



Gerardo Rodríguez
Mariana Zapatero
María Fernanda López Goldaracena
(Direction)

SENSING SPANISH AMERICA

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

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Translated from the Spanish by Carlos Rafael Domínguez
Edited and Revised by María Fernanda López Goldaracena

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

Ariel Alberto Eiris

Universidad Católica Argentina
Universidad del Salvador
CONICET

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 Cantú, *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 *Hispanérica: 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 entered 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 predicán 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, cosmologically 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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