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THE MUSICAL
ICONOGRAPHY IN THE
WORK: "A REDENÇÃO
DO AMAZONAS",
BY AURÉLIO DE
FIGUEIREDO

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Abstract: The painter Aurélio de Figueiredo (1854-1916) left work with a significant historical theme, among which stands out the one produced in the dusk of the Empire and dawn of the Republic. During this period, he produced a large painting, now in the Public Library of Amazonas, entitled: A Redenção do Amazonas. In it, historical and allegorical characters exult the rise of the Amazon in the nascent Brazilian republic, as one of the states that was distinguished by the strength of its nature, the richness of its trade, and the pioneering spirit of eradicating slavery. Such a narrative, cradled by the indisputable presence of the cultural values represented by the muses, could not fail to represent music in full lyrical-poetic action. This article discusses the role of this expression in the composition of the pictorial work.

**Keywords**: Aurélio de Figueiredo; Painting; Abolition; XIX century; musical iconography.

# INTRODUCTION

Francisco Aurélio de Figueiredo e Mello (1854-1916) was a visual artist and writer, attended the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in Rio de Janeiro under the guidance of his brother, the painter Pedro Américo (1843-1905) and Jules Le Chevrel (ca. 1810-1872). He completed his artistic training in Europe between 1876 and 1878, when he studied with Antonio Ciseri (1821-1891), Nicolò Barabino (1832-1891) and Stefano Ussi (1822-1901), all history, genre and portrait painters.

After returning to Brazil, he traveled through several cities to work in collaboration with local newspapers and fulfill artistic commissions. His trajectory is marked by trips and exhibitions, including Europe, the Republics of the Plate and Montevideo, where he was appreciated by art critics. In the 1880s he participated in several editions of the General Exhibition of Fine Arts. His work includes, in addition to portraits, still lifes, genre scenes

and landscapes, large compositions of literary and historical themes, such as works made for the government of the State of Amazonas.

In 1890, he participated in a literary contest, organized by Correio do Povo, in which he won first place with the novel: *O Missionário* (Gazeta do Norte, 1890). Figueiredo's works continued to be increasingly requested and honored by the public, and in June 1890 he exhibited in Rio de Janeiro the canvas that represented the liberation of the Amazon. (*A Lei Áurea no Amazonas* ou *A Redenção do Amazonas*). (Jornal do Commercio, 1890)

At that time, the volume of commissions for Figueiredo's works was remarkable and his works were reported and praised by the press. In addition to painting historical academic themes, there are reports that Aurélio de Figueiredo occasionally escaped the rigidity of literature and history themes and, in his spare moments, dedicated himself "to the free course of grace and to the mastery of his interpretive genius". (LIMA, 1963, p. 851)

Herman Lima (1963, p. 851) pointed out that "Aurélio de Figueiredo, sacrificed as he was by academicism in fashion, did not lack spontaneity nor a varied and brilliant palette." And according to Gonzaga Duque:

Despite his predilection for allegories and decorative canvases, his aesthetic feeling covers a wider range. The ease of painting, the vigor of talent gave him the opportunity to work a lot, sometimes in compositions, sometimes in genre pictures, now in landscapes, now in still life, or in small fantasies with brush. (DUQUE, in: LIMA, 1963, p.851)

Among the cities where the artist was present in Brazil, he obtained relevant prestige in Belém and Manaus, being received with great appreciation, with numerous banquets offered by the governors of the time, who placed orders for works requested from the artist. It is noted the great repercussion in the field of visual arts and the significant reception

of his work in the north of the country.

Aurélio de Figueiredo was in Manaus on three occasions: 1888, 1907 and 1909. From his transit in the north, five pictorial works can be found in institutional collections: A Ilusão do Terceiro Reinado, also known as: O Último Baile da Ilha Fiscal (esboceto) and O Banho de Ceci (Pinacoteca do Estado do Amazonas); A Redenção do Amazonas (Institution: Biblioteca Pública do Estado do Amazonas); the portraits of Princess Isabel and Dom Pedro II, ("Instituto Geográfico" and "Histórico do Amazonas").

# THE "REDEMPTION OF THE AMAZON" AND ITS CONTEXT

This article aims to develop an iconographic-musical study of painting: *A Redenção do Amazonas*, executed between 1884 and 1890, by order of the government. To carry out the iconographic-musical study, the methodological principles of Aby Warburg (2012) and Erwin Panofsky (2014) were followed, which through iconography and iconology, propose a historical and cultural approach to the artistic object.

The work in question has title variations. In Manaus, it is also known as: A Lei Áurea no Amazonas and, possibly because of the scriptures on the plaque attached to the frame. The reference to the work as: A Libertação do Amazonas is found in the book: Aurélio de Figueiredo - Meu Pai (1985), by Heloysa Cordovil. The same name is also mentioned in the 1956 Exhibition Catalog, in honor of the centenary of the artist's birth, where the reference to the acquisition of the work by the Government of the State of Amazonas is found. In "De um capítulo do Esaú" and "Jacó ao painel do Último Baile", Alexandre Eulálio (1982) mentions that this work appears in Gonzaga Duque's criticism as "A Redenção do Amazonas".

The theme of the work refers to the end of

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black slavery in the Amazon. However, before delving into its iconographic and iconological aspects, it is important to observe the scenario of events that permeated and, to a certain extent, influenced its content.

Throughout the 19th century, there were several emancipationist actions that gave rise to the desire for the end of black slavery in Brazil. The parliamentary referral and the definition of an emancipatory legislation were some factors that helped to result in the so-called abolition of slavery. According to Menezes (2014, p. 2) in the 1870s, "liberal politicians were already debating in the imperial parliament that slavery was an obstacle to the economic and social development of the country." However, as a political project, abolitionism only took on great proportions from 1880 onwards.

The popular participation in the process of abolishing slavery in the Amazon is undeniable. According to Renata Moraes (2007, p.218), "an imaginary of popular desire around the law was created, mainly in the moments that preceded it". Several social spheres participated in this process. However, beyond the issues of parliament there was a broad desire by the classes for the extinction of the servile slave element.

In the midst of this scenario, it is interesting to note that the press propagated an image of exultation for national abolitionism, as it published texts in support of the end of slavery. This way, several abolitionist newspapers emerged throughout the country, such as: *Gazeta da tarde*, in Rio de Janeiro, *A Tribuna Livre* in Goiás, *Ave Libertas* no Ceará, *A Província de Minas*, in Minas Gerais, the "Abolicionista do Amazonas" in Amazon.

Opinions about the liberation of slaves were divergent, but with the strength of the popular abolitionist discourse that was established and the reactions of enslaved people that spread, many ended up joining the cause. According

to Machado (2003, p.3) "Many only defended the unconditional end of slavery, when it became impossible to preserve it due to the incessant escapes of slaves from the properties and the strong support of society for its elimination." In the 1880s these issues were more surfaced due to the population's desire for an immediate solution to the end of slavery. This way, the press played a strong role at this moment in history, being a vehicle for abolitionist ideas throughout Brazil:

Especially in the 1880s, the press acquired a fundamental role in the dissemination of abolitionist and republican ideas, which influenced not only the intellectual elites. Newspapers became veritable "news factories", "information industries" and, together with other institutions, acted to formulate new values for a society that was beginning a process of change. Political issues and abolitionism "gained the streets" along with newspapers and urban segments found it easier to express their claims. (MACHADO, 2003, p. 3).

In Ceará (the first state to abolish slavery on March 25, 1884, four years before the total abolition of slavery in Brazil), the newspaper "O Libertador", which sought to encourage society to support abolition through inflammatory speeches that often used more emotion and awareness in society. In Amazonas, (second state to abolish slavery on July 10, 1884), in addition to the press, some abolitionist actions were employed, such as offering dinners aimed at raising funds for the purchase of manumission letters and holding bazaars, among other activities.

According to Neto (2011, p.4), abolition did not happen just because of the benevolence of some masters, but above all "it was the product of a wide web of established slave relations, of negotiated interests, in addition to the various implications arising from of the economic and social situation of the empire and the region, and which led to slavery being gradually but

progressively undermined."

The Amazon in this period had an average population of 1,500 captives. Little when compared to other areas of the Empire, but an amount [sic] no less relevant. Male and female slaves, cafuzos, mulattoes, Indians and whites in a rigidly hierarchical society, with well-established social categories. And among the conditions that determined the social category, the possession of freedom was essential. (NETO, 2011, p.4)

It is important to emphasize that during the abolitionist onslaught in Brazil, female participation occurred in a remarkable way through various mixed movements and associations, as well as those composed exclusively of women. Leonor Porto's participation in the abolitionist struggle stands out, as she worked as a seamstress and milliner in Recife. Her involvement with the abolitionist cause made it possible to participate in several groups of the same interest, such as, for example, the mixed emancipatory association Clube do Cupim. (SCHUMAHER, 2000, p.323)

At the time, it was a secret society that manumitted, defended and protected enslaved people, also comprising Joaquim Nabuco, Tomás Espiúca, Alfredo Pinto, Numa Pompílio, João Ramos, Gomes de Matos and Manuel Joaquim Pessoa. One of the actions of the prominent members was to send slaves to Ceará by barge, as slavery had already been abolished there. (MOURA, 2004, p. 101) The members of the group worked organizing the comings and goings of enslaved people who longed for the long-awaited freedom, taking them to safe destinations, such as some places in the Northeast.

According to Vainsencher (2009, p.2) other women were in the abolitionist struggle, such as Maria Amélia de Queiroz, who gave several public lectures in which she propagated and defended abolition. In addition to Clube do Cupim, Leonor Porto presided over another

association in Recife, only this time made up of women: Ave Libertas. Inês Sabino, born in Bahia and later living in Recife, was part of it, which portrayed the issue of the invisibility of women in Brazilian society through the book: Mulheres Ilustres do Brasil in 1889. In addition to editing poetry books, Inês Sabino also contributed to the press: Gazeta de Notícias, O País, O tempo, Gazeta da tarde, Jornal do Brasil and some women's magazines like: "A Mensageira" (1857-1890), Eco das Damas (1879-80) and 'A Família" (1888-1889). He saw in public education the possibility of improving the lives of the underprivileged part of the population. Inês Sabino also achieved a journalistic career and defended the individual rights of the oppressed. (QUILAN, 1988, p.2)

In the midst of the abolitionist process, both Leonor Porto and Inês Sabino were women marked by the desire to break with the structures of their times, and after May 13, 1888, (time frame in which slavery was legally extinguished in the country), these women started the literacy process of the freedmen, and the teaching of manual work techniques, so that they could receive training and enter the job market. (VAINSENCHER, 2009, p.2)

The breaking of some social standards that were imposed on women were, according to Vainsencher (2009), an exercise of insertion in politics. In Manaus, elite women were major protagonists of the abolitionist movement in the province, mainly in 1884. There were also abolitionist clubs composed essentially of them, which resulted in the creation of some abolitionist periodicals, such as, for example, the "Abolicionista do Amazonas", created on May 4, 1884 and which brought to Amazonian society a desire for liberation, as illustrated by the news of the first edition:

Arising today in the light of advertising, this periodical dedicated exclusively to advertising the ideas it proposes to advocate, completely abstains from political or administrative issues that do not involve the same subject. It will be published once a week, on Sundays, or more often if need dictates. Completely unaware of the militant parties dedicated solely to the cause of the abolition of the servile element in this province. (Abolitionist of the Amazon, 1884, p.1)

The newspaper also highlighted the creation of the Lei Áurea, created under n.º 632, of April 24, 1884, which designated a fund of 300:000\$ réis destined to help the liberation of slaves in the province of Amazonas. (Abolitionist of the Amazon, 1884)

According to Menezes (2014, p. 2), women "were an essential part in the formation of an ideology and in the political routine at this turbulent moment in Brazilian history." The author also perceives that abolitionism represented the visibility of women in the political sphere. However, the significant participation of women was focused on essentially feminine environments and allows us to perceive that a good part of their performances occurred in a discreet and infiltrated way, present in the promotion of recitals, in the organization of balls, bazaars, auctions and even in the survey of cash donations to raise funds for the purchase of letters of manumission for enslaved people.

As Neto (2011, p. 75) points out, the manumission of slaves were legal instruments that enabled the possession of freedom, and through them "the change from the legal status of slave to the legal status of free was documented. The word comes from the Arabic (al hurriá) and means the state of the free man, freedom from captivity granted to the slave."

# MUSICAL ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY IN: "A REDENÇÃO DO AMAZONAS" ("THE REDEMPTION OF THE AMAZON")

The large-scale work A Redenção do

Amazonas (Figure 1) is located at the top of the stairs of the Public Library of the State of Amazonas. The painting is an allegorical composition with many female figures represented. The work has no date, however, according to Alexandre Eulálio (1983), it was used to celebrate the end of captivity in the province in 1886. Eulálio highlighted Aurélio de Figueiredo's choice to paint allegorical representations, within the scope of history painting. In the most recent catalog of the Pinacoteca do Estado do Amazonas, the technical data sheet of the work indicates the year 1888 (PINACOTECA, 2016).

One can see in Figueiredo's work, fourteen human, figures represented in a narrative that intersperses allegories and everyday characters, in trades or different functions. On the left side of the painting, there is a kind of castled fort in ruins (a probable allusion to the Fort of São José da Barra do Rio Negro), which contains the five-cornered coat of arms of Portugal, with a clear reference to the colonial past. From this fort, comes the figure of a black man next to an indigenous woman holding a red macaw in her fingers, probably to highlight the exotic aspects of the Amazon region. Interestingly, the macaw holds a bunch of leaves, like a laurel wreath that will be placed on the head of the black man, in allusion to the acclamation of the freedom of the captives in the Amazon. With the same sense of acclamation, there is a laurel wreath on the flag that the black man holds with the inscription: "Redemption" (Figure 2).

In this case, it symbolizes the victory achieved, the glory of freedom in 1884 by the captives, since the character is represented with the shackles of his feet broken. Born in the northeast, the artist included a cactus typical of the sertaneja regions, the mandacaru, in the composition. According to beliefs in the region, when the mandacaru flower is a sign that rain is coming to the sertão. The presence

of the mandacaru is a probable reference to the total abolition of slavery in Ceará on March 25, 1884.

An egret is next to the indigenous female Figure, who is represented wearing a stylized white fabric skirt with pink feathers and feather adornments and a headdress. It is noted that the indigenous woman was represented in an idealized way, as she is much taller than the black man, since the two characters step on the same step. The black man has his shirt sleeve and pants rolled up, showing his bare chest. Both characters are barefoot. Both the black man and the indigenous woman make a gesture with their hands towards the opposite quadrant of the painting. The indigenous woman looks at the black man, and he looks over the center of the composition, towards the representation of the allegories of the arts and the classic architectural elements.

In the center of the composition (Figure 3), a male character can be seen among products such as fine fabrics, jewelry, fruits from different regions, metals, porcelain and chinoiserie vases, tapestries, metal tableware, sugar cane, among others, as a possible reference to the economy and trade. This male character represents a trader dressed simply (ordinary clothes, shirt with cuffs turned up to the elbows, pants and undershirt) appears next to a female Figure who offers him a fruit.

It is noticed that this female figure refers to the characteristics of the allegory of abundance. She is dressed in clothes that allude to the iconography of classical antiquity, light fabric in shades of green with a leather belt, where a knife with a curved blade hangs. She has long red hair and a crown of blue flowers. The box next to the merchant has incomplete inscriptions: AMAZO[...] and M [...] indicating that it is the name Amazonas and the initial letter of Manaus. The vessels represented in the background, both with sails and steam, allude to the port, the economy and



Figure 1: Francisco Aurélio de Figueiredo. *A Redenção do Amazonas*. Oil on canvas 665cm x 365cm. c.1888, Public Library of the Amazon. Image credit: Secretary of Culture and Creative Economy of the State of Amazonas.

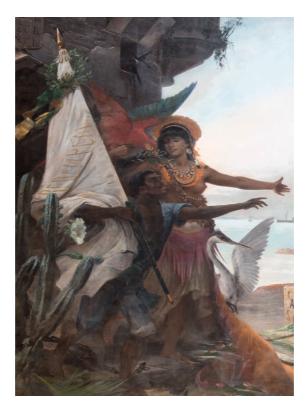


Figure 2: Francisco Aurélio de Figueiredo. *A Redenção do Amazonas*. Oil on canvas, 665cm x 365cm, c.1888. Amazon Public Library (detailed picture). Image credit: Secretary of Culture and Creative Economy of the State of Amazonas.



Figure 3: Francisco Aurélio de Figueiredo. *A Redenção do Amazonas*. Oil on canvas, 665x365cm. c.1888. Amazon Public Library (detail). Image credit: Secretary of Culture and Creative Economy of the State of Amazonas.



Figure 4: Francisco Aurélio de Figueiredo. *A Redenção do Amazonas*. Oil on canvas, 665x365cm. c.1888. Amazon Public Library. (detailed picture). Image credit: Secretary of Culture and Creative Economy of the State of Amazonas.

the offering of wealth, in addition to recalling the way in which slaves arrived in the region.

From left to right of the painting, there is a young woman sewing and next to her is a half-naked female figure with a small hammer, representing the allegory of the sculpture (Figure 4).

The portrayed bust carries a kind of Phrygian cap on its head, a symbol associated with freedom in the French republic. Over the bust that looks at us is placed a strip of scripture: *Ave Libertas*, that recalls the political yearnings of the republican ideals that circulated in Brazil. The banner can also allude to female participation in abolition with the Ave Libertas association, led by Leonor Porto. Maybe that's why the sculpture is represented next to a woman who sews or embroiders, and who refers to the muse Clio, who weaves the story. The painting follows a non-static epic narrative, which is heading towards the apex.

Below Clio, a Greek vase with a painted female figure can be seen. Behind these allegorical characters, there are two columns in pink marble. On the right side, other elements of architecture typical of classical temples can be seen, and the floor covered with flowers, as offerings to the altar of glorification of the Arts, a theme frequently used in painting of European tradition in Europe in the allegorical representations of the 19th century.

In addition to these characters, other allegories of classical mythology are identified, such as Painting, Poetry, Music and Tragedy (theatre). In the upper quadrant, the muse of poetry appears fully illuminated, with laurel leaves on her head, where a star rests in the center that shines intensely, her gaze turns to the sky and one can notice the mixture of characteristics between the allegory of Glory, and the muse of lyric poetry, Calliope. Behind, a crimson curtain can be seen between the column and the adjoining columns, evoking

the theatricality of the scene and the entrance door of the temple (Figure 5).

Beside the allegory of the sculpture, the muse of the tragedy can be seen, dressed in blue, with a darker mantle, wearing Roman sandals and holding a dagger in her own direction. The face is tense and his dramatic gesture includes his left hand on his chest and a leg a little ahead, as a counterweight and movement. The dagger facing inwards symbolizes collected strength and the hand on the chest, love for the country. Her gaze is directed away from the scene. She is wearing a tiara with a five-pointed star, a bracelet and a golden belt, has dark and long hair. It is possible that Aurélio de Figueiredo represented, through the composition of the allegory of the Tragedy, a corresponding mention of the allegory of the Republic.

Right behind it is the allegory of Music, which plays a modern harp, from the 19th century. It is in a less lit space and has a serious expression. She is not adorned with props, she just plays the harp. Its simplicity refers to the symbology of the harp and the lyre, as cosmic harmony and conciliation between heaven and earth, between natural and spiritual forces. The presence of the harp is documented since 3000 BC, in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Ignored by Greek and Roman civilizations, which preferred the lyre and zither, the harp was reintroduced to Europe through Celtic culture. It was probably disseminated by Irish and English troubadours during the Middle Ages. During the Renaissance, it was used at parties and banquets, accompanying singing and dancing.

Vincenzo Galilei wrote in 1581 of the 58-stringed harp mounted in parallel rows, one for diatonic sounds, one for chromatic sounds, to exemplify the new tonal music. During the 17th century, the instrument was often used in basso continuo practice. Monteverdi inserted a harp solo in his work:



Figure 5: Francisco Aurélio de Figueiredo. *A Redenção do Amazonas*. Oil on canvas, 665x365cm. c.1888. Amazon Public Library. (detail). Image credit: Secretary of Culture and Creative Economy of the State of Amazonas.

La favola d'Orfeo (1607), at the time of the singer's descent into Hades. At the end of the 18th century, the harp was equipped with a mechanism capable of modifying the tone of the strings and later, this mechanism was connected to a pedal system, perfected around 1810 by Sebastien Erard. In modern examples, the number of strings ranges from 42 to 46 and each string can get three different sounds through the pedals. From the 17th century onwards, the harp was considered a gallant instrument, suitable for chamber performances. It was regularly inserted in the orchestra from Berlioz onwards and at the end of the 19th century, Wagner and Mahler sought to explore the instrument's timbre peculiarities (AUSONI, 2005). Attribute of the Greek god Apollo, in general, the harp is a symbol of music and poetry. It was attributed to the sound of the harp (or lyre), as in the myth of Orpheus, magical effects used to tame wild animals. The playing of the harp often appears in the Bible, as an expression of grace and praise to God. (LEXICON, 1997). The music in the context of the composition symbolizes harmony and celebrates freedom.

Next to the allegory of Music is a metalsupported crater with smoking incense right at the entrance to the temple, emphasizing the idea of worshiping the Arts. In the same plane as the Muse of Music, a female figure in classic clothes is standing, holding a canvas and watching another female figure, with more refined clothes, painting. The standing figure holds a compass, one of the attributes of architecture. On the canvas, you can see a painting of a female figure wielding a torch, in an attitude of victory. These are the allegories of Architecture and Painting. The clothes of the allegory of Painting are rich, with fabrics superimposed with a veil, a lace collar, a pearl necklace, golden hoop earrings, a golden and pearl bracelet, and a wreath of flowers on the head. There is a contrast between the clothes

of the allegory of Architecture and Painting, the first more austere and the second more ornate.

The last group brings together the figure of an elderly bearded man and a working woman exercising a function in the typography, and which possibly represents female participation in the Brazilian press at the time of abolition. Other symbolic elements are represented in this group: books, newspapers, the globe, the press. The terrestrial globe is a symbol of knowledge in medieval universities, and the old man who holds the book represents time and wisdom. Next to the old man's table, a screen is leaning, and in front of it, a printing press handled by the young woman worker, who receives loose sheets from the old man's hands. On top of the newspapers, a naked girl holds the Scientific Bulletin, bringing the good news of abolition and the hope of a new era of freedom.

The presence of essentially female crafts depicted on canvas reminds us that in the 19th century, abolitionism and women were intertwined to some extent. In the painting it is also possible to perceive the image of a child who symbolically can represent structures of the social psyche of a new moment that was approaching in the society of the 19th century, that is, the post-abolition of slavery and the Republic still in its infancy.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the speech given by the artist during one of his stays in Manaus and subsequently published in full in the Jornal do Commercio (1907), one can see the manifestation of his political and artistic conceptions, such as the desire that the governments, at the time, become aware of the importance of the arts and their teaching for the emancipation of the country:

[...] our governments, both Federal and State, fully understand that it is time to present

ourselves to the eyes of the modern world no longer as an exotic and incomprehensible country, selfishly deposited with fabulous riches locked and locked under 7 keys, but as a people who are cultured and confidently orientated towards their grandiose destinies, and who know perfectly well that those much-vaunted treasures that for so many centuries we have usuriously buried in the basement of the Fatherland, or hidden in the heart of our endless forests, or still immersed in the deep bed of our mighty rivers, as they did, in fact, throughout the long and poorly lit (not to say black) period of the pretentious and improvident monarchy... if Science, hand in hand, did not come to meet them, as a safe and essential roadmap for the discovery of those more suspected than known treasures, Industry, for their exploitation and maximum appreciation, and finally Art, as a supreme yearning and supreme effort of intelligence in the eagerness to metamorphose these same treasures into perennial sources of well-being and spiritual ecstasies, since it is in the moments of aesthetic enjoyment that the contemplation of the productions of artistic genius affords it, that the spirit finds necessary comfort, the indispensable refreshment to continue on the endless journey that was imposed on him by the law of the evolution of human progress.( Jornal do Commercio, 1907, p.2)

One can see in Figueiredo's speech the desire that the country could be seen not as an exotic and uncivilized place, but guided by science to manage its treasures and with the appreciation of art and its teaching, so that it could achieve progress, in a yearning republican. The arts would bring true freedom to citizens.

In the work: A Redenção do Amazonas, the representation of various female figures evokes other faces of the abolitionist movement. One of them results in the active participation of women in abolitionist associations. Aurélio de Figueiredo sought to portray not only the process of freeing the slaves, but also sought to

highlight socially reduced figures at that time, such as blacks, indigenous people, women and children.

In the narrative created by the artist in his allegorical painting, there is an overlapping of groups of figures, where the real and mythological planes are present without necessarily dialoguing with each other. The allegories of the arts are presented in a mystical atmosphere, but they are absorbed in the actions themselves, as they do not observe the scene of the devotees. The arts would still need to be achieved by the freedmen, for full independence.

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