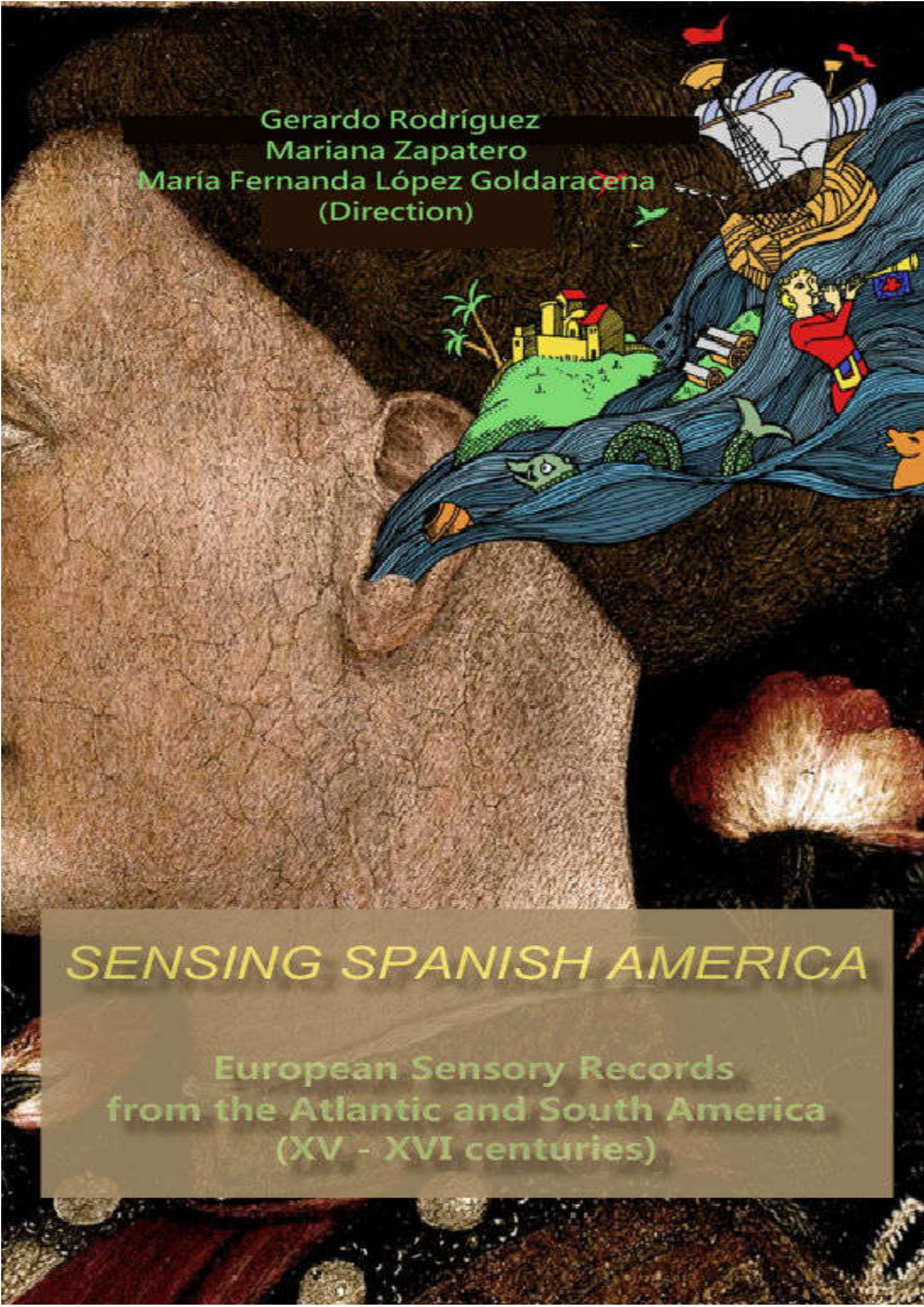




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(Direction)

SENSING SPANISH AMERICA

European Sensory Records
from the Atlantic and South America
(XV - XVI centuries)

Sensing Spanish America. European Sensory Records
from the Atlantic and South America

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*to Miguel Ángel De Marco and Nilda Guglielmi for promoting these meetings between
researchers from both sides of the Atlantic for years.*

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Historiography of the Sound Approach in *Sensing Spanish America*: State of the Art and Perspectives¹

María Fernanda López Goldaracena

Instituto Superior del Profesorado Sagrado Corazón

"Now I would like to talk about sounds.

The world is full of sounds.

I cannot talk about all of them.

I will talk about sounds that matter".

R. Murray Schafer

Theoretical and historiographic anchor and objectives of Sensing Spanish America Group

The theme of the auditory has been addressed by multiple disciplines and academic cross-links throughout the last years. Such approximations require the exploration of diverse areas of sound, where space-time and nature-culture intersect to configure meaning amalgams.

From the soundscape category² and the contributions of the anthropology of the senses,³ the challenge of **Sensing Spanish America Group** consisted in deciphering that multiplicity and *disturbing strangeness*⁴ that came from the encounter with the other from the sensory plane, with special emphasis on the auditory.

In this way, the project's members have performed their analysis with the new methodological resources and the paradigms that historiography has consecrated in recent times, without neglecting those that supported the writing of classical studies, and that continue to provide intelligibility to the historical research.

¹ *Sensing Spanish America. European Sensory Records from the Atlantic and South America (XV - XVI centuries).*

² Raymond Murray Schafer, *El nuevo paisaje sonoro. Un manual para el maestro de música moderno* (Buenos Aires: Ricordi, 1969). The concept of soundscape was created by Raymond Murray Schafer, Canadian composer and researcher, to refer to the study of nature and environment circumscribed to a specific space and time involving the study of all the sounds produced by the natural environment, animals and man, in an intrinsic relationship between the latter and its cultural context.

³ David Le Breton, *El sabor del mundo. Una antropología de los sentidos* (Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 2007).

⁴ Sigmund Freud, *Obras completas*, vol. XVII, (Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores, 1976), 220. For an analysis of "heimlich/ unheimlich" see Julia Kristeva, "Freud: 'heimlich/unheimlich' la inquietante extrañeza," in *Debate feminista* 7, vol.13, (1996), 353–361.

Among the historiographical persistencies of the writings of the **Group**, the use of the biography is always present as a retaken and renewed gender, with the continuous interrelation between text and context, professionalization, influence of generations in the evolution of writing history, the disciplinary debate, the validity of written contributions born in different reception contexts and the use of comparative history. Among the novelties that have acquired historiographical relevance in the last years there are the notions of experience, itinerary of a life, historical actor, stabilization between ruptures and permanencies, transitional smoothness between periods, representation, relational networks and circulation, among others.⁵

Within the broad universe that involves the history of the senses, the consideration of the strictly auditory leads us to observe its impact on social construction and cultural identity of societies, how listening has been perceived, thought and narrated and, consequently, in what way the historical actors have built their present from the sound experiences since "the senses are not universal or transhistorical, and can only be understood in their specific social and historical contexts".⁶

In our country, from this theoretical perspective, we find as pioneers the international research projects and interdisciplinary programs promoted by the Grupo de Investigación y Estudios Medievales of the Centro de Estudios Históricos Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, devoted to the identification of medieval soundscapes from written sources.⁷

⁵ Jaume Aurell, *La escritura de la memoria, De los positivismos a los postmodernismos* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2005). Georg G. Iggers, *La historiografía del siglo XX. Desde la objetividad científica al desafío posmoderno* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2012). Jaume Aurell et al., *Comprender el pasado. Una historia de la escritura y el pensamiento histórico* (Madrid: Akal, 2013), 439-448. For the notions of experience and identity, see Dominick LaCapra, *Historia en tránsito. Experiencia, identidad, teoría crítica* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006), 57-103.

⁶ Cf. Mark M. Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 3.

⁷ In the framework of this founding proposal we find:

— Research project "Paisajes sonoros medievales" settled in the Grupo de Investigación y Estudios Medievales (GIEM) at the Centro de Estudios Históricos, Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata (Argentina), from January 1, 2017 to December 31, 2018. Subsidy HUM 558/17. Code of Incentive 15/F619. Director: Gerardo Rodríguez. Co-director Éric Palazzo (University of Poitiers).

— Research project "Paisajes sensoriales, sonidos y silencios de la Edad Media (II)" settled in the Grupo de Investigación y Estudios Medievales (GIEM), Departamento de Historia, Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, from January 1, 2015 to December 31, 2016. Subsidy HUM 478/15. Code of Incentive 15/F538. Director: Gerardo Rodríguez.

— Research Project "Paisajes sensoriales, sonidos y silencios de la Edad Media," settled in the Grupo de Investigación y Estudios Medievales (GIEM), Departamento de Historia, Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, OCA N°241/13, from January 1, 2013 to December 31, 2014. Subsidy HUM 396/13. Code of Incentive 15/ F456. Director: Gerardo Rodríguez.

The correlate of these projects was the appearance of *Formas de abordaje del pasado medieval; Paisajes sensoriales, sonidos y silencios de la Edad Media; y Abordajes sensoriales del Mundo Medieval*⁸ innovative texts, not only for the themes, but for being the first of this new branch of history in Argentina, where they met worldviews,⁹ times and spaces within a given history.¹⁰

In the work that brings us together today, the authors have proposed to recognize and interpret, from various documentary sources, the horizons of sound in the overlapping of the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries in the Latin America, including within the soundscape the multiplicity of their perspectives, with the exception of the musical one.¹¹

The proposal has three central aspects: the first two, which we present imbricated, are the History of Senses and Cultural History, from which the historians has elaborated its analyses starting from the consideration of the senses as transmitters of culture, values, social codes and experiences, circumscribed to concrete space-time coordinates. The third is the anchor in the new-stamp Global History, a fact that frames it in the historiographical renovation, knowing in advance that:

Global history is certainly not the only game in town, nor is it fundamentally superior as an approach. It is one approach among many, and it is better suited to addressing some questions and issues and less appropriate for addressing others. Its core concerns are with mobility and exchange, with processes that transcend borders and boundaries. It takes the interconnected world as its point of departure, and the circulation and exchange of things, people, ideas, and institutions arte among its key subjects.¹²

⁸ Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt (comp.) *Formas de abordaje del pasado medieval*, Mar del Plata, Grupo de Investigación y Estudios Medievales (GIEM), Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 2015, 232.

E-Book. ISBN N°978-987-544-650-2. Available in www.giemmardelplata.org/publicaciones. Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt (dir.), *Paisajes sensoriales, sonidos y silencios de la Edad Media*, Mar del Plata, Grupo de Investigación y Estudios Medievales - Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 2016, 400 pp. ISBN N° 978-987-544-733-2. Available in www.giemmardelplata.org/publicaciones. Gerardo Rodríguez y Gisela Coronado Schwindt (dirs.), *Abordajes sensoriales del mundo medieval*, 1st ed., Mar del Plata, Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, Facultad de Humanidades, GIEM, 2017. ISBN 978-987-544-781-3.

⁹ According to the *Weltanschauung* category developed by Wilhelm Dilthey. To deepen its gestation and application to historical sciences, see Wilhelm Dilthey, *Introducción a las ciencias del espíritu* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1949), 29-32.

¹⁰ François Hartog, *Regímenes de historicidad. Presentismo y experiencias del tiempo* (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2007). François Hartog, "El historiador en un mundo presentista," in Fernando Devoto (eds.), *Historiadores, ensayistas y gran público: la historiografía argentina, 1990-2010* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2010), 15-27. For an analysis of the term in Heidegger and its impact in the historiography, see Paul Ricoeur, *La memoria, la historia, el olvido* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004), 476-494.

¹¹ The soundscape to study was, in this way, limited to non-musical sound perceptions.

¹² Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 5. *Historia global. Una nueva visión para el mundo actual* (Spanish Edition) (Madrid: Crítica, 2017)

The global dimension is "read" in *Sensing Spanish America. European Sensory Records from the Atlantic and South America (XV - XVI centuries)* not only from the methodological approach of the source, but also from two central places for historiography: the periodization and the scholar apparatus.

Periodization: conjuncture and globality in historical interpretation

The establishment of cuts and continuities in a periodization, distinguishing stages and regularities immersed within a process, is not an easy task, whatever character it was (liberal, functionalist, marxist, structuralist, etc.).¹³

In this sense the Braudelien scheme, which has enjoyed stellar moments since the mid-twentieth century, has had recent reconsiderations at the beginning of the 21st century:¹⁴ the effectiveness of the *Longue Durée* for the middle age or the European modernity thus accredits it. Looking at history with a long-term outlook, it has also brought softness to transitions, manifested in the *late middle ages* and *early modernity* designations used by the members of **Sensing Spanish America Group**.¹⁵

Changes or breaks resulting from social, economic, technological, cultural and historiographic processes have been midwives of diverse periodizations.¹⁶ We can observe in this work, in line with this concept, the idea of a mutation between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, filial to the sensory as a cultural fact.

The space also represents a central coordinate for any periodization exercise that pretends having historiographical legitimacy. Sustaining equanimity between the caesuras and the continuities without stressing some to the detriment of the others, highlighting the cuts or persistence without losing sight of space and without forcing sources, is a historiographic challenge, successfully confronted by the authors of *Sensing Spanish America*.

¹³ Jacques Le Goff, *Una larga Edad Media* (Barcelona: Paidós, 2008), 11-14. In this sense, Le Goff expresses that the Middle Ages / Renaissance break is a distraction from many other existing Renaissances, such as those of the 8th, 9th, 12th and 18th centuries, to affirm something controversial: that the revolution of 1789 is a typical medieval phenomenon, considered in the harmony of the long duration.

¹⁴ It has also suffered criticism, such as the lack of usefulness of the scheme when temporality levels are impossible to disaggregate in the sources.

¹⁵ Jacques Le Goff, *¿Realmente es necesario cortar la historia en rebanadas?* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016), 27.

¹⁶ As a novel example of the latter, we want to highlight the work, *Comprender el pasado. Una historia de la escritura y el pensamiento histórico* in which periodization strictly obeys the narrative criteria employed by historians over time, with the exceptions of two geographical considerations (China and Latin America) and one religious (Islam). Aurell et al., *Comprender el pasado*, 487-493.

The final result of a comprehensive periodization should attempt (as much as possible) to establish the cuts trying to reconcile the moment of political, social, economic, ideological and cultural changes in a global perspective.¹⁷

At this point it is necessary to distinguish the globalization of a Global History defined by communication and linking,¹⁸ from the standardization of a Universal History whose axes were fusion and absorption.¹⁹

The fact of periodizing from our temporal and spatial place, within the sphere of a Global History that today marks the historiographic agenda, constitutes a bet on the search for consensus and acceptance of differences; trying to make these works visible in different intellectual areas,²⁰ promotes the challenge of rethinking (ourselves) under a globalized perspective through putting into play objects and methodologies of novel study.

The scholarly apparatus in *Sensing Spanish America*: a global and interdisciplinary bet

It should be noted, in relation to the scholar and consultation apparatus used by the **Sensing Spanish America Group**, its double character: global in terms of nationalities and interdisciplinary with respect to approaches. Within the general theoretical framework, there are some unavoidable names in correlation to the sensorial, auditory, anthropological, cultural and global history: the American historian Mark M. Smith, specialist in history of the senses; the Canadian composer Raymond Murray Schafer, creator of the soundscape concept; the French anthropologist David Le Breton; annalist historian of culture: the French Roger Chartier; and the German Sebastian Conrad, referring to the studies of global history today.

¹⁷ Magnus Mörner, "La problemática de la periodización de la historia latinoamericana de los siglos XVIII-XX," *Anuario del IEHS. Revista del Instituto de Estudios Histórico Sociales "Prof. Juan Carlos Grosso,"* T. VII, (1992), 35-36,

<http://anuarioiehs.unicen.edu.ar/Files/1992/La%20problem%C3%A1tica%20de%20la%20periodizaci%C3%B3n%20de%20la%20historia%20latinoamericana%20de%20los%20siglos%20XVIII-XX.pdf>

(accessed September 6, 2019).

¹⁸ María Gabriela Rebok, "Propuesta de una antropología desde la vincularidad," *Actas III Congreso Nacional de Filosofía*, T. II, (198), 47-58.

¹⁹ Le Goff, *¿Realmente es necesario cortar la historia en rebanadas?*, 96-98. To deepen on the idea of a universal history, see Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lecciones sobre la filosofía de la Historia Universal* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999).

¹⁹ At all levels of study, in addition to the strictly academic.

The specialized reader will continue to find that global and interdisciplinary plus in prestigious historians, such as the Spaniards Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, Hilario Casado Alonso, Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, José Luis Comellas, David González Cruz and Saúl Martínez Bermejo; Argentines such as Nilda Guglielmi, Ana María Rivero Medina, Susana Bianchi, Noemí Goldman and José Emilio Burucúa; the Portuguese Amélia Polónia and Maria da Graça Mateus Ventura; the French Serge Gruzinski, Jacques Le Goff, Jérôme Baschet, Eric Palazzo, Philippe Poirrier and Guy Saupin; the Mexican Guillermo Turner; the Senegalese Idrissa Bâ; the American Richard Kagan; the Portuguese Pedro Cardim; the Indian Sanjay Subrahmanyam; Richard Konetzke, great diffuser of Latin American history in Germany and known in Argentina through the publication of the volume *La época colonial*, by Siglo XXI publishing house; and the Peruvian Teodoro Hampe Martínez, among others.

Specialists in literature like the Chilean Stefanie Massmann; the Peruvian Marcel Velázquez Castro and the British Alan Deyermond; the scholars Eleazar Meletinski and Tzvetan Todorov, Russian and Bulgarian respectively; the musicians and essayists such as the Brazilian José Miguel Wisnik and the French Michel Chion; the Italian architect Margherita Costanza Salvini; the Chinese Jian Ge and the Japanese civil engineering expert, Kazunori Hokao; the ethnologist Dutch Herman Roodenburg; philologists like the Spaniards Ángel Poncela González, Juan Gil and Simón Valcárcel Martínez; the Costa Rican Jorge Chen Sham; the American Walter Ong or the Swiss Kurt Baldinger, are just some of the nationalities and disciplines that have interlaced the plot of written sounds, in a true oxymoron that makes up this confluence called **Sensing Spanish America Group**.

The historiography of *Sensing Spanish America*

What did those who arrive in America hear? In what way did they internalize it? And the silences? What records have reached us? How can we restore their specificities? To what communication languages gave rise? What codes began to be put into play? How was the network of meanings from the dialectic of otherness,²¹ in the dawn of the *First Global*

²¹ The encounter with the other, assumed as otherness, is the shaper of the identity. The notion of identity when deployed in the story becomes a narrative identity and presents a surprising derivation, taken from the hand of the "self". Following the line of analysis of Paul Ricoeur we can situate ourselves from the problematic of the identity considered from the notion of "itself" (in German: Selbst, Selbstheit, in English: Self, Selfhood). However, we are faced with the disadvantage that "identical" has two meanings, corresponding respectively to the Latin terms *idem* and *ipse*. According to the first sense (*idem*), "identical" means very similar and, therefore, immutable, which does not change over time. According to the second

Age? The texts have offered us many of the answers and have left the possibility of future approaches.

The ear is the depository of the other's word, a significant otherness referring to those two cultures that met, clashed, distinguished, fused and expressed; it is also the continent of sounds, noises and silences which inhabited this Atlantic space located for its temporary treatment, between the 15th and 16th centuries.²²

The authors have detected and analyzed in the primary sources a series of study objects and manifestations such as natural and sound atmosphere, artifacts, cultural environment, everyday objects, representations, anthropological bias, historical actors, witnesses and confronting testimonies, squeezing "the very last drop" of the sources as wanted by the Argentine historian Tulio Halperín Donghi.²³

We will pose, in this way, the historiographical look on each of the texts.

Gerardo Rodríguez presents us in "Christopher Columbus and the Beginnings of the Sensory Conquest of America" the logbook written by the navigator and summarized by Bartolomé de las Casas, in his *Historia general de las Indias*. The source is considered from a permanent going and return between text / context, where the author traces the itinerary covered by the logbook to conform the version with the one we have today.

The proposal involves the challenge of a differentiated study in relation to those carried out up to the present: a sensory reading of the source. In his work, Rodríguez applies what Koselleck demanded in order to establish the *space of experience* to later envision the *horizon of expectations* since "there is no history which could be constituted independently of the experiences and expectations of active human agents. With this,

sense (*ipse*), "identical" means self and its opposite is not "different", but another, strange. Thus, identity throws the self into an auspicious and enriching encounter with the other, playing a central role in the constitution of sociability and conformation of identity. The *idem* is found in relation to what is immutable in the human being, while the ipseity refers to the temporality and changing core of the experience of man. To deepen on the relationship between otherness, identity and narration, see Paul Ricoeur, *Historia y Narratividad* (Barcelona: Paidós, 1999).

²² Prior to the work that is presented today, members of the group addressed sensory issues in other authors, especially in Fray Diego de Ocaña, which allowed to point out how the Guadalupe sensory tradition impacted the American continent. "La Guadalupe cruza el Atlántico. Devoción mariana, herencia hispánica y experiencia americana, siglos XV a XVII," Manuel-Reyes García Hurtado and Ofelia Rey Castelao (eds.), *Fronteras de agua. Las ciudades portuarias y su universo cultural (siglos XIV-XXI)* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, with the collaboration of Universidade da Coruña, 2016), 77-90. "El universo sonoro y auditivo de la Comedia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe y sus Milagros de fray Diego de Ocaña," Nilda Guglielmi and Gerardo Rodríguez (dirs.), *EuropAmérica: circulación y transferencias culturales* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 2016), 80-94. E Book. ISBN No. 978- 987- 42 -1660- 1.

²³ To deepen the analysis, see Fernando J. Devoto, "El siglo XIX de Tulio Halperin Donghi. En torno de Revolución y guerra," in *Prismas* vol.15 no.2, Bernal City, Argentina, July/December 2011. <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=387036813005> (accessed June 9, 2019).

however, nothing is yet said about a given concrete past, present, or future history".²⁴ In this way, the author makes a detailed description of the works to which Columbus had access, those which modeled his project in order to reach "a good port". In this detailed account, he includes various data traversed by a new category that will see the light in medieval times, located, according to Jacques Le Goff,²⁵ between the miraculous and the magic: the marvelous, embodied in lands and kingdoms imagined beyond the fantasy of any mortal.

We also notice continuities and caesuras in the text. With respect to the former, the use of the *late medieval* and *early modern* categories for periodization of the time, smoothes the transit between two ages once separated by a sharp break. This smoothness in the transition is what allows us to think together about the persistencies and ruptures, enabling an explanatory coexistence of the myth of the Pillars of Heracles in parallel with the notion owed to Aznar Vallejo of *Atlantic civilization*, allusive to the deployment of an expanded modernity.²⁶ There are also cohabiting in "Christopher Columbus...", the change of scale of observation of the world and, at the same time, the persistence of mentalities,²⁷ *those prisons of the long duration* that Braudel would outline in one of his early writings.²⁸

The idea of mutation between the medieval and the modern world has a decisive aggregate and comes not only from considerations based on the classic causes of the historiographic periodization for the period. The temporary watershed is visible from the new sensory hierarchies, since a new way of conceiving the world will emerge from the

²⁴ Koselleck explains that these categories of *space of experience* and *horizon of expectations* are not explicit in a source such as concepts already defined, such as peasantry, nation, town, or any other notion that points directly to historical events or processes. In comparison, they are only formal categories: what has been experienced and what is expected respectively, cannot be deduced from them. "The formal prospect of deciphering history in its generality by means of this polarity can only intend the outlining and establishment of the conditions of possible histories, and not this history itself". Despite this, history has been nourished by the experiences and the hopes of all human beings. Cf. Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures past: on the semantics of historical time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 256. To deepen the analysis of these categories, see Ricoeur, *La memoria, la historia, el olvido*, 387-399.

²⁵ Le Goff, *Una larga Edad Media*, 18. To deepen, see Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt (eds.), *Diccionario razonado del Occidente Medieval* (Madrid: Akal, 2003), 468-479.

²⁶ Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, "Exploración y colonización en la configuración de la Europa atlántica," in *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, Nº 35 (2008), 45-61.

²⁷ To deepen on the notion of mentality, of great influence in the historiography of the 20th century, see Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora (comp.), *Hacer la Historia* (Barcelona: Laia, 1980). Peter Burke, *La revolución historiográfica francesa. La Escuela de los Annales: 1929-1989* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1999). Jacques Revel, *Un momento historiográfico. Trece ensayos de Historia Social* (Buenos Aires: Manantial, 2005).

²⁸ Fernand Braudel, "Historia y Ciencias Sociales," in *Annales E.S.C.*, oct./dec. (1958), "Debats et Combats," 725-753. Cf. Fernand Braudel, *La Historia y las Ciencias Sociales* (Madrid: Alianza, 1990), 71.

senses, with the return to that Greco-Roman heritage of humanistic stamp. The result: a novel mixture between the nearby medieval heritage and the new times.

To address these continuities and breaks, the author uses the category of *inter-sensoriality*, provided by Mark Smith,²⁹ which has served as a trigger for the development of the **Group's** first works in Argentina,³⁰ on the theme of the sensory. It also uses the notion of scale as a magnitude of observation of a novel macrocosm. Gerardo Rodríguez emphasizes the need for sensory studies for the Middle Ages and the early Modernity: its lack and the revolutionary changes resulting from these perceptions, demonstrate the importance of continuing the *sensory conquest of America*, as a work proposal.

The Cultural History of Roger Chartier³¹ is the theoretical framework to interpret those representations that "generate multiple cultural practices, among which it is possible to find and distinguish those in the sensory field".³² The source is also addressed using the categories of experience, sensory marks, worldview, otherness, the macro-micro tandem, and the *adaequatio* to the known from the descriptive, integration and explanatory logics formulated by Idrissa Bâ.³³

Finally we highlight the textual corpus, present both in the text and in bibliographical citations, in reference to the treatment to which the sensory was subjected from different records and that accounts for the relevance which this line of research has acquired in the past twenty-five years, to confirm us once again, the importance of advancing along this novel path.

A nature discovered and undiscovered, a new world to shape through hearing and speech. Gisela Coronado Schwindt, in "Perceiving the New World through the senses: Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1492 and 1536)" proposes an approach to the period of American exploration and conquest under the spectrum of new analytical frameworks provided by the so-called Sensory Turn of the Social Sciences.

²⁹ Smith, *Sensing the Past*, 117-123.

³⁰ Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt, "La intersensorialidad en el Waltharius," in *Cuadernos Medievales* 23, (2017), 31-48.

³¹ Roger Chartier, *El mundo como representación. Historia Cultural: entre práctica y representación* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1992). To appreciate the impact of the Cultural History, see Justo Serna y Anacleto Pons, *La historia cultural. Autores, obras, lugares* (Madrid: Akal, 2013).

³² Gerardo Rodríguez elaborates an interpretation of the senses in the key of Cultural History when he affirms: "I interpret the senses as representations, that is to say, as intellectual schemes integrated, constructed and sustained by the interests of a particular group, which supposes tensions and conflicts between the different social actors".

³³ Idrissa Bâ, "'Ahl Ghazal,' 'Naçara'...: images et perception des Portugais et des Espagnols par les traditionnistes maures (XVe siècle)," in Guy Saupin (dir.), *Africains et Européens dans le monde atlantique. XVe-XIXe siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014), 49-58.

Establishment of the theoretical and methodological framework of approach to the source, admission of the senses as generators of experiences and social and historical configurations within a cultural modeling dynamics of societies, observation of the experience of the historical actors that leave in their wake sound marks to detect: a whole universe of possibilities for the new historiography of the conquest and colonization of **America**.

The sieve through which geographic and ethnological descriptions of the natural environment come to us in the *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar océano* (1526-1535), are the cultural categories taken from the classic writings. The goal of Coronado Schwindt will consist in highlighting the need to explore, in a first instance, the sound marks that Fernández de Oviedo used to set up a soundscape of the new discovered territories, through the typing of different linguistic units that denote the Castilian cultural substrate.

The source³⁴ is presented as the product of the encounter between two strange cosmovisions, woven together to the heat of different cultural codes. The author locates Fernández de Oviedo temporarily and spatially, as well as a chronicler; she sketches a mixture between biography of classical and intellectual type to then narrate it from the alternating primary source / secondary source. The result: a man on horseback between two eras. The look (...and the ear) of the Spaniards is conditioned by a previous imaginary, rhythmized in the interweaving of time and culture.

Coronado Schwindt explains the theoretical and methodological framework from interdisciplinarity and concludes with the importance to include the senses as objects of study for the interpretation of a period; she also extends the notion of *experience* to *sensory experience*, to resignify the descriptions of Oviedo in his *Historia*...

The ear conveys the language, the gestural and the action, in where "experience-conflict-agreement" intervenes in the conformation of reality.

Coronado Schwindt tells us that "by exploring the ways in which sensory perception has historically been invested of cultural values, researchers can understand, in a complex way, the worldviews of the peoples from other eras", that is why their approach will be complex: context, discourse analysis, strategies, meaning effect, anthropological key,

³⁴ We are in the presence of a chronicle, as a documentary type defined by its historical-anthropological valuation (carrier of a *sui generis* narrative cadence).

representation, soundscape and the sensory mark category,³⁵ accompany the reading of the source.

There is a systematization of the analytical method in the work, which includes general criteria and specific classification guidelines in context, in order to identify the object of study. The analysis itself of the source starts from the sight and the ear considered as indivisible by Fernandez de Oviedo in his work.

The author makes us hear detached sounds, screams and cries. From the contributions of Jian Ge, Kazunori Hokao, David Le Breton, Walter Ong and Eleazar Meletinski, she develops an operative classification of sounds, noises and voices from sound marks between two times, configuring a true "test of the 'translocation of medieval man and how this is embodied in the new spirit of the time'."

On her part, Mariana Zapatero approaches the Pigafettean work from two planes: circumscribing in the first place, the perspectives of analysis on the historical process and second, continuing with the sensory study itself. From a global dimension, where the nature-culture link becomes clear, the author develops "four progressive historical axes: the overseas expansion, the transformation of space border, the conformation of the Atlantic civilization and, finally, the beginning of the First Global Age".³⁶

The main concepts of Atlantic civilization and First Global Age will be the containers of different explanatory concepts associated with the Transatlantic expansion. The relevance of travelers' stories is highlighted in "Antonio Pigafetta, reports about the *Primer Viaje alrededor del Globo (1519-1522)*", from the putting in context of the writing, in the overlapping of the end of the Middle Ages with the start of the first globalization of the world.

This categorization, developed among others by Casado Alonso in Spain, Wallerstein in the United States, Sebastian Conrad in Germany and Aldo Ferrer in Argentina (with the modulations of each historian), takes up again the notion of the *Longue Durée* at the beginning of this 21st century, as we see currently in historiography. Economy and cultural diffusion would be two of the consequences within the framework of this first modern globalization (daughter of a transmuted geography).³⁷

³⁵ Rodríguez and Coronado Schwindt, 31-48.

³⁶ For a vision of the phenomenon of globalization from a Latin American look, see Aldo Ferrer, *Historia de la Globalización I. Orígenes del Orden Económico Mundial* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2013).

³⁷ The shift of the Mare Nostrum Axis towards the Ocean, as a concept, implies not only the geographical expansion but the possibility of thinking from two mentalities that are juxtaposed, a medieval one that does not finish to go and a modern one that is opening its way.

The softness of the transition from the Late Middle Ages to an Early Modernity is anticipated by the names of periodization. The author applies the notion owed to Aznar Vallejo³⁸ to locate the context of expansion towards the Atlantic, in a globality that crosses spaces, social actors and discoveries. In parallel, the idea of mutation, present in other texts of the **Group**, appears here. The date or the specific event (the discovery of America) is just the tip of the iceberg to interpret the manifestations of the break between two epochs. This confluence of continuities and caesuras is central from the place of historical writing; within the last, the author highlights the geographical, economic and political ones.

Zapatero proposes the separation of biographical writings in historical and literary, offering the treatment and assessment that historiography recognizes during the last years to life studies.³⁹ In this case, the literary is associated with the travel story, with a clear informative and documentary component.

In the text a central theme is glimpsed for the Theory of History, such as truth / verisimilitude, witness / testimony, exposed during the textual confrontation towards the interior of the Pigafettean document⁴⁰ and the need to revisit the texts from a global perspective.

The joint works with other members of the **Group** stand out as precursors to this novel look that today calls them on the auditory sensory, since “these first trials served as a framework of historical-economic reference for the purposes of the objective of this project that is to distinguish, explain and understand the historical cultural meaning of the sensory experience described in this first trip around the world by Antonio Pigafetta”.

The same source provides the author with the rationale for a sensory approach where the pair sensation / perception emerges in the text, anchored in Cultural History.

The descriptive resource is associated with the concept of travel itinerary, which is still the traveler's route as a historical actor. The theoretical framework of the Anthropology

³⁸ Aznar Vallejo, 45-61.

³⁹ It is an unavoidable approach François Dosse's journey of biographical writing, from classical antiquity to the present day, nuanced with the peculiarities corresponding to different periods. In the work, he establishes a state of the editorial question limited to France, as well as a detailed study of the different "ages" through which this type of writing has passed. To deepen, see François Dosse, *La apuesta biográfica. Escribir una vida* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2007).

⁴⁰ ... since the "... heterogeneity of publications puts into question Pigafetta's writing, because of the style of his pen, because of his imprecisions or exaggerations, his devotion to Magallanes and his silence about Elcano". For the truth-verisimilitude-writing framework of history, see Michel de Certeau, *La escritura de la historia* (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1993), 101-118.

of the Senses and the so-called Cultural Turn in Social Sciences places the subjects (and also the spaces) in its historicity, to the rhythm of social and cultural logics.

The source has been crossed with the lens of the experiential, the representation, the intersensory, the circulation and social networks, watching the man from and between two times, which makes explicit the intention (proper to the autobiographical genre) of transcending his name.

In addition, there is a clear nod to history compared from the crossing between two registers, that of Pigafetta with that of Francisco de Albo: the comparison of testimonies, the "I was there" of two different historical actors, gives the wealth of the complement for a more finished interpretation.

At the moment of going out to meet the sensory marks, the author describes the internal organization of the work of Pigafetta, using the proposed theoretical framework.⁴¹

Overflowing with various descriptions, the reader of the work will find a source squeezed in records and voices, in a linguistic inventory of nouns, verbs and modalities of expression, based on the dynamics of the *voice issued*. A kind of dialectical encounter of alterities that are confronted from their *spaces of experience* to go to the *horizon of expectation*⁴² of fears, of emotions that are stabilized, and of the unknown that has become habitual and every day.

The conclusion, in the first place, raises the possibility of future work on the subject (where the sensory and also the emotions can be questioned), and that, paraphrasing Manuel Cruz,⁴³ what remains for us to do, which is like saying what we have still to be, turns out the commitment of every professional in the social sciences against the lack. Second, it brings us a synthesis of the Pigafettean soundscape following the scheme developed by Idrissa Bâ.⁴⁴

And when the work seems to be closed, the historiographic plus emerges ratifying the need for the analytical crossing of three of the historical actors who went through the text and who invite more: Pigafetta, Albo and Elcano as spectators of a sensorial world under construction.

⁴¹ Zapatero performs an exhaustive analysis of the source from four registers: Verbal language; Nature, climate and its variations, animals; Populations: customs; Cultural codes.

⁴² Koselleck, *Futures past*, 334-335.

⁴³ Manuel Cruz, *Filosofía de la historia* (Barcelona: Paidós, 1991), 29.

⁴⁴ Bâ, "'Ahl Ghazal,' 'Naçara' ... : images et perception des Portugais et des Espagnols par les traditionnistes maures (XVe siècle)," 49-58.

The title of Alberto Eiris's work, "Between 'Chaos' and 'Order': the Representation of the 'Sounds' in the Work of Pedro Cieza de León, *Primera parte de la crónica del Perú*" advances the way in which the author approaches the source and the character. After presenting the biographical data of Cieza de León (anchored in principle in Political History),⁴⁵ he describes in detail the source in terms of type, conformation and writing resources used by the chronicler, true catalyst of the sensations of the political, cultural and natural fields.

The vast survey of written sources about the character, coming from the most varied academic fields, make up a scholarly apparatus of obligatory consultation for those who want to deepen in Cieza de León; the author also manifests the absence of a historiographic analysis of perceptions and senses about the work, a vacuum that invigorates *Sensing Spanish America*.

There is an explicit recognition of the previous work, which becomes the spearhead for the current call and stands out as a central precedent. A profuse theoretical framework introduces the reader into categories, *interpreting the interpretations* (the italic is ours) of a reality conditioned by the social and cultural situation, made visible in the records.

The notions of experience, sensorial landscape, historical actor, sensation, perception, sensory representation, interpretation, sound image and Atlantic circulation are present in "Between 'Chaos' and 'Order': the Representation ...". From the bet on interdisciplinarity the Anthropology of Le Breton intersects the Cultural History of which Roger Chartier did his historiographic place; from that encounter there is a descent to the plane of the senses, by the Mark Smith's hand, from the category of inter-sensoriality.

The theoretical framework allowed the author to identify the sound images around the categories of order and chaos applied to culture and nature. These axes of work remind us of other intellectual bets based on in these categories of analysis.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ The political history has been renewed in the last years from different aspects, one of them the biographical one.

⁴⁶ The categories of order and chaos have been applied to the study of complex systems (biological sciences, mathematics, social, international relations, art, financial and capital markets, among others). We highlight the work of Giovanni Arrighi and Beverly Silver, as it is in the historiographical line of *Sensing Spanish America* for the framing with global history and the contribution to the discussion on the origins of capitalism and the first global era, confronting Immanuel Wallerstein. It addresses both axes: in the face of the chaos generated by the successive crises of the capitalist system, the guiding principles of the world order are presented as a safeguard for humanity and the globalized economy. To deepen the dichotomy of order and chaos, see Giovanni Arrighi and Beverly Silver, *Caos y orden en el sistema mundo moderno* (Madrid: Akal, 2001).

The descriptive approach of the source appears starting from the proposed theoretical framework: Eiris detects the marks of orality within the Spanish religious universe and he nucleates them around order; its lack, by opposition, will be a manifestation of chaos.

It reveals a kind of circularity in the sound that becomes language to be narrated, a feedback of the sounds that are heard, then spoken word, and finally narrated word. That is why we are interested in highlighting the set of polarizations raised from the analysis of the sound images detected: in addition to the binomial order / chaos, there appear ear / language, listen / orality, divine order / demonic chaos, cries-noise / prayer-supplication.

Nature is also a provider of sound images about which the author detects the antinomy order / chaos. The problems of the distortion of language are noticed, that triple "t" that exposes the tradition to a fate of betrayal at the time of translation.⁴⁷

The interpretation and reinterpretation of the terms, in a dialectical game, where the Spanish view will prevail, shows once again in *Sensing Spanish America* the need on the part of the chroniclers that this world "fits" within the Hispanic cultural structures and parameters.

The text by Lucia Beraldi, "Towards a soundscape conformation in the political area in the Chronicle of Agustín de Zárate", begins with an explanation of the axes around which the author has structured her work, namely, the theoretical framework provided by global history, the concept of polycentric monarchy and the soundscape. With regard to global history, and supported by the guidelines provided by the connoted and recent work by Sebastian Conrad, *Historia global. Una nueva visión para el mundo actual*, Beraldi highlights space as a variable of pre-eminence, reminiscent of a Braudel's analysis of the '50s, taken up in recent years by its functionality regarding a global view.

We see a certain reference to the notion of game of scales posed by Jacques Revel,⁴⁸ that makes his appearance to resignify the macro and microhistorical perspectives as inseparable in the approach and treatment of finished projects and themes. The concept of polycentric monarchy, welcomed by the academic world just in the year 2012, is

⁴⁷ There is an impossibility to translate literally without falling into distortions of the contents and forms; whenever there is a translation, there is a sort of betrayal of the language; the narrative mediators would distort the original with which, the tradition would be betrayed during the translation process. In the English version, it is no possible to appreciate the game of words that is present in Spanish, connected to the triple "T" of the terms "tradición" [tradition], "traducción" [translation] and "traición" [betrayal].

⁴⁸ For a critical reflection on macro and micro historical perspectives, and their use in a context of Global History in the historiographic panorama, see Jacques Revel, "Micro versus Macro: escalas de observación y discontinuidad en la historia," in *Tiempo histórico* 2, 2011, 15-26. Available in: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/3901527.pdf> (accessed June 24, 2019).

worked from the proposal of the Red Columnaria⁴⁹ in keeping with global history, which frames the perspective on the source.

The soundscape category, debtor of the proposal of Raymond Murray Schafer, comes to constitute the third axis of work, all under the umbrella of the Cultural History of Roger Chartier and the notion of historicity.

The objective of the work will be to "... make a collection of those marks that make up the soundscape of the History of the discovery and conquest of Peru ...", in a temporal and spatial arc stabilized with the parameters of the theoretical framework.

A chronicle and a life. The author tells Zárate a story through a biographical resource; political history helps him as a descriptive continent of the events that occurred since he left for America in November 1543, until his death in 1585 on Spanish soil.

It also highlights the economic and financial functions of the character within a temporal and spatial context. These contextualizations are permanent, in particular those that track political itineraries, administrative and economic paths taken by Agustín de Zárate. There is an allusion to myth, to classic authors and to the humanist tradition, which places the work in that intersection late medieval / early modern.⁵⁰ The treatment of the text includes the routes of the source after its publication and crossings with researches as those of the Peruvian Teodoro Hampe Martínez investigates.

The description of the sections, names and amount of the episodes are not random: at the moment of moving to strictly sonic observation, Beraldi regroups the books for methodological purposes to apply historical sensorial analysis⁵¹ and performs a state of the art regarding the sensory marks, with particular attention to the sound. Thus we see emerging discourse records, corresponding to political, military and religious spheres, highlighting the intervening historical actor.

⁴⁹ The Red Columnaria, constituted during 2004 as a platform for study and analysis, has been developed by researchers José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez (Universidad de Murcia), Gaetano Sabatini (Università degli Studi di Roma Tre) and Pedro Cardim (Universidade Nova de Lisboa). The search for the historical meaning of the "global projection of the Iberian worlds in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries" shaped its axis of work. The objective was to go beyond purely national or state research frameworks, inserting it into the new interpretive strategies of the globalized world.

⁵⁰ For the references to the myth of Atlantis, Greco-Roman writers like Plato and Horace and the humanist Ficino.

⁵¹ Lucia Beraldi addresses the source, first of all, with the categories developed by the professor of the Sorbonne, Georges Martin. Regarding the strictly historiographic, within the *intentio* the notion of official history is highlighted as a self-justification discourse for present and future generations; in reference to the *inventio* enhances the classical sources, the category of experience and the importance of testimony; referring to *dispositio*, the framework of Zárate's work is highlighted as belonging to the Integral or Perfect History according to the type developed by the American R. Kagan. Then she submits the source to the analysis, addressing book I first, then books II to IV and finally books V to VII.

Finally, we highlight two observations included in the conclusion. On the one hand, she detects a certain level of self-consciousness in Zárte regarding the importance of the "province of Peru" space within the chronicle, in synchrony with other interacting spaces, such as New Spain and Spain respectively.

On the other hand, it makes explicit the continuities and ruptures of the sounds detected in specific areas of listening, through demonstrations of discourse and language, which are, in short, the records that have been left to us as a challenge to continue unraveling.

To conclude, Cecilia Bahr starts the approach to "A Jesuit's Ear. An Analysis of the Sounds in the *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* of José de Acosta" with the delimitation of the objective of the work, which "... within the framework of the is to analyze the sounds that are perceived in the work of José de Acosta *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*".

In her work a permanent stand in time and space is noticed as well as the inclusion of the notion of mentality; the author circumscribes the source, leaving it outside the narrative chronic place, where it is commonly classified, to locate it as a treaty, fruit of a society that has been embedded between two times, that is to say, with a medieval but also modern imprint.

The explanatory journey of the Jesuit's worldview allows us to fully understand this overlapping between the times, indicated in the previous paragraph. There are two moments not only temporary, but also cultural: a culture that incorporated all that *space of experience*⁵² as a result of the classic time and retaken by the Jesuits with admiration and recognition, like Cecilia Bahr reflects in her writing.

The author exposes a profuse corpus of secondary sources that approached Acosta's work along the time and from the most diverse looks.

The historiographical resources used are varied. To contextualize Acosta's life time, she points out certain details of the character's life, the author's work and training itineraries through narration of a biography of an intellectual type and the consideration of classical periodization, through the dating of travels, in a permanent round trip between the text and a context that the author places within the *First Global Age*.

Appealing to the notions of experience and memory, recovered by historians during the last years, she addresses the sound records that she detects in the source and for this she enumerates and describes each chapter of the *Historia*...

⁵² Koselleck, *Futures past*, 334-335. Ricoeur, *La memoria, la historia, el olvido*, 387-399.

When she explains that for José de Acosta "His conception of history is linear" and "the end of every man and of humanity as a whole is salvation" we see emerging the notion of chronosophy, elaborated in depth by Krzysztof Pomian, in an emblematic study that has inquired about time and its representations.⁵³

"From the third book you can 'Sensing Spanish America'," says Bahr. What would come to us about sounds appears mediated by the language and the written representation of the surrounding world. Nature, geography and anthropology are levels through which Father Acosta sifts the reality that surrounds it, the levels discerned within the text object of the study, and where the category of the "wonderful" it reappears, as in other works of the **Group**.⁵⁴

Upon the detection of various sensory images, the author exposes the difficulty in finding the sounds, but she avoids this obstacle, when she detects in the source what "the ear of the Jesuit" recalls, which is exactly the everyday, of non-transferable value.⁵⁵ A recall through the ear, an ear that becomes memory.⁵⁶

Therefore, there is an invitation to "hear" in the seven books that make up *La Historia natural* ... the elements: air, water, earth and the metals that "sound". A difficulty to face: those natural components that are described with scarce sounds, such as plants and animals. The analysis brings the recovery of the soundscape in relation to the moral history and the customs, rituals and memorials of native Latin Americans and sensory images (including auditory) linked to culture and war.

The religious and evangelizing discourse is highlighted as "fundamental sound", based on comparisons and descriptions in a constant reference to the Cultural History, the discourse and the word, as a communicative fact supporting the auditory.

⁵³ Krzysztof Pomian, *El orden del tiempo* (Madrid: Ediciones Júcar, 1990), 14.

⁵⁴ Le Goff, *Una larga Edad Media*, 18. Le Goff and Schmitt (eds.), *Diccionario razonado del Occidente Medieval*, 468-479.

⁵⁵ The relevance of everyday life became evident during the last quarter of the twentieth century in world historiography. In this way, there will be a turn towards the narrative (put into consideration in the famous article by Lawrence Stone of the year 1979, "El renacer de la narrativa. Reflexiones sobre una nueva vieja historia," which will lead to the renowned *Linguistic Turn*. Along with anthropology, cultural history, political history, rural history, sociability, microhistory, begin to take relevance the existences of concrete people, excluded from the narrative of the traditional story as well as their private lives, the marginal, the madness, the parties, the death. Historians have built a bridge between narrative and a historical scientific discourse, generating the need for new research strategies and approach to the object of study.

⁵⁶ For an analysis of the processes of memory and representation of the absent thing, in play with the claim of truth of historical discourse, see Paul Ricoeur, *La memoria, la historia, el olvido*, 21-79.

Conclusions

Towards 1450, and with an unequal rhythm in the different European regions, there is a general support for the deed of the first globalization process that involved the summation of the new mercantile techniques, the enhancement in the transport and an improvement of the techniques of navigation, preceding geographical discoveries and the conquest of new lands and cultures to finally boost economic growth, integration of markets and the fecundity of the humanist phenomenon.

To the mercantile interests the political and the missionary were added, which together, promoted Atlantic and African exploration with the consequent processes of colonization and evangelization of evident Castilian and Lusitanian prevalence.

New activities, patterns of behavior and a new level of individual consciousness were encouraged. So, ecclesiastical travelers, students, pilgrims, adventurers, mercenaries or soldiers, intellectuals, merchants and financiers, exponentially favored the intercommunication between the different European spaces and between them with those new territories that "emerged" beyond seas and oceans.

The discovery of the New World brought with it revolutionary changes in both objective terms and in the more subjective field of perceptions. Let's take as an example the discovery of new spices: with all this a gradual but radical change originated in the European and world kitchens from the sixteenth century to today.

Various sensory perceptions were shaping, gradually, a sensory community that registered with European senses the new American reality, connecting both worlds from this new category that we call "sensory marks".

In the analyzed accounts a new worldview is distinguished and a way towards a new hierarchy of the sensory, which takes elements of the late medieval period and combines them with the novelties of the early modernity. An example of this can be seen when observing that they are medieval travelers in chimerical searches, in pilgrimage trips, but at the same time in a path towards its mutation as Atlantic explorers with intentions of colonial dominion.

But also, and as we pointed out during the historiographic analysis, the idea of transit between the medieval and modern world has the decisive aggregate coming not only from the classic causes of periodization, but that transit is made visible from the new sensory hierarchies, since a new form will emerge to conceive the world from the senses.

The revolutionary changes as a result of these perceptions demonstrate the importance of sensory conquest of America, as an absolutely innovative proposal, since no one has worked systematically until today.

We have reached the end of our historiographic journey. The intention of it was to make way for this project that constitutes Sensing Spanish America, which opens up a challenge of the sensory conquest of the New World, keeping the potential of construction of History alive and latent.

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Christopher Columbus and the Beginnings of the Sensory Conquest of America

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Without a doubt, the Discovery of America has been one of the most controversial historical issues over the past five centuries and has been the subject of debate by researchers who have approached it during the 20th century and, of course, it continues generating scientific discussions today. Certainly, the different aspects that surround the first Colombian trip have generated disparity of interpretations, mythifications of characters whose portraits have not always adjusted exactly to reality, hypotheses converted into 'historiographical truths' that have not been proven irrefutably, contradictory versions...¹.

About the conquest, discovery and colonization of the New World in general and about the first trip of Christopher Columbus and his *Logbook* in particular, renewed analyzes can still be considered, like the one I propose here: a sensory reading of the Colombian text that allows us to talk about "the sensory conquest of America".

Christopher Columbus and his Logbook

On Friday, August 3rd, 1492, the fleet of Christopher Columbus sailed towards the Canary Islands with the objective of reaching the Asian coasts, navigating towards the West, crossing the Mar Tenebroso to find, in its way, the long-awaited and elusive spices. Such a proposal of expedition required both preliminary preparations and maritime and geographic knowledge that would allow to reach a good port. It is possible to ask, then,

¹ "Sin duda, el Descubrimiento de América ha sido uno de los temas históricos más controvertidos a lo largo de los últimos cinco siglos y ha sido objeto de debate por parte de los investigadores que lo han abordado durante el siglo XX y, por supuesto, sigue generando discusiones científicas en la actualidad. Ciertamente, los diferentes aspectos que rodean al primer viaje colombino han generado disparidad de interpretaciones, mitificaciones de personajes cuyos retratos no siempre se han ajustado con exactitud a la realidad, hipótesis convertidas en 'verdades historiográficas' que no han sido demostradas fehacientemente, versiones contradictorias..." David González Cruz, "Prefacio," in *Versiones, propaganda y repercusiones del Descubrimiento de América. Colón, los Pinzón y los Niño*, David González Cruz (dir.) (Madrid: Silex, 2016), 11.

for the territories, works and authors that served as the basis for this trip and Colombian geographies.²

Christopher Columbus used mainly *Historia Rerum ubique gestarum* of Pope Pius II, the *Imago Mundi* of French Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly and the Correspondence and Map that, in 1474, the Florentine sage Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli had sent to Alfonso V king of Portugal. Of the first two works, true encyclopedias of the knowledge of the moment, he extracted very concrete references on biblical sites, located at the end of the East, as the Earthly Paradise, the Gardens of Eden, Tarsis and Ofir, the kingdom of Saba, the mountains of Sophora, the island of the Amazonas, which he would soon place in different areas of the Indies, because for him there was the extreme of Asia. From Toscanelli, who followed Marco Polo, Columbus picked up all concerning the Gran Can, the Asian mainland (Cathay, Mangi and Ciamba) and especially Cipango, an island 1,500 miles away from the Continent and famous for its wealth.³

To reach these distant lands one had to cross the Atlantic, then known as the Mar Tenebroso, according to Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, for several reasons.

First, by the constant shipwrecks to which the ships were exposed; from the currents and the strong winds that they had to resist; maritime inclemencies predisposed the navigators to an exaggerated vision or memory: the Sea was difficult to navigate due to its brave and tempestuous character. The myth of the Pillars of Heracles explains the fear of navigators to venture out to sea. In this way, the sea was seen as an obstacle that only great men could overcome.

Second, because of the emergence of the Catholic religion and its cultural hegemony. The maps were created in function of the Catholic faith. The maps and cartographic representations of the time included the sky, the hell and the earthly paradise. They were known as "T and O". The "O" was the circumference that surrounded the entire map that represented the earth and the "T" symbolized the three rivers that came out of the earthly paradise, dividing the earth in the three known continents: Europe, Asia and Africa. Therefore, the "Mar Tenebroso" was the conception of the border between the earthly world, Eden and hell. The concept of trinity, was influenced by the Catholic religious belief of the divine balance. The earthly world was made up of the three known

² María da Graça Mateus Ventura, "Cristóbal Colón y sus Indias equivocadas: geografía de su imaginario," in *Versiones, propaganda y repercusiones del Descubrimiento de América. Colón, los Pinzón y los Niño*, dir. David González Cruz (Madrid: Sílex, 2016), 185-212.

³ Juan Gil, *Mitos y Utopías del descubrimiento, I Colón y su tiempo* (Madrid: Alianza, 1992).

continents; hell was where the sun was hiding and, following this logic, it was where the condemned were burned. In turn, Eden was in this unknown sea.⁴

Eduardo Aznar Vallejo affirms that the transmutation from Dark Sea to Ultramarine Ocean is the result of the advancement of scientific and technological knowledge of the time, fruit of the practice offered by the continuous exploration trips.⁵ The experience accumulated over the years by these travelers made it possible to change the predominant ideas about the characteristics of the Atlantic, of how to navigate it, of the possibility of transferring its borders, of the new wealth related to it and of the exploitation rights over them.⁶

Christopher Columbus ... was not the first to want to cross the Atlantic. Others tried, but uselessly, because this ocean has its 'round trip roads' and you have to know them not to fail in your journey. The fate of Columbus was to have brothers Pinzón and Niño, at the head of the best sailors of the time: the navigators of the region of Tinto-Odiel, with due respect for the Portuguese teachers. To go to America, they need the trade winds and to return, the anti-trade winds.⁷

All the details of this venturesome travel were collected in the logbook that Christopher Columbus wrote and that Fray Bartolomé de las Casas summarized in his *Historia general de las Indias*.

The original text of the logbook written by Columbus has been lost; in the same way, the Barcelonian copy of the Spanish version of the *Historia del Almirante* by Fernando Colón delivered to him by Fernando and Isabel, has also been lost. The main source that has reached us today of this transcendental document is a broad extract, which alternates with many textual paragraphs, made by Bartolomé de Las Casas and included in his *Historia general de las Indias*.⁸

⁴ Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, *Exploración del Atlántico* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992).

⁵ Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, "Del mar soñado al mar hollado. El redescubrimiento del Océano," *Cuadernos del CEMYR*, 15 (diciembre 2007): 175-195.

⁶ Michel Bochaca and Beatriz Arízaga Bolúmburu, "Conocimientos náuticos y representaciones del mar en la baja Edad Media: el ejemplo del Atlántico próximo," in *La percepción del agua en la Edad Media*, ed. María Isabel del Val Valdivieso (Alicante: Publicacions de la Universitat d'Alacant, 2015), 101-127.

⁷ "Cristóbal Colón... no fue el primero en querer cruzar el Atlántico. Otros los intentaron, pero inútilmente, porque este océano tiene sus 'camino' de ida y vuelta y hay que conocerlos para no fracasar en su travesía. La suerte de Colón fue contar con los hermanos Pinzón y Niño, al frente de los mejores marinos de la época: los navegantes de la comarca del Tinto-Odiel, con el debido respeto de los maestros portugueses. Para ir hasta América se necesitan los alisios y para volver los contralisios". Julio Izquierdo Labrado, "Versiones e interpretaciones sobre la ruta de la primera navegación a América," in *Versiones, propaganda y repercusiones del Descubrimiento de América. Colón, los Pinzón y los Niño*, dir. David González Cruz (Madrid: Silex, 2016), 71.

⁸ Bartolomé de las Casas had access to numerous documents of the Admiral, thanks to the friendship he had with his son Fernando. Among the documents that could be consulted was the copy of the Journal of Navigation that Columbus delivered to the Catholic Monarchs in Barcelona, from which he wrote a summary, in 1530, for his *Historia General de las Indias* - it appeared between 1552 and 1584 - and which

This logbook, which records what happened between the departure of the Colombian fleet and its return, occurred on Friday, March 15th, 1493, is the first testimony that has reached us about the inhabitants and nature of the American lands at the arrival of Europeans. Its pages reflect what the Admiral experienced during the voyage and it contains information that was not thought public, and that was intended for private use and knowledge of the Catholic Kings, as they had requested.

The Columbian logbook is more than a normal logbook, since in addition to annotations on routes, distances and objects seen in the sea and uncovered lands, Columbus includes descriptions of people, places, fauna, flora, personal reflections on cosmography, religion, economy, politics and more other aspects. However, it is no more than a logbook of a very rudimentary narrative technique.⁹

Thanks to this document, it has been possible to reconstruct in detail the first voyage of the discoverer, a travel that started the successive processes of exploration and colonization, which allowed the expansion of the European space and the birth of the so-called Atlantic civilization,¹⁰ a birth that brought about great changes for all the worlds and civilizations in contact,¹¹ of which it is interesting to point out those referred to sensory issues.

The beginnings of the sensory conquest of America

Enrique Tierno Galván states that after "the discovery of the South Sea and Elcano's circumnavigation, the conquest lost tension and greatness. The last motive that impelled it was stopped: the anguish of time and space".¹²

is the information of the logbook that has reached us today. Fernando Colón also consulted this copy, which was based on the history of the Admiral in 1538, published in Italy only in 1571.

⁹ Cristóbal Colón, *Diario de a bordo*, edited by Christian Duverger (Mexico City: Taurus, 2017). For this publisher, Columbus, when writing his logbook, navigates between silences and lies, due to both a wrong vision of reality and a precise calculation of his needs and conveniences. For this work I have consulted: Cristóbal Colón, *Diario de a bordo*, edited by Luis Arranz Márquez (Madrid: Edaf, 2006) and Cristóbal Colón, *Los cuatro viajes del almirante y su testamento*, Biblioteca Virtual Universal <http://www.biblioteca.org.ar/libros/131757.pdf>.

¹⁰ Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, "Exploración y colonización en la configuración de la Europa atlántica," *Historia. Instituciones, Documentos*, 35 (2008): 45-61.

¹¹ Guy Saupin, "L'impact sur les Anciens Mondes: essor non contracté des échanges, tensions et guerres, mutation de l'économie politique et lectures de l'esclavage," in *Africains et Européens dans le monde atlantique. XVe-XIXe siècle*, dir. Guy Saupin (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014), 439-445.

¹² Enrique Tierno Galván, "La conquista del tiempo y del espacio fundamento de la conquista de América," *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, 47 (September-October 1949): 153-157.

The men who crossed the Atlantic did it with anxieties and expectations, with a late medieval / early modern way to feel the world, which gave the senses a preponderant place.¹³

I interpret the senses as representations, that is, as built-in, constructed, intellectual schemes supported by the interests of a particular group, which supposes tensions and conflicts between the different social actors. Thus understood, the representations generate multiple cultural practices, among which it is possible to find and distinguish those of the sensory field.¹⁴

Mark Smith believes that sensory studies have a promising future, given that their history is recent and their treatments unequal: while Antiquity or Modernity, from the 17th century, have deep studies —although not referring to all the senses—, the Middle Ages or Early Modernity lack them, hence the relevance of works such as here proposed.¹⁵

These centuries are central to the history of the senses, since a radical change operates in them: we go from a medieval scheme to a new vision, which we could call modern. The medieval times considered sight and hearing as superior and trustworthy senses, while touch, taste and smell are minor and imperfect;¹⁶ meanwhile, modernity forms a new sensory hierarchy, based on Platonic and Aristotelian theories of vision and on the gradual revaluation of the sense of touch, as a consequence of the development of materialist philosophy.¹⁷

All the senses, beyond the importance they have in each epoch, maintain complex relationships and variables, named by Mark Smith as intersensoriality. Following this author, I propose an intersensory interpretation in a time of change and in a space where medieval and modern traditions are intertwined, giving rise to new experiences that form a constituent part of what I call "a sensory conquest of America", as Columbus records them when presenting his logbook: "... and for this I thought about writing all this travel very punctually from day to day everything I did and saw or it happened".

¹³ Cf. Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt, dir., *Abordajes sensoriales del mundo medieval* (Mar del Plata: Grupo de Investigación y Estudios Medievales - UNMdP, 2017); Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt, dir., *Paisajes sensoriales, sonidos y silencios de la Edad Media* (Mar del Plata: Grupo de Investigación y Estudios Medievales — UNMdP, 2016).

¹⁴ Roger Chartier, "La historia cultural redefinida: prácticas, representaciones, apropiaciones," *Revista Punto de Vista*, 39 (1990): 44-60.

¹⁵ Mark Smith, *Sensing the Past. Seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

¹⁶ Richard Newhauser, ed., *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages, 500-1450* (New York and London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

¹⁷ Herman Roodenburg, ed., *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance, 1450-1650* (New York and London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

The sensory conquest of America deserves to be studied in greater depth, given that it has scarce investigations. Not even the vision of the conquest or the conquest of America has ever been presented from this perspective.¹⁸

In this line of analysis, it is worth mentioning the works of Elena Pellús referred to the sensory presence of the five senses in the *Crónicas de Indias*;¹⁹ Olaya Sanfuentes and his suggestive crossings between senses, species and culinary transformations;²⁰ Guillermo Turner, and his approach on novel subjects of the cultural history, from the importance of the oral culture that emerges in these writings, the expression of feelings of fear among the conquerors and the medical practices of the era²¹ that, in part, take up their sensory readings from Bernal Díaz del Castillo;²² Sandra Amelia Cruz Rivera, and the relationship with sensory conquest (smells and sounds) of Mexico-Tenochtitlán and the synesthesia of the senses;²³ Saúl Martínez Bermejo, who focuses on the sonorous conquest of New Spain;²⁴ and mine own, referring to the sonic and auditory universe present in the work of Fray Diego de Ocaña²⁵ as well as the work developed jointly with Mariana Zapatero and that account for the first sensory perceptions of the Atlantic Ocean and the Atlantic coasts of South America.²⁶

¹⁸ Cf. Gerardo Rodríguez, lecture: “La conquista sensorial de América (siglos XV-XVI),” in Centro de Estudios Medievales y Facultad de Letras de la Universidad de Murcia (España), Lorca, February 7, 2018.

¹⁹ Elena Pellús, “El enquiridión sensorial cortesiano: el Nuevo Mundo en la *Crónica de Indias*,” in *La literatura hispanoamericana con los cinco sentidos*, ed. Eva Valcárcel (La Coruña: Universidad de La Coruña, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2005), 545-553.

²⁰ Olaya Sanfuentes Echeverría, “Europa y su percepción del Nuevo Mundo a través de las especies comestibles y los espacios americanos en el siglo XVI,” *Historia*, 39, 2 (July-December 2006): 531-556.

²¹ Guillermo Turner, *Los soldados de la Conquista: herencias culturales* (Mexico City: Ediciones del Tucán de Virginia – Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2013).

²² Guillermo Turner, “Los ojos, los oídos y la escritura de Bernal Díaz del Castillo,” *Revista de la Dirección de Estudios Históricos del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, 31 (October 1993-March 1994): 21-30.

²³ Sandra Cruz Rivera, “Encuentro sensorial: olores y sonidos en la conquista de México-Tenochtitlán,” in *Jornada: La Conquista de América: Ayer y Hoy. Reflexiones desde el arte, las ciencias y los estudios culturales*, Bruselas, Maison de l’Amérique Latine, October 10, 2015.

²⁴ Saúl Martínez Bermejo, “SOUNDSILENCE: Sound and Silence in Early Modern Iberian Empires, 1480-1650,” in Proyecto 2015-2017, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Instituto UC3M: Instituto de Cultura y Tecnología Miguel de Unamuno.

²⁵ Gerardo Rodríguez, “El universo sonoro y auditivo de la Comedia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe y sus Milagros de fray Diego Ocaña,” in *EuropAmérica: circulación y transferencias culturales*, dirs. Nilda Guglielmi and Gerardo Rodríguez (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 2016), 80-94.

²⁶ Cf. Gerardo Rodríguez and Mariana Zapatero, “Percepciones sensoriales del Atlántico y de los espacios litorales marítimos del Nuevo Mundo, de Colón a Pigafetta,” in *Décimas Jornadas Internacionales de Historia de España “Redes de poder, espacios culturales y actividades económicas en la Historia de España,”* Fundación para la Historia de España, Buenos Aires, September 7 to 10, 2016; Gerardo Rodríguez and Mariana Zapatero, “Sentir América. Registros sensoriales europeos del Atlántico y de Sudamérica (siglos XV–XVI),” in *II Workshop “Perspectivas Interdisciplinarias sobre relatos de viaje, representaciones y experiencia moderna (Siglos XVI–XVIII). Homenaje a Rogelio C. Paredes,”* Museo Etnográfico “Juan B. Ambrosetti,” Buenos Aires, March 16-17, 2017; Mariana Zapatero and Gerardo Rodríguez, “El mar visto desde la cubierta: diarios de abordaje y relatos de viajes (1492-ca.1550),” in

The discovery of the New World brought with it revolutionary changes both in objective terms as in the most subjective field of perceptions. That is why I propose to make a sensory approach to the logbook, since the senses contributed to forge the eyes of others, from which the subsequent interaction was possible.

This story records the conquest and colonization of the American continent that not only involved contact of geographical spaces and cultures on a planetary scale: it also involved the transformation of those places and areas on an individual scale. The widest new worlds are perceived individually, through the senses, that allow to find in unknown places similarities that appease the spirits:

“El agua de la mar hallaban menos salada desde que salieron de las Canarias; los aires siempre más suaves. Iban muy alegres todos”. (17 de septiembre)

(The sea-water was felt to be less salt than it had been since leaving the Canaries; the breezes were always soft. Every one was pleased [September 17th]).

That is why I insist on the opportunity to study "The sensory conquest of America", that is, the need to address this set of sensory and cultural phenomena as central to the process of the conquest and colonization of the American territory, an approach that has not deserved an overview to date, even though the environment surrounding the conquerors "results overwhelming in all its senses: the landscape they see overwhelms them, the customs of its people are strange, the language sounds foreign in their ears, the smells move them, the flavors surprise them".²⁷

Chroniclers and travelers alike left records in their text through what I call "sensory marks". With this notion, visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory and tactile marks are recognized as elements present in texts, which identify the perceptions that hold a special significance for the sensory plot of a culture.²⁸ This concept refers to the soundmarks formulated by Raymond Murray Schafer, that is, those sounds that are important for a society, according to the symbolic and affective value they possess.²⁹

Christopher Columbus feels the Atlantic Ocean sensorially. He builds present sensory perceptions thanks to his memory and past sensory knowledge:

Colloque International "Ports Nouveaux, Ports Pionniers, XVIe-XXIe siècles," Université Bretagne Sud, Lorient, October 6 to 8, 2016.

²⁷ Elena Pellús, "El enquiridión sensorial cortesiano: el Nuevo Mundo en la *Crónica de Indias*," in *La literatura hispanoamericana con los cinco sentidos*, ed. Eva Valcárcel (La Coruña: Universidad de La Coruña, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2005): 546.

²⁸ A concept formulated by Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt, "La intersensorialidad en el *Waltharius*," *Cuadernos Medievales*, 23 (2017): 31-48.

²⁹ Raymond Murray Schafer, *El nuevo paisaje sonoro. Un manual para el maestro de música moderno* (Buenos Aires: Ricordi, 1969): 28.

“Navegó al Ouesudueste y andarían entre día y noche once lenguas y media o doce, si no está mentirosa la letra. Tuvieron la mar como el río de Sevilla; gracias a Dios, dice el Almirante. Los aires muy dulces como en abril en Sevilla, que es placer estar a ellos: tan olorosos son. Pareció la hierba muy fresca; muchos pajaritos del campo, y tomaron uno que iba huyendo a Sudueste, grajaos y ánades y un alcatraz...” (8 de octubre)

(The course was W.S.W and 11 1/2 to 12 leagues were made between day and night (if the handwriting is not deceptive). The sea was like the river at Seville; “Thanks be to God”, says the Admiral, “the air is very soft like the April at Seville; and it is a pleasure to be here, so balmy are the breezes”. The weed seemed to be very fresh. There were many land-birds, and they took one that was flying to the S. W. Terns, ducks and a booby were also seen ... [October 8th])

The sound marks referred to birds are a constant in the work and allow the Admiral to estimate hours of the day and night, proximity to the coasts, vegetation:

“Toda la noche oyeron pasar pajaritos... (9 de octubre)”.

(Throughout the night birds were heard passing [October 9th]).

These records allow him to estimate that the trip is in good course and to reassure, with confidence, the crew:

“Aquí la gente ya no lo podía sufrir: quejábase del largo viaje. Pero el Almirante los esforzó lo mejor que pudo, dándoles buena esperanza de los provechos que podrían haber. Y añadía que por demás era quejarse, pue que él había venido a las Indias, y que así lo había de proseguir hasta hallarlas con la ayuda de Nuestro Señor”. (10 de octubre)

(Here, the people could endure no longer: they complained of the length of the voyage. But the Admiral cheered them up in the best way he could did the best he could, giving them good hope of the advantages they might gain from it. He added that, however much they might complain, he had to go to the Indies, and he would go on until he found them, with the help of our Lord. [October 10th])

Beginning with the Columbian voyage, the world changes in scale, as do the scales for the observers and travelers who register them, since everything seems more immense and big, as Columbus attests:

“Vieron salir gran fuego de la sierra de la isla de Tenerife, que es muy alta en gran manera”. (9 de agosto)

(They saw a great fire issue from the mountain of the island of Tenerife, which is of great height. [August 9th])

Clear visual and sound marks that refer to the comparison of sizes with known places:

“Toda esta isla le pareció de más peñas de ninguna otra que haya hallado: los árboles más pequeños, y muchos de ellos de la naturaleza de España” (6 de diciembre), o:

“Toda aquella tierra era muy alta y no de árboles grandes sino como carrascos y madroños, propia, dice tierra de Castilla... y vido por la tierra dentro muy grandes valles y campiñas y montañas altísimas, todo a semejanza de Castilla”. (7 de diciembre)

(All the island appeared to be more rocky than any that they that have been discovered. The trees are smaller and many of them of the same kind as are found in Spain [December 6th] or:

All that land is very high, not clothed with very high trees but with *ilex*, *arbutus* and other proper to the land of Castile ... he could see a very large valley, covered with crops like barley ... he saw many large valleys and plains and high mountains inland, all reminding him of Castile. [December 7th])

Trees and vegetation typical of the Iberian Peninsula in American territories, Columbus registers in his journal, as he also records the climatic similarities but in different months:

“Este día llovió e hizo tiempo de invierno como en Castilla en octubre... En frente del cabo hay unas vegas las más hermosas del mundo y casi semejables a las tierras de Castilla” (9 de diciembre) y también:

“Los aires eran como los de abril en Castilla, cantaba el ruiseñor y otros pajaritos como en el dicho mes en España”. (13 de diciembre)

(Today it rained and the weather was wintry like October in Castile... At the upper end there are the mouths of two rivers with the most beautiful campaign country, almost like the land of Castile [December 9th] and also:

The climate was April in Castile; the nightingale and other birds sang as they do in Spain during that month. [December 13th])

He points out that there are the same fish on both sides of the Atlantic:

“Pescaron muchos pescados como los de Castilla, albures, salmones, pijotas, gallos, pámpanos, lisas, corvinas, camarones, y vieron sardinas”. (11 de diciembre)

(They caught many fish like those in Castile —dace, salmon, hake, dory, gilt heads, mullets, sea basses, shrimps, and they saw sardines. [December 11th])

Knowing the environment, losing the fear it implied, meant, in a certain way, taming the new reality. This happens, even, being in the Atlantic: despite its immensity, despite the days that have elapsed, the land that is elusive and a navigation that seemed eternal, Christopher Columbus records that

“agua de mar hallaban menos salada desde que salieron de las Canarias; los aires siempre más suaves” (17 de septiembre) o bien
“la mar era como un río, los aires dulces y serenísimos”. (29 de septiembre)

(the sea-water was found to be less salt than it had been since leaving the Canaries. The breezes were always soft [September 17th] or the sea smooth like a river; the air was mild and agreeable. [September 29th])

This domestication of the sensorial runs in a parallel to greater technical or practical precisions to achieve the crossing of the Atlantic with great success, just as it is recorded in other authors of the time.

The sensory marks are confusing. The nudity means for Columbus, that Taínos are gentle and fearful people. However, he was wrong: the naked men, who received them, standing on the beach. They have their bodies painted red, black and white because they are prepared for war. The same happens as regards the arrangement of their hair, tied with a thick thread, like a braid, which is the attire dress of the warriors:

“Ellos andaban todos desnudos como su madre los parió, y también las mujeres, aunque no vide mas de una farto moza. Y todos los que yo vi eran todos mancebos, que ninguno vide de edad de más de treinta años: muy bien hechos, de muy fermosos cuerpos y muy buenas caras: los cabellos gruesos cuasi como sedas de cola de caballos, e cortos: los cabellos traen por encima de las cejas, salvo unos pocos de tras que traen largos, que jamás cortan. Dellos se pintan de prieto, y ellos son de color de los canarios, ni negros ni blancos, y de ellos se pintan de blanco, y dellos de colorado, y de ellos de los que fallan, y dellos se pintan las caras, y dellos todo el cuerpo, y dellos solo los ojos, y de ellos solo la nariz. Ellos no traen armas ni las conocen, porque les amostré las espadas y las tomaban por el filo y se cortaban con ignorancia”. (11 de octubre)

(They go as naked as when their mothers bore them, and so do the women, although I did not see more than one young girl. All I saw were youth, none more than thirty years of age: they are very well made with very handsome bodies and very good countenances. Their hair is short and coarse almost like the hairs of a horse's tail; they wear the hairs brought down to the eyebrows, except a few locks behind which they wear long and never cut. They paint themselves black, and they are the color of the Canarians, neither black nor white. Some paint themselves white, others red and others what color they find. Some paint their faces, some only round the eyes, others only on the nose. They neither carry nor know anything of arms for I showed them swords and they took them by the blade and cut themselves through ignorance. [October 11th])

In the stories analyzed, the transition has been a new worldview and directed towards a new hierarchy of the sensory, which takes elements typical of the late medieval periods and combines them with the novelties of the early modernity. An example of it: they are

medieval travelers in chimerical searches, in travels of pilgrimage, who are becoming Atlantic explorers with colonial domain intentions.

“Aquí nace en esta isla, mas por el poco tiempo no pude dar así del todo fe, y también aquí nace el oro que traen colgando a la nariz; mas por no perder tiempo quiero ir a ver si puedo topar a la isla de Cipango”. (11 de octubre)

(It is grown in this island though the short time did not admit of my ascertaining this for all certainty. Here also is found the gold they wear fastened in their noses; but, in order not to lose time, I intend to go and see if I can find the island of Cipango. [October 11th])

The search for wealth, especially gold and Cipango are a constant in the logbook:

“Partió de allí para Cuba, porque por las señas que los indios le daban de la grandeza y del oro y perlas de ella, pensaba que era ella, conviene a saber, Cipango”. (26 de octubre)

(I departed thence for Cuba, for by the signs of the Indians made of its greatness and of its gold and pearls I thought that it must be Cipango. [October 26th])

These authors feel the new world and shape it in writing, as the Columbian text demonstrates: smells, sounds, images, tactile and gustatory perceptions, nothing is alien to the pen of the Admiral.

“que nunca tan hermosa cosa vido, lleno de árboles, todo cercado el río, fermosos y verdes y diversos de los nuestros, con flores y con su fruto, cada uno de su manera. Aves muchas y pajaritos que cantaban muy dulcemente; había gran cantidad de palmas de otra manera que las de Guinea y de las nuestras, de una estatura mediana y los pies sin aquella camisa y las hojas muy grandes, con las cuales cobijan las casas; la tierra muy llana”. (28 de octubre)

(...he never beheld such a beautiful place, with tree bordering the river, handsome, green and different from ours, having fruits and flower each according to its nature. There are many birds that sing very sweetly. There are a great number of palm trees of a different kind from those in Guinea and from ours, of a middling height, the trees without that covering, and the leaves very large, with which they thatch their houses. The country is very level. [October 28th])

Even though the world changes in scale, as also the scales vary for the observers and travelers that record them, however, mentalities persist. After ten days to be in the Caribbean islands, Columbus writes:

“y después partir para otra isla grande mucho, que creo que debe ser Cipango ... Mas todavía, tengo determinado de ir a la tierra firme y a la ciudad de Guisay y dar las cartas de Vuestras Altezas al Gran Can y pedir respuestas y venir con ella”. (21 de octubre)

(I shall then shape a course for another much larger island which I believe to be Cipango...I am still resolved to go to the mainland and the city of Guisay and to deliver the letters of your Highnesses to the Gran Can requesting a reply and returning with it. [October 21st])

Reality, imagination, fiction, imaginary, conjugate to give place to the domestication of the sensory that runs in parallel to greater technical precision or practices to achieve with increasing success the crossing of the Atlantic, among them the dominion of the sky and the stars:

“Que las estrellas que se llaman las guardias, cuando anochece, están junto al brazo de la porte del Poniente, y cuando amanece están en la línea debajo del brazo al Noroeste, que parece que en toda la noche no andan salvo tres líneas, que son nueve horas, y esto cada noche”. (30 de septiembre)

(Note that the stars which are called Las Guardias (the Pointers), when night comes on, are near the western point and when dawn breaks, they are near the N.W. point; so that during the whole night they do not appear to move more than three lines or 9 hours, and thus on each night. [September 30th])

Nevertheless, knowledge of things results pretty inaccurate. At the beginning of the navigation itself, the pilots discuss how to get to the Islands:

“Hobo entre los pilotos de las tres carabelas opiniones distintas de dónde estaban”. (8 de agosto)

(Opinions respecting their position varied among the pilots of the three caravels. [August 8th])

Also comparisons with practical experiences are useful to describe the environment:

“Y desviado de tierra dos tiros de lombarda, hay en esta islas tanto fondo que no se puede llegar a él”. (15 de octubre)

(At a distance of two shots of a lombard, there is, on these islands, such a depth that the bottom cannot be reached. [October 15th])

And to present their animals:

“Halló caracoles grandes, sin saber, no como los de España”. (29 de octubre)

(He found large shells, unlike those of Spain. [October 29th])

Conclusions

In the logbook it is possible to appreciate the transition towards a new worldview and towards a new hierarchy of the sensory, which takes elements typical of the late medieval period and conjugates them with the novelties of the early modernity. An example of this arises from observing that they are medieval travelers in chimerical searches, in pilgrimage trips, that are being made Atlantic explorers with intentions of colonial rule:

“San Salvador tiene, en sus montañas hermosas y altas como la Peña de los Enamorados y una de ellas tiene encima otro montecillo a manera de una hermosa mezquita”. (29 de octubre)

(... San Salvador he describes its mountains as lofty and beautiful, like Peña de los Enamorados and one of them has another hill on its summit like a graceful mosque. [October 29th])

Idrissa Bâ considers that in those new looks / other worlds it is possible to identify different logics operating at the same time.

On the one hand, descriptive and integration logics, through which Europeans naturalize the disruptive experience. In the case of the previous example, the new geography of San Salvador assimilated according to their criteria and norms, what is seen resembles what is known, be it the Peña de los Enamorados, be it a mosque. In this same in this sense, the Admiral's reiterations can be interpreted as referring to the fact that the islands they travel are "flat" and that *"they lack mountains"*.

On the other hand, explanatory logics, which try to emphasize elements that allow integrating the other, more beyond the differences, even if this implies denying or ignore it.³⁰

“Esta gente dice el Almirante, es de la misma calidad y costumbre de los otros hallados, sin ninguna secta que yo conozca, que fasta hoy aquestos que traigo no he visto hacer ninguna oración, antes dicen la Salve y el Ave María, con las manos al cielo como le amuestran, y hacen la señal de la cruz. Toda la lengua también es una y todos amigos, y creo que sean todas esta islas, y que tengan guerra con el Gran Can, a que ellos llaman Cavila y a la provincia Bafan”. (1 de noviembre)

(These people, says the Admiral, are of the same appearance and have the same customs as those of the other islands without any religion so far as I know, for up to this day I have never seen the Indians on board say any prayer though they repeat the *Salve* and *Ave Maria* with their hands raised to heaven and they make the sign of the cross. The language is also the same and they are all friends; but I

³⁰ Idrissa Bâ, “‘Ahl Ghazal’, ‘Naçara’ ... : images et perception des Portugais et des Espagnols par les traditionnistes maures (XVe siècle),” in *Africains et Européens dans le monde atlantique. XVe-XIXe siècle*, dir. Guy Saupin (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014), 49-58.

believe that all these islands are at war with the Gran Can, whom they call Cavila and his province, Bafan, [November 1st])

The conclusion to which the Admiral arrives is clear and simple: the natives lack religion and accept quickly the Christian signs, so it will be easy to evangelize them both by means of signs and words.

In all these operations, as we see, the senses participate, expressed in sensory marks: the first generation of Atlantic travelers manifests a late medieval perception of the new territories, landscapes and interpretation of the other, that this encounter with that new space will evolve. An example of what has been said is the presence of the Gran Can in the Columbian story, even to generate fear and terror among the inhabitants of the islands and coasts, for their ferocity and for the strange inhabitants of their land:

“no podían hablar temiendo que los habían de comer, y no les podía quitar el temor, y decían que no tenían sino un ojo y la cara de perro, y creía el Almirante que mentían, y sentía el Almirante que debían ser del señorío del Gran Can, que los captivaban”. (26 de noviembre)

(... they feared to talk, thinking they were going to be eaten nor could they rid themselves of their fear. They declared that the Canibas had only one eye and dogs' faces. The Admiral thought they lied and was inclined to believe that it was people from the dominions of the Gran Can who took them into captivity. [November 26th])

These first stories, from the European perspective and interests —terrestrial, economic, cultural and evangelizing— begin the process of construction, transfer and exchange of Atlantic history.³¹

“Dice que halló árboles y frutas de muy maravilloso sabor; y dice que debe haber vacas en ella y otros ganados, porque vido cabezas en hueso que le parecieron de vaca. Aves y pajaritos y el cantar de los grillos en toda la noche que se holgaban todos: los aires sabrosos y dulces de toda la noche, ni frío ni caliente”. (29 de octubre)

(He says that he found trees and fruits of very marvelous taste and adds that they must have cows or other cattle, for he saw skulls that were like those of cows. The songs of the birds and the chirping of crickets throughout the night lulled everyone to rest, while the air was soft and healthy and the nights neither hot nor cold. [October 29th])

³¹ Pedro Martínez García, “Una primera mirada a Latinoamérica,” in *La reinención de Latinoamérica: enfoques interdisciplinarios desde las dos orillas*, coords. Ana Luengo and Sabine Schlickers (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012): 58-75.

The discovery of the New World brought with it revolutionary changes in both objective terms and in the more subjective field of perceptions. These Europeans toured the Atlantic Ocean and the New World; their experiences reveal a vast territory, from Central America to the southern tip of the continent, at the beginning of Atlantic colonial expansion; their stories testify their sensorial perceptions, of great value, which account for the intertwining of cultures and of the urgent need to communicate. It is because people of different languages were accompanying the ships of Columbus:

“sabía diz que hebraico y caldeo y aún algo arábigo” (2 de noviembre) o
“traer los hombres de Guinea para que deprendiesen la lengua en Portugal”. (12 de noviembre)

(... and had been a Jew, knowing Hebrew, Chaldee and even some Arabic [November 12th] or
the men of Guinea have been brought to learn the language in Portugal. [November 12th])

Usually, these encounters with the other are resolved according to peninsular criteria: sending languages, letters of presentation, ambassadors, whose results are not always the desired ones.

The sensory descriptions attempt to decode the found peoples codifying them according to their own cultural classification:

“Venid a ver los hombres que vinieron del cielo; traedles de comer y de beber. Vinieron muchos y muchas mujeres, cada uno con algo, dando gracias a Dios, echándose al suelo, y levantaban las manos al cielo, y después a voces nos llamaban que fuésemos a tierra”. (14 de octubre)

(... all men and women to come and see the men who had come from heaven; and to bring them to eat and drink. Many came, including women, each bringing something, giving thanks to God, throwing themselves on the ground and shouting to us to come on shore. [October 14th])

This allows the domestication of the exotic, which is a substantial part of the sensory conquest of America.

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Perceiving the New World through the senses: Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1492 and 1536)

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“Son las cosas del mundo y de la natura tan grande ó de tanto valor é soberana investigaçion para los despiertos ingenios, que ningún buen entendimiento las puede oyr ni considerar sin grande goço é delectaçion del espíritu inteletual. Hist. Gral. y Natural de Indias...”
Libro VI, Cap. XXIX

The things of the world and of the great nature are of so much value and sovereign research for the awake wits, that no good understanding can hear them or consider them without great joy and delight of the intellectual spirit. Hist. Gral. y Natural de las indias ... (Book VI, Chap. XXIX)

In the first decades of the sixteenth century, various Spanish travelers went to the task of describing, from a geographical and ethnological point of view, the new discovered territories, transmitting to their contemporaries the perceptions of the natural space and the way in which the inhabitants dwelled it. An example of this is the work of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo entitled *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar océano* (1526-1535),³² whose more than eighteen hundred pages reflect his sharp observations about the natural world recently discovered and the events that occurred in the various expeditions of which he was part through cultural categories learned from the classic writings and those of the Castilian society.

Our proposal for the analysis of this work is inscribed in the so-called *sensory turn* of the social sciences, which makes it possible to rethink the available documentation by means of new analytical axes that encompass the sensory model of a society. This historical approach emphasizes the role of the senses in shaping the people's experiences and shows how they understood their world. The history of the senses offers us a form to know the past from a different dimension, since it allows us to understand the cultural dynamics that integrates the social fabric and makes up a sensory model, by considering the senses not only as means of perception of physical experiences, but also as social

³² Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar océano*, T. I, II, III (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1851-1852-1853). Here after Hist. Gral.

phenomena and historical formations since their meanings are modified through time.³³ Consequently, the objective of this article will be to evaluate and expose the potential of a sensory (auditory) analysis based on the identification of linguistic units that reference different sound marks throughout the already mentioned extensive work. These marks point out, while explaining, the author's sound universe and the way which he used to decode this New World. A general study will be privileged for the purpose of reconstructing the intellectual scaffolding of Fernández de Oviedo in the complex interaction between European cultural precepts and the need to give a name to that unknown reality that he experienced, questioning us about the sensory codes that our chronicler created and modeled in his text for a Spanish audience during the process of exploration and conquest.

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo: confluence of two times

Fernández de Oviedo was the first official chronicler of Indians by decision of Charles I³⁴ and is considered the first Spanish historian³⁵ for having formulated the first integral project of the history of the conquest of the New World and its geographical, physical, botanical, zoological and ethnographic description,³⁶ which led him to be—in his own time—a recognized figure among his contemporaries.³⁷ His work is extensive, comprising fifty books written over forty years, in a temporary arc that unfolds since 1492 until the middle of the sixteenth century with the quelling of the rebellion of Francisco Pizarro in Peru. The geographic boundaries described include the lands from the island of Greenland to the Strait of Magellan, and from the Caribbean islands to the Philippines. The value of these writings does not only lie in their extension or in their detailed narrative, but also on the nature, diversity and selection criteria of the sources used that,

³³ Mark Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 3.

³⁴ Álvaro Baraibar, “Las miradas de Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo sobre la naturaleza del Nuevo Mundo,” in *Estudios Ibero-Americanos*, vol. 40, N° 1 (2014), 10.

³⁵ Álvaro Félix Bolaños, “Panegírico y libelo del primer cronista de Indias Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo,” in *Thesaurus*, Tomo. XLV, N° 3 (1990), 577.

³⁶ In the same way, other works of a naturalist historical nature were highlighted, of which we can refer those of Pedro Mártir de Anglería with his work entitled “*Décadas del Nuevo Mundo*” (1516) and Martín Fernández de Enciso with his “*Suma de geographia*” (1519); Pietro Martire D’Anghiera, *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo* (Valladolid: Maxtor, 2012); Martín Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographia: q[ue] trata de todas las partidas ...* (Seville: Casa de Contratación de Burgos, 1546).

³⁷ Álvaro Félix Bolaños recognizes two positions before the figure of Fernández de Oviedo from the conquest until our days: the panegyrist and the liberalist. For a development of both versions, see Bolaños, “Panegírico,” 577-649.

in the opinion of Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada,³⁸ was the product of the complex cultural formation of our chronicler.³⁹

His birth took place in Madrid in the year 1478, and at a young age was linked to the court of the Catholic Kings when performing as a cameraman of Prince John. His adventures began in Italian territories, where he met several important people of his time, like Leonardo Da Vinci, and he was under orders of the Great Captain Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, he moved again to the Peninsula and exercised several offices as secretary and notary. In the year 1513 he embarked on the Indian adventure⁴⁰ in the expedition of Pedrarias Dávila, fulfilling functions as scribe and military personnel. That experience allowed him to recognize different spaces and populations that were described in an anthropological key through the medieval cultural prism.

Both the work of Fernández de Oviedo and the Indian writings in general, were the result of the society of his time and testimonies of the personality of the peninsular man coeval to the narrated events. According to Bravo-García and Cáceres-Lorenzo, they are a material evidence of their historical and anthropological value since they are a test of the "translocation of medieval man and how this is embodied in the new spirit of the time".⁴¹ The first conquerors explored the American continent looking for the materialization of the medieval imaginary geography,⁴² a result of the elements inherited from Antiquity and their medieval transformations.⁴³ The New World was for the Europeans more strange and distant than other territories, as Africa and Asia, since the

³⁸ Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "La descripción del nuevo mundo en la primera mitad del siglo XVI: Pedro Mártir de Anglería y Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo," in *Estudios de Historia de España*, vol. XII, Tomo 2 (2010), 327.

³⁹ Several works have analyzed this character and his work. Among the most current we can quote: Alexandre Coello De La Rosa, *De la naturaleza y el nuevo mundo: maravilla y exotismo en Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1478-1557)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2002); Jesús Carrillo Castillo, *Naturaleza e imperio: La representación del mundo natural en la "Historia general y natural de las Indias" de Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo* (Aranjuez: Ediciones Doce Calles, 2004); Kathleen Ann Myers, *Fernández de Oviedo's Chronicle of America: A New History for a New World* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2007).

⁴⁰ For a description of the biography of our character, his Indian adventure and the characteristics of his work, see the pages XI to CVI of Tomo I. Likewise, Kathleen Ann Myers makes a detailed chronological tour of the adventures of our Madrid-born chronicler, Kathleen Ann Myers, *Fernández de Oviedo's Chronicle*, 12-25.

⁴¹ Eva Bravo-García y María Teresa Cáceres-Lorenzo, *Claves para comprender las crónicas de Indias* (Madrid: McGraw-Hill, 2012), IX.

⁴² Jérôme Baschet, *La civilización feudal. Europa del año mil a la colonización de América* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2009), 25. For this author, it is essential to capture the historical dynamics that links medieval and colonial society in which "reproduction and adaptation, dependency and specificities, domination and creation are mixed," Baschet, *La civilización feudal*, 29.

⁴³ Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Espacios del hombre medieval* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2002), 16-30.

Indies were outside the known, so the decoding of this reality by the first explorers was guided by the parameters grasped from their culture.⁴⁴

Our chronicler was interested in various topics, such as navigation, geographical and natural aspects of islands and mainland (terrestrial fauna, birds and flora) and the most important events occurred in the Indies based, in our opinion, on his sensory experience, in what he saw and heard, through his cultural codes and classic topics used for geographical descriptions.

Perceiving the New World through the senses

As we mentioned at the beginning of this writing, the proposed analysis will use an interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological framework that includes concepts developed by the History of the senses and Anthropology.⁴⁵ If we take up the notion of "senses" from a historical and not only physiological perspective,⁴⁶ we can state that each culture shapes the senses in multiple ways. The same number of these is dictated, to some extent, by custom; while in a general way five are contemplated: sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch, their number has gone up or down at different times according to the interests of each society.⁴⁷ In addition to being listed, they are also classified according to traditions and the cultural appreciation they have. Such classification plays a basic role in determining which sensory impressions will be considered most important by a society

⁴⁴ This idea has been taken up by historiography for its application to multiple analyses, Tzvetan Todorov being in the decade of the '80s of the XXth century one of the first ones to raise it. In this regard, he says: "(...) the discovery of America, or rather that of the Americans, is undoubtedly the most amazing encounter in our history. In the 'discovery' of other continents and of other men, there is not really that feeling of strangeness of Africa, or of India, or of China, its memory is always present, from the origins. It is true that the Moon is farther away than America, but we know today that this is not such a discovery, that this discovery does not involve surprises of the same kind: in order to photograph a living being on the Moon, it is necessary for a cosmonaut go to stand in front of the camera, and in his helmet we only see a reflection, that of another earthling. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Indians of America, on the other hand, are well present, but we ignore all of them, even if, as is to be expected, we project upon newly discovered beings images and ideas that refer to other distant populations": Tzvetan Todorov, *La conquista de América. El problema del otro* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1998), 14.

⁴⁵ For a study about the postulates and the authors that develop this field of studies, see David Howes, "El creciente campo de los Estudios Sensoriales," in *Cuerpos, Emociones y Sociedad*, N° 15 (2014), 10-26.

⁴⁶ For an analysis of the physiological processes which underlie sensory perceptions, see Diane Ackerman, *Una historia natural de los sentidos* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1993).

⁴⁷ For example, the medieval sensoriality had as an intellectual basis the thought of St. Augustine of Hippo (4th-5th centuries), who proposed the existence of a sixth internal sense (the heart) that interacted with the other senses in order that during the mass the supreme effect of synesthesia take place (sensory interaction). This construct was based on the Augustinian notion of the unity of the body and its relationship with the external world, the heart being the corporeal engine. To achieve access to the sixth sense, the body had to reach sensory activation as a whole through will and intuition by means of the liturgical objects. Ultimately, the realization of sensory synesthesia would enable the promised eschatological vision Éric Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2014), 63-74.

and which will be filtered or ignored. In the West, the sight was considered the highest or the most important of the senses, followed by hearing, smell, taste and touch.⁴⁸ This has meant that practices and visual information and auditory sounds have usually been considered of greater value than those derived from the so-called inferior senses (smell, taste and touch).

The cultural construction of the senses affects not only how people perceive the physical world, but also how they relate to each other.⁴⁹ While in a practical level of daily activities it is understood that all people use all their senses, in a most symbolic plane, high status social groups are associated with higher senses and low status social groups, with the inferior senses.⁵⁰ In short, the History of the senses reveals the different ways in which sensory values have worked to maintain or challenge the social order. The senses are the means by which people perceive themselves mutually in their reality, leaving a mark of it in the sources through sensory marks.⁵¹ When exploring ways in which sensory perception has historically been invested with cultural values, researchers can understand, in a complex way, the worldviews of the peoples of other times and, at the same time, appreciate the social foundations of the contemporary sensory universe.

⁴⁸ The conception and classification of the senses have their origin in classical antiquity, highlighting the studies on human perception through the analysis of the five external senses, channels through which the brain receives information about the world: sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste. This theorization originates in pre-Socratic times, where some philosophers had already made some inferences about the functioning of the senses. But it will be the most recognized philosophers - Plato and Aristotle - who will deepen and create the basis for the classification and hierarchization of sentiments according to their importance and that will crystallize in successive millennia. Gisela Coronado Schwindt, "Recepciones sensoriales: las concepciones aristotélicas sobre los sentidos en la Baja Edad Media castellana," in María Cecilia Colombani et.al., (comp.), *Historia de la Filosofía Antigua: Actas de las VI Jornadas "Dr. Francisco Olivieri,"* Mar del Plata, Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata (2016), 39-48. For a detailed analysis of the sensory model in the Antiquity, see Jerry Toner (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in Antiquity, 500 BCE-500 CE* (New York– London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

⁴⁹ One of the main features that Mark Smith highlights on the senses is their holistic condition, that is, the interrelation of all of them at the moment in which the subjects perceive their world, denominating this mechanism by which the sensory model of every society is built as *intersensoriality*, Smith, *Sensing the Past*, 12, 126.

⁵⁰ Constance Classen, "The senses," in Peter N. Stearns (ed.), *Encyclopedia of European social History*, vol. 4 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001), 355-56.

⁵¹ With this notion are recognized the visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory and tactile marks present in the texts and that identify the perceptions that hold a special significance for the sensory plot of a culture. A concept formulated by Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt in their article "La intersensorialidad en el Waltharius," in *Cuadernos Medievales*, N° 23 (2017), 31-48, based on the reference to *soundmarks* formulated by Raymond Murray Schafer, which he identifies with all those sounds that are important for a society, according to the symbolic and affective value they have. Raymond Murray Schafer, *El nuevo paisaje sonoro. Un manual para el maestro de música moderno* (Buenos Aires: Ricordi, 1969), 28.

Within the sensory typology, the sense of hearing has a transcendental significance since it is the vehicle of language, issuing and housing the sounds⁵² of the human voice—the spoken word—and produced by humans. Hearing penetrates beyond the possibilities of sight, translating the sensitive matter of the world where the sight can distinguish only the surfaces; the universe is coming to us even if we have our eyes closed. The different sounds of the human being, manifested by themselves or provoked by words, deeds, gestures, etc., report on their attitudes, experiences and conflicts within the framework of their social reality. Gathered in a time and in a certain space they make up a sonorous specific, plausible soundscape⁵³ to analyze its social and historical importance. On a more complex level, various authors have stressed that every "landscape" is "synesthetic", that there is no limit between the senses, and the interaction between them is the one which gives rise to the perceived landscape.⁵⁴ Consequently, the analysis of one of the senses is a methodological position in the face of the complexity of a sensory approach in a first approximation to the selected textual corpus. Therefore, we believe it is necessary to emphasize the need to explore, in a first instance, the sound marks that Fernández de Oviedo used to set up a soundscape of the new discovered territories, through the typing of different linguistic units that denote the Castilian cultural substrate.

This semiotic approach requires the methodological elements provided by Discourse Analysis, that allows us to identify and study the interrelations between context and discourses, distinguishing the statements, devices, objects and strategies that allude to sound contents that cause sensory effects in the society that produces them.⁵⁵ Also, it will enable us to locate the significant units that articulate the meaning of the sound marks that link the representations that our chronicler has of them.

⁵² It is called "sound" the sensation produced by the vibratory movement of bodies, which is transmitted by means of air and solid, liquid and gaseous bodies, and perceived by the auditory organ (ear). In each of these media, the sound will have particularities in its propagation form, José Miguel Wisnik, *Sonido y sentido. Otra historia de la música* (Buenos Aires: La Marca Editora, 2015), 15-16. The sound has three basic characteristics: it is elusive, dynamic and inconstant, Jordi Pigem, "Escuchar las voces del mundo," in *Observatori del Paisatge*, Dossier "Paisajes sonoros" (2009), 5.

⁵³ The *soundscape* (sound landscape) category was introduced in the decade of the seventies of the last century, by the Canadian composer and researcher Raymund Murray Schafer to make reference to the acoustic manifestation of a "place", denoting the sum of the totality of the sounds produced by men and nature, thus granting a social and cultural significance to spaces and revealing their political, economic, social, technological and natural conditions. Raymond Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).

⁵⁴ Margherita Costanza Salvini, "El paisaje sonoro: Experiencias urbanas entre lo visible y lo invisible," in *Eidos*, N° 10 (2017), 3.

⁵⁵ Noemí Goldman, *El discurso como objeto de la historia: El discurso político de Mariano Moreno* (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1989), 21.

In the sound universe they can be analyzed by distinguishing two different phases of their dynamics. On the one hand there is the act of issuing a sound by means of different elements and, on the other, the receipt of them on the part of the subjects, whose consideration will depend on the cultural codes of their society. These two facets establish a constant interaction with the environment, a relationship that is transferred to the social fabric to be the communicative tool that allows to create relationships between individuals and the inhabited space.

There are different criteria for the classification of sound sources. One of them is the semantic principle, which distinguishes sounds produced by human presence, animals, natural elements, activities and objects.⁵⁶ A second criterion is the one that distinguishes natural sounds (water flows, wind, animals, etc.), artificial sounds (music, economic activities, transport, etc.) and social sounds (human voices).⁵⁷ These principles will be useful to us in this work since they allow us to differentiate the nature of the sound marks used and thereby elucidate the cultural significance that they possess in the context of the writing of the work.

American sounds in general and natural history

In the medieval cultural substrate, not only the sense of sight had a fundamental importance in the translation of the impressions of the world. The remaining senses were also instruments to describe and relate what happened. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo gave an account of the meaning of the auditory sense as a way of knowledge, combining it in turn with the sight when describing, in an anthropological way, the natural space and the inhabitants of lake Xaragua (Jaragua, Dominican Republic):

“(…) qué gente son los caribes lecheros, y de la Santa Vera Cruz de la Concepción de la Vega: Y estuvo mirando este lago tanto espacio cuanto se podrían decir tres credos. Dice Pedro de Lumbreras que era tanto el ruydo y estruendo que oía, que él estaba muy espantado, é que le paresçia que no era aquel estruendo de voces humanas, ni sabia entender qué animales ó fieras pudiessen hacer aquel horrible sonido. En fin que como estaba solo y espantado, se tornó sin ver otra cosa”.⁵⁸

(... what people are the dairy Caribs, and of Santa Vera Cruz de la Concepcion de la Vega: And he was looking at this lake so much time as they could say three creeds. Pedro de Lumbreras says that the noise and the rumble he was hearing

⁵⁶ François Guyot et al., *Urban Sound Environment Quality through a Physical and Perceptive Classification of Sound Sources: A Cross-Cultural Study*, in *Forum Acusticum* (2005), 1869-74.

⁵⁷ Jian Ge and Kazunori Hokao, “Research on the Sound Environment of Urban Open Space from the Viewpoint of Soundscape. A Case Study of Saga Forest Park, Japan,” in *Acta Acustica United with Acustica*, Vol. 90, N° 3 (2004), 555-63.

⁵⁸ Hist. Gral., L. III, Cap. V, 67. The italics are from the author.

were so loud that he was very scared, and that he did not think It was that rumble of human voices, nor he could understand what animals or beasts could produce that horrible sound. Anyway he was alone and frightened, so he turned without seeing anything else).

His work as a chronicler and historian was cemented not only by his individual experience, but also, as we have already remarked, for the classical and medieval cultural substrate⁵⁹ that will make this rich and complex work possible. Researchers who pay attention to this aspect highlight the influence of certain classical authors, such as Vitruvius and, the most important, Pliny the Elder and his work *Naturalis historia*. In Álvaro Baraibar's opinion, the "Oviedense look" on the new spaces can be considered as that of a naturalist, that is, a *Plinian look* when positioning:

“...como creador de la primera historia natural del Nuevo Mundo. Oviedo se coloca a sí mismo como un nuevo Plinio que va a hacer lo que ningún escritor de los Antiguos pudo llevar a cabo al no tener noticia alguna de la existencia de las Indias: describir y descifrar “por vista de ojos” la naturaleza americana”.⁶⁰

(...as the creator of the first natural history of the New World, Oviedo places himself like a new Pliny that is going to do what no writer of the Ancients could carry out not having any news of the existence of the Indies: describing and deciphering "by sight of eyes" the American nature).

The knowledge provided by Pliny helped Fernández de Oviedo to describe the practices of these new societies, asking questions about them. One of the first issues that caught his attention was the art of guessing or predict the future events of the people of the Spanish island Española that was, to his amazement, related to medicine and the art of magic, a testimony that "agrees with what Pliny says in his Natural history confessing that, whether

⁵⁹ An example of medieval Christian tools is the reference to the importance of the preaching of the Word of God, citing one of the greatest figures of Christianity like Saint Gregory the Great: : “Quanto mas que, como en el segundo libro dixe , que la Saucta Iglesia ya tenia en todo el mundo predicado en todas las partes del el misterio de su redempçion; pues estas palabras dixo Sanct Gregorio Magno, doctor de la Iglesia, el qual tomó el pontificado é silla de Sanct Pedro, año del Señor de quinientos y noventa, é la tuvo é gobernó catorce años (...) y aunque el postrero año de su vida se acabara de predicar en todas las partes del inundo 'como el divo) el misterio de la redempçion nuestra, han passado después basta que Colom vino á estas partes (año de mil é quatrocientos y noventa y dos años) ochocientos é ochenta y ocho” (So much more that in the second book he said that the Saint Church already had throughout the world preached in all parts the mystery of the redemption; for these words said Saint Gregory the Great, doctor of the Church, who took the pontificate and chair of Saint Peter, the year of the Lord five hundred and ninety, and had it and governed fourteen years (...) and although the post-year of his life it has just been preached in all parts of the world the divine mystery of our redemption, eight hundred and eighty eight years have passed then until Columbus came to these parts (the year one thousand and three hundred and ninety two) Hist. Gral., L. V, Prohemio, 124.

⁶⁰ Baraibar, “Las miradas de Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo,” 15.

it is the most fraudulent or deceptive of all arts, it has had great reputation in all the world and in all centuries”.⁶¹ He also established the connection with the ancient times by situating the origins of these practices in the East, affirming that

“tal arte aviendo atado los sentidos de los hombres con tres ñudos, ha llegado á tanta sublimidad ó altura, que aun hoy ocupa la mayor parte de la gente, y en el Oriente manda a rey de reyes; é sin dubda allí nació en la región de Persia, y fué el primero auctor deste arte Zoroastres, en lo qual todos los escriptores concuerdan”.⁶²

(... such art by binding the senses of men with three knots, has reached such sublimity or height, that even today it is accepted by most people, and in the East it commands the king of kings; without a doubt Zoroastres was born in the region of Persia, and was the first author of this art, in which all the writers agree).

In order to reinforce this appointment of authority and demonstrate his broad culture,⁶³ he also maintained his arguments mentioning another of the characters that delineated the medieval culture in its first centuries, as is the case of Isidore of Seville, when explaining that "All this that I have said is of Pliny, on the subject of what Isidore says in his Etymologies, that the first of the magicians was Zoroaster, king of the Batrians".⁶⁴

This cultural platform explicitly exposed served to highlight and interpret certain sound practices, like the songs accompanied by dances (danced songs: "areytos") that in his opinion, was "a good and a gentle way of remembering past and ancient things".⁶⁵ In order to highlight the importance of this cultural feature, Fernández de Oviedo tried to compare it with practices of the ancestors of the Romans:

“Dice Livio que de Etruria vinieron los primeros bayladores á Roma, é ordenaron sus cantares, acordando las voces con el movimiento de la persona. Esto se hizo por olvidar el trabajo de las muertes de la pestilencia, el año que murió Camilo; y esto digo yo que debia ser como los areylos ó cantares en corro destos indios”.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Hist. Gral., L. V, Cap. I, 126.

⁶² Hist. Gral., L. V, Cap. I, 126-27.

⁶³ Other references of the importance of the work of the Roman writer: “Hablando Plinio en las cosas de la India oriental, diçe que Modusa es una çibdad de cierta región, llamada Conçonada, desde la qual región se lleva la pimienta al puerto llamado Becare con navecillas de un leño. Estas tales navetas creo yo que deben ser como las que acá usan los indios, que son desta manera” (Speaking Pliny of the things of the Eastern India, he says that Modusa is a city of a certain region, called Conçonada, from which region the pepper is taken to the port called Becare with sailboats of a log. These such boats I believe that they should be like the ones used by the Indians here, which are that way) Hist. Gral., L. VI, Cap. IV, 170. Other similar references: Hist. Gral., L. VI, Cap. VII, 174; Hist. Gral., L. VI, Cap. VIII, 177- 78; Hist. Gral., L. VI, Cap. VIII, 187.

⁶⁴ Hist. Gral., L. V, Cap. I, 127.

⁶⁵ Hist. Gral., L. V, Cap. I, 127.

⁶⁶ Hist. Gral., L. V, Cap. I, 127.

(Livy says that the first dancers came to Rome from Etruria, and they ordered their songs, accommodating their voices to the movement of the person. This was done to forget the sorrow for the deaths of the pestilence, the year that Camillus died; and I say that it should be like the areytos or danced songs of the Indians).

So far we have outlined the intellectual bases of the work that allowed our chronicler to consider the senses as instruments of perception of new territories and their implementation in writing. Next, we will focus on the different sound marks that we can identify in the documentary corpus, in order to analyze them in their context according to the cultural significance granted by Fernández de Oviedo.

The first sound mark that we can distinguish in the description of the New World, are the natural sounds, following the ideas of Jian Ge and Kazunori Hokao, used to detail the characteristics that exceed the mere visual representation. In the first books, our author considered that it was significant to highlight the sounds of certain animals, to which he granted a positive or negative particularity.⁶⁷ For example, one of the animals that caught his attention because of their loudness, was the snake, highlighting the benefits of the sounds that it made to alert about its danger and presence.⁶⁸

“La mayor de aquestas culebras es de cinco ó seys pies de luengo, é de ahy para abaxo. Tiene esta serpiente en la cola ó cinco ó siete ñudos redondos é destintos, que parescen que están como ensartados: é quando anda este animal, *suenan* como propios é verdaderos cascabeles *sordos*, el qual sonido parece que la benigna natura (y mejor diciendo Dios) con su misericordia le dió, para aviso de los hombres humanos, porque se guarden della, *oyendo* aquellos *cascabeles*”.⁶⁹

(The largest of these snakes is five or six feet long, and from there down. This serpent has in its tail five or seven round and different knots, that seem to be skewered: and when this animal goes, they *sound* like authentic and true *deaf* bells, and it seem that the benign nature (or I should say God) with his mercy gave it for the warning of human men, because they are saved from it, by *hearing* those *bells*).

⁶⁷ “En estas Indias guardan los gatos otra costumbre: la qual es obrar en todos los meses y tiempos del año, y es con menos voces é gritos que en Europa: antes por la mayor parte callando, y no enojando los oydos de los veçinos, han sus ayuntamientos” (In these Indies cats have another habit: which is to work in all months and times of the year, with less voices and cries than in Europe: on the contrary, in most of the time they are silent, not angering the ears of the neighbors, in their halls) Hist. Gral., L. IV, Cap. X, 195.

⁶⁸ “Muchos lobos marinos é muy grandes hay en islas mares destas Indias, assi por entre aquestas islas, como en las costas de la Tierra-Firme (...) Salen los lobos á dormir en tierra en muchas isletas ó partes de las costas: ó tienen tan profundo é pesado sueño é roncan tan recio, que desde lexos se oyen; é assi, muchas veces durmiendo, los matan de noche” (In the seas of these Indies there are many seawolves and very large both in the islands as in the shores of the mainland(...) The seawolves go to sleep on land in many islets or in parts of the coasts; they have a very heavy and deep snore so loudly that they are heard from afar and, in this way, many times they are kill at night when they sleep) Hist. Gral., L. XIII, Cap. V, 428.

⁶⁹ Hist. Gral., L. VI, Cap. XXII, 209.

These marks were also useful to catch different types of insects within the same family, as for example the orthoptera:

“Y de los grillos salladores lo mesmo; e aquestos son dañosos, porque roen é horadan la ropa é vestidos, quando se crián en las casas. Hay de los otros que *cantan*, muchos, é unos mayores que los otros assi en el cuerpo como en el *sonido* é *voçes*”.⁷⁰

(And the same with respect to the jumping crickets; and these are harmful, because they gnaw and pierce clothes and dresses, when they breed in the houses. There are others who *sing*, many, and some bigger than the others so in the body as in the *sound* and *voices*).

He also highlighted the sounds that American nature gave off, characterizing them over others. In his opinion, "the thunders and thunderbolts in that land were scaring and frightening", telling how in a certain night, while they were resting, "from the terrible sound of a thunderbolt and a thunder they collapsed from the bed down on the ground".⁷¹

The "artificial sounds" were another of the marks that were used in the work with a double purpose: as anthropological data and as an explanation device of the events that he had witnessed. In the first place, we can highlight the sonority released by instruments that Fernández de Oviedo identified as trumpets, drums, *atabales*,⁷² horns and whistles, all present in their cultural imaginary and that served to distinguish them in the new sound universe. Along his work, he underlined what was heard from the boats, qualifying it as noise:

“Otro día, martes veynte é cinco de mayo, salieron de alli los navios en demanda del pueblo de Láçaro, y al tiempo quel sol se entraba, llegaron á surgir junto al pueblo, é desde los navios se veían en el pueblo é por la costa mucha gente, é toda la noche *oían mucho ruydo*, como quien estaba en vela, é tanian *alambores* ó *trompetas* ó cosas que *sonaban*, sin se poder determinarlo cierto de lo que eran”.⁷³

(Another day, Tuesday, twenty-fifth of May, the ships went out in demand of the town of Láçaro, and as the sun went in, they arrived at the town, and from the ships they saw a lot of people in the town and along the coast, and all night *they heard a lot of a noise*, like of people being awake, and they sounded *drums* or *trumpets* or *things they sounded without us being able to determine truly what they were*).

⁷⁰ Hist. Gral., L. XV, Cap. III, 437.

⁷¹ Hist. Gral., L. XXIX, Cap. IX, 39.

⁷² The *atabal* is the old name of the timbal, a kind of drum with a single patch, with a metallic box in the shape of a half sphere. Generally two are played at the same time, tempered in a different tone, <http://dle.rae.es/srv/fetch?id=ZkslVqj> (accessed October 8, 2017). For a systematic study of the late medieval and Renaissance Spanish musical vocabulary, see Dalila Fasla, *Lengua, Literatura, Música. Contribución al estudio del léxico musical en la lírica castellana de la baja Edad Media al primer Renacimiento* (Logroño: Universidad de La Rioja, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2011).

⁷³ Hist. Gral., L. XVII, Cap. X, 510.

The concept of "noise" had a double meaning for the Castilians of the XV and XVI centuries: as an unpleasant sound and a semantic device of conflict. In the same way that perceptions are shaped by culture, the sound is propitious or horrific according to the point of view of each individual and what he considers to be a hoax. In the words of David Le Breton, "Social and cultural differences have to do within the appreciation of noise and define the thresholds of acceptability or rejection".⁷⁴ The first identified meaning occurs because the ear is a captive sense, that is, we can hide ourselves from the visual stimuli of the environment but we did not achieve to be deaf to it. The noise given off by the sound objects mentioned was also an important fact for highlighting the grandiosity of the conquest enterprise. One of the most memorable events was the conquest and domination of the Aztec Empire by Hernán Cortés and his mexicas allies:

“Llevaban estos capitanes dos mill hombres, cargados de vituallas, é con esta orden é conçierto fueron su camino, en el qual se detuvieron tres dias, é al quarto entraron en la cibdad de Thesayco con mucho plaçer y *estruendo de atabales é atambores é gritas que paresçia que abrían el çielo*. Y Hernando Cortés los salió á resçebir, é cómo es dicho, extendíase tanto el hilo de la gente, que desde que los primeros començaron á entrar en Thesayco hasta que los postreros ovieron acabado de llegar”.⁷⁵

(These captains had two thousand men, loaded with supplies, and with this order they were on their way, in which they stopped three days, and in the fourth they entered the city of Thesayco with much pleasure and rumble of *atabales* and drums and cries that they seem to open sky. And Hernando Cortes came out to receive them and, as it was said, the row of the people spread so much that since the first began to enter Thesayco until the last ones had just arrived).

⁷⁴ David Le Breton, *El sabor del mundo. Una antropología de los sentidos* (Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 2007), 110.

⁷⁵ Hist. Gral., L. XXXIII, Cap. XIX, 359.

The resounding sonority was not only a characteristic of the Europeans, but also that of the natives⁷⁶ used to intimidate the troops⁷⁷ and provoked a constant state of alert:

“(…) mas velábane con sus *atabales* é *alambores* toda la noche, é oíanse bocinas é otro son, á manera de *trompetillas*, é hacían otros *estruendos*, como de gente que estaba en vela. É los chripstianos pussieron el recabdo que les convino para su guarda é vela, é ordenadas sus rondas ó çintinelas (...)”⁷⁸

(... they were awake with their *atabales* and *atambores* all night, and they heard horns and another sound, in a way of little trumpets, and made other rumblings, like people who were awake. And the christians took the suitable precautions for their guardianship and custody, and ordered their rounds or sentinels...)

This state of disturbance was also nourished by other sounds perceived as noise and that contributed to the threatening situation, as were the sounds of high voices transformed into clamors and cries: "In those moments all the multitude came towards the ravine to help the first [natives], giving such cries that the sky seemed to be opened".⁷⁹

The second meaning of *noise* was identified as social disruption, since for the Castilian society this concept not only designated a situation of sound saturation, but also to account for various conflictive situations, both at the macro level of the kingdom and in the local

⁷⁶ “De un depósito é nueva manera de atabales é alambores é hasta agora nunca oydos ni vistos, excepto en Zisea, capitán herético de los bohemios heréticos: E aquestos tales instrumentos de música los hacen de los enemigos que vencen ó pueden aver; e quanto mas valeroso es el capitán ó señor de aquellos que en aquellas partes tienen señorío, tanto es mayor el número que tiene de tales atabales, é es un gran testimonio de su esfuerço é crueldad, de lo qual muchos se presçian. Y ningún atabal de los que de otros animales se hacen, les aplace, ni otra música han por tan suave é grata á sus orejas, como aquesta. E assi quando hacen sus areytos é fiestas, esos atabales se tañen, é los tienen por un muy excelente ornamento de su Estado, é por grande auctoridad de su potencia” (From a deposit a new way of *atabales* and *atambores* and until now never heard or seen, except in Zisea, heretical captain of the heretical bohemians: And these music instruments make them from the enemies that win or may have; and the more courageous is the captain or lord of those who in those parts have lordship, the greater the number he has of such *atabales*, and it is a great testimony of his effort and cruelty, of which many are proud. And they do not like any *atabal* made from other animals, and no music is softer and more pleasant for their ears than this one. And so when they celebrate their areytos and parties, they play those *atabales* and consider it a very excellent ornament of their State, and a great example of the aucturity of their power) Hist. Gral., L. VI, Cap. XXXI, 219; “Aquel día é la siguiente noche, los de la cibdad hiçieron muchos regocijos de areytos, que son sus cantares e bayles, é sonaban é tañían muchas bocinas é atabales, que paresçía que se hundía aquella república infiel, del estruendo é fiesta que consigo tenían de placer, solemniziando su triumpho é victoria” (That day and the following night, the people of the city made many joyful areytos, which are their songs and dances, and sounded and rang horns and *atabales*, so that this unfaithful republic seemed to sink, because of the roar and the festive pleasure who demonstrated, solemnly celebrating their triumph and victory) Hist. Gral., L. XXXIII, Cap. XXVI, 401.

⁷⁷ Y encontinente sobrevino tanta multitud de indios sobre los españoles ó Cortés por todas partes, que las calles é açoteas estaban llenas de los infieles, con alaridos é grito muy espantable, é para poner mucho terror á quien lo oía (...)” (And suddenly there came so great crowd of Indians on the Spaniards and Cortes from all parts, that the streets and rooftops were full of infidels, with very frightening screams and cries to bring lot of terror on those who heard it ...) Hist. Gral., L. XXXIII, Cap. XIII, 349.

⁷⁸ Hist. Gral., L. XVII, Cap. XI, 514.

⁷⁹ Hist. Gral., L. XXXIII, Cap. XLV, 496.

one. This semantic field was also nourished by other terms such as riots, scandals,⁸⁰ bustles,⁸¹ disturbances, identifying these disruptive registers in the work of Fernández de Oviedo as representative of the late medieval Castilian culture.⁸²

“Sabido por el Emperador Rey, nuestro señor', é por su Real Senado ó Consejo de Indias las diferencias que en la Nueva España andaban entre sus oficiales sobre la gobernación de la tierra, fué proveydo por gobernador é capitán general un cavallero de la cibdad de Guadalaxara, llamado Nuño do Guzman: el qual ydo á aquellas partes el ano de mill é quinientos é veynte y seys, tomó el offiçio en Temistitan, é fué obedesçido, é çessaron las contiendas y escándalos que en aquella tierra avia entre los españoles é offiçiales y el marqués del Valle Hernando Cortés”.⁸³

(Known by the Emperor King, our lord, and by his *Real Senado* or *Consejo de Indias* the differences that in New Spain existed between his officers on the governance of the land, a knight of the city of Guadalaxara, called Nuño do Guzman was appointed as governor and captain general: this went to those parts in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-six and took the office in Temistitan, and was obeyed, and the strife and scandal that had occurred in that land between the Spaniard officers and the Marquis del Valle Hernando Cortés ceased).

These sound manifestations were not the only ones present in the intellectual project of our chronicler. We can record other sounds that formed the soundscape of American spaces, such as were the social sounds released by human voices, that is, the spoken word of communicative acts that were settled in the documentation by means of dialogic sound marks. The verbal word (the voice) is, in Walter Ong's opinion, the physical constitution of sound,⁸⁴ forming part of an existential present to be articulated and directed by one real person towards another and includes much more than mere words.⁸⁵ These dynamic texts were inscribed in the various media of what is written since the natural foundation of

⁸⁰ “Antes la mayor parte de aquellos escándalos nascieron de tener al Çereçeda en poco aquellos Herreras ó errados contendores (...)” (Most of those scandals were born because those Herreras or mistaken contenders despised Çereçeda...) Hist. Gral., L. XXXI, Cap. VI, 211.

⁸¹ “(...) el teniente le respondió justificando su causa, que su venida era allí solamente por bien de paz é por evitar escándalos é otros bullicios que se seguían de estar las naos fuera del puerto (...)” (... the lieutenant responded by justifying his cause, saying that his coming was there only for the sake of peace and to avoid scandals and other noises that happened because the ships were outside the port...) Hist. Gral., L. XXXIII, Cap. XXXVI, 451.

⁸² “(...) y estando assi en su raçionamiento, oyeron muchas voces é ruydo hacia la iglesia, do possaba el Vasco de Herrera, é salieron á la puerta de Cereceda él é los que con él estaban, é oyeron voces diciendo: “¡Viva el Rey!..” é mucho estrépito ó alboroto” (... and being thus in their rationing, they heard many voices and noise near the church, where Vasco de Herrera rested, and they came to the door of Çereçeda he and those who were with him, and heard voices saying: “Long live the King!” and a lot of noise and commotion) Hist. Gral., L. XXXI, Cap. III, 199.

⁸³ Hist. Gral., L. XXXIV, PROHEMIO, 559.

⁸⁴ Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (New York: Methuen, 1982), 60.

⁸⁵ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 82.

literature (in its various genres) is orality and not writing, making the voice a fundamental element of the cultural manifestations of the Middle Ages.⁸⁶ Eleazar Meletinski states that the act of creating a text is, first of all, verbal since it originates mentally and it is transmitted in a double oral and written dimension.⁸⁷ Its writing reconstitutes the spoken word in visual space,⁸⁸ allowing us to analyze which words and sounds were present in a specific time and area.⁸⁹

Oral language was an important element in the discourse of Fernández de Oviedo, leaving a trace on the different sound marks of dialogue and listening that happened in the events he narrated. The sound verbal issues were important when highlighting the strangeness of both cultures in their first encounters:

“É estando ya tan cerca unos de otros, que nos podíamos bien entender (si nos entiendíáramos con ellos), el indio é el Colmenares á altas voces, les deçian muchas palabras, y los caribes estuvieron callando un poco, escuchando; pero en la verdad no los entendian más que se entendiera un vizcayno en su vascuence con un tudesco ó arábigo, ó otro mas extremado lenguaje...”⁹⁰

(And being already so close to each other, that we could understand each other (if we understood each other), the Indian and Colmenares loudly said many words to them, and the Caribs were silent a little, listening; but in truth they did not understand them more than a man from Vizcaya in his Basque can understand the language of a Tudesco or Arabic, or another...)

The presence of articulated sounds of speech in the American soundscape was also evident in the mentions of certain voices that were of importance for the fact described.⁹¹ The voices of warning and danger were substantial elements to stand out in

⁸⁶ The relationship between orality and writing is not clogged with the step from the medieval era to the Renaissance. In Alan Deyermond's opinion, during this transitive time, the relationship between these two instances were of transformation and symbiosis, highlighting the influence of orality in most of the literary genres of the time, either in original oral genres that are transformed into writings (romances and sayings) like those "cults" that are oralized: "sometimes a cult genre takes advantage of orality to the point of becoming a historical-linguistic document," Alan Deyermond, "La literatura oral en la transición de la Edad Media al Renacimiento," in *Acta Poética*, vol. 26, N° 1-2 (2005), 45-46.

⁸⁷ Eleazar Meletinski, "Sociétés, cultures et fait littéraire," in Marc Angenot, Jean Bessière, Douwe Fokkema and Eva Kushner (eds.), *Théorie littéraire. Problèmes et perspectives* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1989), 13-29.

⁸⁸ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 100.

⁸⁹ Gisela Coronado Schwindt, "Marcas de sonoridad en la documentación sinodal y concejil del Reino de Castilla (Siglos XV-XVI)," in Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt, *Abordajes sensoriales del mundo medieval*, Mar del Plata, Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 130-131.

⁹⁰ Hist. Gral., L. XXIX, cap. VI, 26.

⁹¹ "É ydos, desde á muy poco llegó Diego Méndez ó su gente á él, á caballo, armado, é con una vara de justicia, que era del Vasco de Herrera, é sus armas del muerto puestas, que avia ávido del saco, é con grand fausto é ferocidad, como si en alguna honrosa batalla las oviéra ganado contra infieles; é llamó á voçes al Çereçeda (...)" (And having left, very soon Diego Méndez and his people went towards him, on horseback, armed, and with a rod of justice, which belonged to Vasco de Herrera, and his arms of the dead man, which

situations of war⁹² and lawsuits between Spaniards.⁹³ However, not only its value was limited to negative contexts; it also highlighted the words of certain important people in the process of exploration and conquest of the new territories, as was the case of Hernán Cortés. Fernández de Oviedo reported that at the time of the return of Cortés to New Spain invested as Marqués del Valle of Oaxaca (1529), faced with the denunciation of lords and indians for thefts caused by the "graduates Matienço é Delgadillo". In response, the "Marquis consoled and placated them with good and sweet words and future hopes for their satisfaction".⁹⁴ This sensitive interchangeability game of the senses of taste and hearing is identified with the ability to taste a sound, a resource used by Castilian writers of the Late Middle Ages⁹⁵ to give greater meaning to the authoritative voices of certain characters.

The auditory dimension of American spaces

The analysis of the sound universe of a society not only is composed of the explicit sonority released by the subjects in daily practice, whether artificial or social sounds, as we have stated, but also the process of receiving these manifestations gets importance. Listening is recognized as the psychological and cultural faculty of interpreting

he had had of looting, and with great splendor and ferocity, as if he had won them in some honorable battle against infidels; and he cried out to Çereçeda ...) Hist. Gral., L. XXXI, Cap. VI, 201-02.

⁹² "Otro dia envió Cortés un mensajero á la villa de la Veracruz á darle las buenas nuevas de cómo los chripstianos que estuvieron cercados, oran vivos, y él avia entrado en la cibdad y estaba muy segura: el qual mensajero se tornó desde á media hora descalabrado y herido dando voçes, diciendo que todos los indios de la cibdad venían de guerra, c que tenían alçadas todas las puentes" (Another day Cortés sent a messenger to the town of Veracruz to give it the good news of how the Christians who were surrounded, were alive, and he had entered the city and it was very safe: which messenger returned in half an hour and injured, giving voices, saying that all the Indians of the city came in an attitude of war and had all the bridges lifted) Hist. Gral., L. XXXIII, Cap. XIII, 349.

⁹³ "Y también en esse tiempo é saçon el Oliveros buscaba al Ginés Donçel (el qual armado se avia escondido debaxo de una barbacoa ó lecho) é queríalo prender: é cómo se oían las voçes é combate que entre el Baçan é Monesterio avia, acudió á ellas el Oliveros , é llegado dixo al Baçan que se diesse á prission, y él respondióle con muchas cuchilladas que le tiró, y el Oliveros entró con él, é de un revés que le dio en una pierna dio con él en tierra, é allí le dieron otras heridas , é quedó presso" ("And also in that time and season Oliveros was looking for Ginés Doncel (who had hidden under a barbacoa or a bed) and he wanted to catch him: and as the voices of the battle that was between Bacan and Monesterio were heard, Oliveros went there, and, having arrived, he told Bacan to give himself up in prison, and he responded with many slashes that he threw, and Oliveros went there, and from a blow that hit him in the leg, he fell on the ground, and there they gave him other wounds, and he was imprisoned) Hist. Gral., L. XXXVII, Cap. II, 629-30.

⁹⁴ Hist. Gral., L. XXXIII, Cap. XLVIII, 520.

⁹⁵ An example of these are the royal and courtly chronicles written throughout the fifteenth century: "(...) los chirimías e otros ynstrumentos tañían muy dulcemente, altas e baxas, e dançauan los gentiles onbres e pajes (...) E acabando de dançar, mandaua cantar cosantes e rondeles" (... the chirimías and other instruments sounded very sweetly, high and low, and the gentlemen and the pages danced (...) And when they finished dancing, he ordered to sing cosantes and rondels). Juan de Mata Carriazo (edición y estudio), *Hechos del Contestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo* (Crónica del siglo XV) (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940), 155.

(perceiving) a sound like an intelligible matter, that is, hearing and the way in which this was done.⁹⁶ This dimension is recognizable in our source by means of certain "listening" marks whose linguistic units are *oyr*, *oyeron* and *leerey*.

The discourse built by Fernández de Oviedo had as a basis the need to express the way in which the auditory reception of Spaniards and natives occurred, highlighting with it the mental structures of their period by recalling known situations and spaces of his native land. An interesting passage that attests what was exposed is the one when he detailed a new invention that the Spaniards had achieved with the aim of transporting their horses in canoes. Our chronicler describes the wonders that he considered homonym of this, highlighting the sonorous universe of them:

“(...) digo que no tengo en menos que cada una dellas aquella muy alta torre de la iglesia mayor é arzobispal de Sevilla, é no tanto por su mucha altura é latitud, ques edefiçio morisco é del tiempo de los moros , quanto porque cerrada la puerta de la torre, e puesto un hombre que sordo no sea, sino de mucho oyr, aunque muchas voces le den de abaxo no las oyrá dentro de una cámara de las de aquella torre en ninguna manera, é aun con grand pena sentirá una campana ó trompeta ó vocina; é parado á las ventanas de las cámaras superiores, tampoco oyrá ni podrá entender lo que otro le dixere desde abaxo (aunque sea á voces), assi por la grand distançia, como por el tráfago é freqüentaçión estruendo de las gentes del pueblo (...)”⁹⁷

(... I say that I do not underestimate each of the very tall towers of the main and archiepiscopal church of Seville, and not so much because of its height and width, which is a Moorish edifice and of the time of the Moors, because if the door of the tower is closed, and they put a man who is not deaf, but of much hearing, although many voices were given him from below he does not hear them inside a chamber of the tower in any way, and even with great difficulty will feel a bell or trumpet or horn; and standing at the windows of the upper chambers, he will not hear or understand what someone else will tell him from below (even with loud voices), not because of the great distance, as by the traffic and frequency of the rumble of the people of the town ...)

The importance of ensuring hearing on the part of the subjects in particular situations made possible the *performativity* of the spoken and written words. The speech, in John L. Austin's consideration, is in itself a social practice and not just a way of announcing, holding that the statements have concrete intentions.⁹⁸ From these premises, Austin builds the *performative* theory of language, by which he conceives that saying something is a way of doing, addressing “the language as a form of action. The idea is that when analyzing a sentence you have to differentiate between the meaning of words, the way

⁹⁶ Michel Chion, *El sonido. Música, cine, literatura...*, (Paidós: Barcelona, 1999), 78.

⁹⁷ Hist. Gral., L. XXXII, Cap. IV, 238.

⁹⁸ John L. Austin, *Cómo hacer cosas con palabras. Palabras y acciones* (Barcelona: Paidós, 1990), 53-54.

they are connected, the act of uttering them"⁹⁹ and the context of reception. It is equally important to "say" them and "to hear" them, either through listening or reading, establishing a dialectical relationship between both instances.¹⁰⁰ This is what Fernández de Oviedo reflected on when declaring that

“(...) desta materia la mas clara relación que yo puedo dar en ella, es remitir al *letor* á esta mi historia, *oyga* é note las cosas desta gobernación de Yucatán é de los españoles que en ella han militado”.¹⁰¹

(... the clearest narration I can give in this matter, is to refer the reader to this my history; listen and notice the things of this government of Yucatan and the Spaniards who have militated in it).

This fusion of "reading" with the "ears" shows the amalgam of both sensorial processes in the Castilian culture, identifying them with expressions such as "you will listen".¹⁰² Consequently, the auditory sense, together with the visual one, was revealed as transcendent to our historian from Madrid in the construction of his works through the exhibition of the "things that will be of praiseworthy recreation for those who want to occupy themselves in the knowledge and listening with attention".¹⁰³

Conclusions

In the preceding pages we have highlighted the possibility to perform a sound analysis of the work by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, identifying and highlighting those sound marks that reveal the variations of meaning found in his pages, at the same time manifesting the conceptual adequacy that the author made to "translate" to familiar sensory terms the configuration of that new world. The cultural scaffolding that allowed such an enterprise was configured by the knowledge of classical authors, Christian authorities and elements that constituted the contemporary culture of the author.

⁹⁹ Juan Carlos Gorlier, *¿Confiar en el relato? Narración, Comunidad y Disidencia* (Mar del Plata, Eudem, 2008), 43.

¹⁰⁰ “Aquí quiero yo, como buen historiador, para ser mejor entendido, pedir al *letor* que se acuerde de dos cosas que agora diré: la una es que no desacuerde la auctoridad que al principio deste capítulo se dixo de Veçeçio, para lo que en esto se siguió é adelante oyreys ó leereys; é la otra que sepays que en el tiempo que esto passaba, el Emperador Rey, nuestro señor, estaba en Flandes é gobernaba en su real nombre los reynos de España el cardenal Tortosa, que fué después Papa Urbano VI de tal nombre” (Here I want, as a good historian, to be better understood, to ask the reader to remember two things that I will now say: one is that he does not forget the authority that was said about Veçeçio at the beginning of this chapter; what followed hereafter you will hear or read; and you must know that at the time this happened, the Emperor King, our lord, was in Flanders and the reign of Spain was ruled in his real name by Cardinal Tortosa, who was later Pope Urban VI, of such name) Hist. Gral., L. XXXIII, Cap. XXXII, 430.

¹⁰¹ Hist. Gral., L. XXXII, Cap. II, 224.

¹⁰² Hist. Gral., L. XXXV, Cap. III, 596.

¹⁰³ Hist. Gral., L. VI, Cap. XLIX, 219.

In this first approach to the source, we were able to recognize marks that are distinguished through three sound categories: natural, artificial and social sounds. The first one was integrated by the sounds produced by different animals and the geography of America, which, in the author's consideration, had positive or negative characteristics that described these new territories. The outstanding artificial sounds were those produced by diverse instruments similar to the known ones (drums, trumpets, *atabales*, etc.), that participated in the establishment of the conflictive relations in the meeting of human groups so dissimilar in their social and cultural configurations. Also, within this category the presence of noise was emphasized, a notion that has a complex semantic field, while designating both unpleasant sounds and conflict situations that led to social disorder, both meanings coming from the Castilian culture of the Late Middle Ages. The third group, social sounds, was composed by those sonic manifestations of language that have been recorded in writing and that allow us to know the sound universe of the speakers and the *performativity* of their words in the speech. The auditory dimension, in addition to the enunciation instance, also consists of the reception, both phases of a same process that can be unfolded in order to analyze the implications of each of them. The listening process (reception) is not established unconsciously; it follows cultural patterns that share the subjects of the same society, as was the case of our chronicler who left his mark in his work by highlighting the importance of hearing, at the time of the fact, or later through reading, certain important voices that involved the establishment of the social order so longed for in the New World.

Therefore, we can conclude that it is possible to carry out a sound analysis of the work "*Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar océano*", paying attention to the methodological tools given by different social sciences for its approach. The different sound marks that we have been able to highlight in this work, demonstrate this power and reveal the need to contextualize each of them in order to build the soundscape of America that transmits this representative work of two times that came together in the XVI century.

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Antonio Pigafetta, reports about *Primer Viaje alrededor del Globo (1519-1522)*

Mariana Zapatero
Universidad Católica Argentina

To Miguel Barbero, an eternal medieval traveler.

*“...el viajero está sometido de manera permanente al asombro de ver, de saborear, de tocar, de sentir, de oír y de zambullirse, incluso en otras dimensiones sensoriales que tienen que ver con percepciones que le eran desconocidas”*¹

David Le Breton

(... the traveler is permanently subjected to the amazement of seeing, tasting, touching, feeling, hearing and diving, even in other sensory dimensions that have to do with perceptions that were unknown to him)

The global nature of the first global journey

Close to the 500th anniversary of the voyage that Fernando de Magallanes started in August 1519 and Juan Sebastián Elcano concluded in September 1522, the obligatory commemorations are being prepared and they will certainly be precipitate (re)evaluations, assessments, studies and readings on the *Relación del primer viaje alrededor del mundo* written by Antonio Pigafetta, main record, for its length and complexity of data, of that "atrevido proyecto" (daring project) —as he defined it.² So, it seems appropriate to present an inclusive balance that considers the main analysis perspectives that were performed on the historical process of this voyage, in order to propose a sensory-type study about the work.

The expedition of Magellan-Elcano achieved the first circumnavigation of the earth, giving global dimensions to the links between geographical spaces and cultures, whose explanation is given by four progressive historical axes: the overseas expansion, the transformation of the border space, the conformation of Atlantic civilization and, finally, the beginning of the First Global Age.

¹ David Le Breton, *Caminar. Elogio de los caminos y de la lentitud* (Buenos Aires: Waldhuter, 2014), 50.

² Antonio Pigafetta, *Primer viaje alrededor del Globo*, edited by B. Caetano, (Seville: Civiliter, 2012). For a greater clarity, the citations will be referenced with the number of the book and the page, for example [I, 7]; Cf.: <http://sevilla.2019-2022.org/>

In virtue of naval innovations, in the techniques of navigation and cartography, the borders of the Mediterranean world expanded in the space of the late medieval times, activating dynamics of interaction, inclusion, segregation. The history of geographical discoveries has a particularly fruitful stage between the first voyage of Columbus in 1492 and precisely that of Magellan-Elcano between 1519-1522; meanwhile, Vasco da Gama had rounded South Africa by the Cape of Good Hope in 1497.³ With a predominance of Spaniards and Portuguese, then French, English, Dutch, Germans and Italians, a global context was created by the interconnection between European, Asian, African and American spaces. Thus, the successive processes of exploration and colonization of maritime character demonstrated, in the clear words of Aznar Vallejo, the translation of the geographical axis from the “Mare Nostrum al océano” (Mare Nostrum to the Ocean) and the birth of the so-called *Atlantic civilization*,⁴ based on a new political order led by the national monarchies and on the formation of a new economic space.

The largest consecutive evolution after those discoveries concerns the monetary economy,⁵ and an important development of local, regional and international trade. Local societies are transformed, intensifying their economies; there were new mercantile techniques, markets, routes, merchandise, patterns of demand and consumption, which are generalized in the global picture. But also, trade at a global scale was a powerful link not only for the implicit economic exchanges, but also because it was the channel of diffusion and transfer of models and cultural symbols, intercommunication far beyond the lands (with) their seas.⁶ This is how the first modern globalization⁷ originated.

To some extent, this beginning of the First Global Age was documented by Antonio Pigafetta when reporting that first voyage round the world, which meant multiple

³ José Luis Comellas, *La primera vuelta al mundo* (Madrid: RIALP, 2012), 13.

⁴ Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, “Exploración y colonización en la configuración de la Europa atlántica,” in *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 35 (2008), 45-61.

⁵ Jacques Le Goff, *¿Realmente es necesario cortar la historia en rebanadas?* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2016), 88.

⁶ Aznar, “Exploración y colonización,” 46.

⁷ Hilario Casado Alonso, “Comercio y hombres de negocios castellanos y navarros en los inicios de la ‘Primera Edad Global’,” in *En los umbrales de España: la incorporación del reino de Navarra a la monarquía hispana / XXXVIII Semana de Estudios Medievales. Estella*, July 08 to 22, 2011, Pamplona, Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Cultura, Turismo y Relaciones Institucionales, D.L. (2012), 333-370. — “La formación del espacio económico Atlántico (siglos XV y XVI). Las transferencias de mercancías y símbolos en la ‘Primera Edad Global’,” in J.R. Díaz de Durana Ortiz de Urbina and J. A. Munita Loinaz (eds.), *La apertura de Europa al mundo atlántico. Espacios de poder, economía marítima, y circulación cultural* (Universidad del País Vasco, 2011), 117-142.

⁸ Cecilia Bahr and Mariana Zapatero, “Señales de modernidad: representaciones históricas en el relato de viaje de Antonio Pigafetta (1519-1520),” in *II Workshop “Perspectivas Interdisciplinarias sobre relatos de viaje, representaciones y experiencia moderna (Siglos XVI-XVIII). Homenaje a Rogelio C. Paredes”*, Museo Etnográfico “Juan B. Ambrosetti”, Buenos Aires, March 16 and 17, 2017.

connections and breaks. It implied a geographical break: the experimental verification that the earth was round; an economic break: the discovery of the strait that allowed to reach the East, and finally, a political break: the Spanish preeminence in the domain of the orb.⁸

These repercussions of the voyage of Magellan justify that it was a renowned historical experience, albeit the episodes of the voyage have been distributed in many different studies related to the ultramarine expansion of the first modernity, either in the form of biography centered on Magellan or Elcano, or as literature, for its character as a travel story, or even in geography, ethnography and cartography.

In fact, this heterogeneity of publications interfered with Pigafetta's writing, by the style of his pen, by his inaccuracies or exaggerations, his devotion to Magellan and his silence about Elcano.⁹ Updated reviews are required, and a global approach is demanded, such as a perspective that analyzes and integrates the processes of mobility and exchange of goods, people, ideas and institutions that transcend borders and whose point of departure is the interconnected world.¹⁰

From the interest in understanding the communication among the active ideas of the source, some first approximations were made. On the occasion of a colloquium about the Atlantic ports, together with Gerardo Rodríguez, I compared the description of the travels of Christopher Columbus and Antonio Pigafetta, in order to analyze if in those trips there was an awareness of the potentialities of port spaces: their location, configuration and suitability for the creation of ports, a maritime border and an economic space, for commercial or strategic purposes.¹¹ Second, with Cecilia Bahr we tracked the various signs of the first modernity in the work, trying to demonstrate how an evolution of political, socio-economic and cultural values was manifested.¹² In a third moment, comparative sensory explorations were made between the reports of Christopher

⁹ See Comellas, *La primera vuelta al mundo*, 34-37. Ana María Prieto Lucena, "La visión del indígena en Pigafetta," in M. D. Elizalde Pérez-Grueso, J. Ma. Fradera, L.A. Álvarez (coord.), *Imperios y naciones en el Pacífico*, vol. 1, 2001, 249-263; Fernando Rivera, "Paraíso caníbal. Cosmografía simbólica del Mundus Novus," in *Tabula Rasa*, 10 (2009), 265-306.

¹⁰ Sebastian Conrad, *Historia global. Una nueva visión para el mundo actual* (Madrid: Crítica, 2017), 10.

¹¹ Mariana Zapatero and Gerardo Rodríguez, "El mar visto desde la cubierta: diarios de a bordo y relatos de viajes (1492-ca.1550)," in *Colloque International "Ports Nouveaux, Ports Pionniers, XVIe-XXIe siècles,"* Université Bretagne Sud, Lorient, October 06 to 08, 2016.

¹² Pedro Martínez García, "Una primera mirada a Latinoamérica," in A. Luengo and S. Schlickers (coord.), *La reinventación de Latinoamérica: enfoques interdisciplinarios desde las dos orillas* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012), 57-75.

Columbus and Antonio Pigafetta, investigating these first perceptions of the Atlantic and of the American coasts.¹³

These first trials were a framework for an historical-economic basis for the purpose of this project that is to distinguish, explain and understand the cultural historical meaning of sensory experience described in this first trip around the world by Antonio Pigafetta.

First trip around the globe: historical experience / sensory experience

Pigafetta starts his writing with a personal presentation and a double explanation of his motivations and objectives: the Magellanic journey and his own work. To this last he refers in the following way:

“...sabía que navegando en el Océano se observan cosas admirables, determiné de cerciorarme por mis propios ojos de la verdad de todo lo que se contaba, a fin de poder hacer a los demás la relación de mi viaje, tanto para entretenerlos como para serles útiles y crearme, a la vez, un nombre que llegase a la posteridad”. (I, 8)

(... I knew that by sailing in the ocean you can see admirable things, so I determined to make sure by my own eyes of the truth of all that is narrated, in order to be able to make a report of my trip, both to entertain them and to be useful and create for me, at the same time, a name that comes to posterity [I, 8]).

After another paragraph he goes on:

“A mi regreso a Italia, Su Santidad el Soberano Pontífice Clemente VII, ante quien tuve el honor de presentarme (...) y de referirle las aventuras de mi viaje (...) díjome que le sería muy agradable poseer una copia del diario de mi viaje; híceme, pues, un deber en deferir lo mejor que pude a los deseos del Santo Padre”. (...) (I, 8)

(Upon my return to Italy, His Holiness the Sovereign Pontiff Clement VII, before whom I had the honor of introducing myself (...) and telling him about the adventures of my trip (...) he told me that it would be very nice to have a copy of the diary of my trip; so I made it my duty to perform the best I could the wishes of the Holy Father ... [I, 8])

¹³ Gerardo Rodríguez and Mariana Zapatero, “Percepciones sensoriales del Atlántico y de los espacios litorales marítimos del Nuevo Mundo, de Colón a Pigafetta,” in *Décimas Jornadas Internacionales de Historia de España “Redes de poder, espacios culturales y actividades económicas en la Historia de España,”* Fundación para la Historia de España, Buenos Aires, September 07 to 09, 2016; Gerardo Rodríguez and Mariana Zapatero, “Sentir América. Registros sensoriales europeos del Atlántico y de Sudamérica (siglos XV-XVI),” in II Workshop “*Perspectivas Interdisciplinarias sobre relatos de viaje, representaciones y experiencia moderna (Siglos XVI-XVIII). Homenaje a Rogelio C. Paredes,*” Museo Etnográfico “Juan B. Ambrosetti,” Buenos Aires, March 16 y 17, 2017.

If we link the various data presented here, the study of the Pigafettean work is justified as a historical sensory experience. In principle, what kind of story is it: relationship, adventure, diary? —according to what the author says— or a chronicle, or a treatise? A story about travels involve considering a genre in which the theme is presented: memories, letters, diaries, diplomatic correspondence, family, business, each one with its historiographical amplitude; in particular, the European expansion through the Atlantic was witnessed in a unique way in logbooks or trip accounts, and a distinction must be made between the *literature of travel* that has fiction as a reference, from the *trip report* that has a relevant informative and documentary component.¹⁴

At the same time, the word *report* of the narrative reasonably ties it to its historical context of the first globality, so much so that in the first meaning of the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy *relación* [report] is defined as an “exposición que se hace de un hecho” (exposition that is made of a fact), and in the second place it is added: “conexión, correspondencia de algo con otra cosa” (connection, correspondence of something with something else).¹⁵

The young Italian foresees the opportunity to observe “cosas admirables” (admirable things) and will endeavor to write “la verdad de todo” (the truth of everything), and because of his character as a witness, he justifies being able to tell the truth to the facts as he perceived them “por mis propios ojos” (by my own eyes), activating the game of sensation and perception.¹⁶ It is to be noted that although Pigafetta was part of the maritime company, he had the role of writing the events, he was a foreign counsel at the service of Spanish power and so he did not respond to the character of navigator-colonizer, whereby his perceptions oscillate between the chronicle and the literature, with an elegant, descriptive style.¹⁷ This universe of Pigafettean discourse constitutes a historical cultural documentary source that defines those times of transit towards the first modernity and that at the same time is a sensory story.

¹⁴ Sofia Carrizo Rueda, “Analizar un relato de viajes. Una propuesta de abordaje desde las características del género y sus diferencias con la “literatura de viajes,” in R. Beltrán (ed.), *Maravillas, peregrinaciones y utopías: Literatura de viajes en el mundo románico* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2002), 343–358.

¹⁵ Real Academia Española – Diccionario de Autoridades: <http://www.rae.es/recursos/diccionarios/diccionarios-antiores-1726-1996/diccionario-de-autoridades>. (accessed February 11, 2017)

¹⁶ Antonio Pigafetta, also known as Antonio Lombardo, was born in late 1492 or early 1493 in Vincenza (near Venice), son of Giovanni di Antonino and presumably of Lucia Muzan– Diccionario Biográfico Treccani, *Diccionario biográfico degli Italiani*, (2015), vol. 83. Available in: <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tag/antonio-pigafetta>. (accessed February 10, 2017)

¹⁷ Mónica Vera, “Proceso de singularización en la escritura colonial en Antonio Pigafetta: fluctuaciones entre el yo, el nosotros y el ellos,” in *Telar* 11-12 (2013-2014), 114-133.

From the first discoveries to those that showed the limits and steps of the Atlantic Ocean, a period of scientific collective work is opened; the news perceptions, news and data that sailors, chroniclers and travelers are incorporating in their travel stories, and they are interpreted by the new men of science. From this the relevance of travel reports derives as an exceptional testimony of historical signs, in addition to its contribution to the development of cartography. The descriptive resources of these stories not only predominate, but also they have no quantitative limit; they are very varied (geographical, material, experiential, natural, ethnographic), and finally they turn the itinerary into the main protagonist. They document a series of information and impressions on a tour of certain territories; the descriptions are those that assume the function of concentrating the attention of the receiver, and the sum of these descriptions is simply a report of the characteristics of the crossing as an open series of specifications without a determining structure, although with an internal coherence directly related to the development of the trip itself. The traveler intends to communicate and transmit what he perceived in contact with a fragment of the world.¹⁸

This is how it is understood, how Pigafetta transmits what he observed while sailing in the oceans, as well as the adventures and misadventures of the journey with a view to make it entertaining, beneficial and in such a way that his name lasts. He shows himself as a man between two periods: “gentilhombre vicentino, caballero de Rodas” (gentleman of Vicenza, knight of Rhodes); of humanistic training, he was driven by personal observation, he answered to utilitarian intentions and had aspirations of fame as a transcendent factor of personal experience and merits, all at the same time.¹⁹ He frequented the Castilian court and the environment of the then papal delegate Francisco Chieregato, dedicating the work “al muy excelente y muy ilustre señor Felipe Villiers de 'Isle-Adam, Gran Maestre de Rodas” (to the very excellent and very illustrious gentleman Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, Grand Master of Rhodes). On one side he clings to the ideal of the Knight of the Order of Rhodes even before the definitive failure of the adventure that the monks soldiers had initiated with the crusades, and, on the other, he shows a direct contact with

¹⁸ Sofia Carrizo Rueda, “El viaje omnipresente. Su funcionalidad discursiva en los relatos culturales de la segunda modernidad,” in *Letras* 57-58 (2008), 45-56.

¹⁹ Agustín García Simón, *Castilla y León según la visión de los viajeros extranjeros. Siglos XV-XIX*, (Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), 15-17.

the Italian Renaissance, with the breaking of the Christian West from Luther, with the pope turned into a Machiavellian prince.²⁰

Within the enormous historiography in relation to the trips of the first European discoveries there is a current distinction between medieval travelers and Atlantic explorers, which extends to the analysis of the perception of the said travelers and chroniclers, asking what they think and how they describe. Historical subjects that from a European perception transmit a European interpretation of a historical space with a plurality of political and cultural forms, (representations, beliefs, conflicts, legitimacies, etc.) that are embodied in a *tempo*, which will not remain immutable.

The descriptions of new territories did not respond only to the curiosity of their authors for the new realities and did not have the sole purpose of nurturing the European imagination in connection with their books of cavalry readings. They were requirements of the empires to evaluate and justify the legitimacy of their conquering and colonizing projects: “En el caso de España, las particularidades de su proyecto imperial determinan de una u otra forma qué ven y cómo representan los descubridores el nuevo mundo” (In the case of Spain, the particularities of its imperial project determine in a way or other what they see and how the discoverers represent the new world).²¹ They respond to various intentions: ideological, political, economic and scientific.

In fact, it is worth highlighting the possible comparison with another of the records of the same first trip around the globe, carried out by the pilot Francisco de Albo, who started it on November 29, 1519 at Cape San Agustín, finishing it on September 4, 1522. He stipulates with meticulousness the geographical particularities and measurements

²⁰ Little is known about his early years and his education - he could have been trained in cartography and mathematics in Venice - but his life is documented from his entry into the service of Monsignor Francesco Chiericati while he held a high position in the Roman papal court of Leo X. In that court, he broadens his reading and general knowledge with "the wise men" who frequented it, and apparently studies the French language. When in 1518, his protector was sent to Spain by the Supreme Pontiff, Pigafetta traveled among his collaborators to the court of Charles I to settle later in Barcelona following the prelate. The knowledge of the news that circulated on the trips of Columbus, Américo Vespucio and Vasco da Gama seems to have awakened his interest in sailing towards unknown seas and territories. Chiericati, protector and fundamental character in the youthful stage of Pigafetta, had been born in the same Vicenza in 1579, member of a noble family, and entered into the service of the papacy, making a successful career. Leo X appointed him nuncio in England between 1515-17, then was sent to Portugal and Spain between 1518-19 - accompanied by Pigafetta-. During his stay in the Spanish court, Chiericati established a relationship with Adrian Florent, known as Adriano from Utrecht, who had been a preceptor and was Charles's trusted man. In 1520 he was sent with the papal commission to the Diet of Worms where the ideas of Luther were condemned and when Hadrian was appointed pope as Adrian VI, he appointed Chiericati as bishop of Terano. Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 56-57.

²¹ Stefanie Massmann, “Geografías del imperio: Utopía y desencanto en las representaciones del Estrecho de Magallanes (1520 y 1620),” in *Hispanófila*, V.172 (2014), 25-40.

demonstrating the knowledge of the pilots and their obligation to point out defeats and marks to deliver them to the *Casa de Contratación* for the Chief Pilot to complete the official nautical Register as a guide for subsequent trips.

In the right words of Fernando Castillo Durán, the two members of the extraordinary expedition, introduced by the reports journals that they wrote of the trip, “de manera conjunta, uno a la luz del otro, uno, según como, enfrente del otro” (jointly, one in the light of the other, one, according to us, in front of the other),²² they will correspond to the sensory paradigm with different perspectives; both documentary sources are cultural stories of contemporary historical subjects that manifest themselves according to their own social patterns, and whose comparison provides a complementary historical functionality.

Thus, we verify that the sensory experience of this historical experience of Pigafetta, refers to the concepts of the anthropology of the senses to the beat of the *cultural turn*.²³ If the "sensation" is understood as the answer of the organs of the senses in front of a stimulus, and the "perception" includes the interpretation of those sensations, giving them meaning and organization, it is necessary to pay attention to social codes that determine sensory behavior, since the senses transmit cultural values in virtue of how we mean the experiences in time.²⁴ The notion of sensory perceptions is made explicit as the projection of meanings determined by social and cultural logics of each society.²⁵

Cultural history, by encompassing the study of multiple practices such as complex procedures of manufacture, circulation and appropriation of objects, of participation and metamorphosis of the subjects involved, of conformation, imposition and resistance of social networks,²⁶ aims to reconstitute the system of representations through which a

²² Fernando del Castillo Durán, *Las crónicas de Indias*, Intervención cultural, 2004, 135-151. He makes a comparison and highlights the differences between the narrations of both authors. In relation to the objective of the present study, the sensorial references and in particular auditory are almost null, if it notifies in a simple way: nautical references, maneuvers, climatic details, the vegetation, the populations and their riches, the measurements are of greater accuracy.

²³ Philippe Poirrier, “La historia cultural en Francia. ‘Una historia social de las representaciones’,” in *La historia cultural ¿un giro historiográfico mundial?*, Philippe Poirrier (ed.), (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2012), 41 et seq.

²⁴ Cf. Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt (dir.), *Abordajes sensoriales del mundo medieval*, Mar del Plata, Grupo de Investigación y Estudios Medievales - UNMdP, 2017.

Gerardo Rodríguez y Gisela Coronado Schwindt (dir.), *Paisajes sensoriales, sonidos y silencios de la Edad Media* (Mar del Plata, Grupo de Investigación y Estudios Medievales – UNMdP), 2016.

²⁵ Le Breton, *Caminar*, 11-17.

²⁶ José Emilio Burucúa, *Eadem utraque Europa*, 1 (2005), 7-12.

certain society is exposed. The senses are part of these representations, because they are incorporated, constructed and sustained intellectual schemes.²⁷

Classification of the reported sensoriality. Meanings

There is a sensory narration that we can follow. In pre-departure considerations they were already predisposed to "... a long journey across the ocean, where the winds blow with fury and where the storms are very frequent ... "[I, 10]

Next, the work is presented organized in four books that mark the stages of the "daring project":

1. Departure from Seville to the mouth of the Strait of Magellan,
2. Departure from the Strait until the death of the captain Magellan and departure from Zebu,
3. From Zebu until the departure from the Moluccan Islands,
4. From the Moluccan Islands to Spain.

The voyage was between the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans, and following the enumeration of Comellas:

"Abarca tres años, (...) toca o contornea todos los grandes continentes: atraviesa cuatro veces el ecuador, y con el cambio de hemisferios siente o sufre todos los climas, (...) Une a los peligros de la naturaleza los peligros de los hombres, conoce guerras y enemistades, motines y deserciones (...)"²⁸

(It covers three large continents: (...) touch or outline all the great continents: it crosses four times the equator, and with the change of hemispheres feels or suffers all climates, (...) it joins the dangers of men to the dangers of nature, it knows wars and enmities, riots and desertions...)

An initial classification will be established in four groups of the reported sensoriality, identifying the sensory and intersensory marks, with special interest in hearing in order

²⁷ Roger Chartier, "La historia cultural redefinida: prácticas, representaciones, apropiaciones," in *Revista Punto de Vista*, 39 (1990), 44-60. Gerardo Rodríguez and Mariana Zapatero, "Percepciones sensoriales del Atlántico y de los espacios litorales marítimos del Nuevo Mundo, de Colón a Pigafetta," in *Actas X Jornadas Internacionales de Historia de España*, T.XIII, *Fundación para la Historia de España*, Buenos Aires, 2016-2017, 295-304. This communication aims at the comparative study of the perceptions and sensory descriptions of the Atlantic and the littoral areas of the New World, in the story of two pioneers such as Christopher Columbus and Antonio Pigafetta, whose texts made possible the transformation of a fantastic and wonderful space in a real and accurate space.

²⁸ Comellas, *La primera vuelta al mundo*, 9.

to outline the soundscape of the Pigafetta work. The sensory perception of the chronicler materializes in his descriptions, multiplying the geographic and ethnographic references of the flora and fauna that is discovering.

Classification of records:

a. Verbal language

In the story the recognition of voices is very frequent, through certain words and their nuances: timbre, volume and rhythm; Pigafetta points out the modalities of expression of the communication and often transmits the emotion of the circumstances:

“...replicó, preguntó, habiendo oído, suplicaba, contestándonos, conjurónos, imprecicar y rogó, implorando,...corrió a advertir y a llamar a los otros..., lanzaron gritos de alegría..., le dirigió la palabra, agradeció,

“...habiéndoles enseñado a pronunciar el nombre de Jesús, la oración dominical, (...) lo que logró ejecutar tan bien como nosotros, aunque con voz muy recia. (I, 24)

...queriendo tomar prisioneras a dos mujeres ‘de esta raza de gigantes... lanzaron tan fuertes gritos que las oíamos desde muy lejos’ (I, 25)

...y me puse a gritar con tanta fuerza que me oyeron, viniendo con el esquife en mi auxilio...” (II, 45)

(... he replied, asked, having heard, pleaded, answering, he conjured us, imprecated and begged, imploring, ... he ran to warn and call the others (...), they shouted for joy (...), spoke to him, thanked them, [...] having taught them to pronounce the name of Jesus, the Sunday prayer, (...) which he managed to perform as well as we did, although with a very strong voice. [I, 24]

wanting to take two women "of this race of giants prisoners ... they launched such loud cries that we heard them from far away." [I, 25]

... and I started shouting so loudly that they heard me, coming with the skiff to help me ... " [II, 45])

He appeals to broad descriptions that give a perception as accurate as possible, conjugating the senses. When they reach “un gran río de agua dulce...” (a great freshwater river -the current Río de la Plata-), he characterizes the cannibals: “Uno de ellos de estatura gigantesca y cuya voz se asemejaba a la del toro...” (I, 19) (one of them of gigantic stature and whose voice resembled that of the bull... [I, 19])

Or make the attempt to understand the concept of the word issued, through non-verbal language; to communicate, for example, with the Patagonian giant they had taken prisoner: “...preguntándole por medio de una especie de pantomima el nombre de varios objetos en su idioma, de manera que llegué a formar un pequeño vocabulario” (I, 34).

(asking him through of a kind of pantomime the name of various objects in their language, so I managed to form a small vocabulary. [I, 34])

The silence of the voice, expressed gesturally, also served as a means of cultural transfer, but, in turn, this dynamics of the voice that was emitted and re-interpreted, had a constant round-trip:

“Le explicó por medio del intérprete, cómo había encontrado el Estrecho para llegar al mar en que nos hallábamos, y cuántas lunas había pasado en el mar sin divisar tierra. El rey, admirado de todo lo que acababa de oír y de ver...” (II, 48)

“...preguntándole al mismo tiempo los nombres que algunos objetos tenían en su idioma, habiéndose sorprendido todos al vérmelos escribir”. (II, 49)

(He explained through the interpreter, how he had found the Strait to reach the sea in which we were, and how many moons had passed in the sea without spotting earth. The king, admired of everything that he had just heard and seen ... [II, 48])

(... asking them at the same time the names that some objects had in their language, everyone was surprised when they saw them writing. [II, 49])

Likewise, the value of the voice is marked by issuing messages; in the account the dialogues are specified, direct or by interpreters, or also the voices are valued; when being heard they cause an effect:

“...les dijo que, convencido de lo que acaba de oír, no solo no exigía derecho alguno, sino que, si lo pedían, estaba presto a hacerse tributario del Emperador. (II, 58)

El comandante asumió este tono orgulloso y amenazante para que el moro hiciese de ello relación al rey. (II, 59)

...estos isleños, conmovidos y persuadidos de todo lo que acababan de oír, respondieron que tenían plena confianza en él, oyendo lo cual el comandante, llorando de puro conmovido los abrazó a todos”. (II, 61)

(... he told them that, convinced of what he had just heard, not only did he not demand any right, but, if they ask him, he was ready to make himself tributary to the Emperor. [II, 58]

The commander took on this proud and threatening tone so that the Moor would make the king aware of it. [II, 59]

... these islanders, moved and being persuaded of everything they had just heard, responded that they had full confidence in him, and the commander, hearing this, crying of pure emotion, hugged them all. [II, 61])

b. Nature, climate and its variations, the animals

In addition to detailing the route, the morphology of the coast, the climate with its variations, he recognizes rivers, bays, mouths or channels, highlighting the potentialities of nature that he observes and its characteristics:

“...no hay ni fuente ni rio, pero que crece un árbol grande cuyas hojas destilan continuamente gotas de un agua excelente...” (I,13)

A cada media legua se encuentra en él un puerto seguro, agua excelente, madera de cedro, sardinas y marisco en gran abundancia. (...) creo que no hay en el mundo un estrecho mejor que éste”. (I, 33)

(... there is no source or river, but a large tree grows whose leaves continuously distill drops of an excellent water... [I, 13]

Every half league there is a safe port, excellent water, cedar wood, sardines and seafood in great abundance. (...) I think there is no strait in the world better than this. [I, 33])

In each stopover he specifies the possible wealth of usufruct: "there was a great abundance of shells that contained pearls, though small, ostriches, foxes, rabbits and incense". "It was well worth this coast and its natural harbor and they took" ... possession of this land in the name of King of Spain". [I, 28]

“Este río forma siete islas pequeñas, en la mayor de las cuales, llamada cabo de Santa María, se encuentran piedras preciosas...” (I,19)

(This river forms seven small islands, in the largest of which, called Cabo de Santa María, there are precious stones ... [I, 19])

Although, in this kind of records, there is less sonority, due to the humanistic nuance of his pen, sometimes, his story achieves a certain sound effect, together with the precisions that he wants to report:

“Aquí experimentamos vientos contrarios o calmas chichas acompañadas de lluvias, hasta la línea equinoccial, habiendo durado este tiempo lluvioso sesenta días, a pesar de la opinión de los antiguos...” (I, 13)

Estaba en la playa casi desnudo, cantando y danzando al mismo tiempo y echándose arena sobre la cabeza (I, 21)”

(Here we experience contrary winds or a dead calm accompanied by rains, up to the equinoctial line, this rainy weather having lasted sixty days, despite the opinion of the ancients ... [I, 13]

He was almost naked on the beach, singing and dancing at the same time and throwing sand on his head. [I, 21])

The animals that he discovers are reviewed with numerous details and comparisons. He quotes: birds of different species, flying fish, penguins, sea lions, guanacos, wild boars, crocodiles, shellfish, turtles, etc.

“...nadaban cerca de nuestra nave grandes peces llamados tiburones. Estos peces poseen varias hiladas de dientes formidables (...). Nosotros cogimos algunos con

anzuelos de hierro; pero los más grandes no sirven para comer y los pequeños no valen gran cosa”. (I, 14)

(... big fish called sharks swam near our ship. These fish have several courses of formidable teeth (...) We caught some with iron hooks; but the biggest ones are not good for eating and the little ones are not worth anything. [I, 14])

Sometimes, in addition to the physical specifications of the animals and their usefulness, he mentions their sound intervention:

“...un pájaro negro, del tamaño de un cuervo, venía durante la noche a posarse sobre las casas, infundiéndolo con sus gritos miedo a los perros, que se ponían a aullar todos mientras no venía el alba”. (II, 74)

(... a black bird, the size of a crow, came during the night to perch on the houses, with its screams instilling fear to dogs, which were all howling while the dawn was not coming. [II, 74])

c. Populations: customs

His appraisals give an account of physical features, customs and beliefs of the populations with which they are coming into contact: the Brazilians, the cannibals, the Patagonians, and the natives of the Pacific islands. The sensory descriptions try to decode the villages found and coding them according to the cultural classification:

“...tanto las mujeres como los hombres, se pintan el cuerpo, especialmente el rostro, de una manera extraña y en diferentes estilos (...)

Casi todos los hombres llevan el labio inferior taladrado con tres agujeros por los cuales pasan pequeños cilindros de piedra del largo de dos pulgadas. (...) Su color es más bien oliváceo que negro. (I, 17)

La boca y las uñas las tenían pintadas de un rojo muy vivo”. (II, 68)

(... both women and men painted their bodies, especially the face, in a strange way and in different styles (...) Almost all men wear the lower lip drilled with three holes through which they pass small two-inch long stone cylinders. (...) Their color is rather olive than black. [I, 17]

The mouth and nails were painted in a very alive red. [II, 68])

Sound functionalities are perceived in the customs:

“...se aparecen de diez a doce demonios que bailan y cantan a su derredor. Uno de ellos, que hace más ruido que los demás, es el jefe o gran diablo, que llaman Setebos. (I, 26)

Uno de estos boys encierra algunas veces hasta cien hombres, con sus mujeres e hijos: se siente por lo tanto siempre mucho ruido”. (I, 16)

(...from ten to twelve demons appear that dance and sing around them. One of them, who does more noise than the others, is the boss or great devil, who is called Setebos. [I, 26]

One of these boys [rooms] sometimes locks up one hundred men, with their wives and children: therefore always much noise is heard. [I, 16])

There is evidence of a variety of musical instruments, whose sonority gives identity to those who participate of their musicality, although Pigafetta gives them his own valorization:

“Estos isleños son dados al placer y a la ociosidad... las jóvenes tocan los timbales; usan también una especie de gaita, que se asemeja mucho a la nuestra... (II, 65)

Se veían también, cuatro timbales, uno muy grande, otro mediano y dos pequeños, con los cuales la reina se entretenía tocando”. (III, 85)

(These islanders are given to pleasure and leisure (...) the girls play the timbals; they use also a kind of bagpipe, which is very similar to ours. [II, 65]

There were also four timbals, one very big, another medium and two small, and the queen was busy playing them. [III, 85])

Likewise the "superstitious ceremonies" for Pigafetta, show in spite of himself, the belief of said islanders in the effectiveness of the sound, for example, in the blessing of the pig, next to the exercise of rituals and the enjoyment of food:

“Comienzan estas ceremonias por hacer sonar enormes timbales, (...) baila y toca igualmente su trompeta (...) habla al sol con una voz ronca”. (II, 72-73)

(These ceremonies begin by sounding huge timbals, (...) he dances and plays likewise his trumpet (...) he speaks to the sun with a hoarse voice. [II, 72-73])

It should be noted that in accordance with the explicit objective of Pigafetta to make known the minor details, and in the game of perception / knowledge of the other, he appreciates all social manifestations (clothing, food, customs, ceremonies, material culture), revealing his impressions about smells, tastes, colors, textures, utensils and practices.²⁹

²⁹ “...echan mirra, estoraque y benjuí que esparcen una fragancia muy agradable. (II, 74)

“El bizcocho que comíamos ya no era pan, sino un polvo mezclado de gusanos que habían devorado toda sus sustancia, y que además tenía un hedor insoportable por hallarse impregnado de orines de ratas. El agua que nos vimos aun obligados a beber estaba igualmente podrida y hedionda. Para no morirnos de hambre, nos vimos obligados a comer pedazos de cuero de vaca con que se había forrado la gran verga para evitar que la madera destruyera las cuerdas...

“...hasta las ratas, tan repelentes para el hombre habían llegado a ser un alimento tan delicado que se pagaba medio ducado por cada una”. (II, 35)

“La reina (...) se sentó (...), habiéndola el comandante rociado, (...) con agua de rosas almizclada, olor que agrada muchísimo a las mujeres de este país”. (II, 69)

d. Cultural codes

In particular, we can highlight the narration of sounds that are transmitting Pigafetta's own codes and those of the natives:

“...se dispararon seis tiros de bombardas en señal de paz (...) por honrar al rey..., hicimos una descarga general de artillería y en la noche encendimos fuegos artificiales (III, 121)

Varias luces y algunos tiros de bombardas servían para advertir que nos hallábamos cerca de la tierra (...) Una multitud inmensa, alarmada por el ruido de las bombardas. Comenzó el intérprete por tranquilizar al rey diciéndole que tal era nuestro uso y que este ruido no era sino un saludo en señal de paz y amistad, para honrar a la vez al rey y a la isla”. [II, 56]

(six shots of bombard were fired in signal of peace [...] for honoring the king ..., we made an artificial fire and in the night we lit fireworks. [III, 121]

Several lights and some shots of bombards warned us that we were near the earth [...] An immense crowd, alarmed by the noise from the bombards. The interpreter began by reassuring the king telling him that such was our use and that this noise was nothing but a salute in signal of peace and friendship, to honor both the king and the island. [II, 56])

The new sound -strident and strange- generates fear to those who experience a sonority coming from the nature, although in the face of knowledge and its repetition, they naturalize it:

“En el momento en que iban a partir hizo disparar una bombardas, de la que se espantaron tanto que muchos se preparaban a tirarse al mar para huir, aunque no costó mucho persuadirles de que no tenían nada que temer, de suerte que se despidieron tranquilamente...” (II, 43)

(At the moment they were going to leave, he ordered to fire a bombard, from which they were so frightened that many were preparing to throw themselves into the sea to

“Comen una especie de pan redondo y blanco, que no nos agradó, hecho con la médula (...) con la albura (capa blanda, de color blanquecino, que se halla inmediatamente debajo de la corteza en los tallos leñosos o troncos) que se encuentra” (I,18) en algunos árboles...

“se alimentan de ordinario de carne cruda y de una raíz dulce... Son grandes comedores (...) Devoraban los ratones crudos y aun con la piel”. (I, 27)

(... they pour myrrh, storax and benzoin that spread a very pleasant fragrance. [II, 74] The cake we ate was no longer bread, but a powder mixed with worms that had devoured all its substance, and that also had an unbearable stench because it was impregnated with rat urine. The water that we were still forced to drink was similarly rotten and smelly. In order not to die of hunger, we were forced to eat pieces of cowhide with which the big yard had been lined to prevent the wood from destroying the ropes ... even the rats, so repellent for man, had come to be a food so delicate that half a duchy was paid for each one". [II, 35] The queen (...) sat down (...), having the commander sprinkled her, (...) with musk rose water, an odor that pleases the women of this country very much. [II, 69] They eat a kind of round, white bread, which we did not like, made with the marrow (...) with the sapwood (soft layer, whitish color, which is immediately below the bark on the woody stems or trunks) found [I, 18] in some trees ... they usually eat raw meat and a sweet root ... They are great eaters (...) They devoured raw mice and even with their skin. [I, 27])

flee, although it did not take much to persuade them that they had nothing to fear, so they said goodbye quietly... [II, 43])

The progression in the linking, enables the understanding of the sounds of the code:

“Hacia la noche, el rey y la reina vinieron a la playa en que estábamos, complaciéndose en oír el estrépito inocente de las bombardas, que antes tanto les había atemorizado” (II, 68), o también, la interrelación de sonidos y sus significados: “...el rey nos envió otras tres piraguas muy bien adornadas, que dieron la vuelta a nuestras naves al son de zamponas, timbales y tambores. (...) Les devolvimos el saludo con nuestras bombardas sin cargar”. Se completó la escena con la degustación de algunos guisados y alimentos típicos. (III, 88-89)

(At night, the king and queen came to the beach where we were, indulging in hearing the innocent noise of the bombardas, which had previously frightened them", (II, 68) or also, the interrelation of sounds and their meanings: "... the king sent us other three very well decorated canoes, which went around our ships to the sound of panpipes, timbals and drums. (...) We returned the greeting with our bombardas without load". The scene was completed with the tasting of some stews and typical foods. [III, 88-89])

Similarly, the sense of sight recreated a language of navigation:

So that the ships squad would always march together, he fixed (...) the following rules:

“...para que de noche no se la perdiese de vista, llevaba en la popa un farol; si además (...) encendía una linterna o un estrengue [trozo de cuerda de juncos] las demás naves debían hacer otro tanto (...) Cuando encendía otras dos luces, sin el farol, las naves debían cambiar de dirección...” (I, 11)

(so that at night the ship would not be lost from sight, it carried a lantern in the stern; if in addition (...) he lit a lantern or an *estrengue* [a piece of string of rushes] the other ships had to do the same (...) When he lit another two lights, without the lantern, the ships had to change direction. [I, 11])

And so on: the play of lights recreated a navigation language.

Conclusions

The Pigafetta's travel report presents a set of descriptions derived from his sensory perceptions, which communicate a specific sensory organization. In the first paragraph he tells how his senses will be those which have come out of sensory routines and renewed their references to meanings and values:³⁰

³⁰ A concept appraised by Le Breton, *Caminar*, 50.

“...como hay hombres cuya curiosidad no se satisfaría oyendo simplemente contar las cosas maravillosas que he visto y los trabajos que he sufrido durante la larga y peligrosa expedición que voy a describir...” (I, 7)

(... as there are men whose curiosity would not be satisfied by simply hearing the wonderful things I have seen and the hardships I have suffered during the long and dangerous expedition I am going to describe ... [I, 7])

Such is the abundance of descriptions, in number and sensory variety, that it is possible to perceive details not only through his hearing, but also through his eyes, his sense of smell, his taste, and even through his touch,³¹ which would make possible to assemble a general sensory panorama. Furthermore, we wish to highlight the possibility of establishing a relationship with the history of emotions, as cultural constructions alike, as evidenced in the story in direct correspondence with the auditory perception or the one of some other sense.³²

In particular, the soundscape recorded by Pigafetta can be systematized according to the following rules:

According to the proposal of Idrissa Bâ they can be distinguished by, on the one hand, the descriptive logics through which Europeans naturalize the Atlantic experience and assimilate it according to their criteria and standards; on the other hand, by the explanatory logics, which try to underline the elements that allow to integrate the other, beyond the differences, although this implies denying or ignoring it.³³ And in all these operations the senses are involved, based on a more encompassing historical cultural logic

³¹ “...un vestido a la turquesa, de terciopelo verde, una silla de la misma tela, de color violeta, cinco brazas de paño rojo, un bonete, una taza de vidrio dorado...” (III, 89)

(...a turquoise dress, of green velvet, a chair of the same fabric, of violet color, five bracelets of red cloth, a bonnet, a golden glass cup ... (III, 89))

³² “Cuando los nuestros herían a los isleños con flechas de modo que los pasaban de parte a parte, estos desgraciados trataban de sacárselas del cuerpo (...) muriendo a menudo de la herida: lo que no dejaba de darnos lástima (...) Vimos también en sus canoas mujeres que lloraban y se arrancaban los cabellos, probablemente porque habíamos muerto a sus maridos”. (II, 39)

“Estos isleños conmovidos y persuadidos de todo lo que acababan de oír, respondieron que tenían plena confianza en él, oyendo lo cual el comandante, llorando de puro conmovido, los abrazó a todos”. (II, 61).

“La vista de las llamas los puso más feroces”. (III, 78)

(When our people wounded the islanders with arrows so that they passed them from side to side, these unfortunates tried to get them out of the body (...) often dying from the wound: what gave us not little sorrow (...) We also saw women in their canoes crying and tearing their hair, probably because we had killed their husbands. [II, 39]

These islanders, moved and persuaded of everything they had just heard, answered that they had full confidence in him, hearing that the commander, crying of pure emotion, embraced them all. [II, 61]

The sight of the flames made them more ferocious. [III, 78])

³³ Idrissa Bâ, “‘Ahl Ghazal’, ‘Naçara’...: images et perception des Portugais et des Espagnols par les traditionnistes maures (XVe siècle),” in Guy Saupin (dir.), 49-58. (Courtesy of Gerardo Rodríguez).

of how and why, which allows to understand these sensory perceptions as cultural constructions of their time.

The significance of the sensory comparisons is highlighted as a way of explaining, by contrasting the parameter of the *own* and the *alien* that makes explicit the *known* and the *new*.

In addition, the cultural counterparts become evident: the evaluation of the European *own* itself and the native *alien* in relation to the European *own*, the realities of different the civilizations are, thereafter, in interconnection.

It is possible to apprehend the cultural sustenance of the author's observation: the order and interests specified in his discourse show us the priorities and the sense of profit of these Europeans, intentions concordant to a time of expansive economy, of the power of commercial knowledge, that is determined by the diffusion of techniques and commercial instruments, as well as new nautical-geographical knowledge that contributes the step to a more open economy.³⁴

These are the various sensory signals of the first modernity, which represent the change from a late medieval perception of the "new territories", its landscapes and population, towards a more precise perception of the potentialities of transoceanic spaces, which in turn it is exemplified in the cartographic task.

And this is the point to which the historiographic controversy refers around the authenticity and intentionality of Pigafetta, by virtue of its subjectivities, its legendary references or his emotionality, especially in comparison with the harsh, strict, technical discourse of a naval professional like Francisco de Albo. Truly they responded to different intentions depending on the particular construction of their patterns of cultural codes, so they observed and wrote with variable style but equally valid because they shared the same undertaking and were the two sides of the same coin.

In short, they integrated that society of "border men"³⁵ who lived the tension between the wonderful medieval beliefs and the modern individualist spirit, and were logically faithful to the times in which they were educated and lived.

Antonio Pigafetta represented the way of feeling the "new orb", leaving evidence of how geo-economic expansion and discoveries, especially that of America, impact on

³⁴ Casado Alonso, "Comercio..." 333; Betsabé Caunedo del Potro, "Usos y prácticas mercantiles en la Baja Edad Media," in M. González Jiménez (coord.), *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico siglos XIII-XV: Jornadas celebradas en Cádiz, 2003*, 35-5.

³⁵ Irving Leonard, *Los libros del conquistador* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006), 21.

practical knowledge, based on the until then valid conceptions, formed in reference to the Sacred Scriptures, Aristotle or Ptolemy:³⁶

“...presenté a la Sacra Majestad de don Carlos, no oro ni plata, sino cosas que eran a sus ojos mucho más preciosas. Entre estos objetos, le obsequié un libro escrito de mi mano, en el cual había apuntado día por día todo lo que nos había acontecido durante el viaje”. (IV, 147)

(...I presented the Sacred Majesty of *Don Carlos*, not gold or silver, but things that were in his eyes a lot more precious. Among these objects, I gave him a book written by my hand, in which I had written day by day everything that had happened to us during the trip. [IV, 147])

A third sensory record among those who lived the expedition, is the letter of Captain Juan Sebastián Elcano directed to Charles V on September 6, 1522 from Sanlúcar, at the end of the journey.³⁷ It is a brief document that synthesizes the achievement reported in detail by Pigafetta's senses:

“...aquello que más deseamos estimar y tener es que hemos descubierto y dado la vuelta a toda la redondez del mundo que yendo para el occidente hayamos regresado por el oriente. Suplico a Vuestra Majestad por los muchos trabajos, sudores de hambre y sed, frío y calor que esta gente ha padecido en servicio...”

(...what we most want to estimate and retain is that we have discovered and turned around the whole roundness of the world and that, going to the West, we have returned to the East. I beg Your Majesty for the many jobs, sweats of hunger and thirst, cold and heat that these people have suffered in service...)

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³⁶ Susana Bianchi, *Historia social del mundo occidental. Del feudalismo a la sociedad contemporánea* (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2010), 91-97.

³⁷ Cf.: <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/xwn5hv>

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Between "Chaos" and "Order": the Representation of the "Sounds" in the Work of Pedro Cieza de León, *Primera parte de la Crónica del Perú*

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Pedro Cieza de León was part of the Spanish forces that participated in the conquest of South America in the middle of the XVI century. After coming very young to the continent, he arrived in Peru at a time when the main part of the conquest of the Inca empire by Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro had finished. However, he took part in relevant political events and in internal conflicts that soon appeared among the main referents of the territorial occupation. Along with Sebastián Belalcázar he toured the current Ecuador and Peru, where he participated in the foundation of cities. His trip allowed him a particular contact with the indigenous cultures. Close to the pro Almagro trend he was appointed by the President of the Royal Local audience, Pedro de la Gasca, as "chronicler", in spite of the fact that he had only basic studies and had no training as a lawyer. This gave him the possibility to perform as a writer who registered his perceptions about the biological and socio-cultural environment in which he found himself.

His main work, *Crónica del Perú* —of which only the first part was published in his life—, was the literary production that allowed him to immortalize that world of sensations that produced the cultural and political confrontations in that geographical region that was then explored and occupied by the Spaniards. For this task, he also relied on comments and descriptions from others, especially to present the first moments of exploration, before his arrival. The other references on the foundation of cities and cultural contact with indigenous people, come from his experiences, while the chronicles about the Inca reality prior to his contact are mostly based on collected stories.

The importance of his work was the subject of numerous investigations that focused on dissimilar aspects as the socio-political situation of the writer in connection with his

production.¹ Others analyzed the literary characteristics and their immersion within the general cultural framework of the Hispanic humanism,² as well as aspects of the representations and social practices referred to.³ However, this great and relevant historiographical production did not address the *Chronicle* from the expressed perceptions of the senses and their symbolologies.

In this regard, it is important to note the growth of historical approaches on the analysis of sensory representations. They constitute rational forms of the subjective perceptions of the individual, described in the written productions where "sensory landscapes" are made up. His analysis allows to deepen in the categories and ways in which historical actors understood and codified the world in which they acted and the sensations that this one caused them.⁴

¹ Among them the following works stand out: Enrique Otero D'Acosta, "Pedro Cieza de León: Estudio cronológico-bibliográfico," in Academia Nacional de la Historia, *2º Congreso Internacional de Historia de América* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1938); Alberto Salas, *Pedro Cieza de León* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta López, 1943); Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María, "Hacia un pleno conocimiento de la personalidad de Pedro de Cieza de León," in *Anuario de estudios americanos* N 32 (1975); Francesca Cantù, *Pedro Cieza de León e il Descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* (Roma: Instituto Storico Italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, 1979); Raúl Aguilar Rodas, "Pedro de Cieza de León y la historia de Colombia," in *Boletín de historia y antigüedades* vol. 87, N 810 (2000), 561-590; Luis Millones Figueroa, *Pedro de Cieza de León y su Crónica de Indias La entrada de los Incas en la Historia Universal* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001); Juan David Montoya Guzmán, "Un cronista por la Gobernación de Popayán: Cieza de León y su *Crónica del Perú*," in *Historia y sociedad* N 11 (2005): 133-164.

² For reference you can consult: Kurt Baldinger, "Vocabulario de Cieza de León: Contribución a la historia de la lengua española en el Perú del siglo XVI," in *Lexis: Revista de lingüística y literatura* (vol. 7, N° 1, 1983); Francisco Leonardo Lisi Bereterbide, "Oralidad y escritura en la crónica de P. Cieza de León," in *Hispanamérica: Revista de literatura* (N° 56-57, 1990); Teodosio Fernández, "Pedro Cieza de León y su 'Crónica del Perú'," in Trinidad Barrera, *Herencia cultural de España en América: poetas y cronistas andaluces en el Nuevo Mundo, Siglo XVI* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007), 131-140; Simón Valcárcel Martínez, "Cieza de León, el cruce de caminos entre historiografía, Renacimiento y humanismo en el marco del Nuevo Mundo," in Iñigo Ruiz Arzalluz (dir.), *Estudios de filología e historia en honor del profesor Vitalino Valcárcel* vol. 2 (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2014), 1075-1093.

³ Francisco Teixidó Gómez, "La obra de Pedro de Cieza de León desde una perspectiva biológica," in *Revista de estudios extremeños*, Vol. 48, N° 2 (1992): 461-498; Francisco Leonardo Lisi Bereterbide, "Culpa y castigo en la crónica del Perú de Pedro Cieza de León," in Minerva Alganza Roldán (coord.), *Epieikeia: Studia graeca in memoriam de Jesús Lens Tuero* (Granada, 2000), 249-261; María Pilar Pérez Cantó, "Las crónicas bajo otra mirada: las mujeres indígenas en Cieza de León," in María Rocío Sánchez Rubio, Isabel Testón Núñez, Joaquín Alvaro Rubio and Fernando Serrano Mangas (coords.), *IX Congreso Internacional de Historia de América*, vol. 2 (Mérida, Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2002), 153-160; Jorge Chen Sham, "Las inscripciones corporales del indio: canibalismo y desnudez en Pedro Cieza de León," in *Revista de filología y lingüística de la Universidad de Costa Rica*, vol. 39, N° 1 (2013): 77-84; Juan Luis de León Azcárate, "El demonio y la visión del 'otro' en la primera parte de la Crónica del 'Perú' (1553) de Pedro Cieza de León," in *Revista complutense de historia de América* N 41 (Madrid, 2015): 197-221.

⁴ An analysis on the development of these categories of interpretation for the Ancient and Medieval world can be found in: Gisela Coronado Schwindt and Juan Manuel Gerardi, "Sentidos con historia: proyecciones y avances historiográficos," in *Scriptorium* N° 6 (2014): 14-19 and Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt (comp.), *Paisajes sensoriales, sonidos y silencios de la Edad Media* (Mar del Plata: Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 2016).

In this way, the body is understood as an instrument of relationship with the world, whose perceptions do not coincide with the things but they are interpretations, a product of individual particularity and its social and cultural condition.⁵ In such a way, the sense becomes a form of representation, to the extent that its perception acquires meaning within the framework of categories of the cognizant individual. So his personal production ends up being a manifestation of those sensations rationalized and endowed with meaning.⁶ These approaches, arose due to the contribution of the disciplines of the Social Sciences, which allowed to understand the senses as ways of transmitting cultural values, which establish complex and variable relationships with each other, called *intersensoriality*.⁷

The use of this analytical framework allows a new reading of the production of Cieza de León, in a sensory key. So you can investigate the symbolic representations used and understand the way in which they were literally perceived and how the Peruvian world of the sixteenth century was recreated by these chroniclers. Given the complexity of this approach, it is considered of special importance to study the "sound image" described within the sensory universe that the work entails. This image had its own peculiarities in the circulation of Hispanic culture, while at the same time it is a symbolic reference of mental categories relevant to the sensory organization.

Faced with all this, the question arises about the form in which *Primera parte de la Crónica del Perú* reflected these "sound images", and at the same time the need to identify what they were and what role they had within the literary production. It is understood that they came together around the conception of "order" and "chaos", as categories that allowed to classify and organize textually the symbologies referred to by the sound descriptions used in the work.

The context of production

Pedro de Cieza de León, born in Badajoz, being thirteen years old left to America. By then he had a basic education and was literate, although he lacked a superior education due to his young age. He arrived in New Granada, where he was quickly linked with

⁵ Conf. David Le Breton, *El sabor del mundo. Una antropología de los sentidos* (Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 2007).

⁶ Roger Chartier, *El mundo como representación. Estudios sobre historia cultural* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 2005), 37.

⁷ The category was coined by Mark Smith, see as a reference: Mark Smith, *Sensing the Past. Seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

expeditions under the orders of relevant conquerors as Alonso de Cáceres, Jorge Robledo and Sebastián de Benalcázar. Along with them, he toured Panama and Quito and enter Peru about 1547.

The historical reality of the region was of a special complexity. In spite of the fact that the Inca resistance remained, the execution of Atahualpa and the occupation of Cuzco consolidated the Spanish domination of the territory. However, the conflicts over political jurisdictions of the two leaders of the conquest, Pizarro and Almagro, unleashed a civil war in 1537, which would end with the death of both and of several of the members of their families. The situation responded to the logic of "feudal expansion" maintained by the noblemen that integrated the Spanish hosts, a situation that Charles I tried to avoid by centralizing the power in the crown under his own figure, eliminating the feudal practices of political fragmentation.⁸ Thus, the conquered territory belonged to the king and not to a gentleman, for which the presence of Castilian institutions became a key instrument to control territories and limit already established family powers. Of all of them, the main institution of royal coercion was the *Real Audiencia*.⁹

For these purposes, the *Audiencia de Lima* was created in 1542, and four years later it had as president the priest and military Pedro de la Gasca. In 1547 when Cieza de León entered Lima along with the forces of Benalcázar, Gasca was preparing a military expedition to hold back the uprising of Gonzalo Pizarro, brother of the already murdered Francisco. The movement received the name of "Gran rebelión de los encomenderos" (Great rebellion of the *encomenderos*) and it had the leadership of Pizarro, self-appointed governor in rejection of the New Laws of 1542, which established special protections for indigenous people and tended to the elimination of the encomienda system.¹⁰ Faced with such situation and with the title of "pacificador del Perú" (peacemaker of Peru), Gasca began the military campaign against the supporters of Gonzalo, whom he definitely defeated in the battle of Jaquijahuana in 1548 and shortly after Gonzalo Pizarro was executed.

⁸ As regards this political conception of the monarchy you can see Hugh Thomas, *El Imperio Español de Carlos V* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2011). In the case of the Great Rebellion of *Encomenderos* of 1544, his feudal base discourse has been studied in: Sergio Angeli, "Palabras que no fueron olvidadas: La pervivencia del discurso jurídico medieval en el alzamiento de Gonzalo Pizarro (Perú 1544-1548)," in *RJUAM* N° 26 (2012-II): 105-122.

⁹ On the institutional design and the importance of the *Audiencia* as effective control of the Spanish American authorities and conquerors, see Eduardo Martiré y Víctor Tau Anzoátegui, *Manual de historia de las instituciones argentinas* (Buenos Aires: Cathedra jurídica, 2016), 112-116.

¹⁰ Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, *América Hispánica* (1492-1898) (Madrid: Labor, 1985), 88.

In that framework, Cieza happened to perform then as an official reporter, and this influenced his literary production, which to a large extent was a legitimate political organization of Gasca and the pro Almagro group that remained facing the Pizarro family. That political partisanship was not subject to the censorship of the events that the chronicler described, although it gave him an element of subjectivity to the internal conflicts that he witnessed between the Spanish.

After the war he toured parts of Peru, starting with the high plateau of Lake Titicaca and continuing through Charcas. At the end of 1550 he considered his work had been fulfilled, and decided to return to the Peninsula where he could marry and establish a comfortable life, which allowed him to publish the *Primera parte de la Crónica del Perú*. This part of the work begins with the chronicle of the first explorations and occupations, to then focus on Cieza's living experience along his routes until reaching Peru. His other manuscripts would be edited *post mortem*. The referred contextual issues gave significant framework to the representations present in his work.

The first sensory representations

Cieza de León began the first part of his work focussing on the description of the territory on which the conquering campaigns expanded, for which he gave a special centrality to physical geography, to customs of the existing towns and the characteristics of the foundation of Spanish cities.

To this end, he decided to start from the first trips of Columbus, although he had not participated in that expedition. He highlighted his audacity by ensuring that those men who participated in the trip “cuanta hambre, sed, temores, peligros y muerte pasaron” (how much hunger, thirst, fears, dangers and death passed).¹¹ There the sensory element appears from the beginning of the work, used to symbolize and transmit the image of rawness of the experiences of those navigators. Although the sound element was not yet present, there is evidence of a tendency to appeal to this literary resource for the representation of the described reality.

¹¹ Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú. El señorío de los Incas* (Caracas: Biblioteca de Ayacucho, 2005), 10.

Those elements are articulated with the presentation of the cultural shock that the conquest represented. Without abandoning the legitimating elements, he made a critical description by pointing out that there was a reactionary and violent attitude on both sides,¹² where the Indians "defended" themselves from what they did not know and "killed Christians", while they applied "cruel torments".¹³ However, he immediately accentuated the argumentation of the Righteous Titles by pointing out the "evangelizing" vocation of the Catholic Kings and of Charles I. He described the rejection that this policy caused in some officers, hence he made a symbolic description by referring that "algunos de los gobernadores y capitanes lo miraron siniestramente [al rey]" (some of the governors and captains looked ominously [at the king]).¹⁴

In this way, he managed to separate the excesses of certain conquerors with respect to the political guidelines of the crown, which allowed him to sustain the Righteous Titles of the American conquest, legitimized with the objective of evangelizing the Indians who should be considered "subjects" and could not be the object of slavery, although they required a different treatment from Spanish.¹⁵ This conception ended up being based on the juridical-theological debates produced in the Junta de Burgos in 1512 and later expanded in the Junta de Valladolid in 1542. They had sought to improve the conditions of the indigenous, limiting the practices of the *encomienda* that had been strongly attacked by priests resident in America such as Antonio de Montesinos and Bartolomé de las Casas.¹⁶ The appeal to this type of references, allowed Cieza to defend indirectly the actions of Gasca against Gonzalo Pizarro, who had opposed precisely to these policies.

The defense of the application of the Righteous Titles, was present in the story of Cieza through the association made between them and certain sound expressions. Among them, stands out the reiteration of the references about the "reading of the Bible," as an oral practice that the Spaniards made and that allowed them the cultural contact. This question, presented in different ways throughout the work, constitutes "marks of orality and listening". In this case, the reading was designated as "ensign of salvation" that managed to build and sustain the temples. They acted as "houses of prayer". These first references

¹² This aspect was developed by Todorov when addressing the chronicles of the conquest and the ways in which the culture shock occurred. See Tzvetan Todorov, *La conquista de América* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, [1987] 1998).

¹³ Pedro Cieza de León, 12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Richard Konetzke, *América Latina, la época colonial* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1971), 20.

¹⁶ See David Brading, *Orbe indiano. De la monarquía católica a la República criolla, 1492-1867* (Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003), 75-76.

to sound distinctions, symbolized a central category in the conceptions of the current humanism of that XVI century: the idea of "order".

A natural order, product of the creative will of God, which converted theologians and jurists into responsible interpreters for deciphering that order.¹⁷ In effect, the form in which this question was presented, allowed Cieza from a sound representation like the evangelical reading, to transmit the image that through that knowledge, the Indians entered the "natural order" in which the Spaniards would already be living. That allowed him to assure that thanks to that "son en la mayor parte de aquellos reinos señores de sus haciendas y personas como los mismos españoles" (they are in most of those kingdoms lords of their finances and persons like the Spaniards themselves).¹⁸ Thus, the Christian order, should be transferred to the New World, and the king was the guarantor of it.

To guarantee that development, it was key within the humanistic worldview the transmission of detailed knowledge. So Cieza expressed that: "bienaventurada la invención de las letras, que con la virtud de su sonido dura la memoria muchos siglos, y hacen que vuele la fama de las cosas que suceden por el universo, y no ignoramos lo que queremos, teniendo en las manos la lectura"(Blessed is the invention of letters, that with the virtue of sound the memory lasts for many centuries, and makes the fame of the things that happen fly, through the universe, and we do not ignore what we want, having in our hands the reading).¹⁹ There, his intention is evident to establish, with a pedagogical goal, a story as complete as possible of the historical events that occurred.²⁰

It was recurrent the importance of having a story that communicates the experiences in America. Thus, Cieza also expressed that there were spaces and **things of admiration and hazy to hear**. Again, the sound element is I did linguistic when expressing ideas, sensations and events. The sound element as a manifestation of language was central to the formation of a narrative that would express sensory representations of the experiences lived.

¹⁷ This conceptualization was extensive to all sixteenth-century Europe and constituted the theoretical basis of all legal systems end up establishing patterns of organization, behavior, feelings and perceptions that went from their abstract conception to the initiative of institutional implementation. See Antonio M. Hespanha, "Las categorías de lo político y de lo jurídico en la época moderna," in *Ius fugit: Revista interdisciplinar de estudios histórico-jurídicos* N° 3-4 (1994-1995): 63.

¹⁸ Pedro Cieza de León, 13-14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 265.

²⁰ Cieza de León sought to describe the set of processes and events experienced, within the framework of the development of an ordered writing with coherence and cohesion that expressed in its own style the conceptualization of the existing order. See Luis Millones Figueroa, *Pedro de Cieza de León...*, 50.

The "sound images": between order and chaos

Based on what was stated, the concept of order was expressed repeatedly in relation to certain sound images, especially those referring to the Christian religion and to the action of the king who would be the guarantor of the natural order in his territory. That jurisdictional conception was expressed in the interpretation of the king as "supreme judge" and of his officials and representatives as agents destined to sustain that order.²¹ In this way, the reading of the Bible, the dialogue with indigenous authorities and the "moral" practices were permanently associated to order.

Thus it was expressed that "los muchachos y los que más quieren se juntan a oír la doctrina evangélica que les predican frailes y clérigos. Y los más de los señores se han vuelto cristianos" (the boys and those who are willing, come together to hear the evangelical doctrine preached by friars and clerics. And most of the gentlemen have turned Christians).²² Listening not only marks an orality, but it acquires a special character because it consists in a religious doctrine.

In this symbolic framework, there is also the sound reference to the linguistic problems. The ear acted as a vehicle for language, in such a way that the narration gave meaning to the different voices that were internalized by means of the perceived sounds. Sound became then the support of the language and the symbolisms loaded it.

In the *Crónica*, Cieza clearly stated this issue when presenting the problems in oral communication, which were seen as obstacles to cultural contact and evangelization. Thus, he pointed out, for example, the complications suffered by Belalcázar when he entered in the village of Ancerma but **since he did not carry languages, he could understand no secret of the province**. The importance of the Indian translators, the so-called "lenguas", was a key to peaceful communication with indigenous people and for the knowledge of the region.

Also, the distortion of words and meanings was present among orality marks. The sound was thus a support for the understanding of oral language. It was reinterpreted according to the idiomatic and cultural differences. Thus, expressions about modified terms in their pronunciation are reiterated. In the case of the village of Ancerma, its name was a Hispanicization of the place, regardless of the indigenous place name of Umbra with

²¹ See Carlos Garriga, "Orden jurídico y poder político en antiguo régimen: la tradición jurisdiccional," in Carlos Garriga and Marta Lorente Sariñena, Cádiz 1812. *La constitución jurisdiccional* (Madrid: CEPC, 2007), 20.

²² Pedro Cieza de León, 263.

which they knew it. That was due to the idiomatic shock and the conceptual association of sounds. Cieza highlighted this by pointing out that the Spaniards: “oían a los indios que viendo sal la llamaban Ancer, como es la verdad; y entre los indios no tiene otro nombre, por lo cual los Cristianos, de allí adelante, hablando en ella, la nombraban Ancerma, y por esta causa se le puso a esta villa el nombre que tiene” (They heard the Indians that seeing salt they called it Ancer, as it is true; and among the Indians it has no other name, which the Christians, from there on, speaking about it, they named it Ancerma, and for this reason it was given this town the name it has).²³ This is how the phonetic adaptation and the resignification of place-names is produced, building at times new terms based on cultural syncretism.

In the same way, the "listening" of rumors or readings gave rise to distortions in the interpretations, and at the same time it caused the transmission of cultural knowledge in the framework of idiomatic and symbolic confusions. These stories transmitted orally created conceptual images according to the interpretation of each individual.

A case of this was pointed out by Cieza to express that the Indians knew the horse before seeing it. The impact that this animal had caused to certain indigenous, had given origin to the expansion of the version about its existence. In such a way, that when the Spaniards arrived at a new town, their native inhabitants waited for the coming of those special men, and in particular of that animal of which they spoke "wonders".²⁴

Thus, the sound images acquired a role in the story, because they could represent the language problems of cultural contact, while facilitating the transmission of knowledge through communication networks that exceeded simple personal contact.

These language problems were a circumstantial hindrance for the incorporation of the Indian to the Spanish "order". However, cultural differences in certain aspects made the sound images not only represent the order and the obstacles to achieve it. Another set of sound marks were directly associated with "chaos", understood as the significant lack of order. These issues were no longer an obstacle, but a direct threat to it.

These sonic perceptions were linked to symbolic images of "evil", culturally and religiously understood by the Spaniards. The symbolisms of this were sometimes perceived among indigenous practices and representations. Among them, Cieza de León accentuated the impact of auditory perceptions linked to non-Christian cults.

²³ Pedro Cieza de León, 50-51.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 111.

Thus, he referred to the "screams" of certain religious practices, where indigenous people made sacrifices in their temples. Cieza mentioned that indigenous people there said that (they heard answers from the devil).²⁵ The indigenous gods were perceived as manifestations of demons, associated with pagan cults of antiquity. In this way the narration was handled to transfer the Cieza's perception to the categories of interpretation of the conceptual Christian language.²⁶ Consequently, the sensory image was built for the European reader and reflected the absorptions of the American world to the symbolic structure of the Spanish.

The narration pointed out that the rejection of these cults caused the Spaniards "horror" that was expressed in the narration through "screams" or "noises". While the scream implied pain and suffering, the noise referred to a disruptive sound element that showed conflict. In this case, is the problem of non-Christian worship. The scream was also used to refer to narrations the Spanish heard, where the indigenous myth was reinterpreted by the Hispanic cultural categories, which led Cieza to express that women could be heard to scream when performing "births of animals", especially "dogs".²⁷ These descriptions respond to tensions in the communicative interaction, where the cry referred to the cultural element that attacked directly the Spanish worldview.

The "noises" and "cries" also acted as disruptive elements of sound harmony, as they became representations of war. Thus, Cieza said that the Spaniards "heard whistles" because when the Indians **go to the war they say "hu hu hu"**. The war cry became an element of alarm and danger that, by breaking the due order, was automatically associated with demonic elements. Cieza assured that such song was used during the fight by the indigenous people since they **heard the demons said it very fast and hard**.²⁸ In that way, the whistle caused fear among the Spaniards, who then visually saw the attack that the sound had anticipated. The sound element as well as being a presage of the conflict, helped to magnify the gravity of the situation by causing a "fear" that got to upset the perception of the Spanish.

Immediately after presenting this question, Cieza expressed the sound representation with which the Spaniards understood that they could oppose and fight that "chaos" associated with the devil. These forms were the Christian prayers, which according to their

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 245.

²⁶ Luis Millones Figueroa, 144.

²⁷ Pedro Cieza de León, 247.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 290.

worldview acted as mediators destined to ask for divine protection. Thus he said that when they heard the shouts and whistles “Todos comenzaron a suplicar a nuestro Señor” (Everyone began to beg our Lord).²⁹

As a consequence, the "chaos" reflected in sound images such as the war cries, were counteracted by other sounds directed to the "divine order", especially the prayer that acted as a participatory path between the earthly and the heavenly worlds. In that way, the soundscape of the narrative reflected the feelings of fears, anxieties and hopes that affected the Spaniards, who interpreted the auditory perceptions from their own cultural categories.

A similar case was the reference to the way in which the Indians moved near the house of their boss; with their instruments they made “gran sonido, parece música de diablos. Tampoco les sabe mal a estos indios la carne humana” (great sound that seems music of devils. Nor do these Indians distaste the human meat).³⁰ Again, the loud and violent sound was associated with the negative elements present in the Christian idiosyncrasy, as manifestations of "evil" or "chaos" that should be stopped. In that opportunity, the sound element was also associated with the sense of taste to relate the sensation of noise with the impact of cannibalism.

On the other hand, in addition to the questions arising from the cultural contact, there were manifestations of nature. He says that by their strength they also acquired the sound expressiveness of being part of the chaos. However, others that caused the positive admiration of the narrator were described as deserving "being heard", as if the sound element was bearer of language outside a channel of knowledge that should focus on those natural wonders. Thus, Cieza pointed out: "There are many volcanoes or mouths of fire by the mountain range, and one of them leaves hot water of which they make salt, and it is a matter worth seeing and hearing".³¹

Among them, those associated with the imposing nature, like the sounds of sea breezes and the winds that harassed the coasts of the Pacific. As well they were referred to animals, whose danger and ignorance alarmed the Spaniards. These threats were reflected in the chronicle as "noises" made by these creatures. The domesticated animals were different and they, in effect, did not produce "noise", because of their docile nature and appropriateness to order. Thus, Cieza expressed about the rams that: "It is a very domestic

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 290.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 66.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 92.

livestock and they do not give noise".³² These animals could be part of the order and the natural life of Spanish in America.

Conclusions

The sound representations of the work of Cieza de León recreate the perceptions, feelings and conceptualizations made by the author within the framework of the Spanish conquest of Peru. They show an effort to demonstrate the American reality in a symbolic key of the Hispanic-Christian worldview.

From this the idea of "order" is derived, associated with the Christian cult and the protective figure of the king as guarantor of the same in his territory. This conception is exposed in the sound images of the work, especially in those referred to the reading of the Bible, the invocations to God and the peaceful communication with the natives. In the same category there are the perceptions of docile animals, capable of being domesticated and integrated in the Spanish productive system.

However, the "chaos" emerges as a counterpart to that order, cosmovisionally associated to the "evil" interpreted for the Christians. In that category the sound images are located when they are associated with elements unknown to the Spaniards, that scared them or that represented cults that they sought to eliminate for their opposition to the Christian worship. In that conception of chaos, it is evident the reiteration of marks of sound like "screams" or "noises" to symbolize evil and the danger represented by those described perceptions.

Orality is also relevant when expressing sound problems linked to communication that could affect the development of the social and cultural order sought by the Spanish people. This makes it possible to demonstrate the way in which the names were distorted, cultural syncretisms were produced and stories were made that generated a circulation of knowledge prior to cultural contact. That was perceived within the order category, to the extent that it did not involve wars and facilitated a contact arranged by the Crown.

All these symbologies are framed within the logic of production of the work, where Cieza as chronicler of Gasca sought to emphasize the legitimacy of the Righteous Titles and of the evangelization. Spanish practices in America had to be shown to Europe in this way, hence reality it was adapted to the Hispanic-Christian conceptualization, by means of in representations such as the sound senses.

³² *Ibid.*, 275.

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Towards a soundscape conformation in the political area in the Chronicle of Agustín de Zárate

Lucia Beraldi

The study of the senses throughout history is of fundamental importance as it reveals the different forms of connection of man with his environment and the conformation of cultural frames in certain moments and spaces. Within the framework of the *European Sensory Records from the Atlantic and South America* project, we propose to make a first approach to the soundscape, particularly in the political field in the chronicle of a man from Valladolid, Agustín de Zárate, entitled *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de la provincia del Perú*.

Theoretical details

To make such an approach we must pose the theoretical coordinates according to which we will perform the analysis: global history, the polycentric monarchy and the soundscape. Each of them will allow us to delimit and, at the same time, to connect the various aspects of study.

Global history is a historiographical discipline in boom, which is framed in the revision of the role of the social sciences and humanities, their objectives and tools, with the aim that they could grant more and better explanations to the different current problems.¹ Determining its origins is a complex task that goes back, practically, up to the very beginnings of the historical science; this was stated by the Indian academic Sanjay Subrahmanyam in characterizing global history as a trend in its early minority, modest and underground, in comparison with the development of the national histories, but it has existed since ancient times.²

Sebastian Conrad defines global history as a form of historical analysis in which the phenomena, the events and processes are located in global contexts.³³ In this framework, space and time —fundamental variables for historical study— and the relationships that

¹ Sebastian Conrad, *Historia global. Una nueva visión para el mundo actual* (Madrid: Crítica, 2017), 3.

² Sanjay Subrahmanyam. “Histoire globale de la première modernité” (discurso de apertura del Collège de France, France, Paris, 2013)

³ Conrad, *Historia global*, 12-4.

are established between them acquire new characteristics: global history proposes to invert the classical preeminence of the time variable as the main organizing criterion, to grant it, now, to space.

By rehabilitating space as a historical category, new frameworks are proposed to allow us to escape from a compartmentalized thought, to challenge the limits of the Nation-State container and the Eurocentric nature of historical studies.⁴ Consequently, new relationships are established that propose to analyze the impact of the regional in the global and vice versa; in other words, the challenge of global history is to work with diverse scales of analysis and achieve an articulation in the conformation of a complex knowledge. To this is added, also, the study of the connections, the networks resulting from the exchanges that take place in said spatial frameworks: an example of this is the study of the oceans as transnational spaces, a framework in which we will anchor our work.⁵

With regard to temporary units, the diverse investigations are placed in opposite ends of the scale: or they focus on short time extensions or on extended scales. Likewise, global history proposes the use of the notion of synchrony.⁶

In line with the previous proposal and with the objective of defining the geographical margins of the research, we will take the concept of Polycentric Monarchy as a second theoretical coordinate, coined at the foot of the Red Columnaria. Its origins lie in the debates developed since the '80s oriented to the study of the Old Regime, in general, and the Hispanic Monarchy, in particular; it is formed as a new way of understanding and analysis of the monarchy and the elements proposed by global history are distinguished in its foundations.

As the authors enunciate in the presentation⁷ as a set of interconnected centers among which a network of characterized links is woven for permanent contact, negotiation and competition, since this tendency sustains that the imperial reality is built in the daily practice of local politics.⁸ For its part, the cohesion of the territories is given by belonging

⁴ Conrad, *Historia global*, 4-5.

⁵ Conrad, *Historia global*, 105-7.

⁶ Conrad, *Historia global*, 131-8.

⁷ Pedro Cardim, Tomas Hergoz, José Javier Ruíz Ibáñez and Gaetano Sabatinni, *Polycentric Monarchies. How did early modern Spain and Portugal achieve and maintain a global hegemony?* (Sussex: Sussex Academy Press, 2012).

⁸ Cardim, et al., *Policentric monarchies*, 5.

to the Catholic religion and fundamentally for loyalty to the king, maximum political authority.⁹

The third theoretical indicator that we will use is the concept of soundscape: the term was coined by the Canadian composer Raymond Murray Schaffer¹⁰ towards the '70s and is used to name the sounds of diverse origins —human, animal and natural— that are in intimate relationship with the individual and his cultural environment. The changing condition of man and of that environment makes the soundscape a concept also changing, amenable to historicity.

However, the study of the soundscape is not limited only to the recognition and enumeration of sounds to reconstruct a specific scenario; as the anthropologist David Le Breton explains, "hearing is the federating sense of the social bond while it hears the human voice and picks up the word of the other".¹¹ So, the study of sounds acquires a fundamental importance insofar as it allows the knowledge of man, the relationship with his peers and his environment, and the technologies developed in a determined historical moment.

From the foundations of Cultural History, Roger Chartier argues that the reality of a time and a certain space is constructed; this implies that diverse classifications, cuts and divisions of the world are categories of appreciation that conform as built-in intellectual schemes, forged by a particular group, which gives meaning to the present, to the contact with the other and to the space that is inhabited.¹²

Thus, we propose to make a collection of those marks that make up the soundscape of the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, the chosen documentary source, and to understand its meaning. This will allow us to ask about the author's sensory models, their references and prior knowledge that will allow us to perform certain comparisons. The space will be that of the Hispanic monarchy in America, specifically, the diverse regions and cities that integrated the Viceroyalty of Peru trying to form a multi-scale panorama in accordance with the principles of Global History and polycentrism. The chronology will be given, in this case, for the period of time chosen by the author of the work, Agustín de Zárate: although this covers a period of time since the settlement of

⁹ Cardim, et al., *Policentric monarchies*, 4.

¹⁰ Raymond Murray Schafer, *Soundscape: our sonic environment and the tuning of the world* (Nueva York: Simon and Schuster, 1977).

¹¹ David Le Breton, *El sabor del mundo. Una Antropología de los sentidos* (Buenos Aires: Nueva visión, 2007), 93.

¹² Roger Chartier, "La historia cultural redefinida: prácticas, representaciones y apropiaciones," *Revista Punto de Vista* 39 (1990): 44.

America, the *Historia*, in itself, extends from the arrival of Francisco Pizarro to America until the pacification of the territory by the viceroy La Gasca.

The chronicler and his work

Agustín de Zárate¹³ was born around 1514 in Valladolid. Son of Lope Díaz, notary of the *Consejo Real of Castilla*, and Mrs. Isabel de Polanco, the life of the chronicler was linked from the beginning to court spaces. Through a royal provision made in February 1522, Lope Díaz resigned his position in favor of his son for him to exercise it as soon as he was of legal age. This happened in 1532, when Agustín took possession of the position of chamber clerk of the *Consejo Real*.¹⁴

The economic growth that the crown experienced in those days made it necessary to order the fiscal management; for this the Leyes Nuevas (1542-1543) were created, new government authorities were appointed and it was resolved to dispatch a Judge of Accounts to each of the viceroyalties; Agustín de Zárate was appointed to this position in Peru.

On August 21, 1543, the future author of the chronicle resigned his position in court and on November 3 sailed heading to the New World. His functions consisted mainly of: examining the accounts of the *Real Hacienda* in Peru, reviewing the works previously carried out by Bishop Valverde and Governor Vaca de Castro; carry out a settlement of the charge and discharge of each one of the royal officials of Peru; take care that the corresponding taxes will be charged in the territory and take the accounts of the *Real Hacienda* de Tierra Firme.

The ship where which Zárate traveled was part of the fleet of fifty-two ships that transported Blasco Núñez de Vela, first viceroy of Peru; Lisón de Tejada, Alonso Álvarez and Pedro Ortiz de Zárate, judges of the *Primera Audiencia* in Lima, and Diego Martín, butler of Hernando Pizarro were travelling along with him.

Zárate arrived at the port of Nombre de Dios on January 9, 1544. There he dedicated himself to investigate the administration of the officers of the *Real Hacienda* in the

¹³ With the objective of reconstructing in a few lines the political, social and economic path of our character, we have focused on the studies of the Peruvian professor Teodoro Hampe Martínez who has dedicated himself to the reconstruction of his biography in some of his works: Teodoro Hampe Martínez, "Agustín de Zárate: precisiones en torno a la vida y obra de un cronista indiano," C.M.H.L.B. *Caravelle* 45 (enero, 1985): 21-36; Teodoro Hampe Martínez, "Agustín de Zárate, contador y cronista indiano (Estudio biográfico)," *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez* XXVII-2 (1991): 129-54.

¹⁴ For more details about his parents and the beginning of his political career, see: Hampe Martínez, "Agustín de Zárate: precisiones," 22.

province of Tierra Firme, especially the case of Gonzalo Martel de la Puente and subsequently examined the account books that were under the responsibility of Martín Ruíz de Marchena.

Six months later, on June 26, 1544, the chronicler arrived in Lima, the *Ciudad de los Reyes* and some time after the Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela did it. As was pointed out by Hampe Martínez, this difference in the itinerary manifested his disagreement with the viceroy's ways with respect to the imposition of the *Nuevas Leyes*. Zárate believed that Blasco Núñez could be an excellent governor of the metropolis, but his forms could not be applied in the colonies.¹⁵ His arrival coincided with the establishment of the solemn *Audiencia* and the beginning in Cuzco of a movement contrary to the viceregal authority led by Gonzalo Pizarro.

In the middle of such a convulsed political climate, Zárate was dedicated to investigate the files of the *Caja Real de Quito* to move later to the *Caja Real de Lima*; there he found so many mistakes that he had to check the accounts of this last city since the times of Valverde and Francisco Pizarro.

With the murder of Illán Suárez de Carvajal, magistrate of the *Audiencia*, the conflicts between the viceroy and said institution reached such an extreme that the judges decided to take Nunez Vela prisoner and send him back to Spain. To give a justification to such a fact that represented a disrespect to the royal authority, the judges agreed to gather testimonies that showed dissatisfaction with the Viceroy's government; among them, Agustín de Zárate was summoned to testify; there he commented on the discontent that was perceived in the various sectors of the population.

To restore order in the viceroyalty, the *Audiencia* sent an embassy to negotiate with Gonzalo Pizarro; it was integrated by Antonio de Ribera and Agustín de Zárate himself. The author was arrested by the Pizarro's supporters and he was threatened with being beheaded until he returned to Lima with a letter from his captors where the requirements for negotiation were included: the appointment of Gonzalo Pizarro as governor.

On October 23, 1544, Zárate left the governorship of Lima to Pizarro. In spite of the recommendations by the *Audiencia* to leave the city and return to the Peninsula, the chronicler decided to stay to put an end to his tasks: the inspection of the accounts of Blas de Atienza —Trujillo— and Alonso Riquelme —treasurer of the conquest expedition to the *Incario*. Under the new government, the man of Valladolid tried to accommodate

¹⁵ Hampe Martínez, "Agustín de Zárate: precisions," 25.

himself to that new situation, building personal links with the leader of the Peruvian uprising. Within the activities that he performed in the New World under the government of Pizarro the administration of the *Real Encomienda* commission of Chíncha is outstanding together with the position of ordinary accountant of the *Caja Real*.¹⁶

Given the lack of support from the pro Pizarro group to complete his fiscal tasks, Zárate decided to return to Spain; the ship in which he departed on November 9 suffered a strong storm and that is why he spent a few days in Nueva España. This opportunity allowed him to interview the authorities and bring to the Peninsula the result of the audit mission carried out there. Agustín de Zárate arrived at Sanlúcar de Barrameda on June 5, 1546.

Already in Madrid, the man from Valladolid was arrested because of the existence of letters containing demands on his Indian task. This did not prevent, however, that, as representative of an "intermediate" group, the chronicler would present his theory to pacify Peru: the best option was to appoint governor Hernando Pizarro, brother of Gonzalo. When the trial against Zárate was in the step of collecting testimonies, important personalities declared in his favor both in the Peninsula and in Peru. The ten-month prison stay gave him enough time to write his chronicle.

While the Licentiate La Gasca managed to pacify the Viceroyalty of Peru, in the Peninsula, the conviction of the guilty seated Zárate in the bank of the accused again. This caused a new season in prison for him together with the abduction of all his goods and properties. Finally, on October 2, 1553, contrasted the evidences and proofs, the magistrates of the *Consejo de Indias* determined to acquit the official from Valladolid.

Thus, in that same year he took a job in the *Casa de Contratación de Sevilla* and in January of the following year he left together with the future Philip II heading to Southampton for the prince to marry Mary Tudor. On the trip, he gave his chronicle to the prince for him to read it and the prince's pleasure was such that he ordered that it was published and printed. Agustín de Zárate was reassigned to fulfill new fiscal tasks in Flanders and the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de la provincia del Perú* was published in Antwerp in 1555.

Fulfilled his task, Zárate returned to Spain where he served since 1555 with powers of justice for making inquiries about the extraction of silver in the Guadalcanal mines; years later he can be found in the court in charge of the *Contaduría Mayor de Hacienda* until

¹⁶ Hampe Martínez, "Agustín de Zárate: precisiones," 26-7.

the end of 1572; being almost seventy years old, he was appointed administrator of the salt beds of Andalusia.

Agustín de Zárate dies towards 1585 in Seville.

As we mentioned earlier, the first edition of the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de la provincia del Perú* was published in Antwerp in the year 1555; later it was reprinted in Venice (1563) and in Seville (1577) where some corrections and changes were made. The work is organized in the following way:

Section	Name	Number of chapters
Dedication	Dedication to the Majesty of England, Prince Our Lord, Agustín de Zárate, mercy accountant of Majesty Caesarea.	
To the reader	Declaration of the difficulty that some have in founding out where the people who first populated it could have passed to Peru.	
Book I	On the news that was had of Peru and how it began to be discovered.	12 chapters
Book II	On the conquest achieved in Peru by Francisco Pizarro and his people.	13 chapters
Book III	On the day that Diego de Almagro went to Chili and the things that in this space happened in Peru and how the Indians seized the land.	13 chapters
Book IV	On the trip that Gonzalo Pizarro made for the discovery of the Province of La Canela and the death of the Marquis.	22 chapters
Book V	On the things that happened in Peru to Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela.	35 chapters
Book VI	On the coming to Peru of the Licentiate La Gasca and how he won Gonzalo Pizarro and how he pacified the land.	19 chapters
Book VII	On the arrival of the President to the Province of	13 chapters

	Peru and what he did until the death of Gonzalo Pizarro and made the land peaceful.	
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In order to understand the purpose and intentionality of the chronicle, we will identify three elements: *intentio* (it fixes the attention on the recipients of the chronicle); *inventio* (how and where the material for writing the chronicle was obtained); and the *dispositio* (the organization of said material).¹⁷

The first of the elements —the *intentio*— is observed clearly in the dedication of the *Historia*: the main recipient is Prince Philip, future king of Spain. However, it can be observed in the development of said paragraph that the chronicle is addressed to the public in general, both contemporary to his writing and future. Proof of this is the following fragment:

“Cuando acabé esta relación salí de la opinión, en que hasta entonces estuve, de culpar á los historiadores porque en acabando sus obras no las sacan á luz, creyendo yo que su pretensión era que el tiempo encubriese sus defectos, consumiendo los testigos del hecho; pero agora entiendo la razón que tienen para lo que hacen en esperar que se mueran las personas de quien tratan, y aun algunas veces les venia bien que peresciesen sus descendientes y linaje; porque en recontar cosas modernas hay peligro de hacer graves ofensas, y no hay esperanza de ganar algunas gracias”¹⁸

(When I finished this history I left the opinion, in which until then I was, of blaming the historians because in finishing their works they do not take them to light, believing that their pretense was that time would cover up its defects, wearing away the witnesses of the fact; but now I understand the reason they have for what they do in waiting for the death of the people they are dealing with, and sometimes even It was good for them that their descendants and lineage die; because in recounting modern things there is a danger of making serious offenses, and there is no hope of winning some thanks).

This coincide with the assessments of Richard Kagan about what he calls *official history*, a term that is used to designate published works with authorization or auspice of the monarchy. This type of writings have three characteristics: they are aimed at future

¹⁷ The elements *-intentio, inventio, dispositio-* correspond to the scheme proposed by G. Martin to analyze the alfonsian historiographic model. Georges Martin, “El modelo historiográfico alfonsí y sus antecedentes,” in *Alfonso X el Sabio y las Crónicas de España*, (Valladolid: Servicio de publicaciones de la Universidad de Valladolid, 2001), 37-8.

¹⁸ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú* (Seville: Casa de Alonso Escribano, 1577), folio V, Dedicatoria.

public, insofar as they offer the successive generations a certain vision of the past; in the same way they are directed to the present public as they try to seduce the public opinion to legitimize the aspiration to power of a ruler or to promote the support for a political program, and finally, in some cases, they are used to create an illusion of power.¹⁹

In this instance, it is important to direct our attention to some issues: the *Historia* of Agustín de Zárate is dedicated to Philip II and the first edition is published a year before his coronation as king, therefore, we could notice here a clearly propagandistic intention. However, those responsible for carrying out this type of works, the *official histories*, held the position of chroniclers;²⁰ although the man from Valladolid did not have such charge, he was an official of the crown, which allows us to distinguish the political intentionality of the story.

In regard to *inventio*, that is, the collection of stories that make up the content of the work, we differentiate three sources: the classical authors, the experience lived in first person and the testimonies of people who lived the events prior to his arrival in the American territory.

The mention and reference to classical authors can be distinguished throughout the story, although most of it concentrates on the dedication and the note to the reader where he comments on the myth of Atlantis or complete quotes are copied from Plato and Horace, in addition to the allusions to Ficino.²¹

Of the seven books in which the story is structured, the first four were written based on the testimony of **Rodrigo Lozano, a neighbor of Trujillo, which is in Peru, and others who saw it;**²² thereafter, Zárate based his story on the experience he lived in the territory and the memory of those days; this is how it is expressed in the dedication:

“Lo que toca á la verdad, que es donde consiste el ánima de la historia, he procurado que no se pueda enmendar, escribiendo las cosas naturales y accidentales que yo vi sin ninguna falta ni disimulación, y tomando relación de lo que pasó en mi ausencia, de personas fidedignas y no apasionadas; lo cual se halla con gran dificultad en aquella provincia, donde hay pocos que no estén más aficionados á una de las dos parcialidades de Pizarro ó de Almagro...”²³

(What touches the truth, which is where there is the soul of history, I have tried it not to be able to amend, writing natural and accidental things that

¹⁹ Richard Kagan, *Los cronistas y la corona. La política de la Historia en España en las Edades Media y Moderna* (Madrid: Marcial Pons y Centro de Estudios de Europa Hispánica, 2010), 24-5.

²⁰ For further details about the position of chronicler: Kagan, *Los cronistas*, 107-8.

²¹ Some examples of them are: Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, folio VII-IX, Al lector.

²² Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, folio VII, Al lector.

²³ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, folio V, Dedicatoria.

I saw without any lack or dissimulation, and taking account of what happened in my absence, from trustworthy and non-passionate people; which is found with great difficulty in that province, where there are few who are not more fond of one of the two partialities of Pizarro or Almagro ...)

Finally, we will analyze the *dispositio* of the chronicle. Although, it is the simplest and clearest element, visible in the chapter index itself, it is the section where we can establish more interpretations according to the analysis criteria that you consider convenient. As we observed in the previous table, the text has a dedication, a comment to the reader and then seven books, divided in turn into chapters, through which the story is articulated. The chapters follow a chronological order, although there can be observed synchronic discursive marks through which the author sought to make a comprehensive exhibition of the events that occurred before and since his arrival.

The set of characteristics broken down and exposed previously allows us to identify the creation of Agustín de Zárate with the conception of the historical science that Richard Kagan awards Philip II. The same is understood as a humanistic activity or at least a discipline that was close to what other writers of the XVI century defined as *integral history* or *perfect history*; this was reached when the narrative of the events included examples designed to offer the reader moral advice. This provision prevented the chroniclers of Philip from writing about facts of the present, of a recent past or even about personal exploits or events of his reign.²⁴

The soundscape in the political sphere in the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de la provincia del Perú*

As we mentioned in the previous section, the organization of the story in books / chapters can vary in function of the criteria used to analyze the work; consequently, we will propose a new division of the books of the *Historia* in accordance with the political facts, to facilitate the analysis of the soundscape, especially that intimately related with the political sphere. First, we will address Book I dedicated to the description of the territory and the Inca political situation at the time of the arrival of the Spanish people; second, we will work together with books II to IV where we will study the soundscape in the political conflict between Pizarro and Almagro. Finally, in books V to VII we will address the soundscape in the conflict between Gonzalo Pizarro and Núñez Vela until the arrival of

²⁴ Kagan, Los cronistas, 153-4.

La Gasca and the process of pacification; the particular characteristic of the latter books regarding the previous ones is that the author lives in first person the facts reported.

In Book I, one can distinguish the narrative devoted to the first confrontations between Pizarro, Almagro and the indigenous people of the region, a description of the territory, its fauna, its flora and its population, accompanied by sensory marks.²⁵ The coasts **flooded with the estuaries of many rivers that enter into the sea**; the alligators that call our attention for being **beasts that breed in the mouths of those rivers, so big that commonly they are twenty to twenty-five feet long** and that **they look very similar to the crocodiles of the Nylo**, together with fish, shellfish and crabs that they will use to feed themselves;²⁶ mention is also made of some fruits and their respective flavors; such is the case of trees called mangles that **are very strong and tall and straight; and by being raised in salt water, the fruit is well salted and bitter.**²⁷

The appearance of the first sound marks is linked to the political sphere and describes the encounter between indigenous and Spanish, conflictive since its inception. The chronicler describes it as follows: "Por toda la costa salían a ellos Indios de guerra dándoles gritos, y llamándolos desterrados, y que tenían cabellos en las caras, y que eran criados del espuma de la mar sin tener otro linaje" (Throughout the coast Indians of war came out shouting at them, and calling them exiles, and having hair on their faces, and they were raised from the foam of the sea without having another lineage).²⁸

In the following chapters, the paragraphs devoted to describe the environment are ordered according to the new regions that the travelers are getting to know: there they are approached the process of founding Christian cities in the Peruvian territory,²⁹ the customs and daily life of the inhabitants of the region,³⁰ the meteorological phenomena³¹ and the political situation of the Incas at the arrival of the Spanish.³² The story is complemented by olfactory references used to describe the burning of the **wood of the**

²⁵ A Concept formulated by Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado Schwindt in their article: Gerardo Rodríguez and Gisela Coronado, "La intersensorialidad en el Waltharius," *Cuadernos Medievales* 23 (2017), 31-48. <http://fh.mdp.edu.ar/revistas/index.php/cm/issue/archive>

²⁶ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 1.

²⁷ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 2.

²⁸ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 1.

²⁹ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 2. In this fragment a reference is made to the foundation of the towns Trujillo and San Miguel.

³⁰ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 7-9. In this chapter a comparison is made between the organization of the indigenous of the mountain and those of the coast.

³¹ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 4-7.

³² Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 8-12.

bark of trees that smell very well,³³ and by tactile references, allusive to the humidity and vapors of the plains of Peru.³⁴

In summary, the variety of sensory marks of the first section of the chronicle allows us to reconstruct, at least initially, the perception of the Peruvian landscape in its complexity. The comments of Zárate on the landscape, fauna, flora and population are made based on previous references, both those that refer to the peninsular reality, as well as the possibility of comparing differences between the lives of the natives both on the coast and on the mountains. With regard to the political sphere, the organization of the indigenous people of the mountain and the indigenous people of the coast, the chronicler comments on the panorama of the Incas: the confrontation between Huascar and Atahualpa —Atabaliba—; in parallel the author describes the first conflicts between Pizarro and Almagro. The sound marks found are a minority in relation to the gustative, olfactory and tactile, and make a reference to the conflict between the indigenous and the Spanish as a consequence of the first contacts.

The facts included in books II to IV show the development of the conflict between Francisco Pizarro and Diego Almagro in Peru until the death of these. Throughout the story we observe how the diversity of sensory references, previously used to describe the new American universe, diminishes progressively giving way to those marks, fundamentally sound marks, linked to the description of political conflicts. Likewise, it warns how the conflict between Huáscar and Atahualpa is connected with that of Pizarro and Almagro through alliances and negotiations.³⁵

Thus, the soundscape corresponding to the political sphere is loaded with dialogical signs between the parties involved. The terms used are: saying, replicating, speaking, responding, promising, murmuring, complaining. In this context the author highlights the participation of the "Indian language", privileged bargaining agents between the parties, allowing communication between Spaniards and natives.³⁶ In the speech of the Spaniards, a clear legitimizing spirit of the conquest is distinguished, linked, fundamentally, to the principles of the Catholic faith: the requirement by Bishop Don Fray Vicente Valverde, and Atahualpa's response is an example.³⁷ More sound references that show the close link between religiosity and politics are reflected when it is ordered to say mass or prayers are

³³ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 3.

³⁴ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 3.

³⁵ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 13-4.

³⁶ Its work can be seen in chapters 7 and 11 of the second book of the chronicle.

³⁷ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 14-5.

raised or even the chronicler tells a conversation of Pizarro with the Blessed Sacrament at the end of a battle or of solving some political conflict.³⁸

Within this scope there are also marks specifically linked to the warlike event that describe the sound of weapons and the interpretation of their meaning:

“Y como Ruminagui oyó el sonido de la artillería y vió que un cristiano despeño de una atalaya abajo al indio que le habia de hacer la seña pare que acudiese, entendió que los españoles habian vencido”³⁹

(And as Ruminagui heard the sound of the artillery and saw a Christian throwing down from a watchtower the Indian who had to make the signal to him, he understood that the Spaniards had won).

The death of Huascar and Atahualpa allows Agustín de Zárate to focus the writing of the chronicle on the expansion of the Spaniards through the Andean territory and the conflicts, both those derived from this expansion and the one between Pizarro and Almagro. The arrival to new spaces opens the door to new descriptions —although they are not as sensorially detailed as those of the first book— in Guatemala,⁴⁰ Chile⁴¹ and the province of the Canela.⁴²

With regard to the soundscape of the political sphere, the episode that collects the largest number of marks is without a doubt the death of Francisco Pizarro. It is the result of an ambush organized by Diego de Almagro (h) and Juan de Herrada, his tutor. The expressions used that show sound marks are: (tell the heard) symbolizing betrayal or disloyalty; **to say aloud**, to refer to exclamations usually directed to a large public and to describe the march of the ambush accompanied by a **great noise** that sought to create confusion and prevent neighbors from lending their help to Pizarro during the ambush. This is what the chronicler writes:

“Juan Herrada, y otros once ó doce con él, acometieron desde su casa, que seria mas de trecientos pasos de la del Marqués [...], y desde que salieron desenvainaron las espadas y fueron diciendo á voces: “Muera el tirano traidor, que ha hecho matar al juez que ha enviado el Rey.” La causa que dieron para no ir encubiertos, sino haciendo tan gran ruido, fue para que todos los de la ciudad creyesen que habia gran gente de su parte, pues se atrevían á acometer aquel hecho tan públicamente [...] Y así llegaron á la casa del Marqués, y dejaron uno dellos á la puerta con la espada desnuda (que habia ensangrentado en un carnero que estaba en el patio), dando voces: “Muerto es el tirano, muerto es el tirano. Lo cual fue causa

³⁸ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 23.

³⁹ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 15.

⁴⁰ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 20-1.

⁴¹ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 23-5.

⁴² Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 32-3.

de que, oyéndolo algunos vecinos que querian acudir, se tornasen á sus casas, creyendo ser verdad lo que aquel hombre decía”⁴³

(Juan Herrada, and another eleven or twelve with him, rushed from his house, which would be more than three hundred steps from that of the Marquis [...], and since they left they drew their swords and shouted: "Death to the treacherous tyrant, who has ordered to kill the judge who has sent the King." The cause they gave for not going undercover, but making such a great noise, was for everyone in the city to believe that there were great people on their side, so they dared to undertake that fact so publicly [...] And so they arrived at the house of the Marquis, and left one of them at the door with the naked sword (which had blood of a ram that was in the courtyard), shouting: "Dead is the tyrant, dead is the tyrant." Which was the cause that, some neighbors who wanted to go, hearing this, went back to their homes, believing to be true what that man said).

Another sound event *par excellence* present throughout the whole *Historia* is the war or confrontation between the various sectors in conflict; this time it is about the Battle of Chupas on September 16, 1544 in which, after Pizarro's death, Vaca de Castro and Almagro faced each other. Sound references are no longer just dialogs, but mention is made of the **sound of the atambores**, an expression that will be used to indicate the beginning of the battle, and then the trumpet blast, which it is usually the **signal to break**; both marks are added up to the sound of the artillery that we indicated in the previous episodes.⁴⁴

With the arrival of Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela we entered in the third and last proposed division to analyze the soundscape of the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de la provincia del Perú*. This third section is characterized because the author experiences first-hand the facts that he reports and this is reflected in the text. The temporary references of the appearance of specific dates become frequent, a sign that until now the story did not contain in abundance. As we referred in the biography of Agustín de Zárate, his arrival in the New World is intimately linked to an intention of the monarchy to organize it politically and economically, and as a result, it is perceived in the writing of the work a clear propaganda intention of the monarchy, associated, fundamentally, with the political notions of order and common good. This intention will become even more visible at the time of witnessing the conflicts between Núñez Vela and Gonzalo Pizarro.

The arrival of Blasco Núñez Vela to Peru marks the beginning of the Viceroyalty as a political-administrative entity and with him, the establishment of the *Audiencia*; also,

⁴³ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 36-7.

⁴⁴ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 44-6.

within his duties there was the application of the so-called *Nuevas Leyes* in the region, laws aimed at controlling the abuses of the *encomenderos* on the natives.⁴⁵ His rigor and good willingness to enforce such orders caused that the population of the Ciudad de los Reyes antagonized quickly with him, especially the owners of the estates, who would be deprived of them. Since this moment, the conformation of two sides politicians can be distinguished in the story: the viceroy who justifies his work as representative of the king in America, responsible for ensuring the order and the common good, and Gonzalo Pizarro who arises as the representative of the claims of the people of Peru against the abuses of Núñez Vela.

The set of facts and circumstances is reflected in the soundscape of the chronicle with a description of debates within the *Cabildo* or discussions between different characters where terms and expressions are recorded like: **He said very disrespectfully words, to have some scandal, uproar, having words of disservice**; even the allusion to the (voice of the king) is recorded for the first time as an authority criterion.

It is also worth mentioning that the story was not concentrated on the facts that happen between Gonzalo Pizarro and Núñez Vela, but it extends to the various scenarios of conflicts with the corresponding protagonists, as a consequence of the set of alliances practiced.

Accompanying the political dialogic marks in the cases in which clashes are reported, the chronicler again uses the term “**sound of drums**” to mark the start of the battle along with the references to screams and sounds of arquebuses.

We cannot fail to mention as a political milestone covered with a huge amount of sensory stimuli, among them the sonic ones, the viceroy's entrance into the city. In the History of Agustín de Zárate we find ourselves with two well differentiated cases: the arrival of Blasco Núñez Candela and the arrival of the Licentiate La Gasca. In recounting the first one, the author makes clear the conflict that provokes the application of the *Nuevas Leyes* and the negotiating complications of the viceroy, which leaves his prints on the chronicle; a shortage of sounds that symbolizes celebration and joy and well provided, in return, for negotiations that show discord and uproar. Said marks compliment the description of the textiles, present in the canopy or the clothes, their colors and textures.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 47.

⁴⁶ “Vaca de Castro continuó su camino hasta llegar á los Reyes, donde halló gran confusion en toda la ciudad sobre rescebir el Visorey; porque unos decian que su majestad por las provisiones no mandaba que

On the other hand, the arrival of Licentiate La Gasca, the *President*, presents very different characteristics. Though he was not received with parties or pageantry, due to the conflictive situation in which the viceroyalty was under the government of Gonzalo Pizarro —characterized by the chronicler as a tyranny— the weather of concord in which he is received could be appreciated and how the captains of the region join his initiative to pacify the territory. The expressions used to demonstrate this climate are: **(offering themselves at his service), (giving him each one the notices and means that seemed more convenient for the good success of the business).**⁴⁷

Finally, and as a constant that is observed throughout the entire chronicle, the fact that it contains most number of sounds are battles. In this instance, it is found again the “**sound of drums**” that marks the start of the fight to which it is added the **(music of trumpets and minstrels)** that open the battle of Guarima between Gonzalo Pizarro and Diego

fuese rescebido si no viniese personalmente; otros decian que en caso que viniese, vistas las ordenanzas que traía y el rigor con que las habia comenzado á ejecutar, sin admitir dellas suplicacion, no convenia dejarle entrar en la tierra. Y con todo ello, Illán Suárez, factor de su majestad y regidor de aquella ciudad, trabajó y negoció tanto para que fuese rescebido, que en fin se obedescieron las provisiones y las pregonaron con toda solemnidad. Y luego fueron muchos vecinos y regidores á rescebir, y besar las manos al Visorey a Guaura, y de allí vinieron con él hasta la ciudad de los Reyes, donde fue rescebido con gran fiesta, metiéndole debajo de un palio de brocado y llevando los regidores las varas, vestidos con sus ropas rozagantes de raso carmesí, forradas en damasco blanco, y le llevaron á la iglesia y á su posáda. Y entendido por él el alboroto de los que se fueron al Cuzco, luego otro día mandó prender en la cárcel pública al licenciado Vaca de Castro, teniendo sospecha que habia entendido en aquel motin y sido el origen dél y los de la ciudad, caso que no estaban todos bien con Vaca de Castro, fueron á suplicar al Visorey no permitiese que una persona como Vaca de Castro, que era del consejo de su majestad y habia sido su gobernador, fuese echado en cárcel pública; pues, aunque le hubiesen de cortar otro día la cabeza, se podía tener en prision segura y honesta; y así, le mandó poner en la casa real, con cien mil castellanos de seguridad, en que le fiaron los mismos vecinos de Lima, y le mandó secuestrar sus bienes. Y visto todos estos rigores, la gente andaba desabrida y haciendo corrillos, y saliéndose pocos á pocos de la ciudad la via del Cuzco, adonde el Visorey no estaba rescebido”.

(Vaca de Castro continued his journey until he reached the Ciudad de los Reyes, where he found a great confusion throughout the city about receiving the Viceroy; because some said that his majesty by the provisions did not ordered that he be received if he did not come personally; others said that if he came, seen the ordinances he was bringing and the rigor with which he had begun to execute them, without admitting any supplication, it was not convenient to let him enter the land. And with all of this, Illán Suárez, an official of his majesty and ruler of that city, worked and negotiated so much that finally the provisions were obeyed and proclaimed in all solemnity. And then there were many neighbors and councilors who went to Guaura to receive the Viceroy and kiss his hands, and from there they came with him up to Ciudad de los Reyes, where he was received with great celebration, putting him under a brocade canopy and the councilors carrying the rods, dressed in their rosy clothes of crimson satin, lined in white damask, and they took him to the church and his house. And understood by him the uproar of those who went to Cuzco, another day he ordered the Licentiate Vaca de Castro to be arrested in the public jail, having suspicion that he had been part in that riot and been the origin of it and those of the city, who were not all well with Vaca de Castro, went to implore the Viceroy not to have in the public jail a person like Vaca de Castro, who was a member of the council of his majesty and had been governor; even if they had to cut off his head another day, he could have a safe and honest prison; and so, he ordered him to be put in the royal house, with one hundred thousand security gold castellanos, which the neighbors of Lima trusted him, and he ordered to sequester his assets. And seen all these rigors, the people were displeased and murmuring, and leaving gradually to the city of Cuzco, where the Viceroy had not been received).

Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 50-1.

⁴⁷ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 106.

Centeno. Shouts, voices of command and sounds of arquebuses, complete the soundscape in this occasion.⁴⁸

As we noted in the section devoted to theoretical precisions, the analysis of the soundscape is not only limited to the collection of sounds, even more so if we propose to approach it from global history and polycentrism. With regard to the political sphere, the events reported are situated in an Atlantic context, synchronic and connected with the different scenarios of the monarchy. The sounds described there respond to the same dynamics and a shared communication code between indigenous and Spanish is shown: the existence of interpreters —"Indian language"— or the understanding of certain signs, such as the "sound of drums" to indicate the start of the battle, are a proof of this. Also, you can associate the proliferation of sounds with those conflictive episodes, while the negotiation spaces only present expressions associated with the dialogue.

Conclusions

Throughout the present work we decided to carry out a first approach to the conformation of the soundscape in the political field of the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de la provincia del Perú* by Agustín de Zárate, framed in the precepts of global history and polycentrism. For this purpose, it would seem that the author himself, almost six centuries before, was aware of them, which is evident in the choice of a space —Perú— as the organizing axis of the story in synchronic relation with Nueva España and Spain itself and even the events reported do not focus only in what happened around Lima or Cuzco, political centers *par excellence*, but it covers the diverse regions that make up the viceroyalty. In parallel, it glimpses the process of shaping the bureaucracy in the overseas territories: from the government of Francisco Pizarro himself, the arrival of the first viceroy and the conformation of the audience, until the pacification of Licentiate La Gasca.

As regards the sensory landscape, in general, and the soundscape, in particular, we can establish its characteristics, continuities and ruptures. To the extent that the story of the discovery and conquest is developing it can be observed how the variety of sensory marks are going to be restricted more and more, being the voices the prevailing element at the end of the chronicle. Among the sounds that make up this landscape, particularly in political situations, there can be distinguished the terms that show dialogue —saying,

⁴⁸ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento*, 107-8.

responding, replicating— and even among them we could distinguish an ethical valuation for certain terms. For example: “**Murmuring the ear**” is often used to indicate cheating or betrayal. Likewise, we also distinguish terms closely related to the exercise of power such as ordering, trumpeting, saying loudly, swearing.

Another type of sounds present in the political spectrum are those from musical instruments; we appreciate the sound of drums and trumpets, and even the mention to the music, all three in close relation with the warlike situations. Also in relation to war, although not from instruments, there is the sound of the arquebuses. These sound marks are used to indicate the start and end of the fight; it is worth highlighting, according to the chronicler's story, that both marks would be understood by both the indigenous people and the Spanish.

The last group of sounds is made up of the noise, fuss and scandal, terms used to indicate chaos or disorder.

Thus, we can establish a direct relationship between the mention of sounds and different political climates: the moments of conflict are accompanied by a greater number of sounds that manifest not only the lack of political order, but also the seriousness of the conflict as long as it is shown only as a disagreement solvable by means of a pact or “**talks about peace**” or directly decided on the battlefield.

In conclusion, the collection and analysis of the various sensory marks present in the chronicle, particularly the sonorous ones linked to the political sphere, allow us to apprehend the ways of knowing and decoding the environment of the travelers; also it allows the fundamental role of previous experiences to glimpse —both the experiences in the first person, and such as those reported by third parties— when telling about the encounter with new scenarios and political actors that will form, since the conquest, part of a greater political and sensory unity: the Atlantic world.

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A Jesuit's Ear. An Analysis of the Sounds in the *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* de José de Acosta

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The fundamental objective of this work in the framework of the project *European sounds records of the Atlantic and Spanish America (XV and XVI centuries)*, is to analyze the sounds that are perceived in the work of José de Acosta *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, published at the end of the 16th century, and to relate them to the philosophical and religious conception of the author. It is, then, the discovery of South America and its inhabitants, listened and reported from the mentality of a learned Jesuit.

Historia natural y moral de las Indias is part of the American chronicles, although it is strictly not a chronicle, but rather a treatise on geography, natural resources, customs and history of the American peoples, especially those of Mexico and Peru¹ from a particular perspective.

The work has been studied from the most disparate points of view, because we can see in it a multiplicity of discourses: the discourse of the missionary, of the traveler, of the natural scientist, among others. It is a classic work; in the words of one of the main specialists in the author, Fermín del Pino, it can be read and analyzed in various records of expression.²

In the 18th century, many scholars from Humboldt to Feijoo had taken this text in consideration; Father Acosta was incorporated into the *Diccionario de Autoridades* of 1726 as an authority of the language; the nineteenth-century romantic nationalism that saw with fascination the strange and distant stories, made him a naturalist to the detriment of the historical part of his work.³

¹ José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Madrid: Atlas, 1954) 2-247 www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/historia-natural-y-moral-de-las-indias--0 (accessed March, 2018)

² Marcel Velázquez Castro y Claudia Berrios "Fermín del Pino y las múltiples voces de la mirada del Padre Acosta" *INTI* 67-68 (2008): 236.

³ Fermín del Pino, "La contribución del Padre Acosta en la constitución de la etnología," in *El científico español ante su historia: La ciencia en España entre 1750-1850. I Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Historia de las Ciencias*, coord. Santiago Garma Pons (Madrid: Diputación Provincial de Madrid, 1980), 483-484.

Towards the middle of the 20th century, the figure of Acosta and his writings would be revitalized from works on his missionary aspect,⁴ but above all from his naturalistic aspect, connecting his conclusions with the work of Charles Darwin.⁵ Around the celebration of the five hundred years of the discovery of America, the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* would be studied again from different points of view,⁶ prevailing the look on the evangelization and education of the American natives.

In recent years, works around the *Historia* that concerns us have been many and written from different perspectives: cultural history,⁷ anthropology and ethnography,⁸ geography

⁴ Some works will be mentioned by way of example: León Lopetegui, *El padre José de Acosta y las misiones* (Madrid: SCIC, 1942).

⁵ Emiliano Aguirre Enríquez, "Una hipótesis evolucionista en el siglo XVI. El Padre José de Acosta S.E. y el origen de las especies americanas," *Arbor* 134 (1957):176-187; Enrique Álvarez López, "La filosofía natural en el Padre José de Acosta," *Revista de Indias* 12 (1943). The author is convinced of Acosta's evolutionist idea and his antecedent of Darwin's school: John Howland Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," *The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 30 (1964):1-14.

⁶ María Asunción Sánchez Manzano, "José de Acosta y la prosa jurídica del humanismo español," in *VII Jornadas de Filología Clásica de la Universidad de Castilla y León: estudios de tradición clásica y humanística*, coord. Manuel Antonio Marcos Casquero, (León: Universidad de León, 1993), 245-258; María Ángeles García Martínez, "La pedagogía de José Acosta. Historia de las relaciones educativas entre España y América," in *Actas del Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educación, Sevilla*, September 12 to 16, 1988 (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1988), 18-2; Alejandro Sanvisens Marfull, "Del conocimiento y enseñanza de los indios, según José de Acosta Historia de la educación," *Revista interuniversitaria* 11 (1992): 33-48; José Manuel Paniagua Pascual, "La evangelización de las Américas en las obras del Padre José de Acosta," *Cuadernos doctorales: Teología* 16 (1989): 397-479; Ernesto Cavassa, "Una metáfora teológica inculturada: La 'Salvación de los indios' en José de Acosta" *Miscelánea Comillas: Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales* 51 (1993): 89-123; Carlos Baciero González, "Presencia del P. José de Acosta en la evangelización de América" *Miscelánea Comillas: Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales* 52 (1994):331-352; Juan Villegas, "El indio y su evangelización de acuerdo a los lineamientos del P. José de Acosta S. J.," in *La Compañía de Jesús en América: evangelización y justicia, siglos XVII-XVIII: actas* (España: Compañía de Jesús en España, 1993),331-376.

⁷ Fermín del Pino Díaz, "Los Andes como laboratorio temprano de las historias naturales y morales: Del jesuita José de Acosta al ilustrado José Ignacio Lecuanda," *Dialogía: revista de lingüística, literatura y cultura* 8 (2014):136-161; Andrés I. Prieto, "Reading the book of Genesis in the New World: José de Acosta and Bernabé Cobo on the origins of the American population," *Hispanófila: Literatura-Ensayos* 158 (2010): 1-20.

⁸ David Solodkow, "Una etnografía en tensión: Barbarie y Evangelización en la Obra de José de Acosta," *Nuevo mundo, mundos nuevos* 10 (2010); Sebastián Sánchez, "Demonología en Indias. Idolatría y mimesis diabólica en la obra de José de Acosta," *Revista complutense de historia de América* 28 (2002): 3-34; Erika Piccoli, "José de Acosta e il mondo alimentare indigeno nella 'Historia,'" in *XXIX Convegno Internazionale di Americanistica* (Perugia: Centro Studi Americanistici "Circolo Amerindiano", 2007), 623-632; Leandro Sequeiros San Román, "El padre José de Acosta (1540-1600) misionero, naturalista y antropólogo en la América hispana," *Proyección: Teología y mundo actual* 196, (2000): 63-74.

and climatology,⁹ medicine,¹⁰ economics,¹¹ philosophy and history of ideas,¹² political and social history.¹³

Starting a path of analysis of the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* from the perspective of the history of the senses and, especially, from the soundscape, it is not simple, because the chronicle writings or those close to said genre are an extraordinary source of historical knowledge, but one that must be understood as a coherent reality in itself and this requires certain specific conditions of information for their understanding. They have a "social logic" according to which they are products of the society from which they emanate —with more "medieval" than "modern" traits— but at the same time they are agents of that society; hence the double importance for the knowledge of the same.¹⁴ Then, in order to analyze the American sonority that Father Acosta transmits to us, we will focus, first, on the writer's life and then on his intellectual training to finally understand his particular soundscape.

⁹ Jorge Olcina Cantos, "Referencias atmosféricas y avances para la ciencia climática en la obra de José de Acosta," *Scripta Nova: Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* 18 (2014): 463-499; Leandro Sequeiros San Román, "El jesuita José de Acosta (1540-1600): geógrafo y evolucionista en la América Hispana," *Boletín de la Comisión de Historia de la Geología de España* 13 (1999): 7-9; Jorge Olcina Cantos "La fascinación por los paisajes del Nuevo Mundo en la obra de los cronistas de Indias: la historia natural y moral de las Indias de José de Acosta," in *Geografía y paisaje en la literatura hispanoamericana y española*, coords. Jorge Olcina Cantos, Eva María Valero Juan (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2016), 13-57.

¹⁰ José María López Piñero, María Luz López Terrada, "Las plantas medicinales y la descripción de la 'Enfermedad de montaña' en la 'Historia natural y moral de las Indias' (1590) de José de Acosta," *Medicina & historia: Revista de estudios históricos de las ciencias médicas* 3 (2003): 1.

¹¹ Víctor Zorrilla Fernández, "Economía, riqueza y ética en Bartolomé de las Casas y José de Acosta," *Revista empresa y humanismo*, 19, 1 (2016): 135-148; Carolina Andrea Valenzuela Matus, "Hispania e Indias. Dos visiones comparadas de la actividad minera: Plinio y el jesuita José de Acosta," in Carmen del Cerro Linares, "et al", *Economías, comercio y relaciones internacionales en el Mundo antiguo* (Barcelona: Fullcolor, 2014), 443-460.

¹² Rogelio García Mateo, "Ignacio de Loyola, la Escuela de Salamanca y América: José de Acosta," *Cuadernos salmantinos de filosofía* 30 (2003): 439-448; Víctor Zorrilla, "Educación, barbarie y ley natural en Bartolomé de las Casas y José de Acosta," *Ingenium: Revista electrónica de pensamiento moderno y metodología en historia de las ideas* 6 (2012): 87-99.

¹³ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "Historias naturales y colonialismo: Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y José de Acosta," *Illes i imperis: Estudios de historia de las sociedades en el mundo colonial y postcolonial* 8 (2006): 45-68; Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "Más allá del Incario: Imperialismo e historia en José de Acosta, SJ (1540-1600)," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, 1 (2005): 55-81; Fermín del Pino Díaz, "Imperios, márgenes socioculturales y utopías posibles. José de Acosta y las élites indianas," *Jesuitas en imperios de ultramar: Siglos XVI-XX*, coords. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, Javier Burrieza Sánchez, Doris Moreno (Madrid: Silex, 2012), 143-159; Francisco Javier Gómez Díez, "La Compañía de Jesús y la Fundación de América: El P. José de Acosta (1540-1600)," in *La Compañía de Jesús en la América española (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, coord. Francisco Javier Gómez Díez, (Madrid: Universidad Francisco de Vitoria, 2005), 27-70; Ronald J. Morgan, "'El rey justo engrandece y levanta a la patria': la actividad diplomática europea del Padre José de Acosta como extensión de su formación jesuita y su experiencia misionera en el Perú," in *Escritura, imaginación política y la Compañía de Jesús en América Latina (Siglos XVI-XVIII)* coords. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa y Teodoro Hampe Martínez (Barcelona: Ediciones Bellaterra, 2011), 291-312.

¹⁴ Jaume Aurell, "El nuevo medievalismo y la interpretación de los textos históricos," *Hispania*, 224 (2006): 810 y 821.

The life of José de Acosta

José de Acosta was born in Medina del Campo in 1540 and died in Salamanca in 1600. Son of a family of wealthy merchants of probable Jewish origin, being twelve years old and following the family tradition —of his five brothers, four were Jesuits— he entered the school of the Society of Jesus in Salamanca and then the one in his natal town. He would complete his training in several cities including Coimbra and Lisbon, according to the custom of the Order, where he met missionaries who would wake up in him a particular aspiration for the missions.

Undoubtedly, the most important period of his training would be his long stay in Alcalá de Henares (1559-1567) where, with the direction of teachers of the school of Salamanca acquired a solid and deep knowledge in sciences like Theology, Sacred Scriptures, Church Fathers, Councils, Canon Law, Civil Law, Natural Sciences, History, among others. He was ordained priest in 1567, and then he was appointed to schools in Ocaña and Plasencia; because of his brilliant performance he was proposed for the Roman Jesuit school. Acosta, however, asks to be sent to America what happened in 1571 arriving in La Española; from there he will pass to Peru where he remained until 1586.¹⁵

Father Acosta was not sent as a mere evangelizer but as a teacher at the Society's school and as a preacher; his activity, therefore, was more directed towards the Spaniards than towards the Indians. In Peru his work was intense and continuous: he made three trips through the interior of the viceroyalty in the company of the viceroy (1573-1574, 1576-1577 and 1578-1579); this gave him the opportunity to know in depth the reality of the life of the Indians and the Spaniards. As a good Jesuit he learned quechua, of vital importance for evangelization of the natives, as he will later explain in his works.¹⁶ He held positions of responsibility in the Company: professor of theology at the college of Lima, rector of the same, provincial of the Order, under whose mandate a provincial council was summoned (1576) where the methods of evangelization were discussed at length. Then he has already composed his theoretical work on that subject, *De Procurando Indorum Salute*.¹⁷

¹⁵ Fermín del Pino, "Estudio Introductorio," in *José de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Madrid: CSIC, 2008), XX.

¹⁶ Fermín del Pino, "Culturas clásicas y americanas en la obra del Padre Acosta," in *América y España en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: CSIC, 1982), 336.

¹⁷ Simón Valcárcel Martínez, "El padre José de Acosta," *Thesaurus* XLIV (1989): 390-394.

Father Acosta attached great importance to the education of both Spaniards and Indians, a question in which he would insist again and again in his writings: a sample of this was the writing of the catechisms (one for the Indians and another for the prelates), that he himself was responsible for defending and printing in Spain, after he had come back. He was the author of the *Confesionario y los Sermones*, first printed books in the viceroyalty of Peru, in the school of the Company in Lima, in 1585. In the following year *Arte y vocabulario indigena* was published, the first grammar of Quechua.¹⁸ In 1586 he went to Mexico where he would remain for two years. Upon his return to Spain, he was part of the group of intellectuals close to Philip II.

The *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* is without a doubt, his most important work and the one that earned him recognition as a naturalist, geographer and anthropologist. It is dedicated to the daughter of the monarch Isabel Clara Eugenia for her entertainment.

The training of Father Acosta

The order of the Jesuits, founded by Saint Ignatius of Loyola in 1534, quickly expanded by a Europe in which proliferated their preparatory schools. Just like Saint Ignacio, who had been trained in a medieval world that did not finish to be over and in a Renaissance that had just arrived, the Jesuit schools reflected that coexistence.¹⁹ They were meant to train young people in a literate humanism open to transcendence and in which both religious and secular persons were educated, so being closer to urban elites.

The Jesuits taught and preached a spirituality that focused on the relationship between God and his creatures, contributing in a flexible way to incorporate the new as something different, with the recognition of differences: proof of this was that the written texts were not only commented, but could be overcome and supplanted by external observation.²⁰

The center of teaching in Jesuit schools, in which José de Acosta was trained, promoted the synthesis of the religious virtue with the human letters which is the fusion of the Renaissance proposal with the Aristotelian system. They focused on the instruction of the Latin language, as an instrument of culture and evangelization, for the study of the

¹⁸ *Idem*

¹⁹ José María Margenat Peralta, "El sistema educativo de los primeros jesuitas," *Arbor. Ciencia pensamiento y cultura* 192, n° 782 (2016): 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

theoretical pillars of Christianity, the philosophical sources and the apologetic use of them.²¹

The Jesuits adopted the scholastic interpretation of medieval philosophy, whose study was devoted throughout the first three years of training; each of the disciplines that made up the philosophy course was developed following the criteria of authority expressed in the books and presented Aristotle as a Gentle but useful author to build a Christian philosophy.²² In that line of thought, Acosta argued that if the Stagirite had erred in some occasions because of the trust he had placed in the wise men of his time and he reflected, saying "...cuan flaca y corta sea la filosofía de los sabios de este siglo en las cosas divinas pues, antes en la humana, donde tanto les parece que saben, a veces tan poco aciertan"²³ (how thin and short the philosophy of the wise men of this century is in the divine things, since in the human, which they seem to know, sometimes so little is right.)

Acosta, as has been said, in his training toured Jesuit schools such as Coimbra and the University of Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares where the so-called "Second scholastic of Salamanca" flourished with thinkers like Francisco de Vitoria, Francisco Suárez and Juan de Mariana, that were characterized by a revitalization of Thomism. The *Summa Theologica* became the textbook for this new Jesuit generation that represents a modernization of traditional scholasticism. The medieval tradition with Renaissance influences in a world where the Papacy and the Empire have left the place to the modern states.²⁴

The humanist insertion allowed the members of the Society of Jesus to compare non-Christian cultures, manifesting, in this sense, appreciation and admiration for the Greek and Roman cultures. Their Aristotelian education favored this path and helped open their minds to non-Christian societies, as in the case of the American ones.²⁵

If a pillar of the Jesuit formation was the intellectual development, the other was the spiritual formation. The mission of the members of the Society was to achieve an encounter between God and his creatures by means of the evangelization of the world. Starting from a greater centralization of the post-Tridentine Church, they proposed to

²¹ Ángel Poncela González, "Aristóteles y los Jesuitas. La génesis corporativa de los cursus philosophicus," *Cauriensia* VI (2011): 68.

²² *Ibid.*, 70-72.

²³ María Luisa Rivara de Tuesta, "José de Acosta (1540-1600). Humanista y científico," *Latinoamérica. Revista de estudios latinoamericanos* 42 (2006):19.

²⁴ Carlos Stoetzer, "El mundo ideal de Padre José de Acosta S.J. (1450-1600): el Plinio de Nuevo Mundo," *Cuadernos Salmantinos de Filosofía* 13 (1986): 206.

²⁵ Fermín del Pino, "La tradición naturalista de algunos jesuitas de los Andes," *Nuevas de Indias* 1 (2016): 37-38.

form a rich and strong Christianity through preaching. This gave them one of their principal signs of identity that was their mobile and itinerant nature, posing the strategy of teaching the gospel in native languages and the production of catechisms in the same way.²⁶

Therefore, the admiration and knowledge of the classics, the Aristotelian- Thomistic formation and the conviction of the need to evangelize the non- Christian world made that, the Jesuits in general and Father Acosta in particular, had a "discernible adaptation" to the expansion and exploitation of resources of a first global age.²⁷

Jesuit spirituality contributed, for all that has been said, to a flexible openness to the new, as something different; hence it recognized the differences and understood their logic,²⁸ gathering at the same time stories of demographic, economic and religious aspects of pagan societies that allowed the publication of works such as the one that concerns us, which made it possible, in turn, to highlight, make visible and expand the activities of the Order.²⁹

Sonority in the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*

In a work of the characteristics of that of Acosta the sound records both intentional and non-intentional, respond to the direct experience of the author or to narrations that he has received and in which he has trusted. But in any of the cases of the inclusion of sounds in a subsequent written record —Acosta writes only the two first books in America and the rest after his return to Europe— correspond to traces recorded in his memory.

The *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, according to Acosta himself, is partly history and partly philosophy, since it describes nature, but in relation to the free will of men, hence its title. The meaning of the work is to show that history is part of a divine plan that would allow the salvation of man. The *Historia* consists of seven books that can be divided into two parts. First part, Natural history: Books I to IV - Book I: The sky in the New World and its settlement; Book II: The climates; Book III: The three fundamental elements: water, earth and air; Book IV: Mixed elements: metals, plants and animals — after the Aristotelian interpretation of the physical and natural.³⁰ Second part: The moral

²⁶ Doris Moreno, "Introducción," in *Jesuitas e Imperios de Ultramar. Siglos XVI-XX*, eds. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, Javier Burrieza y Doris Moreno (Madrid: Sílex, 2012), 11-15.

²⁷ José María Margenat Peralta, "El sistema educativo de los primeros jesuitas," 2

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁹ Doris Moreno, "Introducción," 15.

³⁰ Carlos Stoetzer, "El mundo ideal de Padre José de Acosta S.J. (1450-1600): el Plinio de Nuevo Mundo," 210.

history is conformed by books from V to VII. Book V: The idolatry; Book VI: On the understanding of the natives and the history of Peru; Book VII: History of Mexico — in this books the humanistic tradition is followed more than the Aristotelian one.³¹

Throughout the treaty, according to his scholastic formation, when developing a theme he points out what is held by recognized authors as an authority in the matter — Pliny, Aristotle, Plato, Saint Augustine, Thomas — whether affirming or denying the narrative and the Holy Scriptures.

His conception of history is linear; the end of everything, man and humanity as a whole, is salvation; therefore, everything is prepared for this to happen, including even the form of religiosity of the American Indians, which is facilitated by the acceptance and adoption of the gospel. His work, according to him, was made for the praise and glory of God and so that through knowledge of the life and customs of the Indians, these be helped to remain in the gospel.

The first two books deal with the sky and the climates, with geographical descriptions and philosophical reflections, going back to the classical texts, especially Aristotle and Pliny, confronting them with the American geographical reality.

From the third book you can "sense Spanish America", listen to its sounds that are, in this case, the sounds of the nature. It analyzes the American natural reality from three elements: air, water and earth.

The first of the elements that produces the most basic sounds of nature is the air. The author refers to the winds. He argues that they have strength and wonderful properties and that can be: rainy / dry, sick / healthy, hot / cold, serene / stormy, sterile / fruitful. The winds run and can both generate animals and destroy them.³²

In America a remarkable difference can be established between the breezes and the gales. The first blow always from the east and they occur between the tropics, describing a peaceful atmosphere and the gales that "return" to the East occur outside the tropics.³³ The winds have a wonderful effect among herbs, animals and men ... they blow and corrode.

The second element is water. First, Acosta refers to the oceans with furious northern waves, the seas made of wild waves,³⁴ the continuous storms, the fury of the wind, the

³¹ *Idem*.

³² José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, Libro III, Cap. I-III.

³³ *Ibid.*, Libro III, Cap. V.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Libro III, Cap. X

sound of enormous waves, the possibility of finding some refuge on the more calm coasts,³⁵ the ocean ebbs and flows that produce like the boiling of a pot that juntamente sube y se extiende en todas partes y cuando se aplaca juntamente se disminuye” (rises and spreads everywhere and when it is appeased together it decreases).³⁶

Other waters are not so wild and they bring us a sound much more gentle but constant: there are springs and of both boiling and cold water;³⁷ there are rivers that run in the mountains through small channels into the river of the Amazons with waterfalls, shocks and swirls that show their furor.³⁸

The third element is the earth. The Jesuit qualifies it for its qualities in three types: low, wet and warm coast in some cases, desert in others; high, cold and dry; and the half. The earth is peaceful except for the volcanoes which are very high, they smoke and sometimes fire.³⁹ Tremors come from these and they are very frequent everywhere:

“Las exhalaciones de los volcanes, no hallando debajo de la tierra salida fácil mueven la tierra con aquella violencia para salir, de donde se causa el ruido horrible que suena debajo de la tierra, y el movimiento de la misma tierra agitada de la exhalación encendida. Estos movimientos se sienten más en las tierras marítimas o con aguas vecinas por ejemplo en Chile y se produce un fenómeno que a causa de esto entra el mar a la tierra como en 2 leguas... el ruido es lo que previene a los habitantes para buscar amparo...”⁴⁰

(The exhalations of the volcanoes, do not find easy exit under the earth and move the earth with violence to get out, where an horrible noise is caused that sounds beneath the earth, and the movement of the same agitates earth with the exhaled flame. These movements feel more in the maritime lands or with neighboring waters for example in Chile and a phenomenon occurs that because of this the sea enters the land as in 2 leagues ... the noise is what prevents the inhabitants to seek shelter).

In the fourth book he will consider the composite elements: the metals **(they are like plants in the bowels of the earth)**; plants **(they are like fixed animals that nature feeds)** and animals **(who have more complete food needs and that is why nature has made them move)**.⁴¹

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Libro III, Cap. XI-XIII.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Libro III, Cap. XIV.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Libro III, Cap. XVII.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Libro III, Cap. XVIII.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Libro III, Cap. XXIV.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Libro III, Cap. XXVI

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Libro IV, Cap. I.

The presence of metals is part of the divine plan because being in a greater number in more remote lands, men, when looking for them, would carry the news of the true God. Gold, silver and quicksilver are the elements that "sound" in the American territory. Gold, in its washing sites, sounds through the sound of water on the stone, because the running of the water makes that the gold, being heavier, is isolated and so the metal is rescued; the silver has a sound "more delicate and penetrative", the natives melted it, separating it from the other metals in their little stoves "where the wind blows hard ... with wood and charcoal they made their operation". The place *par excellence* of the American silver was Potosí. Father Acosta describes the place and his work has sound references. The first is about the name: the Incas called it *perco* (fence). The legend has it that it was because they felt voices telling them not to touch anything from there as it was intended for others, without doubt those who would come to complete the divine plan; about its extraction; he describes the tunnels or galleries that were made in the bowels of the rock to take out the metal, perceiving blows, moans and strength at work:

“El metal es duro comúnmente, y sácanlo a golpes de barreta quebrantándole, que es quebrar un pedernal. Después lo suben a cuestras por unas escaleras hechizas de tres ramales de cuero de vaca retorcido, como gruesas maromas, y de un ramal a otro puestos palos como escalones, de manera que puede subir un hombre, y bajar otro juntamente”⁴²

(The metal is commonly hard, and it is taken out by hits of a hard bar, breaking the flint. Then it is climbed on their backs by some scales made out with three pieces of cowhide twisted, like thick ropes, and from a branch to the other there are sticks like steps, so that a man may go up, and another may come down together).

Finally he refers to quicksilver with the utility that it offers, but also with the toxicity that it receives from the heat of fire. This metal "sounds" by its very nature since

“...parece plata viva, según bulle y anda a unas partes y otras velozmente, entre todos los metales tiene grandes y maravillosas propiedades. Lo primero, siendo verdadero metal, no es duro, informado y consistente, como los demás, sino líquido y que corre, no como la plata y el oro, que derretidos del fuego, son líquidos y corren, sino de su propia naturaleza, y con ser licor, es más pesado que ningún otro metal; y así los demás nadan en el azogue, y no se hunden como más livianos...”⁴³

(...it looks like living silver, as it bustles and goes around quickly; among all the metals it has great and wonderful properties. The first thing is that being a true metal, it is not hard, informed and consistent, like the others,

⁴² *Ibid.*, Libro IV, Cap. VIII.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Libro IV, Cap. X.

but liquid; and it runs, not like silver and gold, that melted by fire, are liquid and run, but of its own nature, and being a liquor, it is heavier than any other metal; and so the others swim in quicksilver, and they do not sink though being lighter...)

The sounds of the grinding of metals also appear before receiving the quicksilver that will separate those precious ones from those that are not. Said milling is done with "some who bring horses, as *atahonas*, and others that move with the blow of water, like *aceñas* or mills."⁴⁴ Potosí in full production.

Plants and animals are described with an abundance of visual, gustatory, tactile images but with few sounds, although the ear of the Jesuit remembers the grinding of corn, the drunkenness because of drinking *chichi*,⁴⁵ the cutting and scratching of *yuca* leaves, the squeezing of the *cazavi* with the water that falls from its leaves,⁴⁶ or in Peru the strength that gives chewing the *coca* leaves,⁴⁷ the cattle hunting of bovines arrived from Spain and whose reproduction was enormous,⁴⁸ the stories that they told him about wild animals that existed in the American territory⁴⁹ or the grimaces of some monkeys.⁵⁰

From the fifth book the moral history will be shown, namely the customs and facts of the natives, since “el intento de esta historia no es solo dar noticia de lo que en Indias pasa, sino enderezar esa noticia al fruto que se puede sacar del conocimiento de tales cosas que es ayudar aquellas gentes para su salvación”⁵¹ (the attempt of this story is not only to give news of what happens in the Indies, but also to straighten that news for the fruit that can be drawn from the knowledge of such things, that is to say, for the help of those people for their salvation).

The author will deal, above all, with the religions —idolatries in the Acosta’s concept— the government, laws and customs of the natives of Peru and Mexico. The sounds will have to do with the memory of the Jesuit in accordance with his conception of the divine plan for these lands. In this regard his first observation is that the natives had no word to name God, therefore they called it with the Spanish word; then he points out the way they

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Libro IV, Cap. XIII.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Libro IV, Cap. XVI.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Libro IV, Cap. XVII.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Libro IV, Cap. XXII.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Libro IV, Cap. XXXIII.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Libro IV, Cap. XXXIV.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Libro IV, Cap. XXXIX.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Libro V, Prólogo.

worshiped their gods: "open your hands, and make a certain sound with the lips, as one who kisses, and ask what each one wanted, and offer sacrifice".⁵²

He reports about the ceremonies and the mortuary rituals: "Cantaban los oficios funerarios como responsos, y levantaban a los cuerpos de los difuntos muchas veces, haciendo muchas ceremonias. En estos mortuorios comían y bebían; y si eran personas de calidad, daban de vestir a todos los que habían acudido al enterramiento"⁵³ (they sang dirges in the funeral services, and they raised the bodies of the deceased many times, doing many ceremonies. In these funerals they ate and drank; If they were quality people, they would dress all those who had gone to the burial); the festivities were celebrated with songs and drunkenness "yendo caminando con gran ruido de bocinas, caracolas, flautas y atambores" (walking with great noise of horns, conches, flutes and drums),⁵⁴ the crying, the sorcerers' consultations with the divinity, as an oracle and whose "...respuesta de ordinario era en una manera de silbo temeroso, o con un chillido, que les ponía horror"⁵⁵ (response was ordinarily a fearful whistle or a shriek, that made them horrified), ceremonies in which

"...se levantaban todas las dignidades del templo, y en lugar de campanas tocaban unas bocinas y caracoles grandes, y otros unas flautillas y tañían un gran rato un sonido triste; y después de haber tañido salía el hebdomadario o semanero, vestido de una ropa blanca como dalmática, con su incensario en la mano lleno de brasa..."⁵⁶

(... all the dignities of the temple stood up and instead of bells they played some big horns and conches, and some little flutes and they played a long time a sad sound; and after having tolled the hebdomadarian, dressed in a white linen clothe as a dalmatic, with a censer in his hand full of embers ...)

In some cases the rituals, always guided by the demonic deception, imitated Christians, as communion⁵⁷ the feast of the corpus⁵⁸ —with processions, sound, music— and confession,⁵⁹ prepared them for advent of Christianity.

The sixth and seventh books refer to some aspects of the culture of the natives so they would not believe that they were "men lacking in understanding".⁶⁰ There is a mention of the calendar, the form of government, the history of the Incas: the succession of the Inca,

⁵² *Ibid.*, Libro V, Cap. IV.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Libro V, Cap. VIII.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Libro V, Cap. VIII.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Libro V, Cap. XII.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Libro V, Cap. XIV.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Libro V, Cap. XXIII.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Libro V, Cap. XXIV.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Libro V, Cap. XXV.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Libro VI, Cap. I.

the coronation ceremonies, the power they exercised over their empire, how the people served them.

“De cada provincia le traían lo que en ella había escogido: de los Chichas le servían con madera olorosa y rica; de los Lucanas, con anderos para llevar su litera; de los Chumbibilcas, con bailadores, y así en lo demás que cada provincia se aventajaba, y esto fuera del tributo general que todos contribuían...”⁶¹

(From each province they brought what in it had been chosen: from the Chichas they served him with fragrant and rich wood; from the Lucanas, carriers to shoulder his litter; from the Chumbibilcas, dancers, and so on in what each province excelled, and this in addition to the general tribute that everyone contributed).

About the peoples of Mexico, he makes references, among others, to their ceremonies, e.g., the ritual of the calendar:

“Al cabo de los cincuenta y dos años que se cerraba la rueda, usaban una ceremonia donosa, y era, que la última noche quebraban cuantas vasijas tenían, y apagaban cuantas lumbres había, diciendo que en una de las ruedas había de fenecer el mundo, y que por ventura sería aquella en que se hallaban, y que, pues se había de acabar el mundo, no habían de guisar, ni comer, que para qué eran vasijas, ni lumbre, y así se estaban toda la noche, diciendo que quizá no amanecería más, velando con gran atención todos para ver si amanecía. En viendo que venía el día, tocaban muchos atambores, y bocinas, y flautas y otros instrumentos de regocijo y alegría; diciendo, que ya Dios les alargaba otro siglo, que eran cincuenta y dos años, y comenzaban otra rueda...”⁶²

(At the end of fifty-two years, when the wheel was closing, they performed a mart ceremony, and it was like this: that last night they broke all the vessels they had, and extinguished as many lights there were, saying that on one of the wheels the world was to die, and if by chance it would be the one in which they were, and if, because the world had to end, they had not to cook, nor eat, what were the vessel for, neither fire, and that is how they were all night, saying that maybe it would not dawn more, watching with great attention to see if it was dawn. In seeing that the day was coming, many drums, and horns, and flutes and other instruments of rejoicing and joy; saying, that God was lengthening another century, that they were fifty-two years old, and they started another wheel).

Likewise, mention is made of war, festivities and conquest:

“Otra fiesta, y más solemne, era la de su coronación, para la cual había de vencer primero en batalla y traer cierto número de cautivos que se

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Libro VI, Cap. XV.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Libro VI, Cap. II.

habían de sacrificar a sus dioses, y entraban en triunfo con gran pompa, y hacíanles solemnísimo recibimiento así de los del templo (que todos iban en procesión, tañendo diversos instrumentos e incesando y cantando), como de los seglares y de corte, que salían con sus invenciones a recibir al rey victorioso”⁶³

(Another feast, and more solemn, was that of his coronation, for which he was first to win in battling and bring a certain number of captives that were to be sacrificed to their gods, and entered into triumph with great pomp, and they received a very solemn reception, like those of the temple (who were all in procession, playing various instruments and incensing and singing), both seculars and members of the court, who came out with his inventions to receive the victorious king).

In Mexico, in Acosta's story, there began to be signs that something was going to happen, voices that announced it.⁶⁴ The interpreters, the violence of the struggle, the taking of the city of Mexico, its recovery by the Aztecs, the death of Moctezuma, show the sounds and noises of the conquest.⁶⁵ A world that collides with another, conquered and conquering. New sound universe in which "the gift of languages as in the past, has not imported little, but very much" and in which the communication of the word, the gospel discourse is going to be—in the idea of the Jesuit—the fundamental sound.⁶⁶

Conclusions

The sound universe of the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, both when it is a direct observation of the author and stories that he echoes, allows to know in a particular way the mentality of a learned Jesuit at the end of the 16th century.

The form of the story, in this case of the sound descriptions, comes from a conception of the world and the history in which the sounds seek to accentuate the Acosta's matrix ideas, even more so if one takes into account that these sound records were written long after having been observed or known.

That conception of Father Acosta corresponds to his solid Aristotelian-Thomist formation, to his vast knowledge of classical authors with a humanistic vision, which leads him to compare the acquired knowledge with the American experience, and the conviction of the evangelizing mission.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Libro VI, Cap. XXIV.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Libro VII, Cap. XXII.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Libro VII, Cap. XXIII-XXVII.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Libro VII, Cap. XXVIII.

First, the world and in particular the America continent with its waters (be they rough seas or gentle and crystalline rivers), lands (volcanoes, mountains or valleys) and airs (winds and breezes) was a great expression of divine greatness and power.

Metals, plants and animals existed to serve man. The metals were part of the salvific plan, because their attraction had allowed to take the gospel to remote places where otherwise it would not have arrived.

The American man occupies the center of his story. Everything was prepared so that they could be incorporated, evangelization through, into the divine salvific plan.

The history of the Mexican and Peruvian peoples, their customs, rituals and festivities, in which the sounds occupy a prominent place, are preparatory to the arrival of the true faith.

The encounter between conquered and conquering men, is presented with "sounds" of violence, war, deceptions, but also with peaceful "sounds" in interpreters and missionaries who through the word could carry out the divine plan. As José de Acosta himself says:

“Pero con esto digo lo que es verdad, y para mí muy cierta, que aunque la primera entrada del evangelio en muchas partes no fué con la sinceridad y medios cristianos que debiera ser; mas la bondad de Dios sacó bien de ese mal, y hizo que la sujeción de los indios les fuese su entero remedio y salud...”⁶⁷

(But with this I say what is true, and for me very true, that although the first entry of the Gospel in many places did not go with the sincerity and Christian means that it should be, the God's goodness drew good from that evil, and made the Indian subjection was their entire remedy and health.)

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⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Libro VII, Cap. XVIII.

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