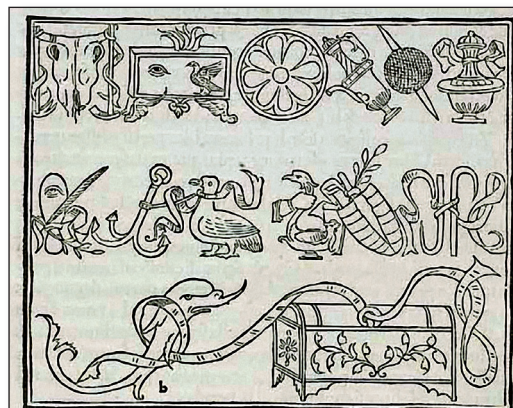
3. *Grosso modo*, although visually rich, the meaning of images in the Middle Ages dwelled in their intrinsic sense, be it religious or political. Oscillating between waves of iconoclasm and the domain of Christian logocentrism, the medieval visual codes preferred the objectivity of *ekphrasical* relation between text and image, as one can observe in heraldry or miniature traditions (with the inspired exception of figures such as Hildegard von Bingen or Hrabanus Maurus, and marginal canons such as the alchemical iconography) –avoiding the more «suggestive» or enigmatic forms of text and image interaction. This does not mean, however, that images were not systematically employed. With much propriety, Prof. Alison Saunders called my attention to the didactic use of images in the Middle Ages, especially in the context of illiterate audiences. Still, this use did not imply a primary role for images as a vehicle to convey intellectual contents –in other words, they were not regarded as *a form of writing per se* or

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that visual culture acquired a new social status in the Renaissance –especially in the context of the ruling classes: the improvement and systematic use of printing methods; Gutenberg’s invention and its impact on literacy rates; the new techniques and appreciation of the art of painting– and the acknowledgment of the painter as an artist (not only an artisan);⁴ the appropriation of elements of visual identity, such as badges and devices, by artists and intellectuals –which before were reserved for the nobility; and even the Council of Trent’s endorsement of the pedagogical function of images had a fundamental role in the *ascension of visuality*.

In this scenario, where would the humanist scholar and artist find an ancient model and source for the contemporary use of *learned images*? In the Graeco-Roman accounts of hieroglyphs, in Egyptian artifacts and obelisks, and in Horapollon and Chaeremon’s *Hieroglyphica*. Each of these «vectors of transmission» conveyed a certain amount of correct information and further elucubrations –offering incomplete portraits of the Egyptian hieroglyphic code. After this first contact, any attempt at re-appropriating hieroglyphs, so as to use this visual form of writing in new compositions, would demand a process of conceptualization, which would pave the way for the creation of new codes.

THEORETIC NUCLEI

In my doctoral dissertation I identified at least five major «theoretic nuclei» of hieroglyphs in the Renaissance,⁵ which can be outlined as follows:



Lequale uertuiffime & sacre scripture penficulante, cufi io leinterpretai.

EX LABORE DEO NATVRAE SACRIFICA LIBER A
LITER, PAVLATIM REDVGES ANIMVM DEO SVBIE-
CTVM. FIRMAM CVSTODIAM VITAE TVAE MISERI
CORDITER GVBERNANDO TENEBIT, INCOLV MEM
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Fig. 1. Colonna, Francesco, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Fol. Cr

– The Monumental Nucleus: influenced by Ammianus, Macrobius and Diodorus, this conjunct of ideas was set forth by Leon Battista Alberti, who argued for the use of hieroglyphs in architectonic contexts in his famous *De Re Aedificatoria* (“On the Art of Building” written between mid 1440s and early 1450s, with later work until the death of the author in 1472). It was under the influence of these ideas that friezes from Roman temples were taken as hieroglyphs, becoming a very popular source for art and decoration in Italy, and that hieroglyphs began to be used in ephemeral architecture (a

as an instrument to educate the (already) literate. Acknowledging the *scriptural and intellectual nature* of images, I argue, is a phenomenon that would take place in the Renaissance and the diffusion of hieroglyphs had a strategic role in the emergence of this new status.

4. Cf. the *Ut Pictura Poesis* paragon and the emancipation of painting (Lee, 1967).

5. See Leal 2014, Chapter Five, for a more detailed discussion.

fact of great importance for the present paper); [fig. 1]

- The Neo-Platonic Nucleus: derives from Marsilio Ficino's study of Plotinus' *Enneads*, Jamblichus' *Mysteries*, the *Corpus Hermeticum* and Horapollon's *Hieroglyphica*. In this context, hieroglyphs were regarded as a non-linear form of writing which did not correspond to sounds, but to straight-forward manifestations of the Platonic ideas. According to Ficino, the Egyptians could "comprehend an entire discourse... in one stable image" (Ficino's comment on his translation of Plotinus' *Enneads*, 1492. Adapted from Curran, 2007: 97). The Florentine philosopher and his fellows of the Platonic Academy (which included Poliziano and Crinito) also promoted the notion of «*prisca auctoritas*», according to which the Egyptians were aware of the advent of the messiah, but kept this secret hidden in hieroglyphs. This idea is crucial for the legitimization of the use of hieroglyphs in Christian theological milieus –despite their well-known pagan origin;
- The Aristotelian Nucleus: if in the *Neo-Platonic Nucleus* hieroglyphs were appreciated in the light of Platonism, in the *Aristotelian Nucleus* the referential will be an Aristotelian interpretation of Diodorus (and Horapollon). The first exponent of this new attitude was Felippo Beroaldo, professor of

rhetoric at the University of Bologna, and one of the greatest humanists of his age. Drawing from Ammianus, Macrobius, Pliny, Tacitus, Beroaldo defended that hieroglyphs could be used to write sentences:

«In fact, these sculptures and effigies [in the sense of carved figures] that we see [on obelisks] are Egyptian letters. With regard to these letters –each of which corresponded to a single noun and sometimes it signified the whole meaning [of a sentence]–⁶ Cornelius Tacitus wrote the following: the Egyptians were the first to engrave the ideas of their minds by the figures of animal, and one can still see these records, the most ancient in the human memory, engraved on stone & they claim to be the inventors of the letters»⁷ (Beroaldo. *Commentary on Apuleius*: Book XI. Translated from Drysdall, 2013: 72).

Beroaldo's notions of hieroglyphs set a turn in the «hieroglyphic studies» by presenting hieroglyphs from a rhetorical and poetic perspective – rather than the more metaphysic one endorsed by Ficino and his followers in Florence. This Aristotelian attitude would be developed further by Fasanini – a translator of *Hieroglyphica* and Andrea Alciato's teacher – and other intellectuals that went to study in Bologna, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam. It is important to say that this perspective would become extremely prolific in

6. Cf. Ammianus: «Now the infinite carvings of characters called hieroglyphics, which we see cut into it on every side, have been made known by an ancient authority of primeval wisdom. For by engraving many kinds of birds and beasts, even of another world, in order that the memory of their achievements might the more widely reach generations of a subsequent age, they registered the vows of kings, either promised or performed. For not as nowadays, when a fixed and easy series of letters expresses whatever the mind of man may conceive, did the ancient Egyptian also write; but individual characters stood for individual nouns and verbs; and sometimes they meant whole phrases» (Ammianus Marcellinus. *Historia*, XVII, 4, 8. Apud Ammianus Marcellinus 1935).

7. Cf. Tacitus: «It was the Egyptians who first symbolized ideas, and that by the figures of animals. These records, the most ancient of all human history, are still seen engraved on stone. The Egyptians also claim to have invented the alphabet, which the Phoenicians, they say, by means of their superior seamanship, introduced into Greece, and of which they appropriated the glory, giving out that they had discovered what they had really been taught» (Tacitus. *Annals*: VII, xi. Apud Tacitus 1877).



Fig. 2. Alciato, Andrea, *Emblematum Liber* (1534 edition): p. 45

terms of literary exercises – being of major influence in the conception of emblems, as it has been observed by Denis Drysdall [fig. 2].

- The Antiquarian Nucleus: is the one actually engaged in compiling and eventually interpreting authentic (or thought-to-be) Ancient Egyptian inscriptions. Theoretically it is the continuation of an attitude that could be detected early on in Cyriacus of Ancona, but that would find many other followers in the Renaissance – such as Michele Mercati and Herwart von Hohenburg – until it culminated in a kind of proto-Egyptology in the late 17th century with Athanasius Kircher, who was also influenced by other con-

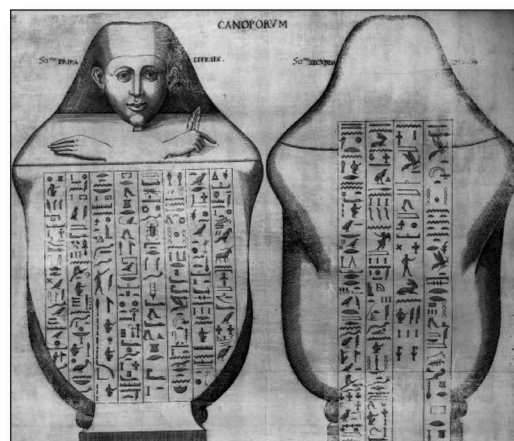


Fig. 3. Hohenburg, Herwart von, *Thesaurus Hieroglyphicorum*: Pl. 13

ceptions of hieroglyph (see Leal, 2014: 389). Besides its obvious interest in antiquity, this nucleus also seems to reflect a kind of skeptical outlook on hieroglyphs in face of the fact that the information available about them was not enough to obtain precise translations [fig. 3].

- The Alchemical Nucleus: has a different route of transmission, owing more to the Arabic dissemination of hieroglyphs than to the advent of Horapollon in the 15th-century Italy (see Leal, 2014: 293). Here, Egyptian hieroglyphs will be regarded as a source from ancient alchemical formulas, as suggested by Dhu al-Nun Al-Misri's interest in Egyptian inscriptions. Dhu Al-Nun was born in the 9th century in Panopolis – curiously the same region where Horapollon's family lived five centuries earlier. Not much later Ibn Umayl, for example, would advocate the study of hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls of the temple of Akhmim (as in his work *Ad-Durra an-Naqīya*) and give practical demonstrations of this procedure in his work *Al-Qaṣīda an-nūnīya*. On the one hand, these notions are of great importance to the



Fig. 4. Abu al-Qasim al-'Traqi, *Al-Aqalim*: fol. 22a

birth of «alchemical series» of pictures (such as *Aurora Consurgens*), which were used to explain the alchemical process metaphorically, and which would be continuously transmitted in the Renaissance; on the other hand, it would prompt other scholars –such as the Iraqi Ibn Wahshiya (9th/10th century) and Abu al-Qasim al-'Traqi (13th century)– to attempt deciphering ancient hieroglyphs, with the merit of being aware that hieroglyphs could correspond to ideas or sounds. In the Renaissance, alchemy and hieroglyphs will be again brought together in important works such as the Michal Maier's *Arcana Arcanissima* (1614), the anonymous *Mutus Liber* (1677) and in the work of Athanasius Kircher, where the signs will have their hermetic potential again explored [fig. 4].



Fig. 5. Kircher, Athanasius, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*: II, 420

These different theoretical nuclei would give birth to diverse codes according to which hieroglyphs would be recreated in the Renaissance. Recognizing their diversity –and the way these ideas interplay– is conditional to understanding the transmission of hieroglyphs in Early-Modern Europe. For instance, the «monumental» conception described will give birth to Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) and to the idea that hieroglyphs should be used in ephemeral architecture; the Aristotelian interpretation will have an important role in the creation Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* (1531); Michael Maier's synthesis of the emblematic tradition with the alchemical hieroglyphs in his *Atalanta Fugiens* (1617) and Athanasius Kircher's hieroglyphic studies will be inspired by an specific balance of all conceptions discussed above... and so on [fig. 5].

THE DIFFUSION OF HIEROGLYPHS IN SPAIN

Many of the conceptions discussed above will reach Spain where they will foster yet new codes and experiments, molded by the particularities –and needs– of the Spanish culture. My objective now is demonstrating how Spain is connected with the general process of transmission and which factors are decisive for the emergence of the hieroglyphic paintings of the Golden Age. Overall, I think such discussion is decisive to challenge the myth that *jeroglífico* is an arbitrary label for enigmatic paintings in Spain.

In essence, the same process of diffusion takes place, with three basic stages – of which I will now discuss two: the first, consist of the early transmission and the routes of diffusion of hieroglyphs; the second stage involves the consolidation of the use of hieroglyphs in ephemeral art. The other two stages –the third one, about the normalization and a fourth, dealing with the rise of what I call the «classic Spanish hieroglyphs» and their relationship with emblems– will appear in the second part of this paper, in the next volume of IMAGO.

FIRST STAGE: ROUTES OF DIFFUSION OF HIEROGLYPHS IN SPAIN

There are many accounts of exchanges between Hispanic travellers and Egypt in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (López Grande, 2009). Perhaps the most vital of these contacts took place in 1501, when the Catholic Monarchs, Fernando and Isabel, sent a diplomatic mission to Egypt in order

to convince the Sultan not to persecute the Christians living in the Levant as a response to the Spanish *Reconquista*. The envoy of this successful mission was Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (Pedro Mártir Anglería), a Milanese scholar in the service of the King. He offered the first descriptions of Egypt (and its writing, *en passant*) to be published in Spain (García y García, 1947).

Regarding hieroglyphs (and not the Egyptian culture as a whole), the process of transmission into Spain was often mediated by combinations of the theoretical nuclei discussed above and their outcome's implications. However, it would be wrong to assume that the hieroglyphs in Spain were secondary to, or less important than, elsewhere in Europe. For example, as early as 1520-30,⁸ the famous hieroglyphs of the University of Salamanca [fig. 6], clearly influenced by the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (see Pedraza y Martínez, 1983) with linear and non-linear text-image constructions. Although some of these hieroglyphs were direct reproductions, others were reinterpreted or invented using the same «hieroglyphic principle».

I would suggest that the prelude of what would become the Spanish hieroglyphic tradition was set around the figures of Antonio Agustín, Álvaro Gómez de Castro, Martínez Silício and Calvete de Estrella. Agustín, who studied in Alcalá, Salamanca, Padua and Bologna –was tutored by Andrea Alciato and obtained his doctorate in 1541. Given his interest in law, coins and antiquities, he found in Italy a suitable place to investigate these subjects –and so his contact with Alciato is telling. Apart from introducing debates on numismatics in Spain, Agustín was also a close friend of Gómez de Castro, professor of Latin and Greek in Toledo who, in 1546, made

8. In this period, in Italy, hieroglyphs were beginning to be used in architectonic decorations. See Leal 2014: 233.

9. (Madrid: Juan de Brocar [ca. 1546])

10. 12 or 24, depending on the edition.



Fig. 6. «Hieroglyphic Reliefs», University of Salamanca: Panel 6.

the iconographic programme for the entry of the bishop Juan Martínez Silíceo into Alcalá de Henares. The account of this solemnity was published by Gómez de Castro as *Publica Laetitia*,⁹ anticipating the use of woodcuts¹⁰ to record iconographic devices conceived for festivals in Spain (in this case a set of *paintings* followed by mottoes).

Publica Laetitia not only pioneers the use of such woodcuts but introduces the discussion on hieroglyphs, quoting Horapollon's *Hieroglyphica* for the first time in Spain,¹¹ in order to legitimize the use of such «paintings» or «images». According to him, the Egyptians' hieroglyphs «were better than letters, since they not only indicate the notions of the soul but delight the eyes with the painting and teach the science of nature» (Gómez de Castro, 1546: 87). Already in its first appearance, *Hieroglyphica* is associated with paintings in ephemeral contexts.

Curiously, the earliest document attesting to the presence of *Hieroglyphica* in Spain is the copy that entered Prince Philip's private library in 1543.¹² Silíceo –the bishop honoured in *Publica Laetitia*– was the preceptor of Philip, eventually responsible for

directing his studies. I cannot help but suspect that this copy specifically was bought by the Erasmian scholar Juan Calvete de Estrella, who was in charge of important book acquisitions for the Prince between 1541 and 1547.

Calvete de Estrella, another of the Prince's tutors, accompanied him on his important journey through the Low Countries and Italy, between 1548 and 1551. The account was published in 1552 as *El Felicísimo Viaje...*, and the ceremonial entries of the Prince recorded in this book mark another route for diffusion of hieroglyphs. In the Entry into Trent, on 29th January 1549, the triumphal arch erected before the central square was covered «with so many symbols and devices [*impresa*] taken from those hieroglyphic letters, used by the Egyptians» (Calvete de Estrella, 1552: 46). Calvete describes each of these non-linear hieroglyphs (mostly taken from *Hieroglyphica*) together with their accompanying motto [*letras*]. For the first time, hieroglyphs were being described as an active part of an ephemeral programme in a Spanish book and this would have a significant impact on the Spanish *fiestas* –as Estrella's book would be

11. In a printed sources, as far as I was able to determine.

12. *Orus Apollo Niliacus De hieroglyphicis notis, à Bernardino Trebatio Vicentino latinitate donatus*. Estienne: 1530. Recorded as: ene/jul-1543 De jeroglificos de Horus. REME. 16-V-22, no. 2.

taken as a model not only for iconographic programmes, since it attests the most recent tendencies in European courts, but for the future *relaciones de fiestas*. It is after this episode that hieroglyphs began to be systematically included in ephemeral art.

SECOND STAGE: THE APPROPRIATION OF HORAPOLLON AND VALERIANO IN EPHEMERAL ART AND NEW EXPERIMENTATIONS.

By the middle of the 16th century, hieroglyphs were becoming popular in Spain – and gradually they attracted the interest of Spanish scholars, albeit still timidly: Pedro Mexía, for instance, in his famous *Silva de Varia Lección* (1500), suggests that the Egyptians had «images, characters and figures for everything, by which they understood each other as if writing with letters. Horapollon [Oroapolo] made a book about them, where the curious will find pleasing and useful things» (Mexía, 2003: 59).¹³ This early interest would soon provoke the demand for the first Spanish edition of Horapollon's *Hieroglyphica*, in the auspicious year of 1556, when Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* was also being edited for the first time.¹⁴

In the following years these two books would be absorbed by Spanish intellectuals and immediately provide motifs for the iconographic programmes of *Siglo de Oro's* festivals.¹⁵ As not all festival apparatuses were documented and many were probably lost, it is almost impossible to trace the first occasions on which hieroglyphs directly obtained from *Hieroglyphicas* were used

and quoted, but by 1568, when the Spanish Queen Isabel died, one grasps how widely this practice was accepted in funerary ceremonies: in Madrid, Juan López de Hoyos described some of the devices of the queen's catafalque as «imitating the letters of the Egyptians» (1569: 131v, 146v); and in Seville, Lorenzo de San Pedro made extensive remarks and also sketched the linear and non-linear hieroglyphs displayed on the tomb ([1569]).

At the same time as these applied hieroglyphs entered the tradition of funeral ceremonies, they also served to celebrate other events. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that López de Hoyos explored hieroglyphs again in 1570, when he prepared the programme for the Entry of Ana de Austria, the new queen.

Juan de Mal Lara is another key element to understanding this stage of the diffusion of hieroglyphs in Spain. He not only mentioned Martire d'Anghiera's descriptions of hieroglyphs in previous works (*La Psyche* and *Philosophia Vulgar*),¹⁶ but he also made detailed descriptions of hieroglyphs, professedly taken from Valeriano, in his accounts of at least two important iconographical programmes of his: the Entry of King Felipe II into Seville (1570) and the description of the Royal Galley of Juan de Austria (Mal Lara, 1570).

Apart from these examples, hieroglyphs progressively infiltrated the formal literary code. In effect, Lorenzo de San Pedro's manuscript *Diálogo llamado Philippino* ([c. 1579]) is a remarkable example of the early use of hieroglyphs as rhetorical devices: [fig. 7]

13. Similar commentaries were made by Sebastián Fox Morcillo (*De Historiae institutione dialogus*. Paris and Antwerp, 1557).

14. See p. 247.

15. At this stage, hieroglyphs themselves are not yet a kind of device but a source for images and figures (often referred to as «imitating» the Egyptian sources).

16. Garcia y Marraset 2012: 1894.



Fig. 7. San Pedro, Lorenzo de, *Diálogo llamado Philippino*.

The exceptional character of the Escorial manuscript resides in the fact it included emblems and hieroglyphs as evidential arguments of the hundred congruencies by which a character called Bético tries to convince... a nobleman, Lusitano, to abandon his «painful lament for the most serene king Don Sebastián» and recognise Felipe II's aspirations.

The use that a jurist like Lorenzo de San Pedro makes of the images goes beyond a mere illustration since it implies that each one of them comprises a concept that would be better attained by visual exposition; in other words, his emblems and hieroglyphs prove and authorize the congruency of his exposition in the same way a syllogism or quotation would do (Bouza, 1998: 76).

The rhetorical use of hieroglyphs, which was very important for the «Spanish reception», will flourish in the literature and theology of the next stage, but it is important to highlight this seminal idea at this point, when Horapollon and Valeriano's treatises could be strictly taken as something designed for *conversations*:

C. Hai alguna manera para entender essas letras [hieroglyphicas]? A. Un librillo hai de Horus Apollo, y otro grande moderno de Pierio Valeriano *que no sirven sino para conversacion*. (Agustín, 1587: 139)

(to be continued)

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